

**THE RESALE OF LOCAL AUTHORITY DWELLINGS IN RURAL
ENGLAND: A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.**

**A thesis submitted in candidature for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at the University of
Leicester.**

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**ABSTRACT: THE RESALE OF LOCAL AUTHORITY DWELLINGS
IN RURAL ENGLAND: A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.**

Patterns and processes of migration and housing market restructuring in the English countryside have attracted considerable attention over recent years. In contrast to many earlier studies which have failed to examine the way in which these processes are interrelated, this research focuses upon the former local authority sector of the rural housing market in order to explore the key connections between housing market restructuring, migration and rural social change.

A realist approach is developed to explore the relationship between households moving through this increasingly important sector of the housing market and wider social and economic structures. This study focuses on the District of South Northamptonshire, an accessible rural district located between principal metropolitan centres where the housing market has been transformed by rapid population growth and high rates of council house sales over recent decades.

Analysis is undertaken of the way in which local responses to national housing policy over earlier decades produced a stock of over 4,500 local authority dwellings in the District. Sale of these dwellings under the Right To Buy clauses within the Housing Act (1980) and subsequent resale by tenant-purchasers is a key aspect of the post-1980 restructuring of the housing market and is presenting a unique housing opportunity to increasing numbers of homebuyers in a market characterised by extremely high houseprices and a highly constrained supply of owner-occupied housing. Analysis is based on detailed information relating to 800 households derived from interviews with purchasers of resold dwellings and local authority housing records.

The impact of these changes is examined at a variety of spatial scales from the national context, to the impact on individual settlements. Throughout the research findings are related to contemporary debates about rural housing policy and 'social' housing provision; social theory and the study of housing, migration and social change in the countryside; and the implications for future related studies.

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Diolch am fod yn mor amyneddgar yn ystod y 'busnes tai
cyngor 'ma'.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION.

1.0 Research Aims

This study is concerned with recent events in the English rural housing market and their relation to wider processes of social change in the countryside. Specifically it is concerned with the patterns and processes connected to the resale of local authority dwellings, when public-sector tenants who have purchased their home under the 'Right To Buy' provisions of the 1980 Housing Act decide to move and therefore resell their home on the open market. As such this work joins a substantial body of existing research focusing on housing issues in the British countryside (eg. MacGregor et al., 1987 in respect of Scotland, Milbourne, 1993 - Wales, and Shucksmith et al., 1995 - England) and adds to the burgeoning body of study constituting 'rural geography'.

This study transects a number of the principal debates in contemporary rural geography, of which one is the role of migration as an engine of social change in the countryside. In this respect it advances the study of migration-led social change by exploring the role of the rural housing market, a key linkage either ignored or undeveloped in most earlier accounts. In addition, the longer-term impact of the radical housing market restructuring introduced by the Housing Act (1980) has yet to be fully explored within the context of the English countryside.

1.1 The Research Context

The transfer of over a third of a million dwellings from the public to private sector has been the most radical and widespread change stemming from a single Act of Parliament to occur in rural housing markets this century. The extent of the events under investigation in this study was highlighted shortly after the Right To Buy was introduced at the Conservative Party Conference in 1982 when the then Minister of Housing stated:

"and don't anyone (sic) underestimate either the scale of the social revolution that is now taking place, or the determination of the Government to carry it further, and I mean a lot further"

(quoted in Forrest and Murie, 1990:111).

Now that nearly two decades have elapsed since this legislation was passed an examination of its impact is appropriate. Indeed it was argued as early as 1982 that:

"... with regard to the [local authority] housing stock itself ... it will in the future be very valuable to follow through some longitudinal 'case histories' of houses sold. Do they become second homes? Do they revert, as they sometimes should to local authorities? ... How long do they remain in the hands of the original purchasers? All these vistas are opened up as sales increase over the years. Data on this important question should be gathered without delay"

(Phillips and Williams, 1982:152).

Furthermore others have stressed the importance of understanding the longer-term effects of this transfer between tenures. For example Malpass and Murie (1994) observed that,

"...any assessment of the social effects of the sale of council houses involves more than the households who bought as sitting tenants. The longer-term effect of sales is to increase the stock of dwellings allocated through market processes and to reduce those allocated through bureaucratic and needs-related processes. The effects of this are more difficult to assess, but the questions can easily be posed: are the dwellings allocated through market processes allocated to households who are similar to those who were previously tenants or who are being allocated to vacant council dwellings through application or transfer procedures?"

(Malpass and Murie, 1994:302).

However, to date, the gathering of information and analysis of the longer-term role of former local authority housing has been extremely limited, whilst the resale of former council dwellings has continued at a pace much swifter than anticipated even in government quarters. For example, the Department of the Environment claimed that

" the resale of council homes seems certain to become an important feature of the housing market in the near future. Indeed, following the reduction in the discount repayment period from five to three years a good many properties will already have been resold. The findings [in the government sponsored study] that nearly half the buyers intended to move contradicts earlier assumptions that the majority of RTB purchasers would stay put"

(Kerr, 1988:70).

To argue that this resale process involves a standard housing stock coming onto the market, however, is extremely misleading. Although the majority of rural council houses date from the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919 (the 'Addison Act') the hundreds of rural district councils responded to this and subsequent legislation as they thought best, taking into account the specific social and demographic characteristics of their area and the particular features of each Act. As a result the distribution of council houses is a patchwork of dwellings of different ages, sizes and quality across much of rural

England, though greater concentrations are evident in the more accessible counties and, within these counties, in those settlements closest to the local regional centres (Forrest and Murie, 1989). Even so not all settlements received council homes, particularly those 'closed' villages under the control of a 'landed estate' where both employment and housing were seen as the duty of the landowner (Sherwood, 1996).

However, our existing knowledge of council house resales relates neither to the English countryside or to the Right To Buy policy post-1980. Thus Forrest (1980) and Forrest and Murie's (1990 and 1991) research was focused upon Birmingham and London and the discretionary policies in operation before 1980, whilst Twine and Williams' work (Williams and Twine 1992, Twine and Williams 1993) examined events in the Scottish countryside and the resale of properties from a (relatively small) public housing body unique to that country. Such a point is recognized by the authors themselves in respect of their findings, when they state:

"... these conclusions must be treated with caution, however, bearing in mind the differences between SSHA stock and tenants, and the public-sector generally. Further research is needed covering resales of local authority dwellings sold to sitting tenants, especially in the rural areas where most concern has been expressed about the loss through sales of rented accommodation at affordable rents for lower income households"

(Williams and Twine, 1992:1597).

Study of resales in general can in turn be related to wider concerns within rural geography about the use of rural space in the face of continuing structural changes which have led to the emergence of a 'post-productivist' countryside; concerns which emerge from ...

"a wider debate on the access of non-agricultural interests to rural land thereby allowing a wider range of interests to stake claims ... further compromising the productivist ideology which is now so obviously in disarray ..."

(Marsden et al., 1993:68).

The resale of former local authority dwellings is part of the redrawing of boundaries between capital, the State, and various social groupings in the rural population, and as such has major social and cultural implications for the pace and nature of social change in rural settlements. Thus in exploring this issue it is necessary to adopt a theoretical framework which recognises the agency of those involved in these processes as well as the wider structural dimension. In contrast to the majority of earlier studies, use of a realist approach in the present research will incorporate both perspectives whilst also highlighting the key role of spatial variations in housing and population structures and the importance of historical processes in understanding contemporary patterns of social change in the countryside.

1.2 The Study Area: South Northamptonshire

Whilst defining notions of 'rurality' has been a major challenge to geographers and social scientists over more than a century ranging from Tönnies (1887) in the nineteenth century, to more recent attempts such as those of Cloke (1977) and Webber and Craig (1978), a full discussion of this question is beyond the present purposes. Previous studies have sought to define the spatial extent of population change in rural England. To this end, earlier work has identified a continuous belt of population concentration extending from north-west to south east England, described variously as a "coffin" or an "axial belt" (Smailes, 1944; Baker and Gilbert, 1944) its characteristic shape is derived from it being 'pinched' by a band of relatively low population density broadly running

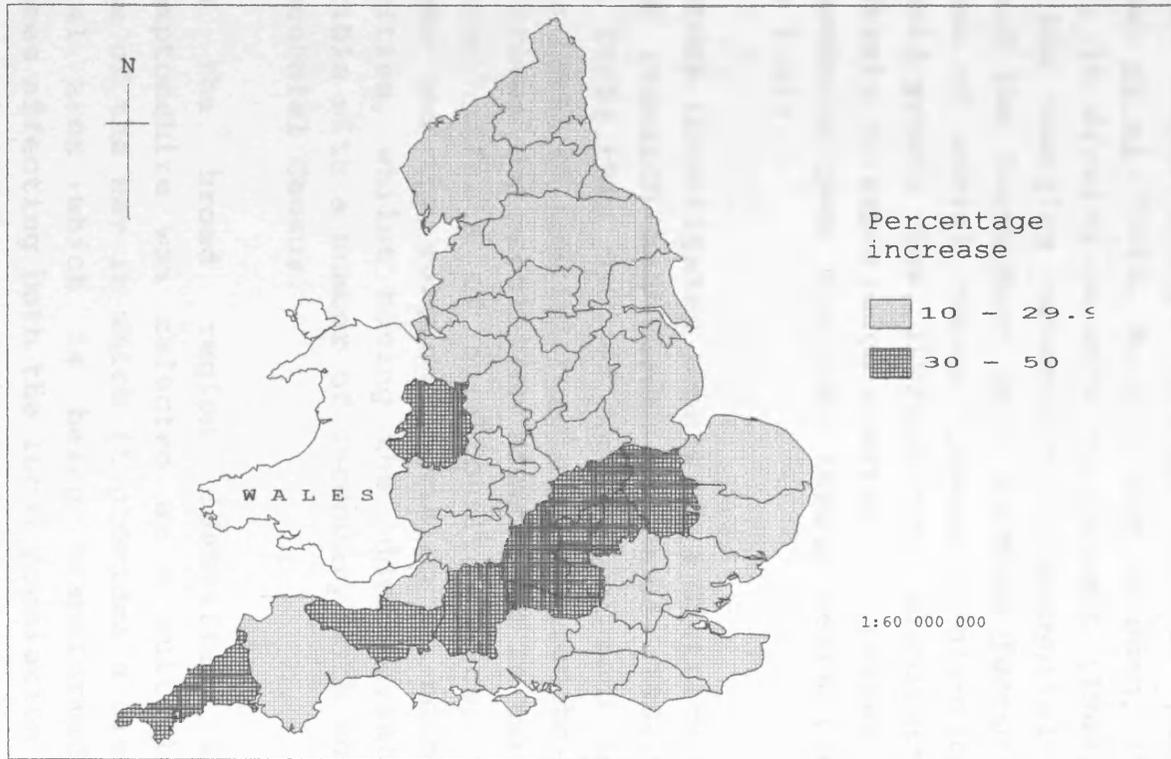


Figure 1.01., Projections of Households in England 1991-2016 (DoE, 1995).

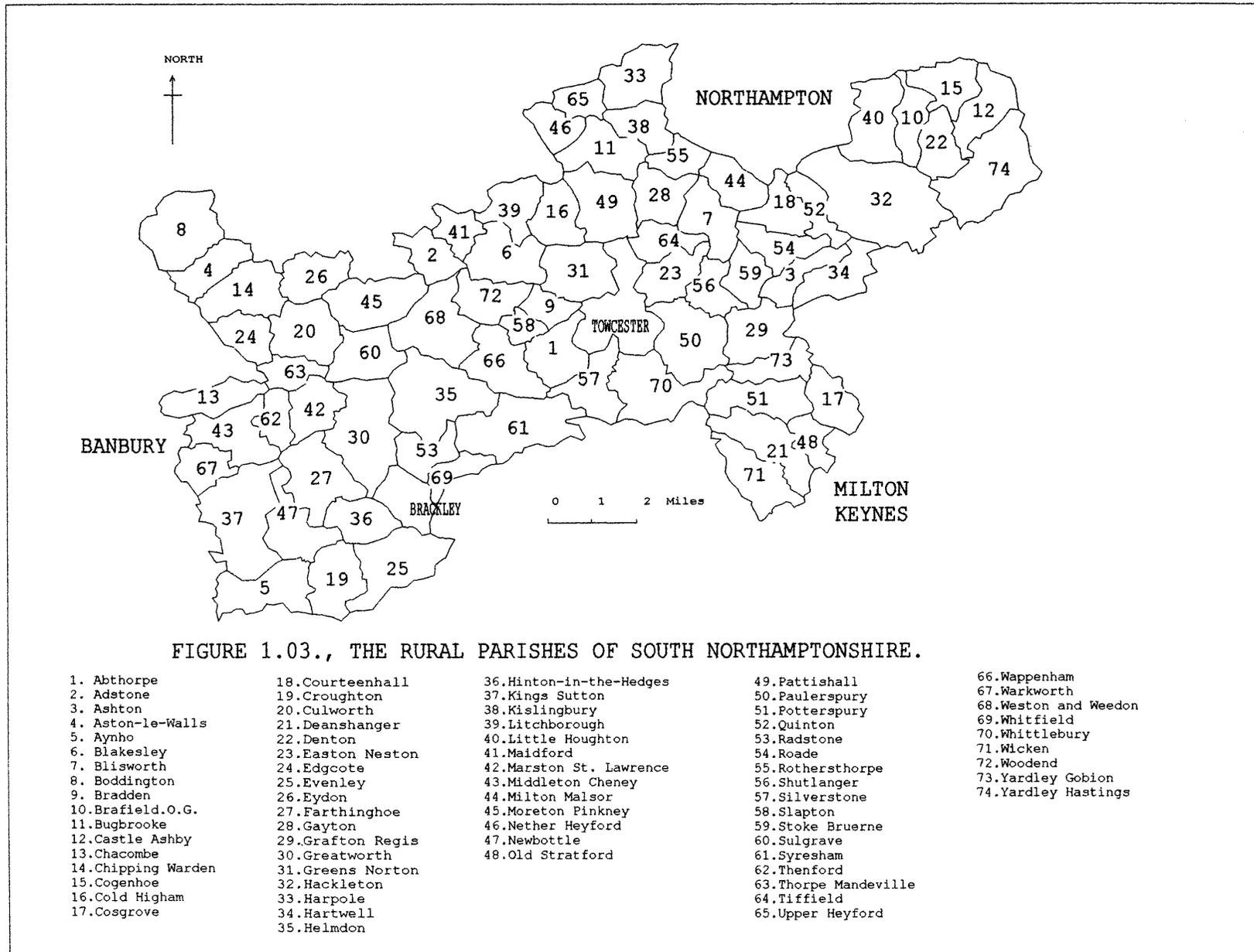
between the Severn Estuary and the Wash. Under pressure from the conurbations of the South East and West Midlands, the region defined by the intersection of these two bands of contrasting population density affords a good opportunity to examine the processes of migration-led social change in the countryside, for it has been subject to waves of migration and economic restructuring which have effected rapid social change in the post-war period (Marsden et al, 1993, Murdoch and Marsden, 1994). Jenkins (1992), in drawing on work by Hamnett (1989, 1990), also cites the changing houseprice differential between this area and the South-East as a further factor underpinning patterns of social change. Recent projections of future household growth (DoE, 1995) further highlight this area as that likely to experience greatest increases in the number of households over the next twenty years (30-50 percent, figure 1.01).

This study investigates events at a district level, for as earlier research has shown (Sherwood, 1984; Bramley and Smart, 1995) this unit of local government administration is at a level of spatial resolution suited to revealing how wider prevailing population trends are in turn modified by the local effects of neighbouring towns, communication networks and the varying provision of housing by local authorities, whilst having the added advantage of being compatible with a number of secondary data sources such as the decennial Census.

Within the broad region identified above, South Northamptonshire was selected as a suitable study area because of the way in which it provides a clear example of a rural area which is being transformed by ongoing processes affecting both the local population structure and housing market. The District's suitability to the present research was confirmed after reference to a number of key factors: a predominantly 'rural' character, rapid post-war population change, proximity to both the South-East and the West Midlands regions, a housing market characterised by



Figure 1.02., Main Street, Denton viewed from the village green showing the stone cottages typical of villages across the District. (One cottage for sale in Main Street is pictured above).



high demand and high dwelling prices, the extensive nature of local authority housing provision over earlier decades and more recently high levels of dwelling sales following the 1980 Housing Act. It is the swift pace of change over previous decades and its continuing impact on the District which underpin South Northamptonshire's suitability to research into processes of migration, housing market restructuring and social change.

South Northamptonshire is one of seven districts comprising Northamptonshire. It has main motorway and rail links and despite its rural character it is just one hour's travel from Birmingham and London. It is situated between the towns of Northampton, Milton Keynes and Banbury and its villages are characterised by attractive cottages built in the local stone (figure 1.02). National attractions such as the British Waterways Canal Museum at Stoke Bruerne and Silverstone Motor Racing Circuit are located in its boundaries, and several areas of the District have been designated under a variety of recreation and landscape initiatives (N.C.C., 1994). The present research will focus on the 74 civil parishes of the District (figure 1.03): the two market towns - Brackley (population 3,410 in 1991) and Towcester (population 2,588 in 1991) have been excluded from the following analysis. These two towns have a much wider range of services than the remaining parishes and a distinctly 'urban' character, a fact compounded by successive planning policies which have channelled housing, and economic growth into these centres.

The District's 'rural' characteristics, have been repeatedly highlighted by earlier schemata (table 1.01). The studies cited in table 1.01 used different methods in order to identify rural and non-rural areas, each with contrasting strengths and weaknesses (Hoggart 1988, 1990): those of Cloke, Webber and Craig, and Bramley and Smart were based on socio-economic variables, that of Shucksmith et al. predominantly on the housing market, whilst Jones's classification was intuitively based.

Schema	Classification of South Northamptonshire - the present study area
Jones (1973) Intuitive Rural Regions	'Rural'
Webber and Craig (1978)	Rural Growth Area
Cloke (1977) based on 1961/71 census data	Intermediate/ Extreme Non-Rural
Cloke and Edwards (1986) based on 1971/81 census data	Extreme Non-Rural
Bramley and Smart (1995)	'Deep Rural'
Shucksmith et al. (1995)	Predominantly rural

Table 1.01., The Classification of South Northamptonshire by Previous Studies.

Though it is not the purpose of the present study to criticise each of the classifications cited, two key points emerge from their consideration: first, that the rural nature of South Northamptonshire is repeatedly highlighted by the diverse range of classificatory techniques, and second, that the rural character of the District is changing. This ongoing transformation is mainly due to waves of in-migration which have resulted in sustained population growth in the post-war period, from 40,700 residents in 1947 to 69,900 in 1991, an increase of 72 percent (N.C.C., 1951 ; O.P.C.S., 1991). In three decades following 1960 Northamptonshire has been one of the ten fastest growing counties of England and Wales (N.C.C, 1989). The in-migration experienced by the District has put great pressures on the local housing market and the planning system, as witnessed by: high dwelling prices (N.C.C., 1992), limited availability of rented accommodation (S.N.C., 1994), and the need to balance high demand for building land with planning policies protecting the countryside (S.N.C., 1993). These pressures were noted in recent discussions on the future policy response to housing and population change at a regional level, where ...

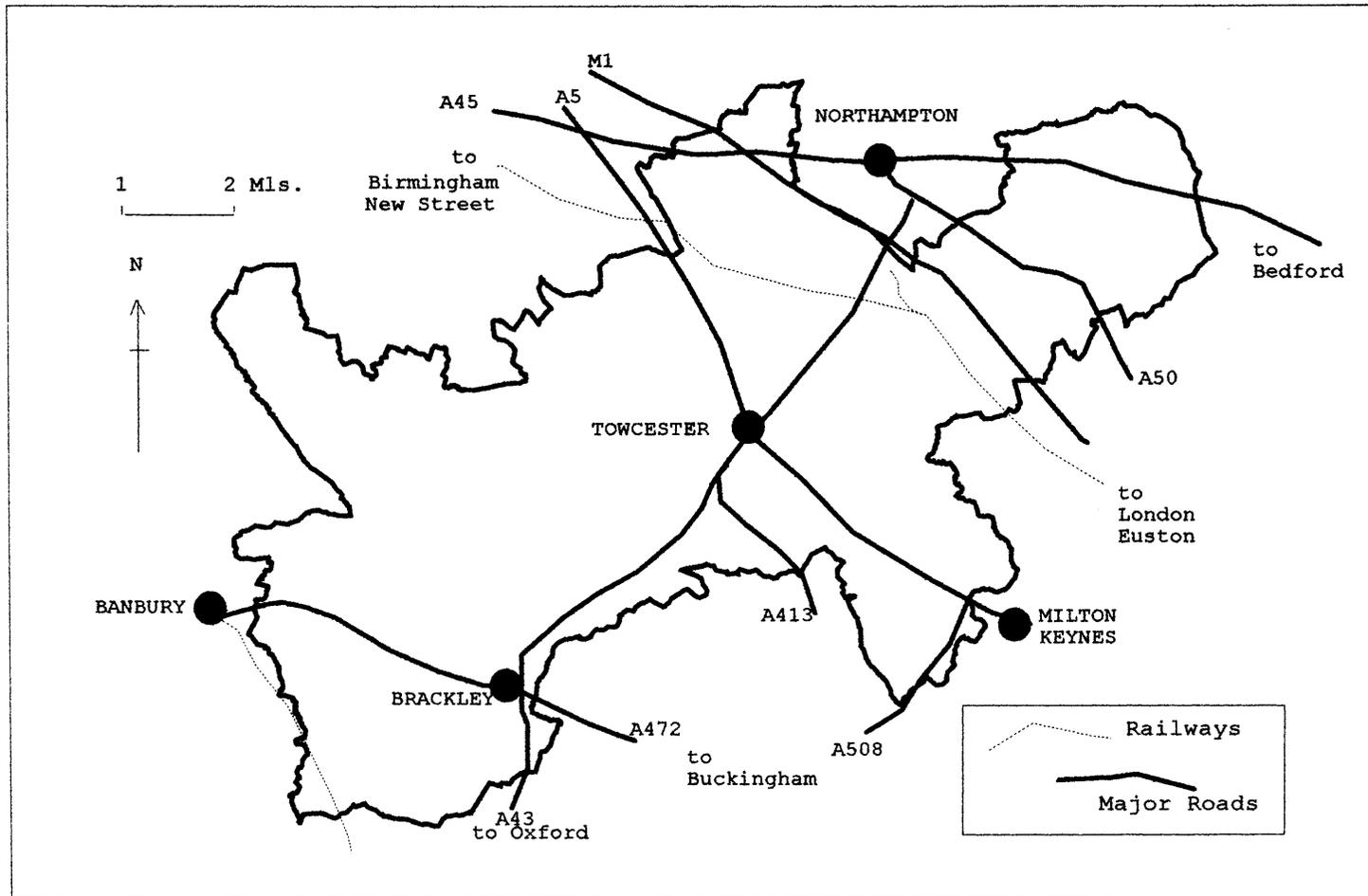


Figure 1.04., South Northamptonshire: Infrastructure.

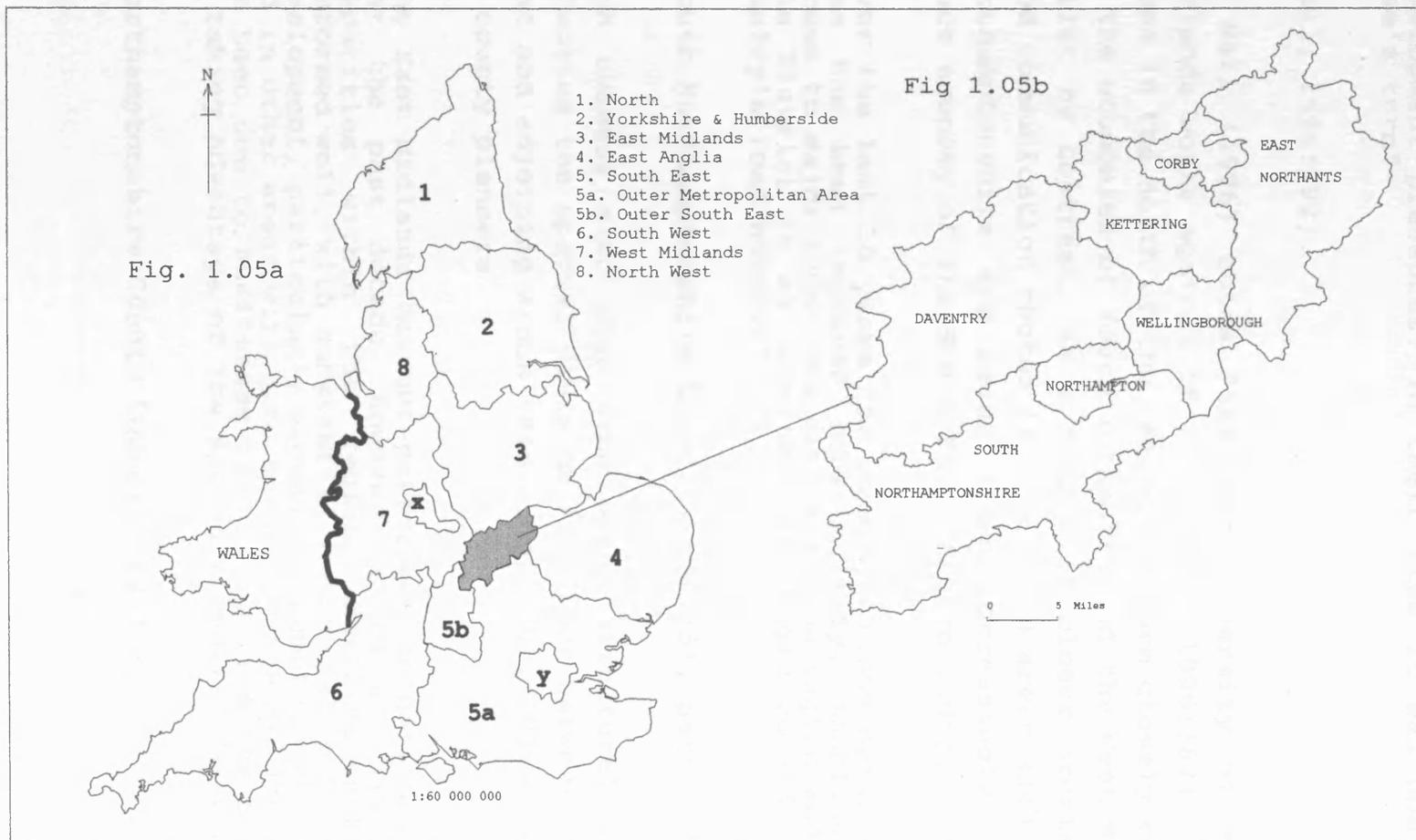


Figure 1.05: (1.05a). Northamptonshire (shaded) in Relation to the Standard (SERPLAN) Regions of England, the West Midlands (x), and Greater London (y), (1.05b) The Districts of Northamptonshire.

"it was clear from the discussion that a battle was looming over development in the south of the region, where Northamptonshire felt they had done their turn to meet development pressures. In their view it was now someone else's turn"

(Hall, 1996:192).

As Hall (1996) notes "the very diversity of the East Midlands works against it ..." (Hall, 1996:187). Thus the areas in the north of the region are more closely connected to the economies of South Yorkshire and the West Midlands, whilst by contrast, as a result of closer proximity and good communication routes (figure 1.04) areas such as South Northamptonshire are being drawn increasingly into the space economy of the South East (figure 1.05).

"Over the last 10 years the communications network in the area has been improved substantially, enabling easier access to major towns and cities in the region and placing this District in an important strategic position in the country's road network"

(South Northamptonshire Council, 1993:51, para 5.3).

Such changes also stem from wider structural processes affecting the spatial division of labour between the South East and adjoining areas (Fielding, 1991, 1996). According to county planners

"the East Midlands has out-performed the national economy over the past decade. However, there are considerable disparities within the region. Northamptonshire has performed well, with substantial industrial and commercial development, particularly around Northampton and Kettering, and in other areas with good access to the M1. Much of this has been due to businesses relocating from the South East or taking advantage of the Region's central location"

(Northamptonshire County Council, 1994:2).

In the face of increasing demand local authorities in South Northamptonshire have been particularly active in housing provision and at its peak this tenure accounted for almost a third of households (31.1 percent, OPCS, 1961). This high level of provision has been greatly eroded by sales, such that, of the 366 English districts it achieved the thirteenth highest level between 1980 and 1990 (excluding districts affected by 'large scale voluntary transfers' under the 1988 Housing Act, Forrest and Murie, 1991:257) and these changes have been paralleled over a much longer period by the sustained decline in the private rented sector (Bowler and Lewis, 1991). The District is further characterised by high house prices compared to elsewhere in the county and a dearth of lower priced dwellings for sale (N.C.C., 1992; S.N.C., 1993; Bramley and Smart, 1995; Sherwood, 1995.).

South Northamptonshire therefore provides an ideal context to study the effect of the resale of local authority dwellings in line with Williams and Twine's assertion that

"... further research is needed covering resales ... in the areas where most concern has been expressed about the loss through sales of rented accommodation at affordable rents for lower income households"

(Williams and Twine, 1992:1597, emphasis added).

Moreover, the District is well situated to investigate the links between specific housing market events and wider processes of migration-led social change in the countryside, for, as Hall (1996) notes, South Northamptonshire is located in a region which,

" was still semi-rural, not thickly populated, yet under pressure from the conurbations on its borders. It was very diverse, with a zone of pressure in the south ... there was a set of trends only too familiar from other parts of the country: lifestyle preferences and market forces were causing the middle class to flee for what they saw as more pleasant, crime-free greenfield sites"

(Hall, 1996:194, emphasis added).

1.3 The Analytical Structure

In summary this study addresses two principal areas:

- The gap in the present understanding of the impact of the resale of local authority dwellings in rural areas
- The need for a theoretically informed study which outlines the linkages between migration, the housing market, and social change in the countryside.

Accordingly, **Chapter Two** reviews existing studies of migration and considers the way in which such research has analysed the principal phases of population change in the English countryside, together with the extent to which the housing market has been incorporated into analyses of population flows and attendant social change. **Chapter Three** builds on this critique by examining the way in which previous research has investigated the rural housing market; specifically it is argued that a theoretical approach is required which reconciles structure and agency in understanding the key role of the housing market in mediating rural social change. Subsequent discussion outlines how a realist perspective can address the principal shortcomings of earlier studies. The operationalization of this approach then shapes the structure of the following analysis.

At the outset local authority housing provision in the decades prior to the 1980 Housing Act is examined within the context of evolving national housing policy, local policy implementation and population change in the countryside, in order to understand the development of the housing market under study (**Chapter Four**).

Subsequent attention (**Chapter Five**) is focused on the housing market restructuring at a national and local level, and the way the 1980 Housing Act contributed to radical changes leading to the sale, and eventual resale of hundreds of thousands of former local authority dwellings. Particular examination is made of the way such dwellings fit into the owner-occupied sector of the housing market in rural areas.

Chapter Six analyses the processes and patterns of migration as households move through the resold sector of the housing market. An insight into the changing role of these dwellings and the extent to which resales are promoting social change is then presented in **Chapter Seven**. **Chapter Eight** continues this analysis by examining notions of selectivity linking different social groupings with different sections of the resold dwelling stock. An examination of the spatial patterns of housing market restructuring and social change is presented in **Chapter Nine**, which analyses change within the District at a variety of spatial scales. The key findings and their implications for future research will then be summarised in **Chapter Ten**.

CHAPTER TWO

MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

2.0 Introduction

The events of the past century have wrought profound and substantial change in both the form and functioning of English rural society. In the foreword to a recent Government report the Prime Minister John Major noted,

"rural England is not a static place. It has always had to change and adapt to new demands, but the changes in the post-war years have been perhaps the most far reaching in our history"

(DoE/ MAFF, 1995:unpaginated).

Set against such a background, the present chapter aims to review the role of migration as one of the principal engines of social change in the countryside. Such an examination is necessary in order to explore the links between the specific housing market events forming the object of this project and the wider processes of social change. The significance of the housing market lies in its potential to act as a powerful mediator both of the rate and form of migratory flows in the countryside; this underscores its key role in understanding the process of change in the rural environment.

Following consideration of the notion of social change, two further areas of enquiry will be examined, namely empirical work on population flows in the countryside and the theoretical conceptualization of such trends. Finally, a critique of existing studies of migration and change in the countryside will be presented, examining the treatment of housing markets within such work. The gaps in understanding emerging from such a critique will form the basis for the next chapter examining the key interconnections between

migration and the study of rural housing, together constituting principal foci in an understanding of social change in the rural environment.

2.1 Social Change in the Countryside

The process of social change within rural environments has been succinctly defined by Lewis as,

" . . . the process by which alteration occurs in the function and structure of a community"

(Lewis, 1979:37).

A full review and discussion of the nature and function of (rural) communities is not considered appropriate here, and is to be found elsewhere (see for example Hawley, 1955; Stacey 1969; Lewis, 1979; Hirst, 1980). Rather, two contrasting definitions of community will be adopted as an underpinning to the foregoing definition of social change.

Following an ecological approach, Hawley (1955) noted that a community can be isolated from the overall ecological system as an entity that,

"includes the area, the population of which, however widely distributed, regularly return to a common centre for all or a major part of its needs"

(Hawley, 1955:246).

Alternatively, Lewis (1979), has defined community according to a social systems approach, as,

"[the] smallest spatial system which encompasses the major features of society"

(Lewis, 1979:31).

The transformation of rural communities and English rural society in general, is but one result of wider, global processes of political and economic change (Marsden et al.,1993). In tracing the origins of the change affecting the countryside over recent decades to a period well before the Second World War, Champion and Watkins (1991) conclude that,

"it is difficult for anyone to take in the full range of social changes that have taken place in rural areas over the past sixty years"

(Champion and Watkins,1991:14).

Bradley and Lowe (1984), cite,

"massive upheavals in the national and international political economy ..." as causal factors resulting in, "...major changes in the economic systems, social relations and political balance of rural areas of Britain, [with] counterurbanization, the decentralization of certain forms of industrial activity and infrastructure and the industrialization of agriculture ..." comprising the "... powerful forces effecting rural social change"

(Bradley and Lowe, 1984:1).

Analysis fostered under the 'restructuring thesis' (Massey,1984 ; Marsden et al., 1990), examining the impact of the restructuring of capitalist economies upon rural areas, continues to attract the attention of researchers (Rees, 1984; Barlow, 1986; Hodge and Monk, 1987; Champion and Townsend, 1990). Warning against the use of structuralist analysis as the sole explanatory device Marsden et al. (1993) argue that the approach is,

"unsatisfactory since it tends to subordinate rural economic and social change to the broader capital and employment restructuring processes (previously described). It assumes a 'top-down' causal argument when seeking to explain the uneven pattern of development, reducing rural areas to uniform and passive spaces upon which past, present and future rounds of capital investment engender radically different spatial divisions of labour. From this perspective, even if by default, rurality is largely seen as a descriptive and marginal category lacking explanatory

power, and in which the variability and significance of local social action is ignored"

(Marsden et al., 1993:6).

Nevertheless, 'social class' in broadly representing the (occupational) status of individuals in the capitalist economy endures as the principal measure of social stratification. Within the rural sphere Phillips (1993) has noted that,

"rural studies have been overly reticent in accepting the class dimensions of rural life"

(Phillips,1993:124).

Despite such initial hesitancy increasing attention has been placed on analysing the recomposition of the rural population as measured by various indices of social class (Phillips, 1992; Savage et al.,1992). Allied to, but distinct from, class-based analysis, Marsden et al. (1993) point to changing power relationships as an indicator of social change in the countryside:

"we believe such changes can be captured most accurately by the geometrical model of power; where the local and the rural are considered as the outcomes of complex power relationships 'meeting in places'"

(Marsden et al.,1993:153,original emphasis).

Despite the continuing debate as to how the outcome of social change may be analysed, (whether in a class-based framework, by an examination of cultural indicators, or by investigating power relationships), this study posits that the transformation of rural society must necessarily be seen as the result of the ongoing recomposition of the rural population which has taken place over the past century. Brief consideration of the mechanics of social change confirm this assertion, while later discussions will attempt to both justify such an approach and reconcile it to the wider structure-agency debates continuing within

rural social geography.

2.2 The Mechanics of Social Change

Four main processes can be identified as comprising the ongoing process of social change in the rural environment (and elsewhere); although individual accounts of each can be presented, all are inter-related in operation. These may be summarised as follows:

- Demographic change. This is the alteration in the characteristics of the population group under consideration. Thus, such a transformation takes place with the passing of time and concerns variation in the age and status of individuals. This component of change is related to the wider social, economic and cultural organization of society. Examples of adjustments in the status of individuals may be social in origin, such as marriage, partnership or separation; or economic, such as in career path progression. Both of the foregoing social and economic examples may lead to social mobility culminating in the changing social class composition of the population as a whole. For example Savage et al. (1993) provide a macro-level investigation of the demographic change in Britain undertaken within a realist framework. This work sets out the wider social, political, economic and cultural conditions leading to the rise of the 'middle-classes'.
- Natural change. This produces adjustments in the size of the overall population through natural processes of birth and death. To these aspects may be added the passing of time causing the ageing of the population.
- Migration. This refers to the movement of members of the population group under consideration. This may be in the arrival of new members to the overall population from another location ie. in-migration; or

the loss of individuals as a result of their relocating, ie. out-migration. In both cases resultant changes in the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the populations in both locations will occur.

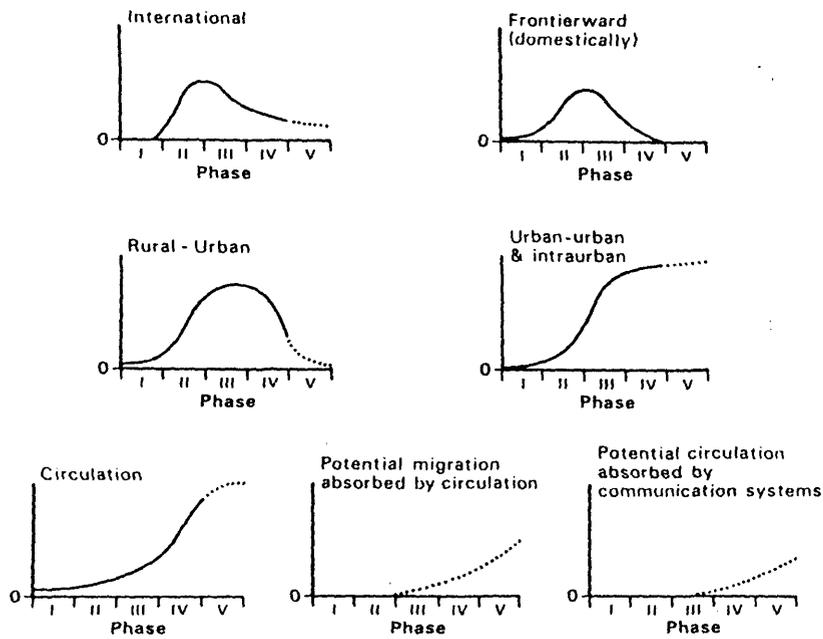
- Attitudinal change. This may be defined as the replacement or modification of an individual's values and beliefs which may lead to a modification in lifestyle (Pahl, 1965, Savage, 1989. Such change may be as a result of individuals imbuing the culture presenting, " ... a single national 'way of life' shaped by a business culture, the mass media, advertising, state education and other quite general influences" (Dunleavy, 1982:5).

2.3 Migration and Social Change

Of these four component processes, which may operate individually or in concert to achieve social change, it is migration which has received the greatest attention, principally owing to its potential to determine the rate and nature of all other components of social change. The complex relationship between migration and social change has been described by Fielding (1992), as both intimate and reciprocal, and he argues that:

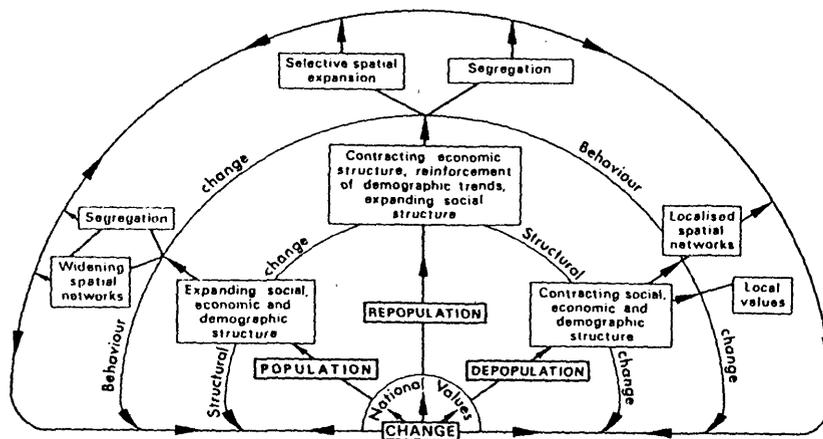
"it is intimate in the sense that our changing relationships with one another at work, in the home, and elsewhere, together with our relationships with the changing institutions and structures of our society, determine whether we migrate, where we migrate from and where we migrate to. It is reciprocal in the sense that while social change affects migration, migration also affects social change. When we migrate we influence the nature and pace of social change in both the places we leave and the places we join"

(Fielding, 1992:208).



Source: Zelinsky, 1971:219-27.

Figure 2.01., Zelinsky's Comparative Time Profiles of Spatial Mobility.



Source: Lewis, 1982.

Figure 2.02., Migration and Components of Social Change, Lewis and Maund, 1976:17-27.

Conceptualization of the role of migration acting as an independent variable, or an agent of social change, has produced a number of important conceptual frameworks furthering understanding of the transformation of rural society. An examination of these principal approaches at this stage in the review will serve to develop further an understanding of the complexity of the relationship between the two interdependent processes, and introduce wider theoretical themes forming the basis of later discussion in the development of this study.

Zelinsky's (1971) conceptualization of evolving modes of mobility, leading to social change with a series of comparative time profiles of spatial mobility and termed the 'hypothesis of the mobility transition'(fig 2.01), still holds particular relevance in the context of understanding of contemporary migration processes. Champion (1992) has questioned whether the rapid social changes wrought by contemporary migration processes have produced a new 'migration paradigm' and has asked,

"do these developments form part of a relatively rapid transition to a new form of society and, if so, does this introduce a new pattern of migration behaviour, perhaps also along the lines posited by Zelinsky ...?"

(Champion, 1992:221).

Zelinsky describes the foregoing stages as "... essential components of the modernization process" (Zelinsky, 1971:222), which mark the development of society from the "pre-modern traditional phase" through to "future advanced phase". Empirical testing of Zelinsky's hypothesis against the counterurbanizing trends of two advanced industrial societies (Rowland,1979; Wardwell,1977) led to the assertion that migratory flows maintain an equilibrium in the settlement system despite the observed high level of turnover of residents. The positivist nature of the framework in attempting a universal model of migratory change is its principal weakness (Pryor, 1975; Brown and

Lawson, 1985; Zolberg, 1986). However, the enduring value of the framework lies in the conceptualization of the temporal and spatial relationship linking social change and migration.

Earlier work by Mangalam (1968) pointed to the trichotomous nature of social change involving a transformation of the "culture, social and personality systems" (Mangalam, 1968:13) effected by migration with the passing of time. This conceptualization of social change in situ was developed into a spatial framework by Lewis and Maund (1976), with a clear representation of the processes operating within the countryside (fig 2.02).

This conceptualization underlines the key role of migration as an agent of social change. Lewis and Maund's framework incorporates the three component migratory flows which in combination comprised the two principal phases of population movements in the English countryside over the past century, namely depopulation of the countryside and the so-called 'population turnaround'.

Accordingly, the out-migration of the younger, able members of the local population leads to depopulation. Population arises with the in-migration of a young 'adventitious' population into settlements within the hinterland of the urban centre, and finally repopulation takes place with a flow of older migrants returning to the countryside to retire.

However as Lewis (1982), notes it is the,

"social selectivity of such movements [which] initiates changes within the communities involved: structural, attitudinal and behavioural"

(Lewis, 1982:27).

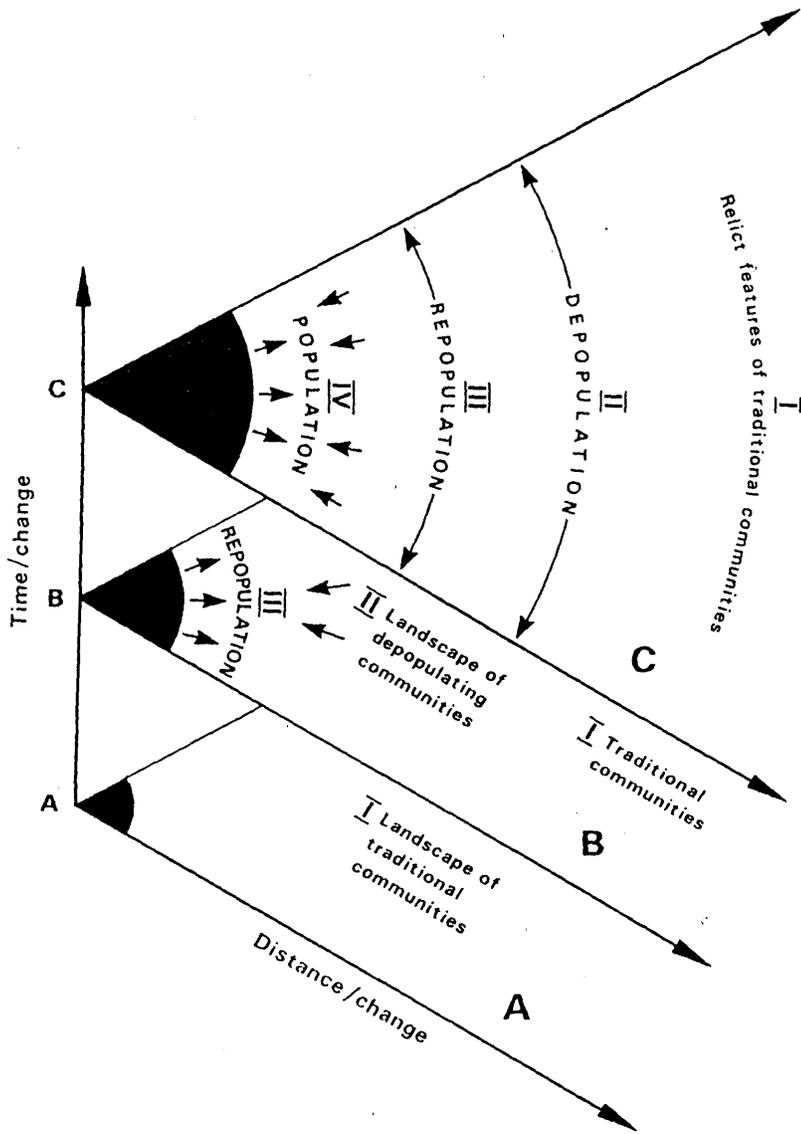
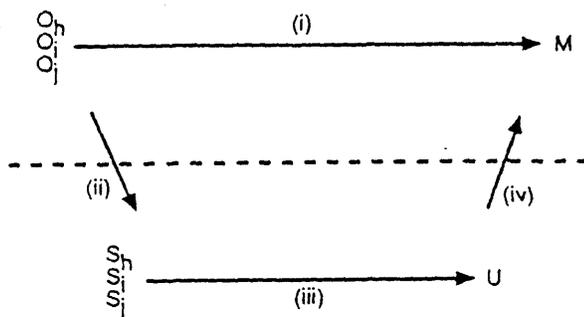


Figure 2.03., A Time-Space Perspective of Social Change in the Countryside, Lewis and Maund, 1976:17 - 27.



Source: Cadwallader, 1989.

Figure 2.04., A conceptual Framework for Analysing Migration Behaviour.

The 'time-space perspective of social change in the countryside' (Lewis and Maund, 1976) clearly represents the evolving pace of social change in the countryside with the transition from traditional rural society to the conditions prevailing in "advanced economies". At the heart of the transition from one historical phase to another is the varying proportions of the component migratory flows (fig 2.03). Within Lewis and Maund's conceptualization the function of both space and time in modifying the migratory flows causing social change in rural communities is apparent.

The clear interrelation of migration and social change is revealed by the foregoing discussion, such that any investigation of one process is incomplete without consideration of the other. In the following sections attention will be directed to empirical studies of the principal population movements shaping English rural society over the past century. Such a review will outline the role of migratory flows in creating the context in which the rural housing market, the focus of the current research, functions. Second, consideration of the theoretical approach adopted by migration studies, variously emphasizing structural and behavioural factors, will lead to a critique of existing work and the way it has conceptualized the role of housing markets within the overall process of social change in the countryside.

2.4 Empirical Studies of Migration in the English Countryside

Over the past century two broad phases of population movement have shaped the English countryside. A caveat is necessary to such a broad oversimplification in that exceptions can be identified, counter-trends detailed and dates queried; however the basic utility of such a notion is supported by most commentators even if debate continues on the timing and extent of such trends.

2.41 Study of the Depopulation of the English Countryside.

The first and most sustained phase is one of depopulation of the countryside which operated over the majority of the past century. Indeed, such a pattern of population movement away from the countryside had been evident for a much longer period of time, with many rural parishes being home to fewer people in 1901 than in 1801 (Lawton, 1986). Analysis of census data reveals that the (British) rural population peaked at a total level of 9.1 million inhabitants in 1861, subsequently declining to an all time low of 7.3 million preceding the Second World War (Lawton, 1986). A clearer impression of this exodus is revealed by the proportion of the total population living in rural areas (of Britain), with 65.2 percent of the population resident in rural districts in 1801, falling to 49 percent in 1851 and 17.6 percent in 1939 (Phillips and Williams, 1984: 74). Research by Lawton (1967) reveals that natural population change was of relatively minor significance in explaining the depopulation of the countryside (with a fall in the rural birth rate after 1881); migration was the primary cause of the decline.

A full review of the empirical trends collectively constituting the exodus from the English countryside over the hundred years up to 1939 is outside the purposes of the present study. Rather, the focus here is to be on the way in which previous major studies have presented these migratory flows. Thus, Saville (1957), in perhaps the most exhaustive exploration of the subject, presented macro-level trends, composed of aggregate-level data. Within his review of these historical trends the author, not surprisingly given the type of data sources available, offered wider structural explanations for the recorded population movements.

Accordingly, these have been summarized as being,

"... the result of the concentration of economic activities in the rapidly growing towns and the successful competition of the urban factories with the rural craftsmen and rural industries. A combination of low wages, bad housing and lack of amenities together with the economic and social attractions of the coal mining areas and the industrial towns produced a steady fall in the numbers of the rural population in the second half of the Nineteenth century. Although both sexes migrated from the countryside in large numbers in each decade, employment opportunities, except in domestic service, decreased more rapidly for women than for men, and the rural exodus of women was more pronounced than in the case of men. In the Twentieth century these fundamental causes of rural population have not altered in any significant way . . . "

(Saville, 1957:131).

Saville proceeds to examine the key role of agriculture within the depopulation process in this century,

"agriculture was depressed for most of the inter-war years; the number of agricultural labourers fell uninterruptedly, and despite the temporary increases in the period of the Second World War and the immediate post-war years and the new prosperity of agriculture, the decline began again in 1949 . . . "

(Saville, 1957:131).

Agricultural change forms the basis of Grigg's (1980) wide-ranging review of population change in which technical innovations are seen as leading to rural labour surplus and consequent rural to urban migration.

Other studies, covering more recent episodes of rural depopulation, have emphasized the socially selective nature of out-migration from the countryside, with those who are able to do so, escaping perceived social deprivation. Several studies have undertaken behavioural analysis of the migration decision-making process: for example Drudy and Drudy (1979), highlight the role of career aspirations in determining the levels of out-migration amongst young

people in rural areas. Lewis (1969) examined the motives for out-migration amongst rural residents on the Welsh border, with parallel work by Dunn and Swindell (1972) exploring the same process in predominantly rural Herefordshire. Later work by Lewis (1981) revealed the long-term effects of depopulation on the Welsh countryside where individual decisions to migrate were heavily influenced by the concern not to be seen as a failure by remaining in the host community, such was the accepted process of moving away.

Hannan (1970), has examined migration motives amongst young adults in the west of Ireland, where constrained local career opportunities were a powerful influence in the decision-making process. Poor employment conditions were a major influence in the decision to migrate amongst farm labourers in the west of England (Cowie and Giles, 1957), and employment factors were the principal consideration in the migration process amongst those leaving the countryside in the north-east of England (House and Knights, 1965). Broader structural constraints together with behavioural considerations are combined in Hodge and Whitby's (1981) conception of the spiral of decline in rural areas as a result of out-migration.

These examples underline the contrasting ways in which the trend has been presented. Owing to the historical nature of the subject matter and the nature of available data sources, major studies (such as that of Saville, 1957) have tended to present empirical data within an historical framework and have subsequently pointed to the wider structural processes causing the described migratory flows. Such studies do not themselves adopt an explicit theoretical position, but may be viewed from a theoretical perspective which allocates a central role to structural processes. The same conclusion is also applicable to those studies which have attempted to draw attention to the social deprivation which prevailed in given localities leading to the out-migration of certain sections of the

population (for example, Larkin, 1979).

Consideration of previous work on depopulation serves both to introduce the trends which led to the shaping of contemporary rural society, and further to underline the need for an holistic approach to an understanding of migration in the countryside, incorporating both structural and behavioural perspectives. The following section focuses on the study of an unprecedented phase of rapid migration-led social change in the (English) countryside.

2.42 Counter-urbanization: The Population Turnaround.

The process of 'counter-urbanization' (Berry, 1976), has been variously defined as the situation whereby population change as caused by migration is inversely related to settlement size (Fielding, 1982), and a population process involving decentralization and deconcentration (Randolph and Robert, 1981).

Initial identification of the trend occurred as early as 1930s, when Ashby (1939) noted,

"... a new set of conditions has arisen. The total rural population [of England] is increasing, and it appears that the existing proportion of rural population in the total will not only be maintained but may be increased"

(Ashby, 1939:368).

The trend failed to attract widespread attention until the 1960s when studies identified pockets of growth in the hinterlands of small market towns (Jones, 1965), the turnaround becoming geographically more widespread through the 1960s and 1970s (Hall, 1973; Champion, 1976) and continuing through to the 1990s with a 'deepening' of process as increasingly remote communities have been affected by the process (Lewis, et al., 1991). Indeed recent evidence has revealed both the continuance of

population deconcentration in Britain (Champion, 1994), and, within a British context,

"other things being equal, (for) both in-migration and out-migration rates ... increase with rurality"

(Flowerdew, 1995:unpaginated).

As a result of such trends over the past few decades the proportion of the total English population living in rural areas has increased significantly.

This second principal phase of population movements affecting the English countryside, the so-called "population turnaround" (Dean et al., 1984), by virtue of the mobilizing of certain sections of the population in particular, has been a major engine of social change, the effects of which have been equally as pronounced on the host communities as the earlier ravages of depopulation.

All figures are in 000's.		1971	1981	1991	Change 1971-91
England	Total	46,412	46,821	48,208	+1,796
	Percentage				+3.9%
Rural*	Total	11,071	12,059	12,936	+1,865
	Percentage	23.9%	25.8%	26.8%	+16.9%
Remainder	Total	35,341	34,761	35,272	-69
	Percentage	76.1%	74.2%	73.2	-0.2%

* Rural is defined as the 150 most rural local authority districts. (Source: OPCS, 1991; OPCS/DoE, 1995).

Table 2.01. Population Changes in Rural England 1971 - 1991.

Since 1980 - a time highlighted for the prevailing uncertainty and confusion surrounding the study of contemporary population flows (Gilg, 1985) - much progress has been made towards the understanding of the population turnaround. Work on rural-urban migratory flows over recent decades can be divided into two broad groupings (White,

1980): first, those in the majority, which examine aggregate population movements, and second, a much smaller collection of studies examining rural in-migration at a much higher level of resolution by focusing on the individual or household within the relocation process. To the former categories may be added a small but significant number of integrative studies aiming to combine analysis both of individual households and larger groups in the population.

Early studies of the phenomenon generally adopted the approach of empirical observation and measurement at a variety of spatial scales. Thus, the work of Champion (1976) charted the out-migration of aggregate numbers of the population of larger towns and conurbations to more remote areas such as mid-Wales and the south-west of England. Such work has subsequently been joined by a burgeoning number of aggregate-level studies, almost entirely based on secondary data sources, aimed at delineating the form and extent of population redistribution at a national or regional level and covering migratory flows into (and from) the countryside (See for example: Kennett, 1977; Champion, 1976, 1987; Cross, 1988; Drewett, Goddard and Spence, 1976; Randolph and Robert, 1981; Green, 1992; Stillwell, 1985; Robert and Randolph, 1983; Champion and Stillwell, 1991; Savage et al., 1992; Goddard and Champion, 1983; Jenkins, 1992; Fielding, 1982, 1986, 1986a, 1991 ; Flowerdew, 1995; Boyle, 1995, 1995a).

Amongst the latter group of studies there have been those which have viewed the urban to rural shift in population within an overall context of economic restructuring (for example, Fothergill and Gudgin, 1979; Vining and Kontuly, 1978; Keeble, 1980; Massey and Meegan, 1982; Frey, 1989; Fielding, 1989; Cloke, 1983; Rees and Rees, 1981; Fothergill et al., 1985; Jones, 1986; Champion, 1989; Urry, 1984; Boyle and Halfacree, 1995).

Analysis of cultural considerations relating to the relocation of ex-urbanites to the countryside marks a recent feature of studies of counterurbanization. Such an aspect has been highlighted by Thrift (1987, 1989), who points to the attraction of marketed "countryside and heritage" traditions to the (so-called) service class. Thrift emphasises the mutually reinforcing relationship between the service class and industrial location, such that members of the service class relocate to rural areas which enable them access to existing employment opportunities. Subsequently service industries have been observed to follow migrating members of this class by relocating to rural or peri-urban locations. Work by Cloke et al. (1994, 1995) has attempted to focus on,

"cultural constructions" and the way in which (amongst other things) these influence "... the decision to move to, or visit the rural"

(Cloke et al., 1995:4).

In the latter study, a series of extracts have been presented from qualitative interview transcripts in an attempt to present the thoughts and opinions of the individual respondents. Halfacree (1994, 1995) has broadened Thrift's conceptualization of the cultural considerations of an urban-rural population shift, preferring to avoid class-based labelling (thereby avoiding the problematic term 'service-class') in favour of a neo-tribalist view.

A growing number of locality-based studies may be added to the foregoing studies of counterurbanization. Such studies tend to use secondary information sources (such as Census or NHS Central Register data) which are applied to the locality under consideration, and, in many cases, supplemented by local-level surveys. Examples of this type of study include: Dean et al. (1984), Yarwood (1995), Jones (1985), Lewis and Maund (1979), Davies and Davies (1983); Bolton and Chalkley (1990), Lewis, et al. (1991),

Jones, et al. (1986); Lewis and Sherwood (1987); Harper (1987), Day et al. (1989), Forsythe (1980); Flowerdew and Boyle (1992), Boyle (1991,1991b).

In contrast, studies of counterurbanization focusing on individuals, households or migrants at a local level have been the exception. Harper (1991), cites the work of Harris (1974), Fleming (1979) and Strathern (1981) together with her own work (1987) as being of the few examples which have adopted an ethnographic approach to the socio-cultural change wrought by counterurbanization. However, Harper draws a distinction between these works, which have focused upon observed social change arising from population turnover in situ, and the handful of studies which have attempted to incorporate consideration of the mechanisms which led given individuals and households to relocate in a selected location (for example Thorns, 1968; MacFarlane, 1981; Jones et al., 1986). Harper's work (Harper, 1991), in examining the relocation decision-making process at a household level within the urban-rural interface, attempts to meet the perceived shortcoming of earlier 'micro-level' studies by examining,

"... the general migration context of the household and the specific factors seen as important to the individuals in the relocation decision"

(Harper, 1991:23).

Work by Williams and Jobes (1990), using quantitative analysis, has attempted to incorporate both economic and 'quality of life' considerations into an understanding of the decision-making process undertaken by households leading to urban-rural migration.

2.43 Summary

The diversity of studies examining rural population movements may be summarized as follows:

Empirical Studies of the population turnaround 1965 - 1995.	
Type of study	General methodology
Locality-based case studies, Eg. Bolton and Chalkley (1990)	Statistical underpinning, incorporation of some primary data eg. questionnaires
National/regional overview Eg. Champion & Stillwell (1991)	Statistical underpinning, descriptive and generalized
Political economy approach Eg. Rees and Rees (1981)	Incorporates secondary data covering trends, draws on studies of economic/industrial change
Cultural considerations Eg. Cloke <i>et al.</i> (1994)	Use of original data gathering/ secondary data sources in combination with theorizing
Socio-cultural change arising from migration Studies looking at process <i>in situ</i> Eg. MacFarlane (1981)	Ethnographic, interview based
Behavioural study of the relocation decision making process Eg. Harper (1991)	Interview based, focus on the individual or household unit. Quasi-positivistic use of model building, aggregation of results "for the whole sample".
Attempt to incorporate examination of aggregate population movements coupled with examination of individuals/ households moving to a given locality, Eg. Jones <i>et al.</i> (1986), Harper (1987)	Use of secondary data sources outlining aggregate population trends and data derived from interviews.

Table 2.02., Empirical Studies of the Population Turnaround 1965 - 1995.

2.5 Studies of Counterurbanization: Theoretical Aspects

As noted in the foregoing summary, the extensive research into the repopulation of the British countryside embraces a variety of theoretical positions. Consideration of this empirical work within the context of the wider theoretical debates on migration theory will serve two important purposes. First, it will highlight existing shortcomings in the theoretical position adopted by previous studies, thereby pointing to the need to adopt an alternative critical social theory. Second, it will enable consideration of the way in which existing studies have treated a key variable, linking both rural migration and the process of social change in the countryside, viz. housing.

Evident from the above review of empirical studies of counterurbanization is the predominance of the aggregate-level approach. Moore (1971) has sub-divided these studies (and migration research generally) into two groups: first there are those studies which seek to identify spatial patterns of mobility rates, and second the remainder which attempt to establish the interrelationships between mobility rates and other socio-economic features of society.

Consideration of the rural migration literature reveals that the majority of studies fall into the former category. All such rural studies dealing with aggregate movements of individuals have analysed the population turnaround at a variety of spatial scales ranging from a national perspective to locality-based studies.

2.51 Aggregate - Level Approaches

The utility of an aggregate-level approach to the study of migration lies in the succinct expression of predominant population movements, thereby enabling consideration of

prevailing migratory trends. However, many such aggregate-level studies (especially in the former group in Moore's typology) fail to present a coherent theoretical position (ie. social theory) instead relying upon descriptive statistical techniques.

These tacitly positivist migration studies offer few explanations of the observed migratory patterns which they present, thereby missing much of the detail of the migratory process (Spencer, 1992). Many rural migration studies falling into Moore's second category of migration studies (those attempting to link mobility rates and other socio-economic factors) have a loose connection with neo-Marxist structuralist attempts to explain the spatial ordering of society (for example, Harvey, 1973; Castells, 1977 within an urban context, Bradley and Lowe, 1984 within a rural context). Thus within such macro-level migration studies, general association is made between the macro-economic conditions prevailing and the attendant movement of labour (for example, Kennett, 1977).

However, few studies of rural migration have adopted an overtly structuralist position that has outlined the complex interrelationship between capital restructuring and migration. Furthermore, a managerialist approach investigating the influence of the state and professional/service intermediaries on migratory flows has been largely ignored.

Despite the undoubted utility of a structuralist approach (Bassett and Short, 1980), whether Marxist or Weberian, the majority of existing (mainly descriptive) aggregate-level studies of urban-rural migration sacrifice explanatory power by focusing on the broader migratory trends at the expense of an understanding of the relocation process at an individual or household level. Lewis and Sherwood (1991a) draw upon Hägerstrand (1970:8) in developing the case for behavioural analysis of rural migration with the latter's observation that,

"nothing truly general can be said about aggregate regularities until it has been made clear how far they remain invariant with the structural differences at the micro-level"

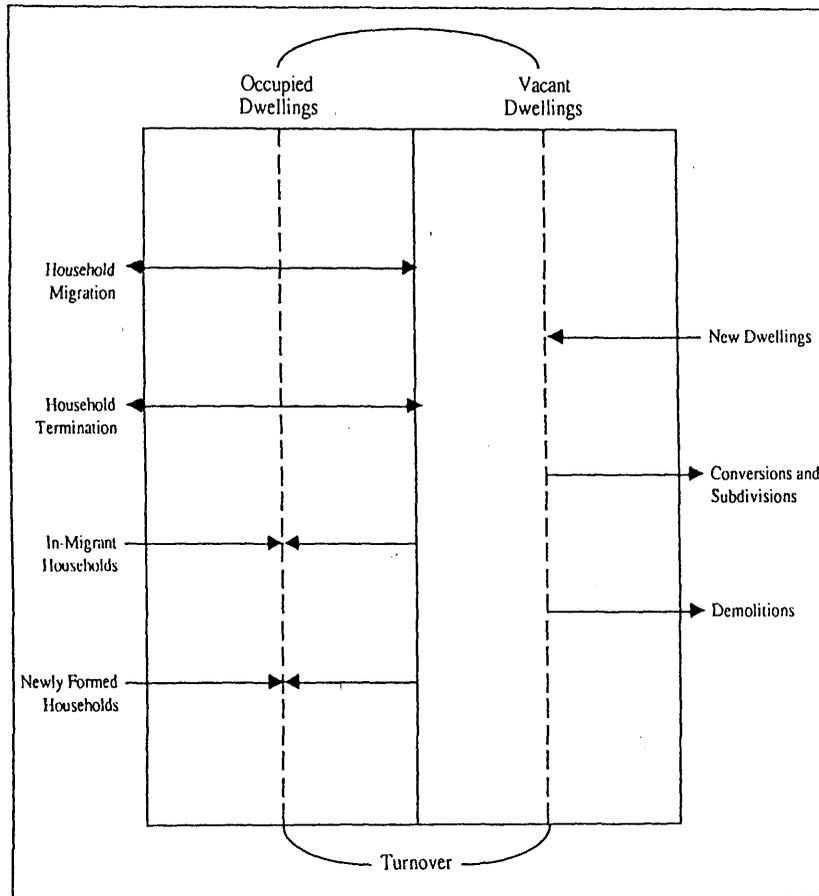
(Lewis and Sherwood, 1991a:4 -5).

2.52 Micro-Level Approaches

Micro-level or behavioural approaches to rural migration have developed from the wider application of behaviouralism to migration studies. Harper's (1991) investigations draw upon earlier pioneering work developed within urban and regional migration research focusing on the decision-making process leading to relocation. Previously such studies have emphasised the importance of the individual's perceptions and knowledge of the varying opportunities presented by relocation to alternative locations. The notion that levels of knowledge and perception of the opportunities presented by different potential migratory paths vary according to the social and geographical location of the individual is a powerful response to structuralist interpretations of migration. However, investigation of the migration decision-making process reveals that structuralist and behaviouralist approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Work by Cadwallader (1989) reconciles the two interpretations, as figure 2.04 reveals objective variables (the basis of structuralist claims) (i) are transformed by the cognition of the potential migrant (ii); translation occurs into subjective variables measuring the attractiveness of a given migratory path (iii); these variables may, after consideration and modification by constraints, result in migratory behaviour by the individual (iv).

2.53 Integrative Approaches

Despite the potential for an approach to (rural) migration which incorporates elements from both macro and micro level studies, combining structuralist and behaviouralist



Source: Sherwood, 1986:46

Figure 2.05., Household Turnover and Dwelling Provision.

approaches, the foregoing review reveals a dearth of studies adopting an integrative approach to rural migration. It is suggested here that it is in this area that much potential progress can be made in an understanding of rural migration and its wider connection to social change in the countryside. It is by viewing wider structural influences as constraints upon the migration process at an individual or household level (Lewis, 1982) that the insights gained by both behaviouralist and (neo-) structuralist approaches to rural migration might potentially be reconciled into producing a more informed view of this complex process.

Given the evident theoretical uncertainty attached to much of rural migration literature, closer examination of existing studies, focusing on two key areas, will highlight further shortcomings and lead to the case being outlined for a more informed view of rural migratory flows as adopted in the present study.

2.6 A Critique of Existing Studies of Rural Repopulation.

The mechanism by which the housing market mediates patterns of migration and social change in the countryside is household turnover. As Sherwood (1986) notes,

"whatever the characteristics of the in-migrants to any area, the move can only take place by means of the provision of opportunities or vacancies in the housing stock in an area..."

(Sherwood, 1986:45).

By applying earlier work by Park and Burgess (1925), together with that of Ravetz (1976), and Robertson (1982), to a rural context, Sherwood (1984, 1986) highlighted the way household turnover, - the movement of households through the dwelling stock - is at the heart of patterns of migration-led social change (fig 2.05).

CRITIQUE OF EARLIER AGGREGATE LEVEL STUDIES OF RURAL REPOPULATION	
Degree of explanation of migratory process offered	Incorporation of the housing market into the migration process
Failure in the majority of cases to offer any detailed explanation of <u>why</u> people move.	Attention is focused on aggregate totals of migrants. Scant attention is paid to the notion of <u>households</u> .
Minimal explanation offered of migration <u>process</u> in the majority of cases. For eg. in the work of Kennet (1977), the attempt is purely to delimit "the shifts attributable to migration between functional areas in Britain". (Kennett,1977:14)	In a large number of macro-level studies of the population turnaround consideration of housing is wholly absent. The word housing does not feature in Kennett (1977) for example.
Where an attempt at linking the population trends described to other social processes is made a generalized conclusion is made. Eg. Cross (1988), "there is strong evidence of employment led growth..." (p.27).	Preoccupation with the labour market as the principal determinant of migration, little consideration that the movement of labour constrained by the housing market Eg. Boyle and Halfacree (1995) make passing reference to "limited housing availability" (p.45) in their overall analysis.
Little consideration of the spatial-scale employed in analyses. Mostly determined by the nature of the secondary data employed, thereby ignoring the <u>complexity</u> of the migration process, lacking sensitivity to counter-trends etc. Eg. Work by Fielding (1991), here spatial resolution of analysis determined by Standard Economic Planning Region statistics.	Comparisons made of migration trends over time, yet most studies fail to acknowledge that housing market conditions (and therefore constraints on migration) alter dramatically thus undermining such temporal comparisons. Eg. any comparison over the intercensal period 1981 -1991 should take account of the dramatic change in the domestic property market throughout 1980's, esp. interest rates c.1987.
Attempts analyse the social selectivity of migratory flows tend to make use of the Registrar General's Classification of Occupational Class with its many attendant problems (Phillips, 1992,1993).	

Table 2.03., A Critique of Earlier Aggregate Level Studies of Rural Repopulation.

CRITIQUE OF EARLIER MICRO-LEVEL AND INTEGRATIVE STUDIES OF RURAL REPOPULATION	
Degree of explanation of migratory process offered	Incorporation of the housing market into the migration process
Focus has been on postivistic use of model building presented for empirical verification; thereby attempting to reduce the process a single, universal type. Eg. Harper (1991) model of "household relocation decision process" p.27.	Failure to adequately investigate the dynamics of the local <u>housing market</u> arising from restructuring. Rather housing is seen as a straight choice between tenures.
There is an absence of an over-arching theoretical framework into which both behavioural and structural analysis can be united.	Absence of discussion on the factors controlling accessibility to housing.
Failure to state <u>explicitly</u> how individual decision-making relates to wider structural factors. Eg. Harper (1991), talks of the "arena" in which the search process takes place (p.28), and "class differences account for the greatest variation in household relocation" (p.37) - without a full discussion being presented.	Use of 'housing-histories' of individuals / households relatively unexplored.
There is an absence of an over-arching theoretical framework into which both behavioural and structural analysis can be united.	Failure to adequately investigate the dynamics of the local <u>housing market</u> arising from restructuring. Rather housing is seen as a straight choice between tenures.
Preoccupation with typologies and positivist model building Eg. Harper, 1987. Inductive conclusions drawn from case studies rural hinterlands should be "perceived as an intact zone" (p.300).	Absence of discussion on the factors controlling accessibility to housing.

Table 2.04., A Critique of Earlier Micro-level and Integrative Studies of Rural Repopulation.

The following critique of existing work on rural repopulation will focus on the way these studies incorporate notions of household turnover in the housing market into the migratory process, together with the degree of explanation offered for the migration patterns they describe. A critique of aggregate level studies is summarised in table 2.03. By contrast the weaknesses of micro-level and integrative studies have been summarised in table 2.04.

The above summary reveals the over-reliance on descriptive and applied positivist techniques in existing studies of rural migration. The failure of predominating aggregate-level studies to account adequately for the complexity of the process which they describe points to the potential, already hinted at in a small number of existing studies, of an integrative approach incorporating behaviouralist analysis of rural migration. A further failing from the vast majority of previous studies of the population turnaround is their failure to incorporate analysis of the housing market and its key role in mediating population flows.

In the light of these two principal shortcomings within rural research, the following section aims to address both points by drawing on existing urban and regional-based studies to examine the way in which such work achieves a greater level of understanding by adopting a behaviouralist approach to study of migration processes. The need to place a consideration of the role of the housing market at the heart of an investigation of the migratory process becomes apparent from such a review; methodological and theoretical insights into the way in which such an approach could be applied to the rural arena are also forthcoming.

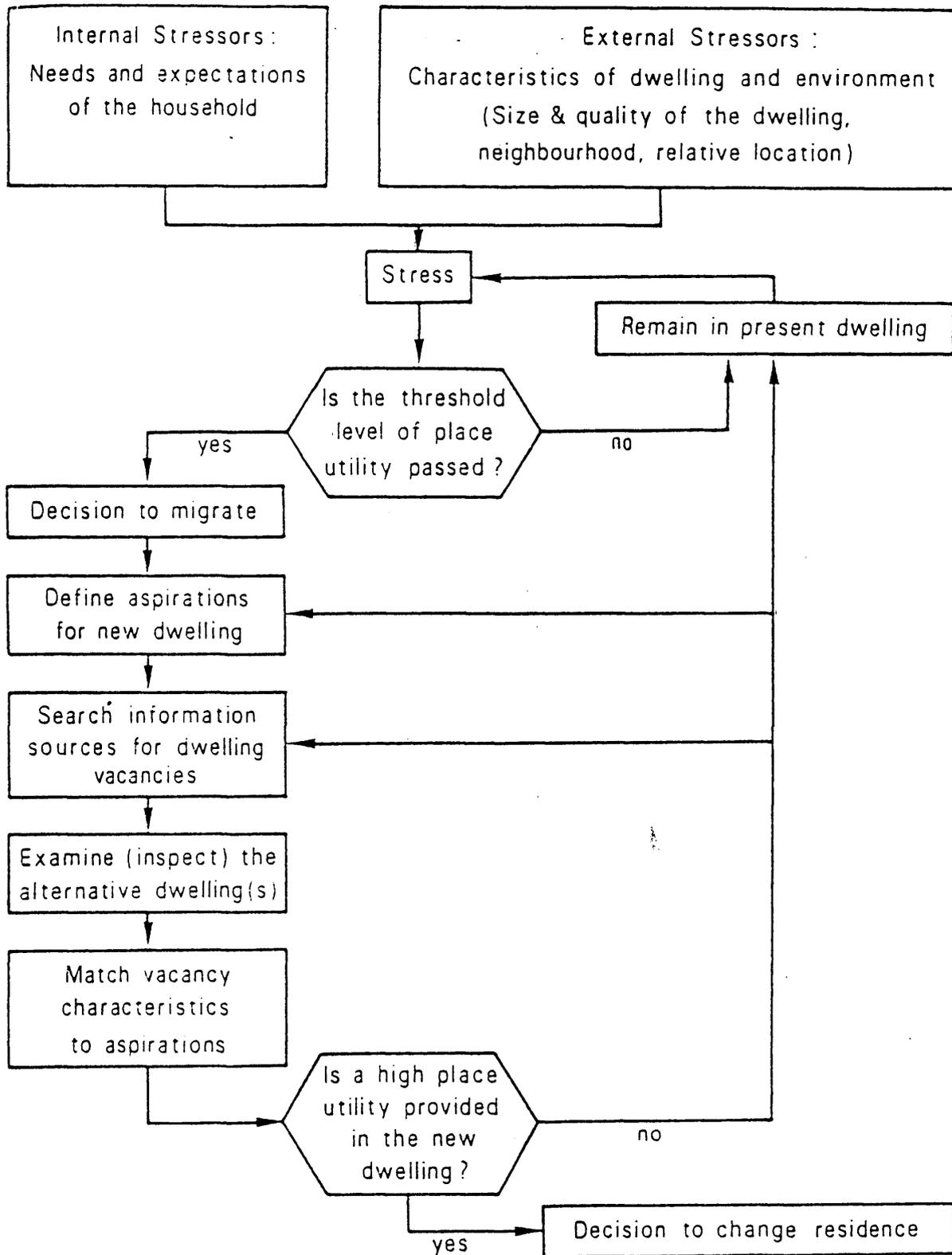
Work by Murie (1975), within an urban context, has highlighted the way in which individual mobility can be linked to wider socio-economic structures via a constraints

framework. The choice facing potential migrants relate to the following criteria:

- Household preferences (shaped by values, income and occupation) which affect the interpretation of opportunities and their changing character,
- Search and information gathering restrictions, which influence a household's perception and awareness,
- Access to housing, which affects the eventual outcome since both the public and private sectors have 'rules' of access,
- Limited availability of the type of dwelling required.

Such a framework identifying the constraints upon individual/ household migration reveals the central importance of housing factors to the relocation of individuals and households. Structural constraints emanating from the housing market impinge on the potential migrant(s) in the last two points of Murie's framework. By contrast behavioural aspects related to information gathering and perception influence the first two points in controlling the decision-making process. Thus a consideration of both structural and behavioural factors and their relation to housing markets is necessary for an understanding of (rural) migration and attendant social change.

Earlier work by Rossi (1955) initially highlighted the role of housing in the residential relocation process. Thus, he was able to distinguish between three interrelated processes: 1. the decision to seek a new location , 2. the search for a new place, and 3.the selection of a new location. Adaptations of Rossi's observations (Brown and Moore, 1970; De Jong and Fawcett, 1979) have attempted to model the stages in residential relocation decision-making on the basis of a stress-satisfaction formulation as originally devised in Wolpert's (1965, 1966) notion of place utility.



Source: Lewis and Sherwood, 1991.

Figure 2.06., A Model of Relocation Decision-Making after Brown and Moore, 1970.

According to Wolpert's formulation, the decision to relocate is taken when the perceived satisfaction obtainable in the new location outweighs the level of satisfaction derived from the present location, the difference between these two measures being proportionate to the prevailing level of stress.

Brown and Moore's model of relocation decision-making (fig 2.06) relates the needs and aspirations of the individual/household to levels of housing and environmental stress. Both this model and De Jong and Fawcett's subsequent model incorporate the possibility that an in-situ adjustment will be made by the individual/ household by either lowering their expectations or improving their present circumstances, thereby obviating the need to migrate.

Investigation of the voluntary motives for migration (a distinction is necessary from enforced migration), and therefore the factors which are likely to alter the stress-satisfaction equation relating to the utility of a given location, have variously been investigated, predominantly within an urban context. The principal cause of relocation identified by Rossi (1955) was the life cycle; he noted,

"most moves are undertaken voluntarily and are motivated by changes in family size which render the old dwelling's space inadequate to its requirements. The decision to move is primarily related to changes in family composition which occur as a family goes through its life cycle"

(Rossi, 1955: 95-96).

Life cycle considerations are not sufficient to account for the relocation process per se, and Bonnar (1979), for example, has pointed out the connections between the life cycle, income and the relocation process.

Recent research has been conducted investigating the links between social class, life cycle and relocation (Fielding,

1982). In addition, work by Lewis (1982) (within a rural context) has further emphasized social motives as a prime rationale for relocation at various stages in the life cycle. Further research in this area has moved from the focus on stages in the life cycle and their connection, amongst other things, to the relocation process, to consideration of event histories or life courses, emphasizing the importance of transitions in people's lives to an understanding of the decision to migrate (Murphy, 1987; Höhn and Mackensen, 1989). Warnes (1992) points to the failure of migration studies to progress in the potentially enlightening field of behavioural research, concentrating instead on aggregate data analyses. In dismissing earlier behavioural work on migration and the life cycle as outdated, he cites the foremost reasons for this obsolescence as,

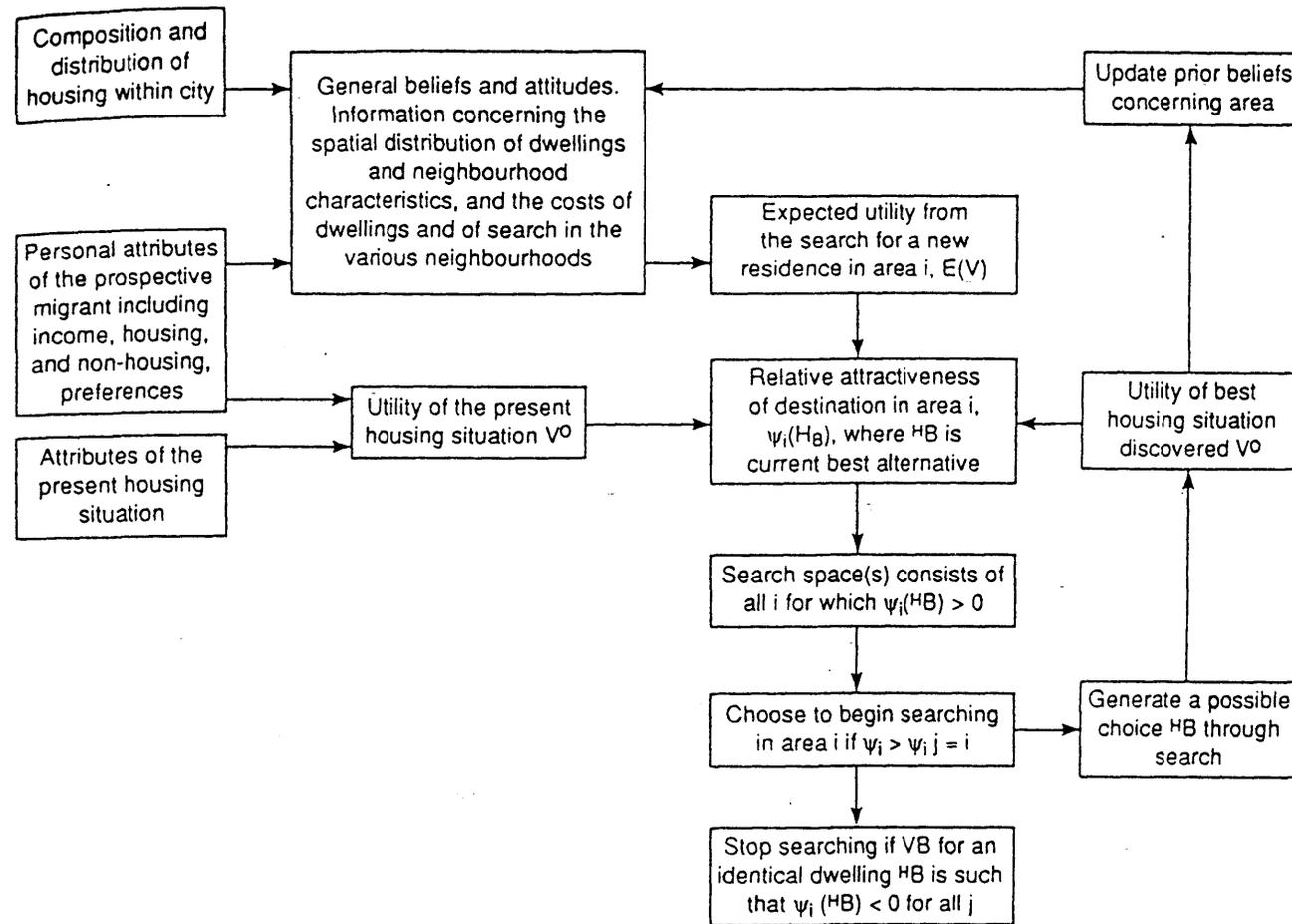
"changes in the housing market [but being] principally because of altered social forms with respect to sexual pairing, reproduction, nuptiality and in retirement"

(Warnes, 1992:186, emphasis added).

Grundy (1992) has further drawn attention to the need to consider the household when investigating the migration process, emphasising the potentially powerful insight into the migration process afforded by viewing the migration of the household within the context of such a revised view of the life course. Careful consideration of the household in its multiplicity of contemporary forms further challenges existing representations of the household unit as used in existing studies of rural social change, such that Redclift and Whatmore (1990) note,

"the gap between the ideological representations [of household and family] and reality is a large one"

(Redclift and Whatmore, 1990:192).



Source: Lewis and Sherwood, 1991.

Figure 2.07., A Schematic Model of Decision-Making and Searching, Smith et al., 1979.

Despite the potential offered by the foregoing perspectives investigating the links between the decision to migrate and the life cycle when applied to the household as a social unit, little progress within this field has been made within rural studies of migration.

A further area from whence potential progress in the understanding of the rural migration process may be forthcoming is drawing on the search element in the various models and conceptions of the migration decision-making process. This stage within the overall process of migration is of key importance, at once emphasising subjective factors, external constraints on migration and the unique and determining role of the housing market. Lewis and Sherwood (1991) have summarized the process of searching for a potential new location as one which,

"encompasses several interrelated characteristics: it is a goal directed activity; it involves a complex process of information gathering; it takes place in a context of uncertainty; a point is reached when the search ends and a choice is made; and it takes place within a series of constraints"

(Lewis and Sherwood,1991:18).

Developed from work in the urban environment, models representing the search process within the various stages of migration decision-making process (for example, Clark and Smith, 1982; Smith et al.,1979) serve to underline the key role of the housing markets in influencing the migration decision (fig 2.07).

Contrary to the assertions of some critics, (Eg. Gray, 1975; Thorns, 1980), who emphasise that such attention to migration decision making ignores structural factors shaping society, such an approach provides the basis for an integrative examination of the process. Rather than being mutually exclusive, structural and behavioural factors can be incorporated into an understanding of (rural) migration where wider structural aspects, particularly relating to

the housing market, are viewed as constraints within a migration decision making framework.

Two main shortcomings of existing empirical studies of rural migration are apparent. First, such studies fail adequately to present an holistic attempt at contextualizing and explaining the events they measure and describe. Thus this field of social enquiry is dominated by aggregate-level descriptive studies with a much smaller number of micro-level studies; all but absent are integrative studies incorporating both macro and micro level approaches within a coherent theoretical framework. The need for 'a general theory of migration' reconciling the individual/household and enveloping social structures has long been recognized, resulting in various attempts at such a synthesis (for example, Mabogunje, 1970; Woods, 1982, 1985).

Champion (1992) has further questioned whether such a conception is a necessary or desirable objective, citing the theoretical work of Sayer (1984) suggesting that migration should perhaps be viewed as a,

"chaotic conception comprising a number of disparate components which should perhaps be treated essentially separately"

(Champion, 1992:225).

References to the housing market and housing processes pervade the foregoing review of (rural) migration studies. This review, which is written at an exciting period of theoretical reflection in the study of migration, reveals a general failure in this body of work to adequately incorporate consideration of the household and the housing market.

As Sherwood (1995) notes,

"one of the major weaknesses in studies of rural population trends is the separation of the changes in the numbers of people both from the households and families of which they form a part and from the housing stock through which they flow by focusing upon those factors shaping the geography of housing provision, a much clearer insight can be gained into the flow, or turnover, of households through that stock, and thus upon the processes of social change in the countryside. In this respect those contemporary observers of the rural scene who suggest a slowing in the counterurbanization process on the evidence of population trends in the 1980s are as guilty of missing this fundamental point as those who label the inter-war period as one of rural depopulation"

(Sherwood,1995:27).

In adopting such a 'housing-led' approach to the study of migration and social change the full array of housing market constraints can be seen to shape and reshape the pattern of population flows within the countryside.

One of the principal housing market constraints upon migration is the tenurial composition of the local housing market at a given time. Work by Hughes and McCormick (1981, 1985) and Minford et al. (1987) has investigated the mobility of those resident within the state-rented housing sector, concluding that the 'system' of social housing acts to diminish mobility levels amongst tenants. The findings of the latter two studies emphasise that the ability of tenants to respond to labour-market vacancies is constrained by the bureaucratic procedures employed by local authority housing departments and central government.

Monro (1992) has drawn attention to the need for an examination of the effects of the radical restructuring of the housing market over recent years on the mobility of those within the different housing tenures. In particular Monro suggests, the effects of the Housing Act 1980 (introducing the Right To Buy) merit further attention: (writing under the title "New directions for research" she

notes,

"the RTB might, therefore, be expected to have direct impacts on mobility. There may also be related effects on the overall accessibility and affordability of particular housing markets - in which council house sales have occurred - that would be expected to change the relative attractiveness of particular areas to in-migrants. Analysis of these issues could usefully be conducted at both the micro and the macro levels; either focusing on the buyers themselves, or examining the role that ex-council housing performs within different housing markets. These issues have not yet received any significant attention from researchers"

(Monro, 1992:47).

2.7 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the study of migration as one of the primary engines of social change in the English countryside over the past century. A review, principally concentrating on the second phase of rural repopulation, has shown significant shortcomings in the contemporary level of knowledge stemming from such work. First, it was found that the vast majority of empirical studies of population change in the English countryside over recent decades adopted a macro-level approach to their enquiries, focusing on aggregate population movements. Methodological and theoretical consideration of this work revealed that few aggregate level studies were written from an explicit theoretical position; instead, employing varying scales of spatial resolution, these studies aimed to describe and delimit migratory patterns often with heavy reliance upon statistical analysis of secondary data.

Drawing on behavioural work analysing migration developed within an urban and regional context, this study noted the call, made by a growing number of researchers, for greater focus to be placed on the household unit and housing markets in gaining an understanding of contemporary migration flows and attendant social change in the rural

environment. It is argued here that in the light of the foregoing review a sensitivity to migratory processes at the household level is necessary whilst still retaining the overall perspective offered by aggregate migratory trends.

Continuing (theoretical and general) debate amongst migration specialists about the need to reconcile conflicting explanations of the migratory process (ranging from behavioural to structuralist in approach, and macro to micro level in resolution) and the unknown extent of the impact of housing market restructuring upon migratory flows affecting the countryside combine in underlining the need for the present work. Apparent from this review of existing work on migration and social change is the pervasiveness of the housing market as a principal influence at all levels. The following chapter therefore addresses these issues and shortcomings by reviewing earlier studies of rural housing, and outlines the theoretical approach of this project which examines the contribution of specific housing market events to the overall process of migration and social change in the (English) countryside.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL THEORY AND THE STUDY OF RURAL HOUSING

3.0 Introduction

The need for an examination of the impact of recent housing market events on the patterns and processes of migration-led social change in the countryside is apparent from the earlier discussion of rural migration literature. This chapter will therefore review the different approaches to the study of housing - the majority of which have not been concerned with migration. The case for a realist theoretical approach will be made in order to outline the key linkages between housing market and migration processes (and literatures), thereby providing a necessary context to later discussion of housing and population processes connected with the resale of local authority housing.

This chapter will be organised on the basis of the theoretical approaches adopted by earlier housing research. Thus initial consideration will be of those studies which developed an applied-positivist approach, followed by those using a neo-Weberian framework; later consideration will be given to 'integrative' and 'issue-based' approaches and finally work within a political economy perspective. A subsequent critique of these existing approaches will be used to develop the case for the present use of realism. The nature of this social theory, together with its suitability to the study of rural housing, specifically resales, will be outlined, together with the methodology used to operationalise such a theoretical approach.

3.1 Applied-Positivist Approaches

The emergence of positivist approaches to rural housing can be linked to investigations initially conducted in an urban context. Examination of socio-spatial patterns of housing provision is part of a long tradition within geographical research and may be traced back to the pre-war Chicago School of Human Ecology. The enduring attraction of patterns of residential segregation and social differentiation to geographers may be seen as the result of the "orgy of empiricism" (Cater and Jones, 1989:45) which, following positivist lines, involved the 'testing' of the universality of the spatial structure of urban centres postulated by Burgess (1925) and others of the Chicago School. Dissatisfaction with the limited explanation afforded by an ecological position eventually led to investigation of the access of different social groups to varying types of housing provision.

The work of Dunn et al. (1981) (table 3.01), although of greater utility in exploring the role of social cleavages and the intervention of the state in shaping local housing outcomes, typifies a positivist approach to the study of rural housing. Using multivariate regression in analysing data gathered at the 1971 census they identified seven main housing groups within the English countryside, and confirmed the primacy of tenure as a social cleavage.

"The evidence of this and other studies is overwhelming on this point. From whatever viewpoint the position is assessed (housing quality, accessibility, household circumstances, capital asset) the dominant position of the owner-occupier is clear"

(Dunn et al., 1981:247).

Group	Profile
i	Agricultural farmworkers
ii	Agricultural farmers
iii	Owner-occupiers- retired
iv	Transitional rural
v	Owner-occupiers - high status
vi	Armed forces
vii	Local authority housing

Table 3.01., Rural Housing Profiles After Dunn et al. (1981).

The heterogeneity of the owner-occupied sector was acknowledged by these authors who pointed to the plight of the poorer members of this group:

"... the relatively poor owner-occupier ... has been shown in this study to have few of the advantages of his (sic) more affluent fellow owners ... such owners may have a nominal advantage insofar as their property represents capital, but their low incomes make adequate repairs impossible and their asset is, relative to other properties a wasting one"

(Dunn et al., 1981:248).

The fortunes of the majority of owner-occupiers contrast markedly with that of rural tenants:

"... since the Second World War, the relative importance of the rural owner-occupier has increased substantially ... But the tenant groups remain and their relative position has worsened essentially because the advantages of rural housing as wealth and as status have accrued only to the owner. Tenants have become a residual minority and the gulf between them and house-owners has increased ... All groups have found themselves increasingly in an environment of competition for rural houses, but only for some has there been also a substantial element of housing choice"

(Dunn et al. , 1981:249).

The analysis by Dunn et al. (1981) represented an advance over earlier work both by furthering the understanding of

the competition between different social groupings in the housing markets and by revealing the spatial variations in rural housing markets. Thus the areas most affected by increasingly dynamic population flows between urban centres and rural hinterlands over the years preceding the 1971 census were highlighted. The value of this delineation of distinct rural housing areas, although underdeveloped in the study, lies in the pointing towards the wider structural constraints operating on the housing market and the modifying role of localities in producing rural housing market areas with dominant housing profiles.

The point is illustrated in the study by areas where the housing group "(ii). - Agricultural: Farmers" predominated, (mainly the north and west of England). The authors note in such areas,

"... agriculture is more frequently represented by the farmer and his family (sic) ... rented property is common ... there are relatively lower population totals in these more remote rural areas ... with the attendant problems of poor service provision, isolation and few employment alternatives to agriculture"

(Dunn et al., 1981:88).

Thus the composition of the local housing market can be explicitly related to the wider workings of capital/the economy as modified by the local environment in producing a dominant type of industry (a particular mode of farming). These factors, when considered against the absence of major urban influence owing to the general remoteness of the areas concerned, combined to produce a particular housing outcome. The point is further illustrated in the case of areas where local authority housing predominates in the local housing market, namely ...

"... the north of England, especially in fairly densely peopled urban fringe areas". The prevalence of this housing type within the local market is attributable to, "the dominance of heavy industry, particularly in the coalfield areas and, secondly, the role of urban overspill in the form of local authority estates on the edge of growing

towns"

(Dunn et al., 1981:90).

Again the housing market can be viewed as the result of the historical development of the local economy modified by the nature of the locality and influenced (in this case) by state planning and housing policies.

However, Dunn et al.'s work is open to the charge of being overly descriptive and generalized without adequately explaining the structural and behavioural circumstances that led to the expressed housing outcomes at a given point in time. Shucksmith concludes,

"... their work, like that of Pahl and Ambrose, cannot be seen as an attempt at class analysis, although its emphasis on differential access to housing is closely related to Weberian concerns"

(Shucksmith, 1990:75).

3.2 Neo-Weberian Approaches

3.21 Pahl and Ambrose: Typologies of Housing Groups in the Rural Housing Market

As Shucksmith (1990) notes,

"in the Weberian tradition, class is a function of market power, expressed not only through labour markets but also property markets. It has been argued that a major weakness of attempts to devise class models has been the exclusive focus on commercial classes or acquisition classes, defined in relation to labour market position, to the neglect of the individual's property market location"

(Shucksmith, 1990:210).

Various attempts have been made to incorporate individual's property market position in earlier studies of social stratification focusing on the housing market; for example

Rex and Moore's (1967) study of the housing market in Sparkbrook which led to their 'typology of housing classes' represents an early attempt to formulate the complex relationship between social class, status and the spatial pattern of housing situations. Despite being over prescriptive and generalised, it nevertheless reflected contemporary interest in the geographical patterns caused by the differentiation of society along lines of wealth, status and power. This development was paralleled by the work of Pahl (1965) and Ambrose (1974), both of whom presented typologies of different social groups in the rural housing market. Pahl's work in the metropolitan fringe of London classified elements of the population along lines of housing tenure, income, and involvement with the local community (table 3.02). Pahl and Ambrose's concern with housing was based on an attempt to differentiate between different social groupings in the countryside rather than a focus on rural housing per se.

In examining social change within the Sussex village of Ringmer since the 1870s, Ambrose (1974) isolated seven categories or,

"rough groupings of households ... based on observation rather than empirical data"

(Ambrose, 1974:201).

Group	Housing situation.
i.	<u>Large property owners.</u> Those with substantial capital resident in large country houses and farm houses
ii.	<u>Salaried immigrants with some capital.</u> Generally have capital to acquire and improve their "heritage house".
iii.	<u>Spiralists.</u> Career orientated and socially and geographically mobile, typically with a mortgage funded modern house.
iv.	<u>Persons with limited income or capital.</u> Reluctant commuters seeking an affordable new home.
v.	<u>Retired persons</u>
vi.	<u>Council tenants.</u>
vii.	<u>Tied cottagers and other tenants.</u>
viii.	<u>Local tradespeople and small business owners.</u>

Table 3.02., Pahl's Typology of Groups Within the Rural Housing Market (1966).

Car ownership was also included as a variable in this typology (table 3.03) as it reflected the importance of a private means of transport in gaining access to rural housing. In other respects the typology is similar to that of Pahl; both recognized the importance of social cleavages based on income/capital and tenure.

However, despite the caveats offered by the authors noting the limited applicability of such classifications, the very presentation of a typology infers wider (inductive) relevance to similar situations. Thus Pahl's work for example was not based on an actual village but arose,

"... out of an analysis of field studies and surveys undertaken in South East England in the 1960s by a number of research workers and planning departments"

(Pahl, 1966:24).

Group	Housing situation
i	Those who have capital, can afford a house of "character" and can run two cars.
ii	Those who can afford a four-bedroom house and can run a car.
iii	Those who can afford a three - or two-bedroom semi and can run a car.
iv	Those in a similar situation to iii. who cannot run a car.
v	Those who cannot afford to purchase but whose situation enables them to gain a council house and who run a car.
vi	Those in similar situation to v. above, but cannot run a car.
vii	Those who cannot afford to purchase, cannot get a council house and who live in privately rented accommodation.

Table 3.03., Ambrose's Typology of Rural Household Groups (1974).

Such a position leaves both typologies open to the main criticisms of positivist work (as shall be noted below), and in this respect these early studies are not alone. However, in developing the linkages between housing consumption and social differentiation in the countryside, together with the work of Thorns (1968), they are of key importance to the development of the study of rural housing. The connections between housing consumption and social stratification also formed a main theme of work by Gasson (1975), Newby (1978) and Short et al. (1987), since these also highlighted tenure as a principal social cleavage in the countryside. The latter study, based on housing developments in Berkshire, highlighted social divisions based on tenure and attitudes to further residential development and pointed to the audibility of,

"the voice of middle-class, middle-aged, owner-occupiers seeking to protect their physical and social environments"

(Short et al., 1987:37).

3.22 Shucksmith: Property, and Consumption Classes

The work of Shucksmith (1990, 1990a) has perhaps gone furthest in exploring the wider relation of different groups involved within the rural housing market to their stake in the capitalist system prevailing in the contemporary mixed economy. In borrowing from urban-based neo-Weberian housing research, Shucksmith argues that previous attempts at rural housing typologies represent not domestic property classes but rather housing status groups, given that,

"... class is a function of market power, expressed not only through labour markets but also through property markets"

(Shucksmith, 1990: 210).

In developing Saunders' earlier (1980) work on consumption cleavages in the property market, Shucksmith has devised a typology of rural domestic property classes (table 3.04).

1.	SUPPLIERS	Suppliers of new houses (builders, landowners)
		Those who profit from land exchange.
2.	OWNER - OCCUPIERS	
3.	NON - OWNERS	Council tenants
		Private tenants
		Homeless households

Table 3.04., Shucksmith's Typology of Rural Domestic Property Classes. (1990:218).

This typology marks an advance on the previous schemata in a number of important ways. First, it attempts to relate the interests of each group to the development of the housing market in the countryside. By assessing the stake of each group in the capitalist development of the rural

housing market, the typology reveals that the groups hold conflicting positions on this issue: landowners hold an ambiguous position to further development, whereas owner-occupiers' interests lie in the restriction of development within the countryside, thereby fuelling an increase in the value of their own property assets. Such a perspective is an advancement for it reconciles the production of rural housing with housing outcomes as experienced by different social groupings, whereas previous attempts had produced only the latter. Despite the designation as classes Shucksmith clarifies their position as constructs,

"... there is no reason to expect domestic property classes to share a common class consciousness, or to organize on a class basis"

(Shucksmith, 1990:215).

Once again the importance of tenure is asserted with non-owners being the only one of the three classes not opposed to continued housing development in the countryside; as Shucksmith explains, members of this class ...

"stand to gain nothing from increased exchange values ... the common interest [of non-owners] is in increasing the size of the rented stock and in reducing rents and houseprices"

(Shucksmith, 1990:217).

Shucksmith further attempts to produce his own typology of social groupings within the rural housing market and link them to the foregoing typology of domestic property classes in rural areas. Although confusingly termed housing consumption classes, as the author himself admits these social groupings "are not truly classes in the Weberian sense at all" (Shucksmith, 1990a:83), and perhaps would best be described as housing status groups. In dealing with a classification of social groups on the basis of their differential access to housing consumption, Shucksmith turns to Saunders' explication of consumption cleavages as

forming the basis for his own typology:

"because such cleavages are in principle no less important than class divisions in understanding contemporary social stratification, and because housing plays such a key role in affecting life chances, in expressing social identity and (by virtue of the capital gains accruing to owner occupiers) in modifying pattern of resource distribution and economic inequality, it follows that the question of homeownership must remain as central to the analysis of social divisions and political conflicts"

(Saunders, 1984:207).

In devising his model Shucksmith relied on the following criteria as underpinning his 'housing consumption classes': ownership of capital/income, existing tenure, household/individual's motives for living in an area, car ownership, and life cycle factors. Income/capital and present tenure are identified as being the principal determinants.

As the author himself notes, such housing consumption groups or classes¹ are not theoretically derived (as in the case of the typology of domestic property classes) and are therefore open to empirical validation and modification.

In producing (and cross-referring) the two typologies Shucksmith has provided a clearer picture of the conflict and resultant change in rural housing markets. As Cloke (1992) observes,

"he points to a history of dilemma between policies for landscape preservation and those for housing provision, and he demonstrates that rural housing problems occur as a result of fundamental class cleavages"

(Cloke, 1992:235).

¹ they are referred to as "housing consumption classes" (Shucksmith, 1990:82) and "housing consumption groups" (Shucksmith, 1990a:226)

As with earlier attempts to clarify the relationship between competing social groupings within rural housing markets, the principal divide is that of the tenure split between owner-occupiers and non-owners. Subsequent typologies differ (as has been demonstrated) in the way in which different social groupings line up behind the owner/non-owner divide, depending on the theoretical approach employed. Shucksmith subsequently states unequivocally,

"in rural areas the most significant dimension of the housing market is that of tenure"

(Shucksmith, 1991:54).

As shall be noted below, it is this area of tenure and change which merits further investigation.

By emphasizing divisions amongst those consuming rural housing based on neo-Weberian notions of status linked to factors other than straightforward considerations of (occupational) social class, the model hints at the wider processes involving interaction between structure and agency. Once again, however, such work suffers from the inherent weakness of taking an unduly prescriptive approach in which Shucksmith has presented his hypothesis based on observed empirical regularity of given (geographical) areas, and then proceeds to invite 'testing' of the classification. Shucksmith is careful to note that nevertheless,

"because it [the typology of housing consumption groups] is more empirically determined, it will not have a universal application", "... the criteria adopted for distinguishing housing consumption groups ... will remain valid for any amended typology", and that, "the validity of this claim can only be established empirically"

(Shucksmith, 1990a: 226., emphasis added).

A.	LOW INCOME, LOW WEALTH.
	1. Young households, often young couples and single persons from the immediate area, unable to buy into home ownership and denied access to council housing through being given low priority in allocation
	2. Other tenants in private rented housing and tied accommodation, often in low paid, traditional rural occupations. Members of this group may be trapped in inadequate housing with little prospect of being allocated a council house or finding another tenancy.
	3. Pensioners, either retired from local employment or erstwhile retirement migrants who now face financial difficulties. Members of this group could be in any tenure, and may require greater support perhaps from a move to be nearer relatives or services, or access to amenity or sheltered housing. While some enjoy the accumulative benefits of owner-occupation, they may find difficulty in maintaining their home, and so its value.
	4. Local authority tenants are a small but relatively fortunate class compared to these other groups. However, their rents have recently risen considerably, and they may have to leave their preferred locality in order to secure a council house in a nearby town. They will be eligible to buy their houses at a discount, and so gain access to the accumulative potential of owner-occupation.
B.	MORE PROSPEROUS GROUPS.
	5. Indigenous owner-occupiers, tradesmen, farmers and landowners have a considerable choice with the owner-occupied sector. They also share a proclivity for attempting to prevent further housing development, thus inflating their own property values and maintaining a low-wage economy (Newby, <i>et al.</i> 1978).
	6. Retirement migrants and 'pastoral migrants' will have ready capital available from the sale of their previous home, probably in an urban area, and will therefore enjoy a wide choice in the owner-occupied sector. They will also want to protect their property values, and the rural environment, by opposing new development. However, they are less likely to be tied to any particular locality.
	7. Holiday home buyers will have a similar desire to preserve the rural environment and their property's value, but are likely to have less capital at their disposal for the purchase of rural housing (having a main home to finance as well). They may well therefore compete to some extent with low income, low wealth groups for the cheaper end of the owner-occupied market.
	8. Commuters who choose to live in a rural environment, rather than in any particular community, and again have a vested interest in restricting development and so increasing the value of their property. However, they are constrained by the need to live an acceptable distance from their urban workplaces. In common with groups 5,6 and 7, they will have a wide choice within the owner-occupied sector.

Table 3.05., Shucksmith's Rural Housing Consumption Classes/Groups (1990,1990a).

Later work by Shucksmith has indeed made an empirical attempt at 'a classification of rural housing markets in England' and it marks a welcome and potentially exciting development in the study of rural housing (drawing on similar work in Scotland) (Shucksmith, 1990b). As the authors note,

"a number of classifications of rural England already exist, but none is suitable as a classification of rural housing markets"

(Shucksmith et al., 1995:7).

Reasons cited for such an assertion relate to the 'general purpose' nature of previous rural classifications together with the aggregate nature of the post-1974 administrative boundaries. In utilizing secondary data and relating it to administrative wards across England, an attempt is made to present both the spatial extent and nature of rural housing markets. Rural housing markets are classified according to a six-fold typology; such a schema is in part based on Shucksmith's earlier work (1990, 1990a) in developing rural property classes, and it marks an advance on earlier delineation of rural housing profiles (eg. Dunn et al., 1981:86) by considering demand and supply conditions rather than a single view of housing outcomes.

According to the classification,

"rural housing markets may be considered in relation to the forces of supply and demand. On the demand side, a number of factors may be significant. The willingness and ability of people to pay for housing will depend upon their incomes, tenure preferences, the rate of household formation, the rate of mortgage interest and the price of housing (present and expected). In considering variations between rural areas, the most important factors are likely to be incomes in relation to house prices, the rate of local household formation, the rate and composition of migration and tenure preferences"

(Shucksmith et al., 1995:18).

Supply-side factors are noted as,

"building costs, planning restrictions, local monopolies in land ownership, as well as more general restrictions such as interest rates ... the availability of sites will depend upon the release of land by farmers and [other] landowners and especially upon land use planning policies... "

(Shucksmith *et al.*,1995:18).

	Housing market classification categories:	Local housing opportunities index.				
		1 Highest	2 <	3 <	4 <	5 Lowest
		Number of wards (Percentage) [Cumulative percentage].				
C O N S T R A I N E D	1. Retired/ established	55 (10.6) [10.6]	109 (21.0) [31.6]	200 (38.5) [70.1]	121 (23.3) [93.4]	34 (6.6) [100]
	2. Mixed	40 (5.7) [5.7]	29 (5.7) [10.0]	160 (23.0) [41.8]	231 (33.2) [75.0]	174 (25.0) [100]
	3. Commuting/ Fluid	22 (4.3) [4.3]	29 (5.7) [10.0]	59 (11.5) [21.5]	151 (29.5) [51.0]	251 (49.0) [100]
L E S S C O N S T ' D	4. Retired/ established	250 (59.0) [59.0]	127 (30.0) [89.0]	38 (9.0) [98.0]	9 (2.1) [100]	- - [100]
	5. Mixed	154 (45.3) [45.3]	127 (37.4) [82.7]	41 (12.1) [94.8]	18 (5.3) [100]	- - [100]
	6. Commuting/ Fluid	52 (37.4) [37.4]	56 (40.3) [77.7]	16 (11.5) [89.2]	15 (10.8) [100]	- - [100]

Table 3.06., Classification of English Rural Housing Markets by Local Housing Opportunity, (Shucksmith *et al.*, 1995:54).

The wider inclusion of economic, social, institutional and statutory constraints, and their operationalized relation to spatial outcomes (namely rural housing market areas) marks a significant step forward in analysing contemporary rural housing.

The foregoing table (table 3.06) serves to exhibit the sixfold typology of rural housing markets used in the study leading the authors to conclude,

"... while the nature of demand seems to have some influence of local housing opportunities, the overriding influence is that of land supply ..."

(Shucksmith et al., 1995:53),

thus underlining the influence of the local economy, planning restrictions and the historical development of the locality. In attempting to assess the local housing opportunities present within the different rural housing markets the study notes,

"... there are a number of factors restricting access to [affordable local housing for] low-income residents ...", these include: "a low existing council housing stock, a high rate of sales under the Right To Buy legislation, low turnover of remaining council stock, ...limited private rented sector ..., [and] limited building in recent years by rural councils or housing associations"

(Shucksmith et al., 1995:21).

Thus tenurial divisions are once again shown to shape competition for housing in the countryside. The authors noted,

" . . . a low base of affordable housing provision in many rural areas which has been eroded greatly since the introduction of the Right To Buy in 1980. Concern was expressed [by 'rural housing experts and agencies' consulted during the project] that because the sale of rural council houses has proved to be very successful, in many areas council housing availability is severely limited. Re-sales of council houses are unlikely to go to people who would have qualified for a tenancy . . .

therefore respondents reported that council house sales erode the supply of accommodation accessible to low-income residents in perpetuity"

(Shucksmith et al., 1995:21).

At present this acute shortage of affordable rural housing is ...

". . . compounded by low turnover of any council housing, limited housing association activity, less tied accommodation and a decrease in the willingness of local landowners to rent their properties, leaving the rural dweller the single option of gaining housing through owner occupation"

(Shucksmith et al., 1995:21).

Clearly the study points to the major impact of recent changes in the public rented sector; such events have resulted in ever decreasing levels of affordable housing and a great increase in competition for domestic rural property of all types.

3.3 An Integrative Approach: Harper

In contrast to the extensive nature of the research undertaken by Shucksmith et al., the work of Harper (1987, 1991) (table 3.07) investigating the processes of social recomposition in the urban hinterlands of Hampshire and Staffordshire used an alternative methodology to highlight the role of the local housing market in mediating patterns of population change,

"it soon became evident during interviewing and participant observation that there were significant differences in the life styles of the residents. This enabled the broad categorization of the inhabitants into groups defined with reference to tenancy, length of residence and lifestyle. It should be noted that the groups identified in this study are more than mere descriptive categories and similarly, more than objective models, in that they emerged from, and were identified by the community itself, rather than being imposed by the researcher"

(Harper, 1987:292).

Harper's study also considered the links between wider economic and social processes and the way in which the locality had modified them, thereby configuring the local housing market. Such processes were evident in the provision of local authority dwellings, which, Harper notes, were concentrated in the larger or 'metropolitan' villages (as a result of historical, social and economic processes, and the operation of state planning policies).

Smaller settlements displayed more homogenous populations owing to the general absence of local authority housing. By contrast, consistent with,

"... a trend towards the polarization of the settlements along lines dictated by socio-economic class ... metropolitan villages with their wide range of facilities are able to support large complexes of local authority housing ... these settlements are thus attractive to in-migrants from the lower socio-economic classes"

(Harper, 1987:301).

In later work on the same project, Harper (1991) sought to address the dominant focus of studies on population movements through the rural housing markets, namely ...

"... the macro-scale, to the subsequent neglect of the process at the local and household level"

(Harper, 1991:22).

In such a way she aimed to examine both structure and agency in the process of social change, for ...

"... in order to understand the movement [of people through the rural housing market], it is essential that the process is considered at both the micro- and macro-levels"

(Harper, 1991:37).

No.	Grouping.	Housing situation.
i	Tenants	Inhabitants of tied or privately rented accommodation, "restricted residents" accommodation choice restricted by external criteria
ii	Local authority renters	Council tenants. "Restricted residents" accommodation choice restricted by external criteria - local authority housing managers
iii	Locals	Owner-occupiers: having lived in settlement all their lives
iv	Principal relocating group	Owner-occupiers: A broad group predominantly social classes I to III, young families in settlement for less than 15 years
v	Spiralists	Owner-occupiers: After Watson (1964), those who move around the country at frequent intervals for the purposes of employment
vi	Semi-relocators	Owner-occupiers: Small group of residents whose prime reason for relocating was purchase of cheap property yet retaining strong ties to the place of origin
vii	Wealthy late age	Owner-occupiers: Social class I or II, high income or non-earned wealth able to purchase large country properties
viii	Mobile retired	Owner-occupiers: Comprising continuum of residents based on age, physical and mental health, with activity in the community declining with increasing years
ix	Long term	Owner-occupiers: mobile incomers who had been resident in the settlement for a number of years

Table 3.07., Social Groupings Within Rural Hinterlands, after Harper (1987).

The Hampshire and Staffordshire studies by Harper provide perhaps the clearest empirical evidence to date of the importance of rural housing to an understanding of the process of social change in pressurized rural environments; as with the earlier (neo-Weberian) studies considered above, tenure emerges as a key social division lying at the

heart of social recomposition. This unique attempt within rural (housing-related) studies to incorporate participant observation and statistical analysis suffers from a number of weaknesses. Inter-alia it is over prescriptive (with the inclusion of decision-making models for example) and positivistic (with its 'testing' of the gradient principals contained in Lewis and Maund's (1979) theoretical conceptualisation for example).

3.4 Political-Economy Approaches

Those taking a political-economy approach to the study of housing (for example Bassett and Short, 1980) have argued that it is the working of capital within (welfare-) capitalism that has determined access to housing resources for different social fractions. This approach also acknowledges the role of the state in intervening in the housing market. From a political-economy perspective this has,

"... the two fold aim of maintaining the continued production of housing as a profitable commodity in the sphere of production and to ensure the continued reproduction of labour power"

(McDowell, 1982:88).

Such intervention by the state is most evident in the provision of local authority housing. Accordingly, the findings of recent studies into accessibility and affordability in rural housing, together with issues attached to the in-migration of 'non-local' people leading to gentrification, can usefully be viewed from a political economy perspective. Within the field of (private sector) rural housing and gentrification the work of Cloke et al. (1991) has, for example, highlighted the role of the state (in this case the Welsh Office) in intervening in the housing market by use of Statutory Instruments and planning law. As the authors note,

"this policy raises interesting questions concerning the relationship between State actions and particular social interests"

(Cloke et al., 1991:52).

Such a conflict of interests arises from the imposition of policy by central government in the Welsh Office against the wishes of local authorities, local people and the established middle-class in-migrant groups, amongst others.

Despite the potential offered by such a standpoint the number of studies explicitly taking a political-economy stance is limited; as Cloke notes, "rural research in the political-economy paradigm has infant status" (Cloke, 1988:183). Examples of studies written from this perspective are in the minority (for example Dickens et al., 1985; Milbourne, 1993) and mark a theoretical advancement within rural housing studies owing to their detailed treatment of historical processes, structural considerations and spatial outcomes. For example, Dickens et al. (1985), in analysing the provision of housing in rural Norfolk, outlined factors that, according to the authors,

"... serve to illustrate a number of our general points regarding the locality, local social relations and local-central relations. They enable us to flesh-out the abstract distinction (already made) between local variations [in housing provision] and local causal processes ... This difference has important consequences for understanding the significance of the locality, although it has tended to be neglected by those who have previously looked at local variations ... Examining particular cases in detail also allows us to examine the linkages which exist between the locality and wider structural forces, a prerequisite to understanding how change occurs in any given locale"

(Dickens et al., 1985: 146-147).

Many of the main concerns of a political-economy approach, such as the role of capital and the State are central to a growing number of issue-based approaches to the study of rural housing.

3.5 Issue-based Approaches: The Provision of Affordable Housing in the Countryside

Other recent strands of rural housing research, for example into the provision of affordable housing, and 'gentrification', can be viewed within the context of a variety of theoretical positions, whilst such positions are not necessarily those taken by the authors themselves. By examining the repopulation of the countryside and the sale of local authority dwellings these issue-based studies have increasingly highlighted the key connections between migration and housing processes in the countryside.

Writing as long ago as 1979 Larkin concluded that:

"the housing problems of lower income groups in rural areas have long been neglected by both central and local government ..."

(Larkin, 1979:71).

He proceeded to note that it is the relative inconspicuousness of rural housing problems when compared to the urban counterpart that, in large measure, has resulted in such neglect. Since Larkin's conclusions were drawn the attempts by some local authorities and other bodies to provide affordable local housing for local people has produced a substantial body of work, forming a major component of rural housing studies in recent years (for example A.C.C., 1989; Clark, 1990, 1991; Shucksmith, 1981, 1990, 1991; Short, 1992; Sherwood, 1991,1995; Sherwood and Lewis, 1993; Bramley, 1991, 1995.). Writing in 1987, Rogers noted that access to affordable rural housing was,

" ... the major issue regarding English rural housing which has been recognised in the last ten years"

(Rogers, 1987: 150).

Almost a decade on from this assessment, the issue of affordability and local needs housing, by virtue of being "a very emotive issue with 'local' people seen as the victims of a grossly inequitable situation" (Rogers, 1987: 150), continues to attract much research and debate. This research ranges in approach from locality based case studies (for example Shucksmith, 1981) to more recent attempts to 'measure' housing need by matching local housing market and population variables (Bramley, 1995). A full review of such work is considered inappropriate here (and is to be found elsewhere: Rogers, 1985; Milbourne, 1993). However, state housing provision and its relation to the local needs/affordability debate requires some further consideration within the context of the present research.

3.51 Local Authority Housing Sector and Local Needs Housing Provision in Rural Areas

The role of the state rented sector in providing affordable rural housing has been a constant theme in the majority of studies on the subject. The definition of housing need within the rural context has been open to various interpretations (Larkin, 1979; Shucksmith, 1981) and according to Milbourne (1993) is traceable to Bradshaw's (1972) four-fold classification within the context of health care (table 3.08).

In assessing housing need within the rural context, recent research on waiting lists for council housing in non-metropolitan English (and Welsh) districts confirms the fact that those on such lists fall into the same groupings as recognized by housing needs criteria: sharing, concealed and overcrowded households together with the elderly (Bramley, 1989).

(i).	Normative need	Defined by the expert, professional or administrator according to pre-determined criteria; Eg. the condition of housing.
(ii).	Felt need	Representing what the individual defines as need, for eg. whether a person feels that need exists for more housing in a village.
(iii).	Expressed need	Relating to the action taken by persons feeling need in order to publicise their needs. An instance of expressed need would be the registration for social housing, or local or national political lobbying.
(iv).	Comparative need	Concerning those persons who have the benefit of a certain facility or service compared with others who do not. Eg. given the dramatic reduction in the stock of social housing in recent years, a person with similar needs/qualifications to a present council tenant may not be able to access such housing.

Table 3.08., Fourfold Classification of Rural Housing Need (Milbourne, 1993:31) After Bradshaw, (1972).

Evidence from the comprehensive survey of local authority waiting lists in England by Prescott-Clarke et al. (1994) (table 3.09), involving 3,346 applicants, reinforces this coincidence of socio-economic characteristics and domestic circumstances between those noted as in greatest housing need (according to one or a combination of the rural housing need classifications noted above) and the actual characteristics/circumstances of those on local authority waiting lists.

	Characteristic/ Domestic Circumstances.	Details.
(i).	'Hidden' or 'Concealed' households	"There appears to have been a significant increase of 'hidden' households' [since 1986 recorded level of 33% of total] on waiting lists (43% in 1991). Hidden households are non-householders who wish to breakaway and set up there own household" (p.46).
(ii).	Sharing accommodation	"Around a third of applicants living in temporary accommodation, in lodgings, or staying with family/friends were sharing a bedroom with someone other than a partner, or slept in a room other than a bedroom" (p.49).
(iii)	Overcrowding	Persons on waiting lists currently living in private households in 1991 were living in larger households than those in 1986. Furthermore they were large compared to the national average of 2.48. Persons per household: 1986 = 2.8 1991 = 3.1 (p.49).
(iv)	The elderly	27% of all applicants were over aged 60 or over (p.41).
(v)	Income	54% of interviewees and/or partners were not in paid work . "incomes were not high . . . three-quarters [of households] had total joint incomes of less than £201 per week . . . the median total joint income from all sources fell into the band £101 - £125 per week. (p.44).
(vi)	Insecurity of present tenure (whilst on waiting list)	47% of applicants reported their present tenancy as "insecure" (ie. outside provisions of the Rent Act or with severe mortgage arrears) (p.47).

Table 3.09., Characteristics/ Domestic Circumstances of Those on Local Authority Waiting Lists in English Districts, After Prescott-Clarke, et al., (1994).

The foregoing study further emphasises affordability as a principal housing issue amongst those in need. The authors note,

"as in 1986, the main reason given for wanting council housing was affordability. Nearly three-quarters (72%) of applicants said that they could not afford alternative tenures or that council housing was the cheapest form of housing (most give the former reason)"

(Prescott-Clarke et al., 1994:53).

Gauging the full extent of the need for affordable rural housing in England has been an imprecise exercise; Clarke (1990) estimates a total of around 153,000 people on local authority waiting lists across rural England. The other dimension to the extent of the problem is the perceived urgency of the need to obtain local authority housing by those currently on local authority waiting lists: Prescott-Clarke et al. (1994:55) note that 71% of interviewees in non-metropolitan districts would immediately accept an offer of local authority housing and 25% of this group expressed a "very urgent need" for such accommodation. As Sherwood and Lewis (1993) note, waiting list derived estimates are based on,

"no more than queues of people seeking houses, with numbers dependent upon an individual's perception of the value of registering"

(Sherwood and Lewis (1993:169)

Given the combination of a relatively low level of local authority housing stock in rural areas (compared to the urban counterparts) and the systematized prioritization of the waiting lists effectively to deny access to social housing for certain social groups, it is likely that many people in need of affordable housing in rural areas of the country are effectively deterred from applying at the outset. Thus it can be assumed safely that the scale of the problem is larger than a straightforward reference to

council waiting lists would suggest. Recent estimates of the number of rural dwellings required immediately to rectify the problem understandably vary from 60,000 - 100,000 for England, Scotland and Wales (Shucksmith, 1990); to 116,000 - 189,000 for England alone.

The sales of local authority housing following the 1980 Housing Act have dramatically increased the already intense competition for rural housing; the differential impact of this competition on various social groups has vigorously promoted social change. The scale of changes wrought by the 1980 legislation is evident when the decrease in local authority housing across rural districts of England since 1980 is compared with the foregoing estimates of rural housing need. Between 1981 and 1991 the number of local authority tenancies across rural England (as defined by the 1986 index of rurality by Cloke and Edwards) decreased by 325,413, or 29% of the total decrease in English public sector tenancies (OPCS, 1981, 1991). Kleinman (1988) (table 3.10) has taken an alternative indicator of these dramatic changes by examining,

"... the differences in access opportunities - ie. the ability of individuals to enter the council sector if they wish - and how these have changed over time ... [by relating] the supply figures to the number of households in each local authority area. This provides an estimate of the ease or difficulty of access into the council sector".

Concluding from this method of analysis, Kleinman notes;

"... the number of entrants fell in all categories of the urban hierarchy, but the greatest falls were at either end of the classification ... "

(Kleinman, 1988:225).

Category in hierarchy	Entrants to council housing per 1000 households			
	Mean values		Percentage change	
	1976/77	1984/85	1977-85	1980-85
England	14.93	12.97	-13.1	-7.6
London	18.49	14.64	-20.8	-9.3
Conurbations	20.58	21.01	+2.1	-4.9
Cities	13.73	12.76	-7.1	-3.8
Large towns	15.55	14.55	-6.4	-2.4
Small towns	15.36	13.25	-13.7	-7.9
Rural areas	12.53	10.15	-19.0	-10.7

Table 3.10., Changing Access Opportunity to Council Housing Across the Urban Hierarchy in England (Kleinman, 1988:229).

The differential effect of the sale of public sector dwellings across urban and rural districts can further be attributable to the size of the local authority dwelling stock in the countryside:

"the smaller size of the rural stock can also be seen as significant in the context of the residualization issue: a priori, it seems that residualization will proceed faster in rural areas as a consequence of the initially smaller stock and a faster rate of sales"

(Williams et al., 1986:84).

In analysing both the rate of sales and the percentage of the total local authority housing stock sold across all districts in England, Forrest and Murie note that, "the general picture is of high sales amongst southern and particularly rural authorities" (Forrest and Murie, 1991a :119 emphasis added). The pattern of sales across rural areas of England exhibits marked variations,

"... sales have been particularly high in both market towns and attractive estates in villages which are highly valued residential locations"

(Forrest and Murie, 1992:56).

Thus, much of the recent work on access to affordable housing points to the way dwellings are allocated. Shucksmith (1991), in respect of research in the English Lake District highlighted, "[the] ... failure to ensure the allocation to those groups of such houses as were built " (Shucksmith, 1991:66). In addition, work by Sherwood (1995) emphasizes the role of bureaucratic allocation procedures to the provision of, access to, and distribution of affordable social housing in rural areas. Such studies have broad parallels with the earlier managerialist perspectives of the housing market (eg. Rex and Moore, 1967), but are sharply distinguished from such forerunners in recognizing that managers and gatekeepers are not the principal determinants of access to housing opportunities. Changes following the 1980 Housing Act have therefore given the market a greater role in the allocation of the rural dwelling stock.

3.52 Summary

As the foregoing review has shown, recent debate and study within rural housing can be viewed from a variety of theoretical standpoints, yet few studies employ an explicit theoretical approach justifying the basis for the work undertaken and contextualizing the results and findings presented. Moreover the close links between rural housing markets and migration processes have largely been ignored. The need for a more informed theoretical perspective on the links between housing and social change arising from migration is one that is recognized both within rural and urban-based studies, as Harris and Pratt note:

"forms of housing tenure, and their connections with class relations, develop in unique ways in particular settings. To understand them we need to cultivate a synthetic perspective to complement and refine the analytical and theoretical tools developed over the last decades"

(Harris and Pratt, 1983:20).

3.6 A Realist Approach

In recent years realism has been one of the most important theoretical advances and has been described as an approach "likely to have a really lasting impact on philosophy and social science" (Outhwaite, 1989).

Realism has been described as;

"A philosophy of science based on the use of abstraction to identify the (necessary) causal powers and liabilities of specific structures which are realized under specific (contingent) conditions"

(Gregory, 1994:499).

A realist approach relies upon the identification of causal mechanisms, typically the concern of intensive research. The key question here is 'how does something happen?' This is complimented by the identification of empirical regularities, typically the concern of extensive research: the key question here is how widespread is something? (Gregory, 1994). Critically, as Sayer (1984) notes,

The two need to be distinguished because, quite simply, "what causes something to happen has nothing to do with the number of times it happens"

(Sayer, 1985:241).

The use of realist approaches within human geography has been significant, though not extensive throughout the 1980s, and continues to the present time. It has been used to underpin a range of urban-based work (for example, Allen, 1983; Lovering, 1985), but within the sphere of rural geography little research has been undertaken using an explicitly realist approach. Similarly, within the context of research focused on the links between the housing market and wider patterns of social change, the studies which have adopted this social theory have been concerned mainly with urban processes (for example, Sarre,

1987). As Cloke et al. (1991) note, within all areas of enquiry broadly termed 'human geography' many studies fall into a quasi-realist approach without a full adoption and explanation of such a position. The way in which the use of realism in the present study can advance rural housing research will now be outlined.

Reference to earlier studies of rural housing has shown an ongoing theoretical problem - experienced in rural geography and beyond - of reconciling the conflict between structure and agency in a consistent theoretical framework. According to Cloke et al. (1991),

"realism presents an alternative by assuming a stratified and differentiated world made up of events, mechanisms and structures in an open system where there are complex, reproducing and sometimes transforming interactions between structure and agency whose recovery will provide 'answers' posed about processes ..."

(Cloke et al., 1991: 146).

Thus, realism offers an alternative to earlier theoretical approaches which have tended to favour either a structural or behavioural explanation but have been largely unable to incorporate both perspectives.

As Rogers (1987) notes in respect of researchers of rural housing,

"[they] ... have been busily engaged upon making bricks but have little regard for the eventual structure for which they should be used"

(Rogers, 1987:148).

It is against such a background that the introduction of realism into the study of rural housing may offer potential to present theoretically-informed research related to wider processes and debates, rather than constituting one of what Rogers (1985:87) describes as a 'series of local case studies'.

It is proposed that the use of a (transcendental) realist framework will enable some of the existing theoretical problems emerging from the current state of rural housing research to be addressed, and further enable findings to be placed within an overall context of change occurring within the rural environment.

Gilg (1985), in reviewing rural geography as a whole, argued that the subject was "broadly theory free" (Gilg, 1985:172 original emphasis), an assertion sharply denied by Cloke (1988), who saw such a conclusion drawn against the predominant use of (applied-) logical-positivist approaches as "anathema" (Cloke, 1988:168). As noted above, most recent studies within the field of rural housing are consistent with rural geography as a whole, having taken a positivist position towards research. This then provides the best starting point for advocating the use of a realist theoretical approach to the social geography of housing, for much of the rationale for realism is founded on a criticism of positivism.

3.61 A Critique of Earlier Approaches to Rural Housing

A full critique of (logical-) positivist methods in human geography can be found elsewhere (eg. Gregory, 1978), but a partial critique is necessary here in order to present the realist response to one of the main weaknesses of earlier approaches to the study of rural housing. The four main areas of deficiency in positivist epistemology have been summarised by Gregory (1994):

- (i) Empiricism. Major problems exist in relating the measurement and quantification of phenomena to theoretical discussion of processes and structures.

- (ii) Exclusivity. The notion that the 'objective' measurement used in natural science under experimental conditions could be applied to open-systems-studies by social science.
- (iii) Autonomy. Findings from positivist work can no longer be regarded as neutral and value free, since they are implicated in the values, power structures, politics and discourse of the analysts themselves.
- (iv) Universality. The induction of results to build a model or pattern applicable in other situations is extremely precarious and untenable.

(after Gregory, 1994: 456- 57).

It is perhaps with the problem of exclusivity that realism offers a valuable solution of particular relevance to the study of rural housing and its focus on wider structures (for example, housing markets, local and central state and the economy). As noted in the foregoing review, there has been a tendency within the study of rural housing towards the production of typologies and models which invite empirical validation (for example, Pahl, 1966; Ambrose, 1974; Harper, 1987, 1991; Shucksmith, 1990 et al.). Such inferential generalization (albeit with attendant caveats) suffers from the classic problem of (applied-) positivist work, for as Sarre (1987) notes drawing on work by Bhaskar (1979),

"regular association is an important way of seeking causal laws, using experimental closed systems, but the laws themselves are held to exist even in open systems where other influences prevent regular associations"

(Bhaskar, 1979:17).

"On this, transcendental realist, view of science, then, its essence lies in the movement at any one level from knowledge of manifest phenomena to knowledge of the structures that generate them"

(Sarre, 1987:3).

It is in this area that realism offers a potentially exciting opportunity to incorporate 'transcending' structural influences into the view presented by empirical observation, in this case into rural housing markets. Unlike positivism which holds that the uncovering of regularities will necessarily lead, in most cases, to an understanding of the causal processes operating, thereby explaining the phenomena observed, realism takes a different starting point. It is the contention of realism that,

"... if we wish to explain why certain things behave in a certain manner, then we must understand both their internal structure and the mechanisms and properties that enable them to produce or undergo particular changes when placed in contexts where they interact with other things"

(Cloke et al., (1991a):136).

The way in which realism deals with temporal change represents an advance on traditional logical-positivist work on rural housing and beyond. Following a realist view, social structures are seen as time dependent with outcomes controlled by the configuration of such structures at a given time. As such they are not universal in time and space. This latter point marks a clear distinction from positivist work (which treats social systems as those in the natural world, and therefore not time-dependent) and can be illustrated by previous work on rural housing which has little to say on the variation in social structures over time. This problem of reconciling the measurement of observed patterns of phenomena to wider structures and concepts is an enduring problem of empiricism.

Returning to Bhaskar's assertion that it is necessary to attain an understanding of transcending structures in gaining an explanation of the different outcomes within social systems, it is apparent, given the complexity of such open systems, that there is a strong need to examine the mechanisms present within such systems causing such change. Accordingly, one must distinguish between necessary causal powers and contingent factors in the production of change.

A realist critique of Shucksmith's neo-Weberian typology of rural housing consumption groups (or classes) will serve to illustrate the point, revealing the need to make such a distinction between the necessary causal powers and contingent relations producing the social outcomes described in his typology. Such a distinction is absent in the original work, which attempts only to link the 'rural domestic property classes' (1990:218) to the 'typology of rural housing consumption groups' by general reference to the stake of each consumption group in the prevailing capitalist system of housing production. In attempting to validate the model empirically in different localities (as advocated by the author - Shucksmith, 1990a: 226), the traditional positivist approach would be to search for regularities in social phenomena, the co-existence of which would then be used to validate the model, and thus to increase its claim on universality. Accordingly, one might imagine such a study undertaken to validate the typology; presentation of the findings would be accompanied by a conclusion stating that most of the Shucksmith's rural housing consumption groups were found to be present in a given rural location where similar housing market conditions were observed to those prevailing under the original research, with the notable exception of (for example) tied cottages. This study would therefore suggest the wider applicability of such a typology to areas with few agricultural tenancies. Such an approach does little to explain the way in which wider structural conditions have allied to produce the division of certain social groupings

within the housing market. Such a positivist approach, as Cloke et al. note (in respect of applied-positivism in general),

"... relies upon a simple association between cause and effect, real and observed, and implicitly assumes the existence of a closed system. It is taken for granted that causes, effects and observations neatly map on to each other, for within positivism there can be no unobservable causes or effects that are not associated with causes co-terminous in space and contiguous in time"

(Cloke et al., 1991:146).

Shucksmith's model may therefore be seen as open to the criticisms of autonomy and universality in particular. The former is resultant on the author's interpretation of neo-Weberian status groups within rural housing markets, and the latter constitutes a general weakness in the derivation of models.

By contrast a political economy approach, in part, represents an advance over these shortcomings by the specific attention which is placed on historical processes in the development of the housing market. As will be considered below, attention to temporal change under realism is more flexible than, though not incompatible with, the view afforded under a political-economy approach, whereby historical materialism views the transformation of society as arising from the contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production leading to,

"a periodization of history conceived as a succession of modes of production"

(Bassett and Short, 1981:161).

However, such a theoretical position needs further development in order fully to incorporate the decision-making of individual actors (and households) in responding to structural processes as they move through the housing

market. A further unresolved problem connected with a political-economy approach is the centrality given to occupational social class and class relations generally. As Milbourne notes:

"a central tenet of a political-economy perspective in relation to the housing system is the residential division of labour, whereby class differences within the workplace are replicated within the housing market"

(Milbourne, 1993:50).

Furthermore Cloke and Thrift (1990) conclude that,

"... class is still an essential concept in understanding contemporary rural Britain ..."

(Cloke and Thrift, 1990:178).

Moreover, much recent debate has centred upon whether class should be viewed either as the sole or even the principal measure of social stratification. For example, Saunders (1990) advocates 'consumption cleavages', Marsden et al. (1993), power structures, Little (1991), gender relations, and Halfacree (1995) - a 'neo-tribalist view'.

As Cloke (1987) notes,

"... the use of the political-economy paradigm by rural researchers is as yet immature and undeveloped. A considerable task of total conceptual immersion and careful subsequent programming of research techniques will have to be achieved before significant explanatory strides can be made ..."

(Cloke, 1987:190).

Issue-based approaches, particularly in respect of the provision of affordable housing in the countryside, have marked a recent advance in linking migration patterns to housing market processes. However, studies such as Bramley and Smart (1995) have been heavily reliant on model-building and generalization at the expense of understanding

the processes affecting localities and individual households. Furthermore, whilst they acknowledge the links between the affordability issue and wider processes, there is a general failure to explain fully this issue within the context of a particular social theory. For example, Bramley and Smart (1995) note,

"there is a wider literature, on the boundaries of human geography and sociology, which is concerned with the nature of changes in rural society ... The main preoccupations of this literature are somewhat different from those of this study, for example addressing questions of what constitutes rurality, locality, community, and questions about the nature of social and political relationships in rural areas. However, there is some relevance and overlap when these studies deal with such issues as rural demographic change and the rural economy ..."

(Bramley and Smart, 1995:6).

This failure to relate fully rural housing research to wider theoretical concerns makes such research liable to the criticism voiced by Rogers (1987) that it is,

"polemic rather than academic in tone", [involving] "an eclectic, if somewhat superficial, blend of spatial and statistical analysis, social concern and political comment".

(Rogers, 1985: 87- 88).

Similarly, the 'integrative' approach of Harper (1987, 1991) suffers from a failure to adopt a single social theory to incorporate its mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches to housing and population change in the countryside. However, realism, in contrast to earlier approaches, presents the opportunity to reconcile structure and agency in explaining social processes which have both a spatial and temporal dimension within a consistent theoretical framework.

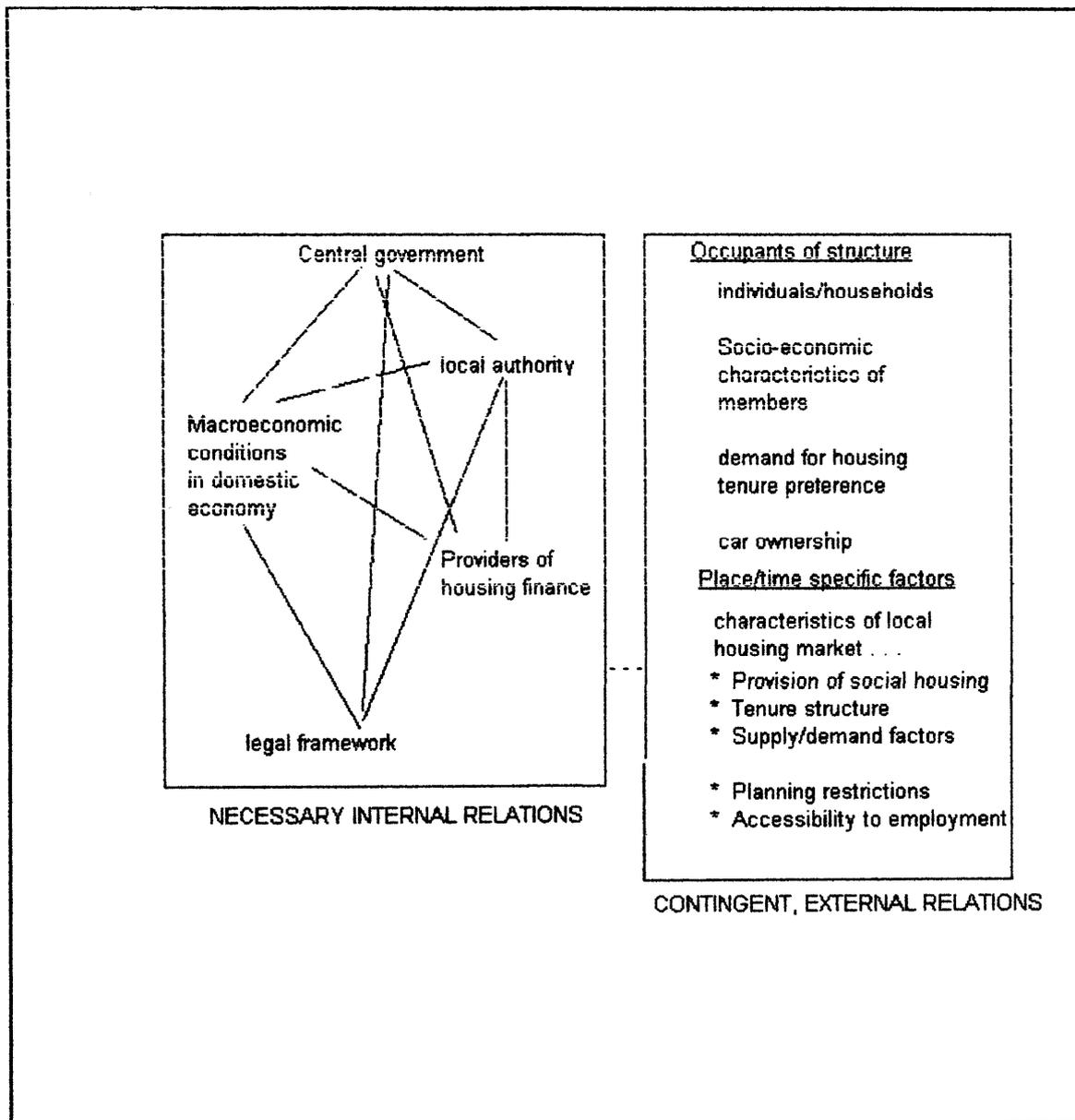


Fig 3.01. Diagrammatic representation of necessary and contingent relations within the rural housing market under investigation in the present study.

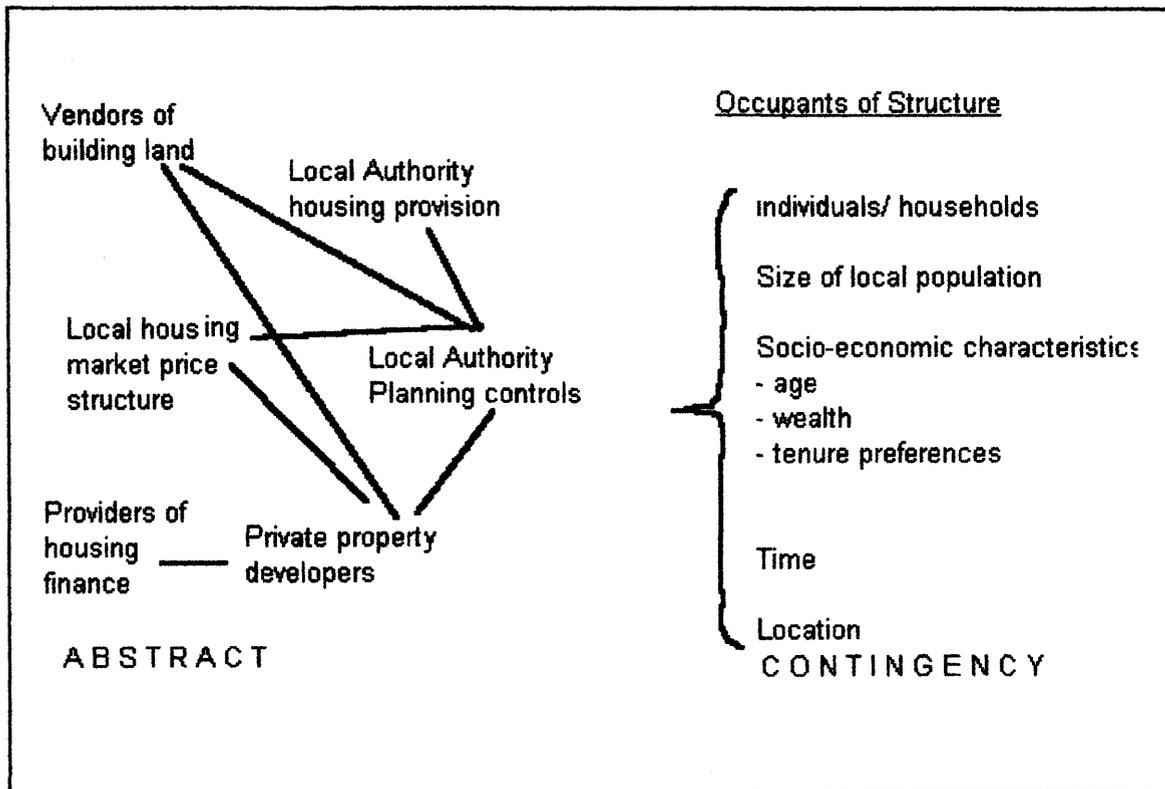


Fig 3.02. Abstract-contingent relations within rural housing markets

3.7 The Use of Realism in the Present Study

3.71 Necessary and Contingent Relations in the Rural Housing Market

In order to follow realist practices in examining the rural housing market and different 'housing consumption groups', it is important to make a distinction between necessary and contingent relations (Fig. 3.01).

Thus, the wider structures of the housing market relating to, for example, house prices, tenure composition of the local housing market, availability of mortgage finance or local authority housing provision would be identified as possessing the necessary causal powers to produce certain housing outcomes. However, given housing outcomes would only come to pass in the presence of given contingent conditions such as, for example, the presence of a local population with certain socio-economic characteristics (inter-alia, age, household size, income, tenure preference, car ownership). Such outcomes or events as measured by empirical observation would be determined by the contingency of time and space, such that they cannot be seen to hold universal applicability. This latter point is an important distinction over positivist work, emphasizing as it does the specific function of time and place.

One example may serve to illustrate the important distinction between necessary causal relations and contingent relations with regard to the diagrammatic representation of a rural housing market given above (fig 3.01.). A likely example would be the speculative purchase of traditional agricultural barns by property developers with a view to converting them to residential use and subsequent sale for profit. The abstract representation of the structure of the contemporary property market (fig. 3.02) reveals the structure to possess the necessary causal powers for such development to take place. The legal and planning framework exists to facilitate such a development,

as do institutions to provide development capital. However, the described chain of events does not occur in every case, rather it requires the presence of appropriate contingent relations to trigger such a development. These latter contingent relations might include the presence of a sufficient demand for such properties; this in turn being based on the characteristics of those resident in a given location at a given time, and on the presence of property developers engaged in such projects.

3.72 Structure and Agency in the Housing Market

The position of realist theory on the conflict between structure and agency is a further area of potential progress in understanding the complex process between the movement of individuals through the (rural) housing market. The stratified view of reality, configured by 'hidden' or transcending structures transformed by contingent factors, provides flexibility, potentially accommodating both 'extremes' of debate in social science, from Marxists to behaviouralists. The realist position on structure and agency can perhaps be illustrated by returning to the realist critique of Shucksmith's work on social stratification in rural housing markets. As Sayer (1984, 1992) emphasizes, individuals hold a dual position within social structures, so ...

"... it is particularly important to distinguish the occupant of a position from the position itself ... there is little appreciation that the structure of social relations, together with their associated resources, constraints or rules, may determine what happens, even though these structures only exist where people reproduce them"

(Sayer, 1992: 92 - 93).

However, Sayer is quick to add that,

"... the execution of actions necessary for their [the social structures] reproduction must be seen as a skilled accomplishment requiring not only materials but particular kinds of practical knowledge. Actors are not mere 'dupes', 'automata', or 'bearers of roles', unalterably programmed to reproduce"

(Sayer, 1992:96).

Thus, in the case of examining the rural housing market within the context of Shucksmith's work, individuals can be seen to hold such a dual position. The occupants of the structure at once reproduce the structure itself, and at the same time it is their individual characteristics and behaviour at a contingent level which causes given outcomes (in this case social stratification within the rural housing market).

The utility of a realist perspective in the study of rural housing is emphasized by its capability to incorporate both the approach of Shucksmith, concentrating in large measure on the capitalist relations of different groups towards rural housing markets, and the behavioural approach of Harper (1991), in examining the relocation process through rural housing markets.

3.73 The Spatial Dimension of the Rural Housing Market

Realist treatment of the role of space, as we have seen, is as an integral part of the overall social structure leading to specific observed outcomes. In this important respect realism has much to offer in expanding on the connections between social structures and space. This latter area of enquiry is either under explained, implicitly referred to, or ignored in many studies of change in the rural environment. Within realist work different perspectives on the function of space have developed, such as that of Gregory (1985), but the conceptualization followed here is

that expressed by Sayer (1984, 1985, 1992). Consideration of the role of space and the locality within realism introduces the two 'realms' of research comprising the realist approach: viz. abstract research and concrete research. The former refers to the eclectic arrangement of the wider components of the social structure under consideration; as Sayer notes,

"an abstract concept ... isolates thought in a one-sided or partial aspect of an object"

(Sayer, 1984:80, original emphasis).

Accordingly, the abstract theory in respect of the realist reworking of Shucksmith's 'rural housing consumption classes' (fig. 3.02) refers to the wider structures of the housing market (relating to house prices, tenure composition of the local housing market, availability of mortgage finance, local authority housing provision) containing the necessary causal powers to effect or transform the object of study. Within this realm of research space does not matter save,

"only [to] consider space insofar as necessary properties of objects are involved, and this does not amount to very much"

(Sayer, 1985:54).

In contrast, it is at the contingent level of concrete research that space is of key importance. Thus examination of social outcomes in a given area or locality can (and should) be viewed as the result of events produced by mechanisms triggering the necessary causal relations within the (transcending) social structures (contained within the sphere of 'abstract' research). Social research should, therefore, contain both abstract and concrete spheres within the course of its inquiry (Sayer, 1985:64).

Realist and political-economy treatment of space can therefore be seen as compatible for, as Urry (1986) notes,

"... the unequal distribution of resources does not explain the social relations occurring between social groups ... those relations are accountable for in terms of complex processes involving the constitution and reproduction of places in the social division of labour"

(Urry, 1986:16, original emphasis).

The use of a neo-Marxist political economy approach, as noted above, has the potential to explain the evolving social and spatial divisions of labour within the context of the working of capital accumulation within a (welfare-) capitalist society. Rees (1984) has stressed the value of such a position for an understanding of changing rural society, whereby:

"changes in rural employment structures are central to any understanding of the reality of rural social life. On the one hand, they reflect profound shifts in the nature of capitalist production and, more specifically, the widely differing impacts of these shifts on different types of locality. On the other, employment changes themselves have resulted in radical development in terms of rural class structures, gender divisions, the forms of political conflict occurring in rural areas, and indeed, of the complex processes by which "rural cultures" are produced and reproduced"

(Rees, 1984:27).

The utility of a political-economy approach to consideration of change in the contemporary rural environment has been clearly demonstrated by Marsden et al. (1993), notably with their attempt, set against the major changes taking place within this environment during the 1980s, to link a political-economy perspective of global processes with an explanation of local actions in the countryside. In their assessment the authors note their,

"... dissatisfaction with the current restructuring literatures where a heavy emphasis is placed on economic and productionist logics of development that are assumed to be applied 'top down' on local social relations"

(Marsden et al., 1993: 36 - 37).

Instead they call for,

" ... a series of middle-level concepts, to close the gap between theory and practice, and between global trends and local changes"

(Marsden et al., 1993:129).

It is to one such 'middle-level' concept that attention will be turned in the next section.

An over reliance on applied-positivist techniques was the most common weakness emerging from this review of earlier studies of rural housing. The failure of many of these studies to adopt a social theory represents a further weakness in the literature, constituting 'pure description and monitoring' within that which Champion and Watkins (1991) see as "the rich variety of conceptual approaches that are now being employed in rural geography" (Champion and Watkin, 1991:3). It is against this background that the use of realism as a theoretical construct is advocated in the present study. The way in which such an approach will be employed in the current research is now outlined.

3.74 Realism and the Restructuring of the Rural Housing Market

As noted earlier it is the purpose of the present study to examine the role of resold former council dwellings within the restructuring of the rural housing market. The term 'restructuring' has been used in differing contexts over recent years such that Marsden et al. (1993) refer to it

having "become one of the commonest and most overused terms in social science" (Marsden et al. 1993: 17). Thus consideration of the term forms a necessary and convenient starting point in outlining the theoretical approach adopted here.

The use of the term 'restructuring' by Massey (1984) linked wider economic forces with different localities,

"just as the division of labour between different workers can increase productivity and thereby profit so can its divisions between regions, by enabling the different stages of production each to respond more exactly to their own specific location factors. Spatial structure, in other words, is an active element in accumulation"

(Massey, 1984:74).

The restructuring of rural housing markets may therefore be seen within the context of this structuralist/ political-economy approach of the successive rounds of capitalist accumulation in a given locality. Thus the historical development of a locality is of key importance,

"the structure of local economies can be seen as the product of the combination of 'layers, of successive imposition over the years of new rounds of investment, new forms of activity ... Spatial structures of different kinds can be viewed historically (and very schematically) as emerging in a succession in which each is superimposed upon, and combined with, the effects of spatial structures which came before ... So if a local economy can be analyzed as the historical product of the combination of layers of activity, those layers represent in turn the succession of roles the local economy has played the wider national and international structures"

(Massey, 1984:117 - 118).

It is the ongoing interplay between these structural forces operating according to the logic of capital, and the movements of individuals and households within such a structure (thereby reproducing it), which leads to the restructuring of rural housing markets over time.

This relationship can be seen by turning again to the definition of rural housing markets noted earlier (section 3.32). These ...

"may be considered in relation to the forces of supply and demand. On the demand side, a number of factors may be significant. The willingness and ability of people to pay for housing will depend upon their incomes, tenure preferences, the rate of household formation, the rate of mortgage interest and the price of housing (present and expected). In considering variations between rural areas, the most important factors are likely to be incomes in relation to house prices, the rate of local household formation, the rate and composition of migration and tenure preferences". Supply-side factors are noted as, "building costs, planning restrictions, local monopolies in land ownership, as well as more general restrictions such as interest rates. . . the availability of sites will depend upon the release of land by farmers and [other] landowners and especially upon land use planning policies. . . "

(Shucksmith et al., 1995:18).

The spatial division of labour and economic restructuring, therefore, have a dual relationship with the restructuring of local (rural) housing markets relating to the supply and demand factors noted in the foregoing definition. The production of housing within the local housing market can be related to the need to reproduce the supply of labour (McDowell, 1982), and as such is heavily influenced by state policy and intervention. The consumption of housing is related to the effect of restructuring and the spatial division of labour on the mobility of labour (Allen and Hamnett, 1991).

Following realist practices it is necessary for abstract research to conceptualize the wider (transcending) structures which relate to the concrete research undertaken here. Earlier discussions in this chapter have outlined the principal structural influences on contemporary rural housing markets. It is such structural factors that led Williams (1992) to conclude, with reference to housing markets in the period after 1980, that there had been,

" ... major and some would say catastrophic changes in housing policy and provision in the UK"

(Williams, 1992:159).

In pointing to the scale of structural change transforming the housing market as a whole, the author highlights the 1980 Housing Act as the principal engine of change acting in combination with a rapidly changing political and economic environment. Williams (1992) notes further that,

"the period 1979 -1990 has seen a fundamental recasting of many relationships and a renewed focus upon the market"

(Williams, 1992: 195., emphasis added).

In tracing the influence of transcending structures shaping the domestic housing market in rural areas it is possible to draw the connections between global and international structural processes. This indeed has been the approach (within a political economy framework) of Marsden et al. (1993) who attempt to use such a broad perspective as a starting point to rural restructuring in Britain. Accordingly they refer to a process of restructuring within this context as,

"... a distinctive break in the progress of many capitalist economies in the 1970s and 1980s, and the ensuing social and political consequences. At the global level, these changes are usually associated with the oil shocks of 1973 and 1978, and the demise of US economic hegemony, which is associated with the inability of the dollar to sustain fixed exchange rates as agreed in the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 . . ."

(Marsden et al.,1993: 17).

Within the realist project, however, the degree of abstraction (in terms of transcending structures) is directly linked to the nature of the concrete research undertaken. As Sayer (1984) notes,

"... the understanding of concrete events or objects involves a double movement: concrete-abstract, abstract-concrete. At the outset our concept of concrete objects is likely to be superficial or chaotic. In order to understand their diverse determinations we must first abstract them systematically . When each of the abstracted aspects has been examined it is possible to combine the abstractions so as to form concepts which grasp the concreteness of their objects"

(Sayer, 1984:81).

To such an end, abstraction of wider structures takes on a 'one-sided' aspect, being tailored such that the abstract structures under consideration are selected in a way designed to access the necessary (causal) relations leading to the contingent relations forming the basis of concrete study. In this way those aspects structural relations which do not have a direct bearing on the specific outcomes, as investigated by concrete research, may be disregarded as "spurious" (Cloke et al.,1991:148).

In respect of the present work, therefore, the abstract research leading to the outlining of the wider structures possessing the necessary causal relationships to account for the role of former local authority housing in the rural housing market may, in part, be expressed diagrammatically (Figure 3.02).

Explanation and investigation of the different elements within these wider structures together with the necessary causal relationships operating will form the basis of the remainder of this study.

3.75 The Sale and Resale of Local Authority Dwellings: Realist Perspective

The changes arising from the 1980 Housing Act which form the basis of the present study can be summarised within the foregoing discussion of realism. Thus, the wider structural configuration (presented in Fig.3.02) arose as a result of economic, social and political processes. This structure

can be seen to possess the necessary causal relations to effect the denationalization of social housing through the current political and legislative system. However, not all council houses have been sold as a result of the 1980 Housing Act, which within realist parlance may be seen as the mechanism leading to given events, viz. the sale of local authority dwellings. For such a sale to occur requires the contingent relations to be co-present to trigger the necessary causal powers, in this case leading to the sale of a council property. Similarly, and forming the basis of this study, given contingent relations need to be present in a further stage in the restructuring of the rural housing market; namely the resale of former council dwellings. From this latter process an understanding will emerge for the first time, of the role of these dwellings in the highly competitive rural housing market and the contribution of this process to the progress of social change in the rural environment.

It can be seen from the diagrammatic representation (Fig.3.01) that the contingent relations necessary to trigger such a process of resales are both temporally and spatially specific. Following consideration of the theoretical framework of this study it is necessary to outline how this relates to the 'concrete' study of resales in the following chapters.

3.8 The Operationalization of A Realist Approach: Methodology

The following two chapters will examine the wider (transcending) structures within which the rural housing market under study is located; in the parlance of realism these structures possessed the necessary internal relations for the resale of local authority dwellings and attendant processes of social change. Within a realist perspective it is important to acknowledge the temporal dimension to the development of these overarching structures: accordingly the following chapter examines the development of local

PART A. THE PROPERTY

- Address of local authority dwelling
- The name of the landlord

PART B. THE TENANT(S)

- Name of the/each tenant(s)
- Is the property the tenant's principal or only home?

PART C. FAMILY MEMBER(S) SHARING THE RIGHT TO BUY

- "If you wish to share the right to buy with any members of your family who is not a tenant, give their details name, relationship to tenant, is the property the family member's only or principal home?, has he or she lived with the tenant throughout the last 12 months?"

PART D. QUALIFICATION AND DISCOUNT

- Details of present and previous local authority tenancies (location, date, duration, name of the local authority landlord, names of those holding the actual tenancy agreement)

Details of any tenancies with other State bodies covered under the Right To Buy (UK Atomic Energy Authority for example), or periods of military service which qualify for the purposes of calculating discount entitlement.
- Details of tenants who have taken over a tenancy from their parents

PART E. PREVIOUS DISCOUNT

- Details of any previous purchases under the Right To -Buy

PART F. TENANT'S IMPROVEMENTS

- Details of tenant's improvements to the local authority dwelling (what were they, who made the improvements).
- In addition early applications under the Right To Buy 1980-81 contained information on applicants' employment (type of post held, location and name of employer, duration of employment and income), and the number and age of any dependant children .
- Based on Form RTB1 (DOE 16334, July 1987, under Housing Act 1985:Section 122) - and earlier versions.

Fig. 3.03., INFORMATION GATHERED FROM RTB APPLICATIONS.

authority housing provision in the district under study. A range of secondary data including earlier research, local authority records and legislation are used to trace the development of the structures at the heart of the present study. Structural changes during the period under study are examined in chapter five; these have a reciprocal relationship to the sale and resale of local authority dwellings - for they arose in part from the resale of dwellings and at the same time enabled the process to proceed. Chapter five therefore examines legislative, economic and policy changes and the way these aligned to create the 'resold' sector of the housing market. In both chapters the interrelation of different key structures is revealed by analysis at a national and local level; this latter element is crucial in highlighting the contingent side of the equation and the time/ place specific factors which triggered the events under study.

Subsequent chapters (6, 7 and 8) are also concerned with contingent factors, and focus on the turnover of households occupying the housing market (structure) under examination. Chapter nine examines the contingent effects of geographical location and the role of a spatial dimension to the events under study. Together these four chapters are founded on two principal data sources: their nature, together with the analytical techniques employed, and the operational problems encountered will now be outlined.

The present research is based principally on data derived from local authority housing records and from an extensive series of interviews with households purchasing resold local authority dwellings.

Local Authority Housing Records. Co-operation with South Northamptonshire District Council enabled analysis of the administrative records of applications by tenants to purchase their home under the Right To Buy. These provided a rich source of socio-economic data on the former tenant households and the dwellings they rented (fig 3.03).

Dwelling valuations and surveys were commissioned by the local authority at the time the RTB application was received and these provided details on the age of the property, its construction, state of repair, style, dimensions, and whether any major renovations had been carried out. A primary objective of the present research was to identify which of the dwellings comprising the stock of local authority dwellings in South Northamptonshire had been resold by 1994. A list of properties and their initial purchasers under the RTB was compiled from the local authority records. Each purchaser's address was then checked in each Electoral Register covering the District for subsequent years following purchase from the council through to 1994. If a change of occupants' (sur-)name(s) was identified it was inferred that this had arisen as a result of the reselling of the former local authority dwelling (with the exception of cases where a change of surname was obviously connected with the marriage of couples previously cohabiting). Overall such inferences were justified in 95 percent of cases, though difficulties arose in respect of five percent tenant-purchasers for whom electoral register entries were missing (presumably owing to a failure to register a change of occupancy with the local authority, or failure to do so within the prescribed time limits).

Following this procedure a list of 370 tenant-purchasers in rural parishes was compiled, these being residents who, it was believed, had subsequently resold their former local authority dwelling. Salient details (fig 3.03) about these tenant-purchaser households who had purchased under the RTB and had subsequently resold their dwelling were noted down from the local authority housing records for later analysis. A set of housing records of a similar size was also compiled (selected by random number tables) profiling households who had also purchased their home under the RTB but had not subsequently resold their dwellings (in that there had been no change of occupants noted in the electoral register to 1994).

A Series of Structured Interviews. This was conducted over 12 weeks during the summer of 1994 when all of the 370 dwellings identified as resold (in rural parishes) were visited (and revisited). Of these dwellings visited 188 completed surveys were obtained. Operational difficulties were experienced in the following respects:

- (i). Refusal to be interviewed (or prospective interviewees stated it was inconvenient - and it was also inconvenient on a subsequent visit - or they were repeatedly not at home). 106 cases, 28.6 percent.
- (ii). Dwelling incorrectly identified as resold (occupants names changed for reasons other than a change of household following resale). 17 cases, 4.6 percent.
- (iii). Dwelling empty or residents persistently not at home. 46 cases, 13 percent.
- (iv). Dwelling re-purchased by the local authority. 1 case.

In addition to the dwellings identified as resold by reference to the electoral register further resold dwellings were identified during the course of interviews with neighbours (5 cases).

The group of households interviewed and therefore forming the basis of the present study does not represent a 'stratified' sample of the larger number of households identified as 'open market purchasers'. However later analysis reveals how the constraints on data collection (for example, refusal to be interviewed, absence etc.) has not distorted greatly the extent to which it may be regarded as 'representative' of the wider group of open market purchaser households. The relationship between the data sets will be examined in respect of dwelling age and

type (section 8.01) and the spatial distribution of resold dwellings (section 9.60).

The interviews conducted with 'open market purchasers' of resold dwellings were structured by a questionnaire sheet (Appendix 3A.) which contained a mixture of open and closed questions. These questions covered the following main areas:

- (i). Previous household moves between 1984 and 1994 (location, property types values, tenures, reasons for moving)
- (ii). 'Geographical origins' of adult household members (location of family home at time of birth, and leaving home, perceptions of home area rural or urban)
- (iii). Motives behind the move into the resold dwelling (reasons for: leaving last home, selecting countryside, village, dwelling)
- (iv). Details of residence in the resold dwelling (improvements undertaken to property, is this the main home?, would household consider purchasing a resold dwelling in the future?)
- (v). Socio-economic details of household members (relationship to one another, age, sex, employment status, previous employment, changes in household composition and why).

In addition to open questions, relevant anecdotal aspects of the move into former local authority dwellings were recorded - these represented a qualitative aspect to a largely quantitative survey. The devised questionnaire represented a compromise between obtaining the highest possible response ratio (based on 'cold-calling' ie. the absence of a pre-arranged appointment to be interviewed), achieving maximum information within 10-20 minutes, and attaining a balance between gaining specific, personal information about interviewees without jeopardizing the completion of the interview over interviewee concerns about confidentiality and intrusion into personal privacy. It was

adjudged to be more likely to produce a higher response rate than (i). pre-arranged interviews - because they are generally slower to conduct, often there is poor reaction to the initial mail shots/ telephone calls to arrange an appointment, they are reliant on people keeping the appointment and potential interviewees have longer to think of an excuse to refuse an interview (ii). postal questionnaires - because these generally have a lower response rate, and it was felt few people would not complete a questionnaire of the length of the one eventually used. The questionnaire employed was successful in gathering a wealth of relevant information, though a number of constraints were imposed by the foregoing criteria which led to the following techniques being employed:

- (i). The use of banding in respect of houseprices, and age of household members (more likely to yield a response than a direct question - eg. "How old are you?")
- (ii). Use of indirect indicators of household wealth (eg. details of occupation): it was felt a direct question would deter people from responding
- (iii). Restriction of household migration histories to location of family home at time of birth, and time of leaving the parental home - and all moves between 1984-94.

In addition to the main survey of open market purchasers a number of tenant-purchasers who had subsequently resold their former local authority home were surveyed. Their new home location (settlement/county only, Question 15., Appendix 3A) was identified in the majority of cases during the course of interviewing open market purchasers. Those relocating within South Northamptonshire were then traced by searching the electoral register. These households were

then asked about their move from the former local authority dwelling by a postal questionnaire combining both open and closed questions (Appendix 3B.)

Primary data was also gained from discussions with:

Local Authority Personnel. Principally this was conducted with the housing officer in charge of RTB applications 1980 - 1994. The opportunity was taken to ask about the procedures followed in respect of applications/ sales - general patterns, problems encountered, rates and totals. Information was also forthcoming from other members of council staff who were able to answer, or successfully refer, questions in every instance.

Estate Agents. Throughout the period May 1993 - September 1994 conversations were held with all the local estate agent businesses covering the study area in the course of which property specifications on over 200 dwellings for sale were obtained. During these conversations enquiries were made as to the way former local authority dwellings were marketed, the rate that they appeared for sale and their distribution and price.

Residents of South Northamptonshire. In the course of conducting interviews in the villages of the District regular conversations were held with local residents. Often stemming from enquiries on seeing the interviewer as to whether they could help, or asking what the interviewer was doing, this subsequently led to conversation about sales/ resales in the area, and as such comprised an invaluable source of information used throughout the present text.

This was the broad methodological approach used in order to gain information on both the households occupying the housing market structure under study and the housing market itself. Specific methodological issues relevant to different stages in the following analysis will be addressed at later intervals in the following chapters.

3.9 Summary

The foregoing review of existing studies of rural housing, has highlighted an over-reliance on positivist approaches and the inherent weakness of such a theoretical position. A survey of previous work on rural housing revealed that, although a number of theoretical positions could be read into such work, few studies adopted a social theory. Criticism of earlier studies from a realist perspective showed how realism may usefully be employed to achieve a theoretically informed insight into change in the rural housing market. It was argued that such a course represents a major advancement, by allowing analysis of structure and agency in the resale of local authority dwellings within a consistent spatial and temporal framework. It was further outlined how this theoretical approach will be successfully operationalized over the following chapters and it is to such analysis that attention now turns.

CHAPTER FOUR.

LOCAL AUTHORITY HOUSING PROVISION IN SOUTH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE 1919 - 1980.

4.0 Introduction

The patterns of change arising from the resale of local authority dwellings have been shaped by the development of this tenure throughout this century. As Forrest and Murie note,

"the nature of council housing in any locality represents a layering of histories of local and national housing policies, local political structures, the vicissitudes of capital investment and the relative bargaining power of local working classes"

(Forrest and Murie, 1992:194).

In understanding the processes of housing and population change affecting the countryside after 1980, it is first necessary to trace the development of the (housing and population) structures from whence the resales process emerged. Accordingly, this chapter follows the development of this tenure from its inception in the Housing and Town Planning Act (1919). When viewed from a theoretical perspective such a review will outline the development of the key structures at the heart of the present study. These structures, following the present use of realism, contain the causal relationships that ultimately led to the resale of local authority dwellings.

By definition, local authority housing provided the state's response to the housing needs of the local population as identified by councils across the country in response to legislation generated through central government policy. Thus, the provision of such housing was far from evenly distributed; some authorities actively pursued

housebuilding programmes whereas others, for a variety of reasons, displayed a reluctance to construct dwellings. This new housing tenure originated in urban areas in the late nineteenth century (Malpass and Murie, 1994), and the subsequent experience of town and countryside, though interrelated, has been markedly different. The population distribution across the country largely explains the contrasting urban and rural experience of the state as housing provider. Despite the dependent and reciprocal relationship between housing and population change, earlier studies have paid little attention to the provision of local authority housing in the countryside (for example, Kennett, 1977; Champion 1976, 1987, Stillwell, 1985). Such an oversight is perhaps surprising given its pivotal role in the rural housing market. This omission may have been caused partly by official record-keeping which has often failed to distinguish between housing development in so-called urban and rural areas. Nevertheless, any attempt to understand the contemporary patterns of change arising from local authority housing in rural areas must make good this shortcoming.

The following analysis will examine the prevailing population trends affecting the countryside as a context to local authority housing provision at a national level and the local responses in South Northamptonshire. Reference will also be made to the diversity of dwelling types constructed. Two phases of local authority housebuilding will be discussed: the inter-war years, and post-war developments. Later consideration will be made of sale of local authority dwellings prior to the Right To Buy.

Following six decades of direct state involvement in housing provision, local authority housing comprised a substantial fraction of the housing stock in South Northamptonshire at the outset of the RTB in 1981 (24.5 percent or 4,500 dwellings). The range in the type and quality of these dwellings, together with their uneven spatial distribution, was not an historical accident but

Property type and - date of construction		No. of units	% of total stock	% dwelling type - located in -hinterland parishes	
Pre 1945	1 bed' BUNGALOWS	48	1.1	-	
"	2 bed' BUNGALOWS	2	0.0	-	
"	(all bungalows)	-	-	70.8	
"	2 bed' HOUSES	356	8.0	81.1	
"	3 bed' HOUSES	768	17.2	-	
"	4 bed' HOUSES	95	2.1	-	
"	(all houses)	-	-	84.6	
"	Acquired Properties	10	0.2	-	
"	(Sub total)	(1279)	(28.6)		(86.6)
1945 - 65	1 bed' BUNGALOWS	55	1.2	-	
"	2 bed' BUNGALOWS	354	7.9	-	
"	(all bungalows)	-	-	84.3	
"	2 bed' HOUSES	338	7.6	70.6	
"	3 bed' HOUSES	1578	35.3	-	
"	4 bed' HOUSES	79	1.8	-	
"	(all houses)	-	-	82.6	
"	1 bed' FLATS	12	0.3	-	
"	2 bed' FLATS	116	2.6	-	
"	(Sub total)	(2532)	(56.6)		(81)
Post 1965	1 bed' BUNGALOWS	30	0.7	-	
"	2 bed' BUNGALOWS	270	6.0	-	
"	(all bungalows)	-	-	66.7	
"	2 bed' HOUSES	44	1.0	68.4	
"	3 or 4 bed' HOUSES	219	4.9	46.8	
"	1 bed' FLATS	9	0.2	-	
"	2 bed' FLATS	91	2.0	-	
"	(Sub total)	(663)	(14.8)		(51.4)
TOTAL		4474	100.0	(78.5)	

Table 4.01., Composition of the local authority dwelling stock at the outset of the RTB by dwelling type, age and distribution - All parishes of S. Northants.

The result of the development of this tenure arising from the competition of national housing policy and the local implementation. The distribution of housing and population changes at a variety of levels. The local authority housing stock in 1980 was 100,000 dwellings, of which 70,000 were council houses. The local authority housing stock in 1980 was 100,000 dwellings, of which 70,000 were council houses. The local authority housing stock in 1980 was 100,000 dwellings, of which 70,000 were council houses.

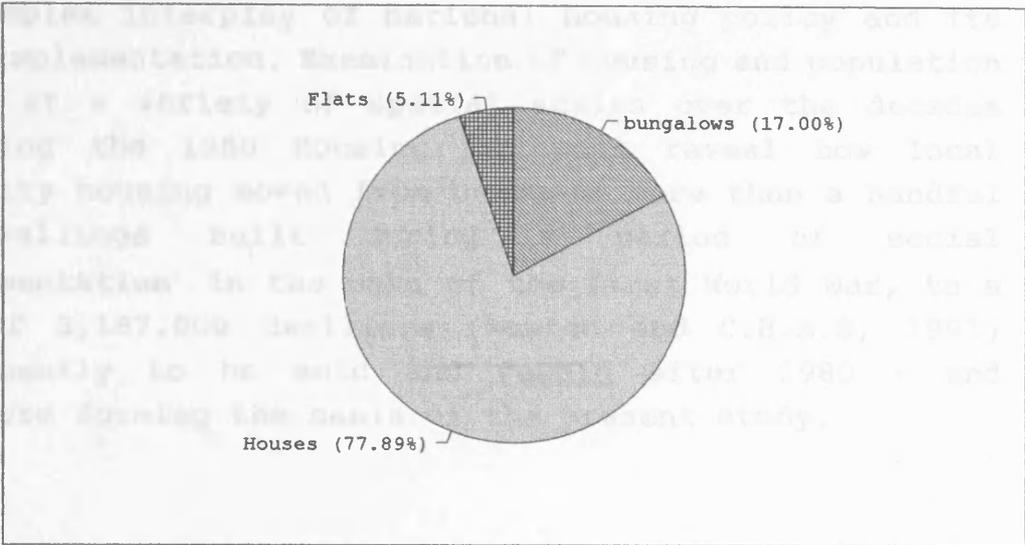


Fig. 4.01., Size and age of local authority dwellings at the outset of the Right To Buy (c.1981), Dwelling Type, South Northamptonshire.

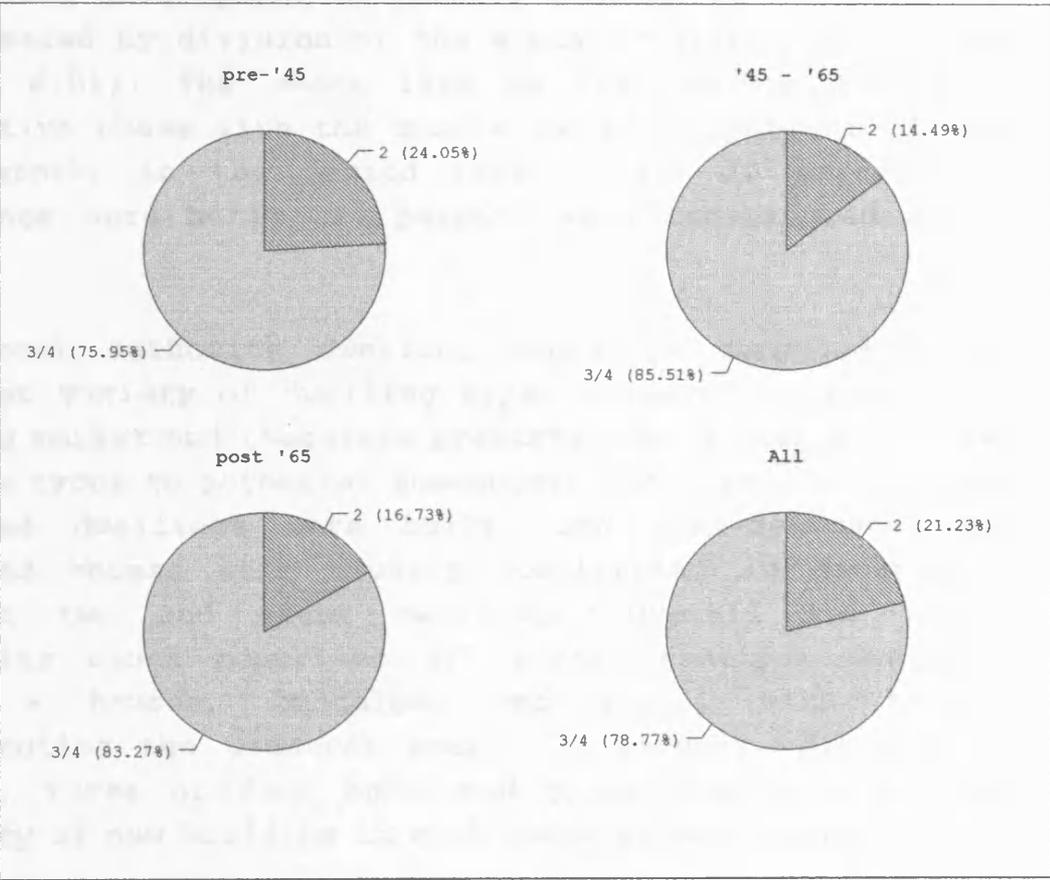


Fig. 4.02., Size and age of local authority houses at the outset of the Right To Buy (c.1981), South Northamptonshire. (Divided between 2, and 3 or 4 bedroom dwellings by age).

the result of the development of this tenure arising from the complex interplay of national housing policy and its local implementation. Examination of housing and population change at a variety of spatial scales over the decades preceding the 1980 Housing Act will reveal how local authority housing moved from being no more than a handful of dwellings built during a period of social experimentation¹ in the wake of the First World War, to a pool of 5,187,000 dwellings (Newton and C.H.A.S, 1991) subsequently to be sold and resold after 1980 - and therefore forming the basis of the present study.

4.1 The Nature of the District's Local Authority Dwelling Stock in 1980

The phased development of council housing in the District is revealed by division of the stock according to its age (table 4.01). The years 1945 to 1965 marked the most productive phase with the completion of 57 percent of the 1981 stock; in the period 1919 - 1939 29 percent of dwellings were built, 14 percent were constructed after 1965.

The local authority dwelling stock is composed of a narrower variety of dwelling types compared to the wider housing market and therefore presents a more limited choice of home types to potential homebuyers. For example very few detached dwellings were built, and semi-detached and terraced houses were usually constructed in groups of between two and eight dwellings. Overall the local authority stock comprises all three principal dwelling types - houses, bungalows and flats, with houses constituting the greatest share (78 percent, fig 4.01). Larger, three or four bedroomed properties made up the majority of new building in each phase of development, with

¹ Bowley (1945), suggests that the tenure form was initially seen as an "experimental" and a temporary response to the needs of the time.

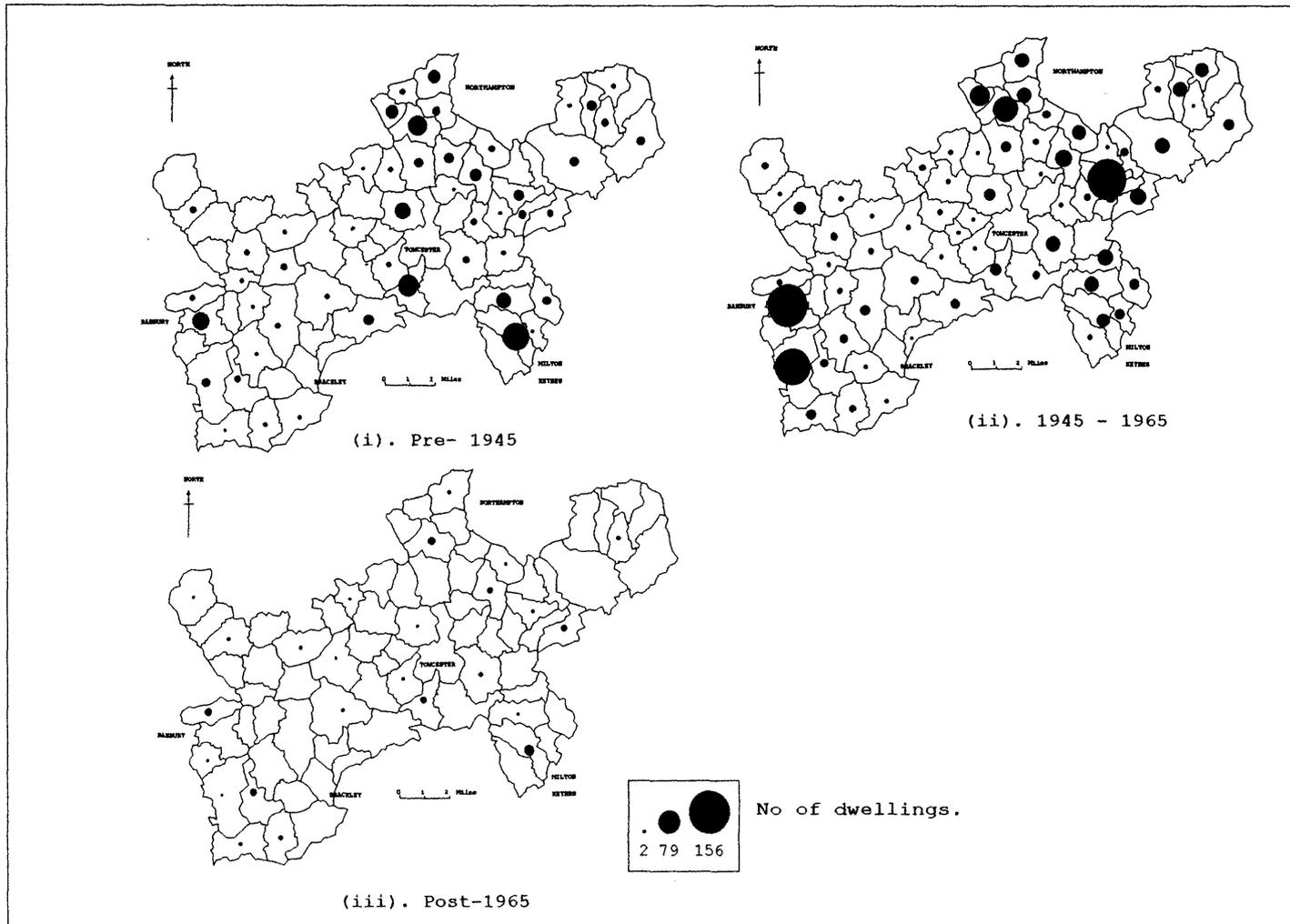


Fig. 4.03., Distribution of Local Authority Dwellings at the Outset of the Right To Buy (c.1991), Houses Classified by Date of Construction.

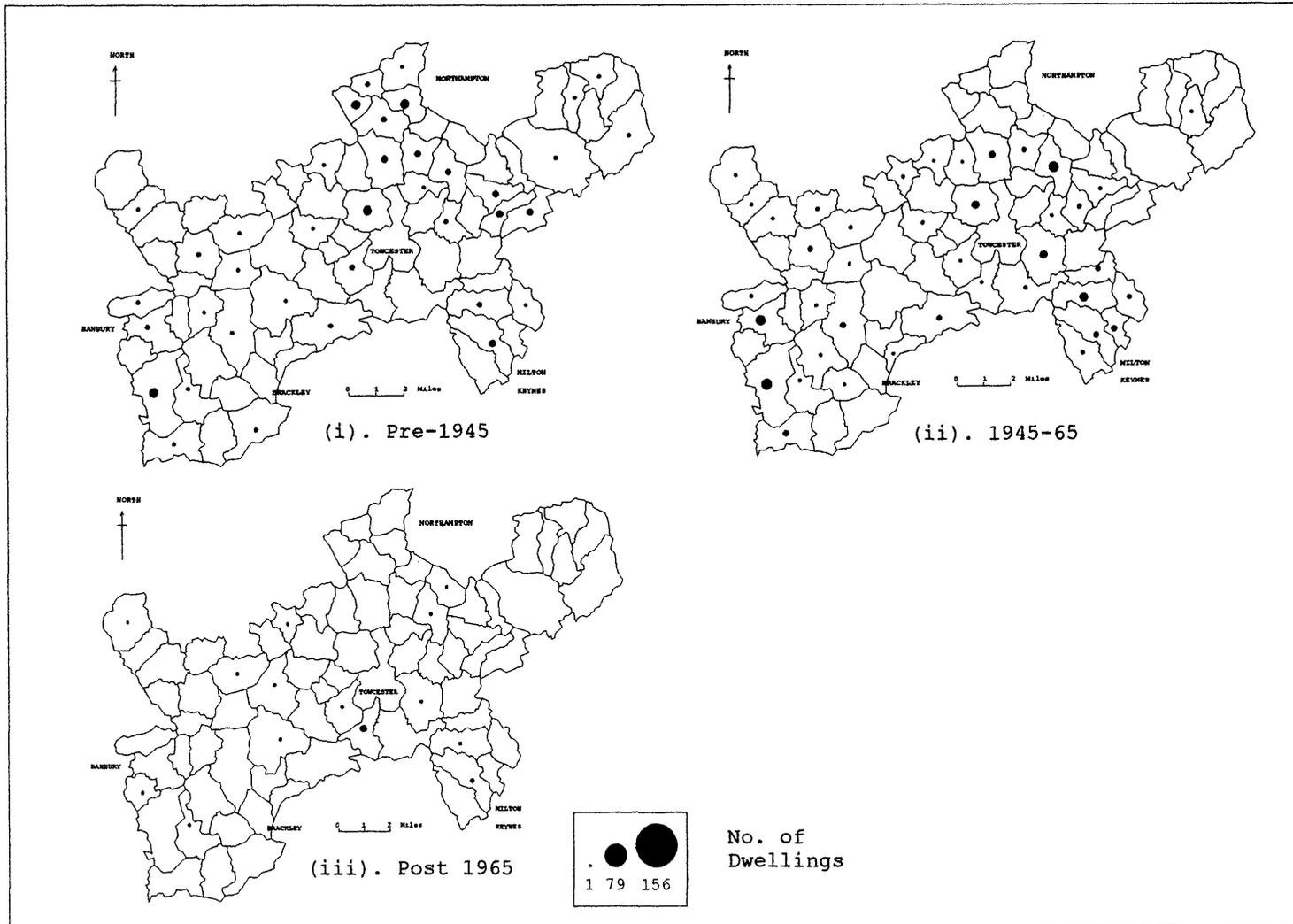


Figure 4.04., The Distribution of smaller (2 bedroomed) local authority houses at the outset of the RTB in 1981.

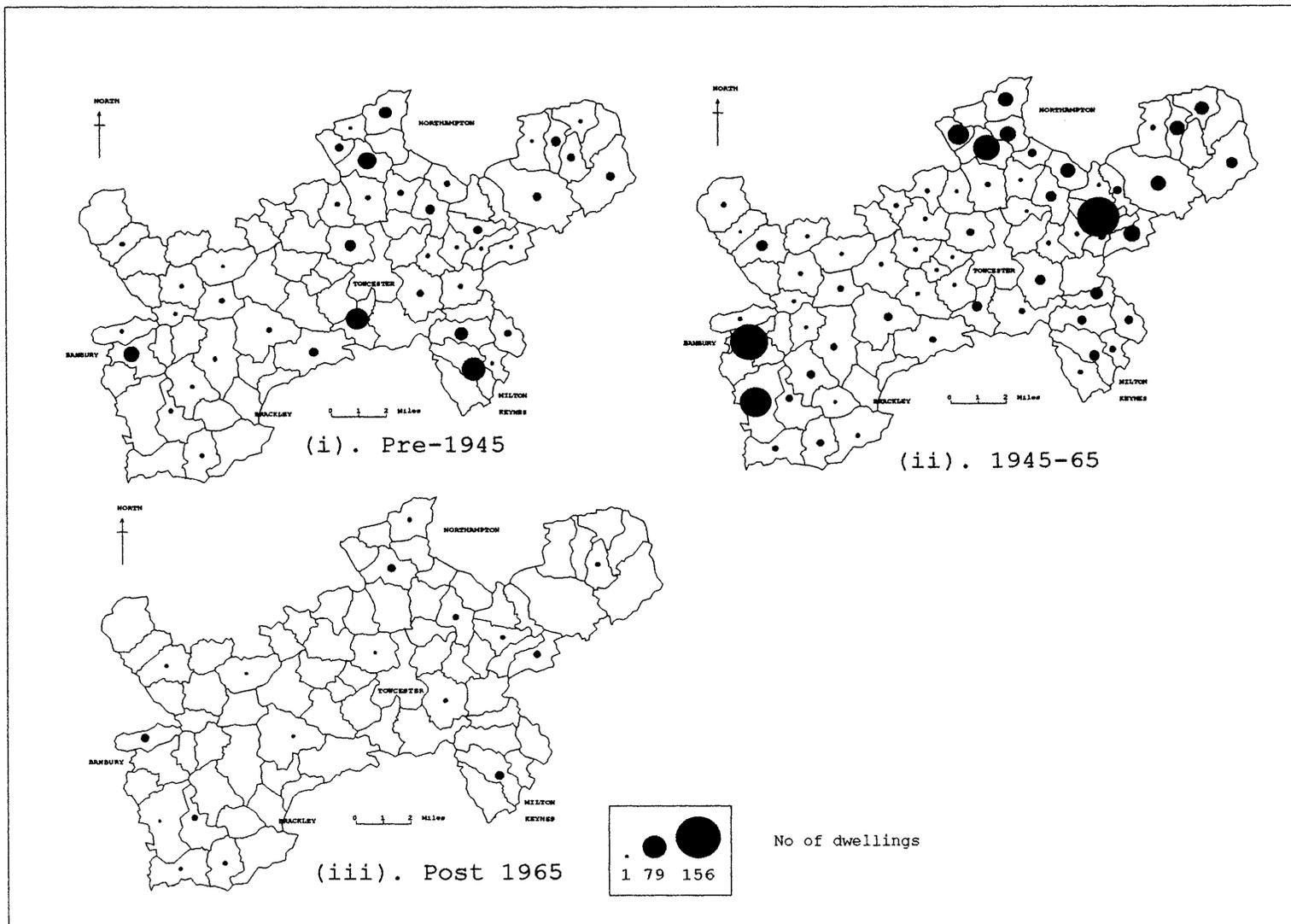


Fig 4.05., Distribution of larger (3 or 4 bedroomed) local authority dwellings at the outset of the RTB in 1981.

the smaller, two-bedroomed dwellings accounting for approximately a fifth of the stock (fig 4.02).

The distribution of local authority dwellings (figures 4.03 - 4.05) in the District is uneven. This spatial pattern of local authority housing provision will be seen to have key importance to the later resale of such dwellings, but its main characteristics can be summarised as follows:

- (i). Developments were concentrated in the hinterland parishes of Northampton and Banbury.
- (ii). A more even distribution is evident in respect of post-1965 dwellings (51 percent located in hinterlands) reflecting lower levels of housebuilding and the general absence of 'estate' developments in the larger, hinterland parishes.
- (iii). Marked spatial variation is evident when the size of the dwellings is considered, with the important corollary that the stock available to those searching for, or requiring, a certain size of dwelling was highly variable across the District.
- (iv). Whereas provision of the local authority housing was extensive in some parishes (eg. Middleton Cheney), other had few council dwellings (eg. Woodend), or none at all (eg. Castle Ashby).

It is to the factors that led to the diversity and uneven distribution of the local authority dwelling stock that discussion now turns; analysis of contemporary patterns of population change is followed by a consideration of the national policy context in the first of the two time periods under discussion.

4.2 Local Authority Housing Provision and Population Change 1919 - 1939

The inter-war pattern of local authority housing provision is inseparably linked to the prevailing changes in the rural population both nationally and in the study area. The proportion of the population resident in rural districts decreased from 28 percent of the total population in 1891, to 19.3 percent in 1951 (Saville, 1957:7), but as certain key studies have shown (eg. Vince, 1952), general reference to the depopulation of rural areas oversimplifies the complex nature of the prevailing patterns of population change. Thus, in respect of the interwar period Vince (1952) revealed that, whilst the 'primary' population had decreased in both numbers and relative proportion during the period 1921 - 1931, in some rural areas a new 'adventitious' population was moving in. Such a process was observed at the time by Ashby (1939), who noted:

"there is, however, the very interesting situation that in England and Wales both Greater London and the rural districts recently have been gaining by migration: London at the expense of other counties and other internal urban areas, and the rural districts from county boroughs and probably somewhat from other urban districts"

(Ashby, 1939:356).

Using the Registrar General's mid-year population estimates Ashby calculated that the mean level of annual population change in rural districts arising from migration averaged an increase of 1.87 percent over the period 1934-37.

At a local level between 1901 and 1931² the pattern of population change in South Northamptonshire showed marked variability, thereby mirroring wider change, with the remoter rural parishes consistently experiencing a degree

² Inclusion of data from the 1901 and 1911 censuses, whilst strictly not falling within the interwar period, enables a fuller view of the changes occurring given the absence of census data for 1931-1941.

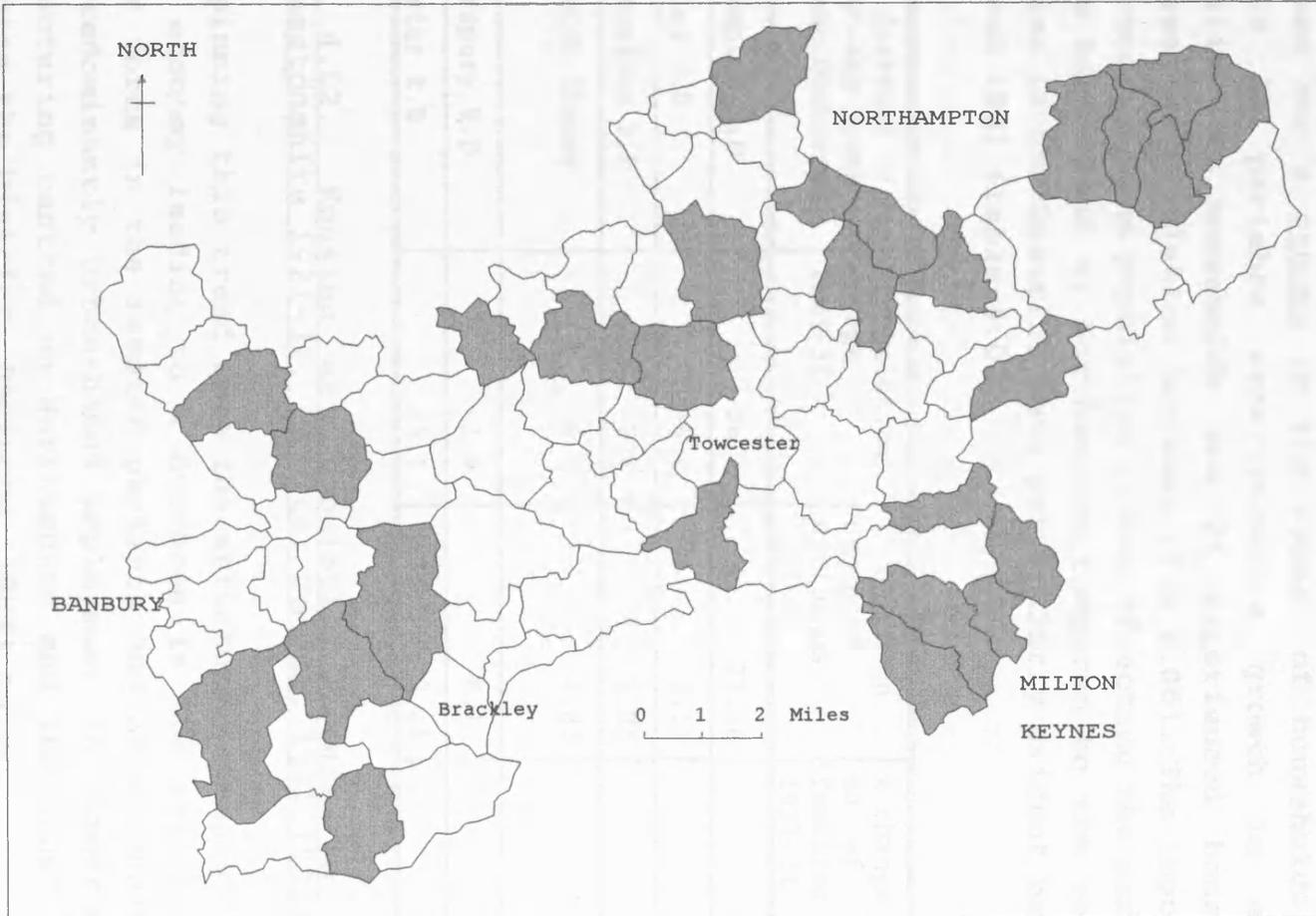


Fig 4.06., Parishes experiencing a decrease in population but an increase in the number of households 1901 - 1931 - SHADED. (Source: Census).

of population loss. However, it is only by relating this population change to the housing stock that a clearer insight into the pattern of change can be gained. Thus, the majority of remoter parishes experienced both a decrease in the total number of residents and the number of resident households, but, by contrast, the majority of parishes in the hinterlands of the District experienced population decrease but a growth in the number of households. For example 38 parishes experienced a growth in either population or households and 25 experienced household increase but population decrease (fig 4.06). The important differences in the population trends affecting the parishes in the hinterland of Northampton compared to the remoter parishes in the District were particularly evident between 1921 and 1931 (table 4.02).

Rural district of present-day South Northamptonshire	% population change 1921-31	% change in occupied dwellings 1921-31	% change in no. of families 1921-31
Northampton R.D	54.5	71.16	74.89
Brackley R.D	-6.0	2.13	1.28
Hardingstone R.D	-2.2	6.05	5.11
Middleton Cheney R.D	-6.7	4.83	4.12
Potterspury R.D	-1.4	8.1	7.61
Towcester R.D	-5.1	2.41	2.12

Table 4.02., Housing and population trends in South Northamptonshire 1921-31. (Source: Census, 1921,1931).

Underpinning this trend were the structural changes in the rural economy leading to a decrease in the agricultural labour force in the remoter parishes and an expansion in the predominantly urban-based employment in commerce and manufacturing centred on Northampton and the other towns adjoining the District. Sherwood (1984) notes,

"... several villages, particularly around Northampton ... had a significant proportion of the male working population employed in the shoe industry, and the high wages in this had attracted many employees from agriculture"

(Sherwood, 1984:187)

4.21 Local Authority Housing Provision 1919 - 1939

State involvement effected major changes in the housing market over the inter-war years and the impact on rural housing was particularly great. At the end of the First World War it is estimated that 90 percent of rural housing was in the control of private landlords (Tilley, 1947), so the rise of the state-rented sector in the countryside contributed to the transformation of a tenurial system which had remained largely unchanged for centuries.

Following Bowley's (1945) seminal study, the interwar period may be usefully divided into what she describes as the three ...

"experiments in state intervention to increase the supply of working class houses..."

(Bowley, 1945:15).

- (i). 1919 - 1923 the beginnings of the tenure on a mass-scale. The legislation envisaged a long-term role for state housing provision.
- (ii). 1923 - 1933/4 initially a revised, and much diminished role for local authority housebuilding, followed by a 're-instatement' of the local authority as a major provider of housing.

- (iii). 1933/4 - 1939 a narrower role for local authorities in housing provision, involving concentration on slum clearance and issues of sanitation.

4.22 National policy 1919 - 1923³

The first of the inter-war periods witnessed the rapid expansion of local authority housebuilding in the countryside; 105,000 dwellings, two-thirds of the inter-war total were built in the first decade alone (Rogers, 1976:119).

The origins of the post-1919 transformation of the housing market date back to the time when local government was an ad hoc mixture of predominantly unelected public bodies. Legislation passed in 1851 and predating the system of local government recognised today gave local authorities limited powers to provide housing. A concern with slum clearance and sanitation formed the basis of their involvement in the housing market. Although a few attempts to provide working class housing were made by local authorities prior to 1919, it was the Housing and Town Planning Act (1919) - the 'Addison Act' - which introduced the financial and legal framework necessary for extensive local authority housebuilding nationwide. This legislation arose from growing concern at the chronic shortage of housing following the First World War. For example Burnett (1978) has calculated that "the total additional families requiring accommodation 1911-21 was 1,093,000" (Burnett, 1978:221). These shortages were partly caused by the rent controls aimed at reforming the predominant private-rented sector of the housing market. Bowley (1945), states that the earlier housing-legislation,

³ England unless otherwise stated.

"... made it possible to open the door to the introduction of state provision of houses ... in 1919 the door was kicked wide open"

(Bowley, 1945:17).

An extensive programme of housebuilding followed this Act, stimulated by its generous financial terms which limited the liability of local authorities to a one penny rate (Malpass and Murie, 1994:49), with the remaining cost of the dwellings met by the Exchequer. This bold arrangement formed part of an Act which envisaged a long-term state role in the provision of housing,

"there was no suggestion in the new Act that wherever possible the provision of houses should be left to private enterprise, and that local authorities, once the crisis [arising from the post WW I. housing shortage] was over, should confine their activities to slum clearance"

(Bowley, 1945:17).

The subsidy applications made by local authorities to central government give an idea of the distribution of these early council dwellings, and reveal their impact on the rural housing market. Just over a third of dwelling applications came from rural districts of England and Wales (between 1919 and 1923). However, almost three-quarters (73 percent) of all schemes were located in rural districts. Compared to their urban counterparts, these schemes involved relatively small numbers of dwellings, though one in five of all local authority dwellings approved by 1923 were located in the countryside (table 4.03).

Post-war inflation led to substantial increases in the cost of these dwellings (averaging £1,000 per dwelling (Burnett, 1978) and frequently reaching £1,200 (Swenarton, 1981); but its increasing impact on public expenditure led to central government ending the prevailing subsidy arrangements in July 1921. In total 170,090 local authority dwellings (Bowley, 1945:23) were constructed under the provisions of 1919 Act, of which a fifth were located in the rural

districts of England and Wales (Rogers, 1976). Thus, within the short period between November 1919 and March 1923 the tenorial structure of the rural housing market was changed by the construction of 34,284 local authority dwellings.

Class of local authority	No. local authorities in each class	No. L.A.'s submitting schemes	No. of schemes	No. houses approved
County of London	1	1	8	7,746
Other counties	61	25	338	961
County Borough	82	82	607	75,781
Metropolitan Boroughs and City of London	29	22	76	9,356
Other Boroughs and Urban Districts	1,041	971	2,165	113,992
RURAL DISTRICTS	650	616	8,108	57,730
TOTALS	1,864	1,717	11,302	265,566

Table 4.03., Local Authority Housing Schemes in English and Welsh Rural Districts C.1921 Compared to all such Schemes.

Source: Adapted from Housing Magazine, February 14, 1921., Table b, p.240. Details refer to, "Housing schemes submitted to the Ministry of Health by local authorities", giving "... the position on 28th January, 1921"

4.23 1923 - 1933

The Housing Act (1923) - 'the Chamberlain Act' - introduced under a Conservative government marked the beginning of the 'second experiment' - but on radically different terms to the first. If the Addison Act had "opened the door for the treatment of working class housing as a sort of social service", then,

"the door was now closed as far as possible by a clause that only allowed local authorities to build houses themselves if they succeeded in convincing the Minister of Health that it would be better if they did so, than if left to private enterprise"

(Bowley, 1945:39, original emphasis).

Thus of the 437,900 dwellings constructed under this Act, only 17 percent were constructed by local authorities (Malpass and Murie, 1994), of which just over a quarter were located in rural districts (27 percent). The proportion of dwellings built by rural local authorities was under half that of the national average (7.11 percent) but this totalled some 8,410 dwellings (Rogers, 1976).

The election of Labour government in 1924 led to yet another change in policy, with the Housing Act of that year ('the Wheatley Act') designed to create long-term housing investment. Accordingly, new central government subsidies were set for local authority housebuilding and a mandatory local rate restored; together these measures ensured that the aims of the Act were met in full with the construction of over a half a million dwellings (Malpass and Murie, 1994:58). Furthermore, the Wheatley Act, together with other pieces of legislation in the inter-war period, acknowledged the particular problems facing the rural areas of the country resulting from the modernisation of agriculture and widespread depopulation. Thus, under the 1924 Housing Act, the level of subsidy available for local authority housebuilding was significantly higher in designated rural districts (£3.10s higher, at £12.10s per dwelling (Malpass and Murie, 1982:58). Overall, in the years 1925-34, 14 percent of dwellings constructed under the Wheatley Act were located in rural districts (Jennings, 1971), but the rate of building under the Act (per 1,000 head of population) in the country's towns and cities was double that of rural districts (table 4.04).

The 1930 'Greenwood Act' formalised an additional role for local authorities in clearing slums and overcrowded dwellings and was intended to operate alongside the 1924 Housing Act; however the deteriorating domestic economic situation led to the repeal of the remaining state subsidies provided by the Wheatley Act in 1933.

	RURAL DISTRICTS	County Boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts
Population 1931	7,912,289	13,301,884	5,435,703	8,789,417
Average pop' per authority	12,539	160,263	20,907	11,367
Houses built	64,031	219,647	71,038	101,915
Houses per 1,000 people	8.09	16.51	13.07	11.59

Table 4.04., Number of Rural Local Authority Dwellings Constructed Under the Wheatley Act 1925 - 34: England and Wales (excluding Greater London, (Jennings, 1971:127)).

4.24 1934 - 1939

The third and final interwar social housing 'experiment' saw local authorities' housing role redefined - henceforth they were to concentrate on slum clearance; private enterprise was now to provide the majority of working class housing during the economically difficult days of the 1930s. Between 1918 and 1930 only 11,000 slum dwellings were demolished by local authorities nationwide (Malpass and Murie, 1994:58) but throughout the 1930s, in accordance with successive Housing Acts, 237,000 dwellings were built to rehouse those affected by slum clearance programmes (Malpass and Murie, 1994:60); of these 38,951 were constructed in rural districts of England and Wales (Rogers, 1976).

4.25 Local Responses in South Northamptonshire

Not a single local authority dwelling had been built in South Northamptonshire prior to 1919, and the responsibility for the provision of low cost (rented) housing for local people lay in the hands of private landlords who were often the employers as well. Thus the 'tied' cottage and tenant was a particular feature of rural Northamptonshire, whilst in South Northamptonshire much of

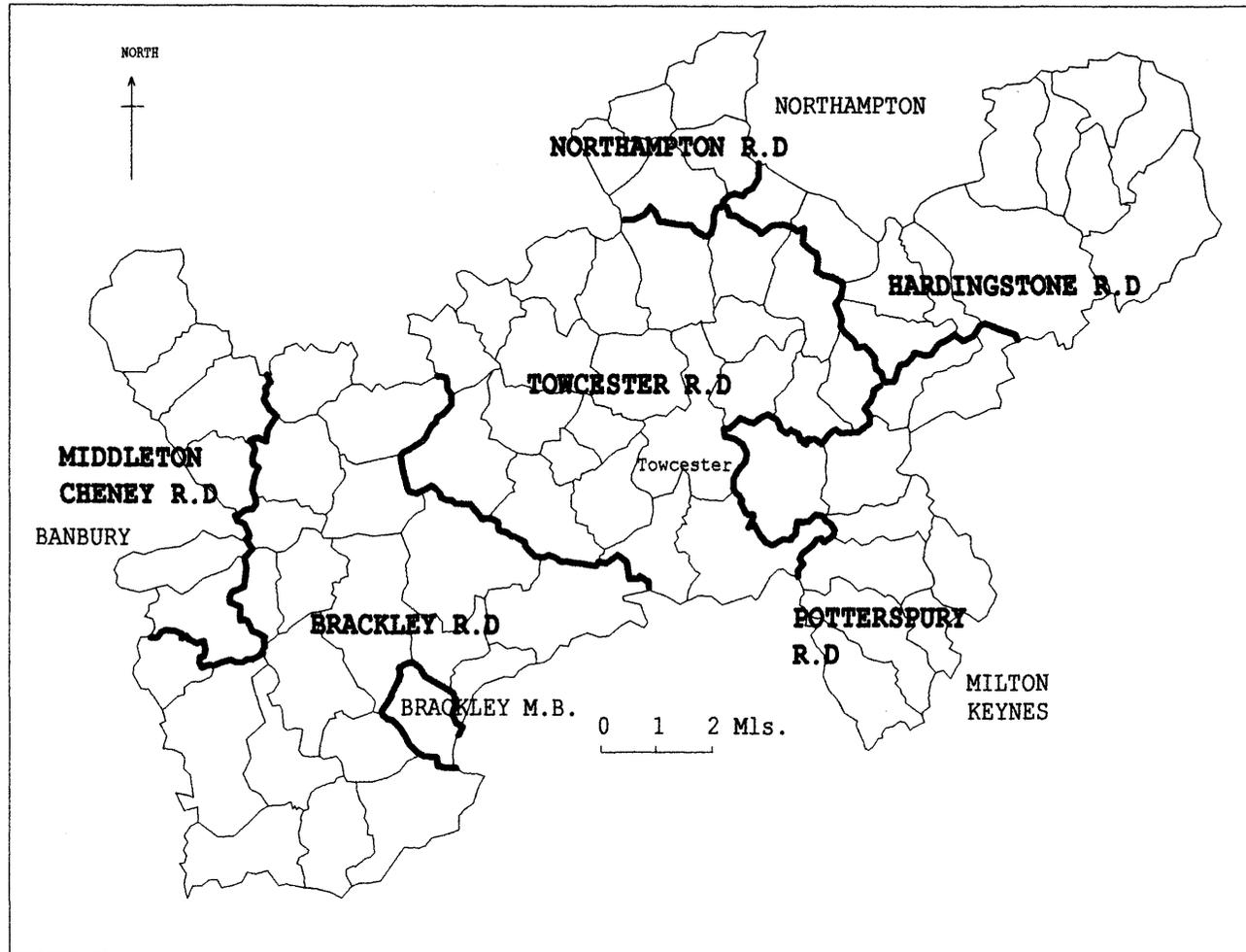


Fig 4.07., Local Government Administration of South Northamptonshire Before 1935.

the housing was tied to large private landowners or proprietors. According to Bateman (1883) over a half of the parishes in the District were dominated by a single estate, though their decline in the first half of the twentieth century, paralleled by the unprecedented sales of entire villages, meant both the transfer of hundreds of properties into private hands and the need for a new agency to replace the paternalistic role of the landed estate as housing provider and manager. Into this void was to step the local authority, though the 'Addison' requirement that all councils should survey the housing needs of the District was responded to initially with a mixture of hesitance, reluctance, and in some cases outright truculence. In all only 150 council houses were built across South Northamptonshire between 1919 and 1922 (an average of 2 per parish, and only 1.9 percent of the total dwelling stock). Moreover, the detailed distribution of these dwellings reflected as much the attitude of respective district and parish councils (fig 4.07) as it did the actual distribution of 'need'. Thus in the case of Middleton Cheney Rural District Council (henceforth RDC), the council decided to build all its local authority dwellings (20 units) within the parish of Middleton Cheney itself; in contrast Towcester RDC, after a number of draft proposals, decided to allocate all such dwellings (54 units) to seven outlying villages within the District. On the whole implementation of the 1919 Act in the District was not a smooth process; in some cases parishes councils failed to submit the required housing need survey results within the time allocated, whilst in other instances when such survey results were received the RDC disregarded the findings altogether.

In the remoter parishes where agricultural depression and depopulation were particular issues, the level of council rents was a major problem, and many attempts were made to keep rents at a level affordable by those the dwellings were intended to house, viz. local, working-class people (agricultural workers, labourers and artisans). For

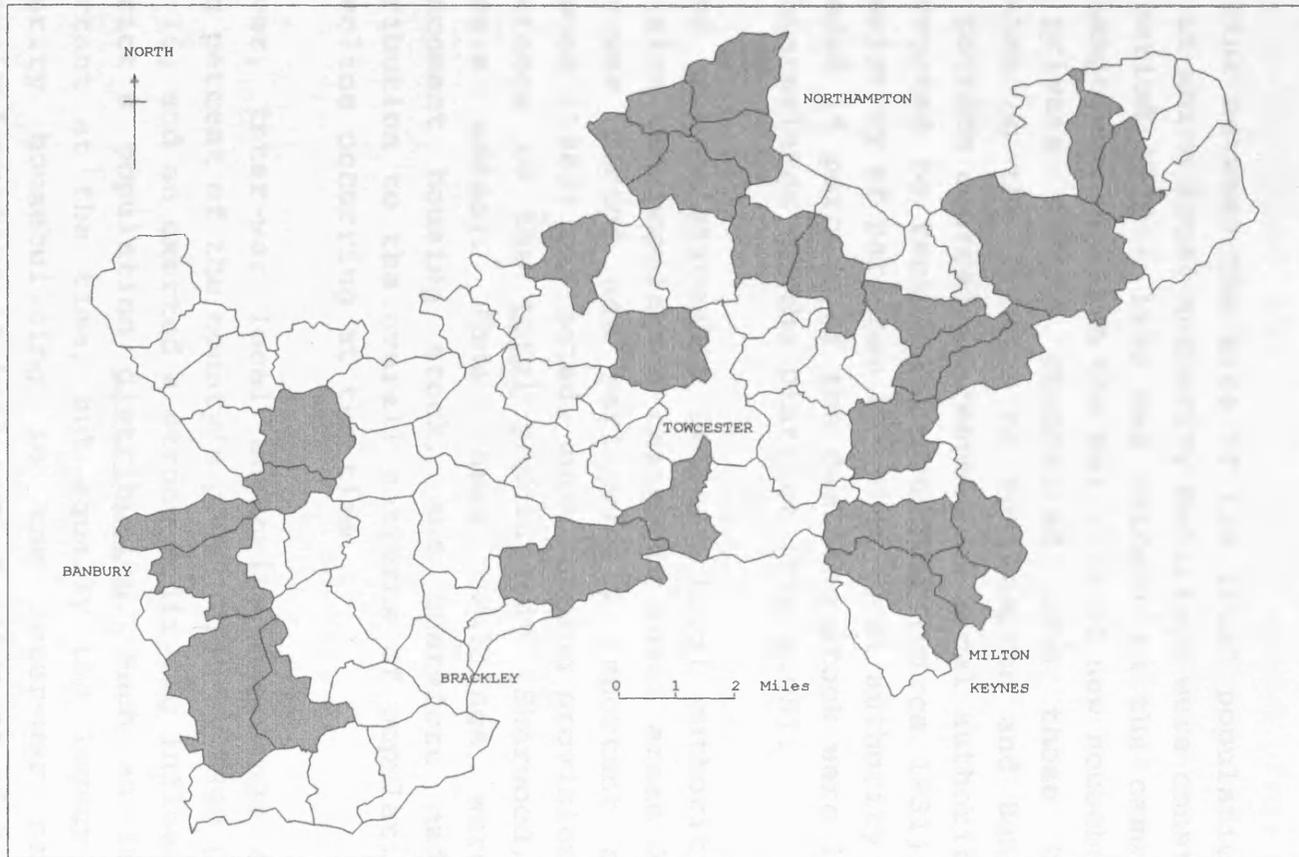


Fig 4.08., Parishes where inter-war council housing exceeded 15 percent of the dwelling stock - SHADED. (Source: Census).

example, such concerns led to Middleton Cheney RDC reducing the weekly rents for the council dwellings built under the 1919 Act by 2s.0d (NRO: LG 27/5, 6th April, 1925), a considerable reduction at the time. Such actions underline the parochial and 'paternal' nature of local government administration in this period.

The link between the size of the local population and the rate at which local authority dwellings were constructed in the period 1919 - 1930 was evident in the case of South Northamptonshire, with the majority of new housebuilding in the private sector channelled into those hinterland parishes on the fringes of Northampton and Banbury. The same pattern emerged in respect of local authority housing constructed to tackle overcrowding (circa 1931), so that the majority of parishes in which local authority dwellings exceeded 15 percent of the dwelling stock were located in the hinterlands of the District (fig 4.08).

Indeed the relationship between local authority housing provision and population change in rural areas during the inter-war period was particularly important since, as Sherwood (1983) has noted, such housing provision "made no difference to the total population" (Sherwood, 1984:184, emphasis added). Thus these dwellings were mainly replacement housing stock, and therefore made little contribution to the overall patterns of population growth or decline occurring at the time.

However, inter-war local authority dwellings did house seven percent of the county's population by 1940 (Sherwood, 1996:16) and so exerted a strong modifying influence on the District's population distribution. Such an impact was important at the time, but equally the legacy of local authority housebuilding in the inter-war period was extremely important in influencing patterns of housing and population change over the following decades.

Those remoter parishes which experienced marked depopulation, for example Greens Norton and Litchborough, were refused new local authority dwellings by their respective RDCs on the (quite reasonable) grounds that there appeared to be insufficient demand. Even parishes closer to the county town encountered such refusals. For example Towcester RDC received a letter from Blisworth parish council in 1929 reporting a shortage of housing in the parish and requesting new council housing, but after initial enquiries the RDC decided that in view of the decreasing population,

"there does not appear to be any need for further houses to be built in the area at the present time".

(NRO: LG/ 9, 14th January, 1929).

However what the local authority failed to recognise was that the demand came not from population trends but high levels of overcrowding in the current stock, regardless of out-migration. Nevertheless housing was not provided.

In contrast Northampton RDC, which experienced modest population gains in some parishes, had obtained 200 grants for local authority housebuilding by 1929 (Sherwood, 1984:165). The concentration of new local authority housebuilding into the parishes in the Northampton hinterland reflected efforts to alleviate the overcrowding of the existing dwelling stock. As well as fulfilling the public health responsibility of the local council, such local authority building may be seen as allowing the local working population to find housing in the face of competition from those moving-in from outside the District and adding to the shortage of (affordable) accommodation and further promoting overcrowding. This process of suburbanisation ultimately led to the subsequent 'absorbtion' of a number of parishes into the County Borough in later years.

Following the provisions of the 1930 Housing Act⁴ all parishes of South Northamptonshire were surveyed by their rural district councils, and in 1931 10.25 percent of the total dwelling stock of 7,742 dwellings was found to be unfit for habitation. The distribution of these dwellings varied considerably across the District; only 1.43 percent of the housing stock in Brackley RDC was classified as unfit compared to 13 percent in Northampton RDC, and 21.5 percent in Towcester RDC (Sherwood, 1984:168). The widely varying results of the district council surveys arose from the different responses of the six RDCs and exposed the need for a more systematic survey both of South Northamptonshire and the entire county. Such a survey was undertaken by the County Medical Officer in 1935 and his review became the policy framework for the following decade. Moreover, because this survey adjusted the amount of unfit accommodation substantially (in the case of Brackley an increase by a factor of 12) it had a fundamental impact both on the size and distribution of the local authority housing stock from this period.

Throughout the development of the new tenure in the District the type of dwelling stock constructed by the local councils was determined by local housing needs surveys. Thus the composition of the local authority stock at the outset of the RTB reflects a 'layering' of successive attempts by RDCs to match contemporary housing need with appropriate accommodation, further highlighting the link between housing and population change. Minutes from Northampton RDC from July 1936 illustrate this point; following a survey of the existing dwelling stock in accordance with overcrowding and sanitary policy, the next dwelling programme was planned on the basis of the size and nature of the resident population at the time of the survey:

⁴ Section 32, Housing Act (1930).

"3rd July, 1936: 3 houses may be required to abate overcrowding as follows.... Ashton 1 x 3 bedroom house, Brafield-on-the-Green 1 x 3 bedroom house and 2 x 4 bedroomed houses, Denton 1 x 2 bedroom house"

(NRO: LG 28/7, 3rd July, 1936).

In total 2,361 local authority dwellings were built across the District between 1930 and 1939.

District	Slum Clearance	1930-34	1935-40
Brackley	230	3	226
Towcester	472	59	394
Northampton	398	117	462
Total	1100	179	1082

Table 4.05., Council Housebuilding by RDCs in Present-Day South Northamptonshire 1919-1936 (Sherwood, 1994:16).

The combination of economic changes affecting agriculture in particular, together with depopulation of remoter parishes, a growth in the population of the parishes adjoining the county town, and logistical problems in building dwellings in remoter locations, resulted in 86.6 percent of interwar council building being located in the hinterlands of the District (fig 4.03).

4.26 Dwelling types

Throughout the period the development of the tenure the type and standard of the local authority dwellings varied greatly and such variation, in determining the attractiveness of the stock to later homebuyers, is of particular importance to the subsequent analysis of resales.

Housing constructed under these first pieces of social housing legislation was principally concerned with meeting

the post-war housing shortage and alleviating overcrowding. As Malpass and Murie (1994) note, contemporary political debate extended not only to whether the state should be involved in housing provision in this way, but was also concerned ...

"... that improved housing was one specific demand by the working class which would have to be met by state intervention during the critical period of social and political instability after the war..."

(Malpass and Murie, 1994:52-3, emphasis added).

Campaigning by bodies such as the Workmen's National Housing Council (WMHC) and the newly formed Labour Party, together with the influence of the 'Garden City' movement, led to the Tudor Walter's Committee's progressive stance on dwelling quality. This government-sponsored report was,

"... the first comprehensive treatise on the political, technical and practical issues involved in the design of the small house, and in the housing debates of 1918-19, its authority became almost unquestionable..."

(Swenarton, 1981:137).

As a result of the central administration of local authority housebuilding - a housing manual was issued to local authorities in 1919 on the basis of the committee's report - the quality of the first council dwellings was high. As Burnett notes,

".. of the quality, as opposed to the quantity, of Addison houses there was little if any complaint. Indeed, in terms of space standards at least, they were the best of all inter-war local- authority houses"

(Burnett, 1978:227).

Indeed, reference to the guidance sent to local authorities reveals twin concerns of quality and economy,

"... by the choice of suitable local materials, and the adoption of simple lines and good proportion and grouping

of buildings, with well-considered variation in design and the treatment of prominent parts, good appearance may be secured within the limits required by due economy"

(Local Government Board, 1919).

Houses built under the early inter-war legislation rivalled those constructed by speculative builders in the private-sector. They fell into two broad categories: type A, non-parlour, and type B, parlour types. The most frequently constructed types were A3 (living-room, scullery and three bedrooms) and B3 (living-room, parlour, scullery and three bedrooms) (Burnett, 1978:227).

In South Northamptonshire limited numbers of such dwellings were constructed under the Addison Act; in Middleton Cheney for example, the RDC purchased a site and developed 10 type A (non-parlour) and 10 type B (with-parlour) dwellings (Sherwood, 1996:11).

The 1921 reduction in central government subsidies led to a fall in the standard of the dwellings constructed under the later 1923 and 1924 Acts; this was particularly reflected in the floor area of the later dwellings which decreased from the generous size of earlier dwellings (which typically ranged from 950 - 1,400 square feet) to a more modest 750 - 850 square feet (Merrett, 1979:322).

Within the District, modest numbers of dwellings were built under the 1923 and 1924 Acts. However, in the case of Towcester and Middleton Cheney RDC's, following limited developments under the Addison Act, no further (local authority) housing was built throughout the 1920s (table 4.06).

Malpass and Murie (1994) conclude of the latter pieces of housing legislation,

" nevertheless, the Chamberlain and Wheatley Act houses built in the 1920s were still good dwellings. It was later, after 1930, that standards really fell..."

Malpass and Murie (1994:56).

Rural District	1921-5	1926	1927	1928	1929
Brackley R.D	95	-	-	-	-
Hardingstone R.D	30	-	-	-	-
Middleton Cheney R.D	22	-	-	-	-
Northampton R.D	150	33	64	8	6
Potterspury R.D	8	-	2		
Towcester R.D	58	-	-	-	-
Total	363	33	66	8	6

Table 4.06., Local Authority Housebuilding by RDCs comprising Present-day South Northamptonshire 1921-29 (Sherwood, 1994:14).

The low level of central government subsidies available to fund the construction of 1930s council housing when compared (in relative terms) to the previous decade led to a fall in dwelling standards. Cole and Furbey describe this transition,

" ... the government[s] had reduced the status of council housing as a tenure offering model housing standards ... [the] council housing form came to reflect the internal differentiation of the working class and, by 1939, the sector was identified increasingly as offering minimum sanitary standards as the National Government looked to owner-occupation to provide mainstream housing"

(Cole and Furbey, 1994:97).

Burnett cites the change in subsidy arrangements with the introduction of a new "cost-per-head" for all rehoused in slum clearance as the cause for the fall in dwelling standards. He notes,

" standards probably reached their lowest point in 1936, and it was not without difficulty that the fundamental principles of Tudor Walters were maintained in face of pressure for the 'minimum standard house' ... economies tended to be concentrated in the dwelling itself in favour of simpler elevations and plans, reduced floor areas and greater emphasis on three- and two- bedroomed, non-parlour

types. Officially, room sizes were not changed, but what had changed in practice was the former generosity of interpretation and an increasing tendency to regard the minimum as the maximum..."

(Burnett, 1978:247).

The size of dwellings decreased during the period to a typical floor area of 700 square feet, whilst building densities climbed to 16 dwellings per acre. The author noted that in areas with continuous development in the inter-war period the differences in dwellings between each phase were "clearly visible on the ground" (Burnett, 1978:24)

Thus it was against such a background of major economic change and population movements that local authority housing emerged as a new tenure in the countryside. Evolving central government policy and varying local responses served to vary both the distribution and the type of local authority dwelling dating from this period. In all, 159,000 such dwellings were built in England and Wales (Forrest and Murie, 1992:54). After a slow start following the Addison Act the local authorities in South Northamptonshire were particularly active in their new role as housebuilders, and the county had achieved the 9th highest level of local authority housebuilding in England by 1939 (Marshall, 1968).

4.3 Local Authority Housing Provision and Rural Population Change 1945 to 1980

The provision of local authority housing in the post-war period can be directly related to prevailing population change in the countryside. Thus census data reveal that the total population of rural areas began to increase after 1951 following a century of stagnation or decline (Lawton, 1973). However, focus on the overall total of those resident in rural areas tends to conceal the spatial patterns of population change. Such patterns may broadly be characterised as population growth in the more accessible

rural areas and decline in remoter districts. These processes were predominantly driven by migration (Lawton, 1977) and have attracted a vast and burgeoning literature. In the majority of such studies little mention is made of the role of the housing market, and reference to local authority housebuilding is practically non-existent. A clearer understanding of the relationship between the two processes can be gained by examining the population changes affecting South Northamptonshire between 1945 and 1980.

The rural District of South Northamptonshire experienced dramatic and pronounced population growth after 1945. The county as a whole was one of the ten fastest growing counties in England and Wales in each decade 1961-81, and the District's growth rate has consistently outstripped that of the county (N.C.C., 1985). The District's population increased by 57.26 percent between 1947 and 1981; from 40,697 to 63,999 residents (N.C.C., 1951; OPCS, 1991).

The increase in the District's population in the immediate post-war period was revealed by a county council survey covering the period 1939-47 (N.C.C., 1951) which showed population growth of 10.34 percent, from 36,880 to 40,697 residents. The majority of this increase (55 percent) was experienced in the hinterland parishes of Northampton Rural District. Just over a quarter of the increase was located in the area covered by Brackley RD (27.7 percent). In-migration was the chief cause of the increase in these two districts (averaging +9.5 percent); natural population change played a lesser role (average +3.5 percent). Towcester RD experienced the lowest overall population increase; natural population change marginally exceeded growth from migration (+3 percent, compared to +2 percent).

Such a pattern of population increase continued to affect the District between 1951 and 1961, with the resident population growing by 6.78 percent, and almost three-quarters of this growth caused by in-migration. Once again

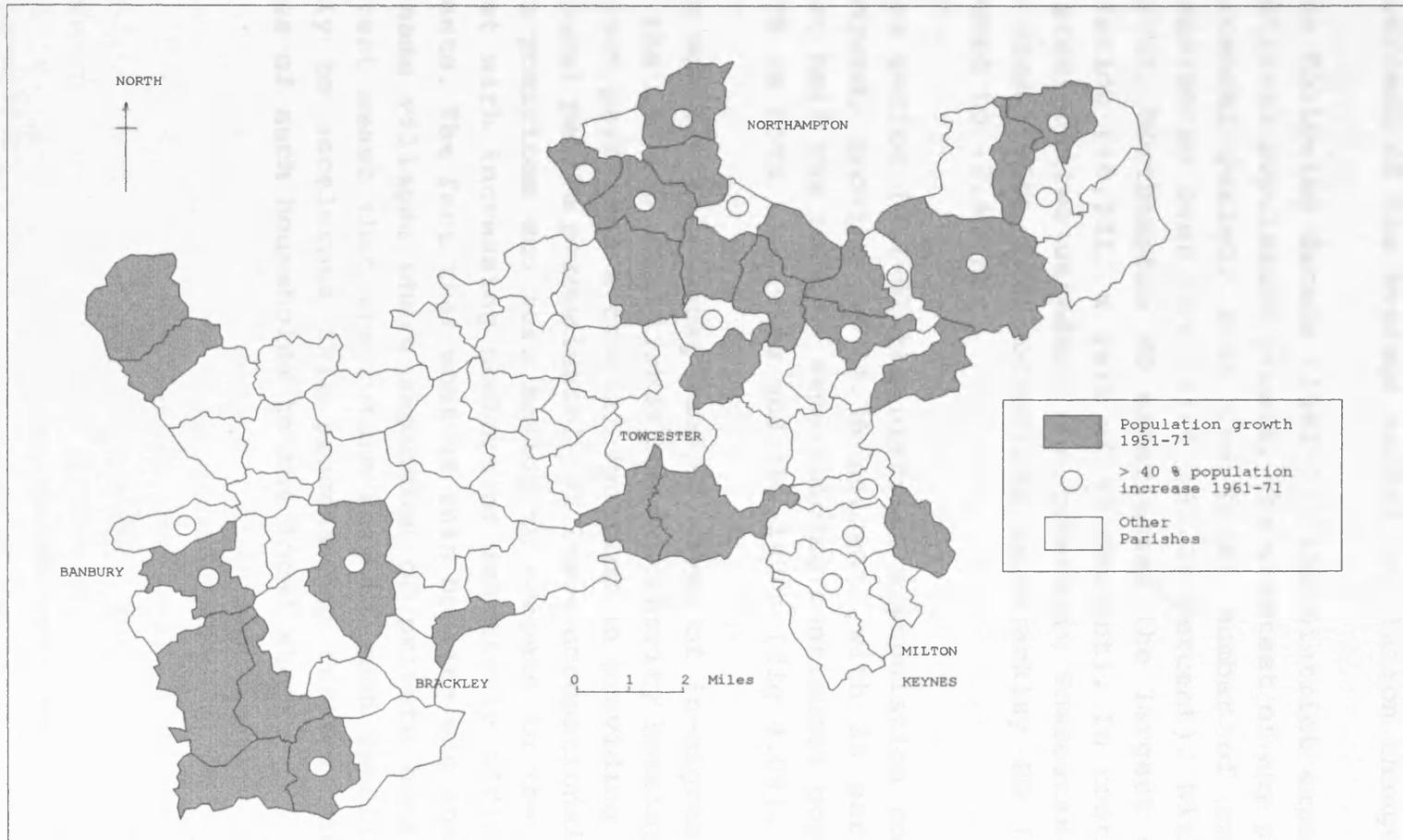


Fig 4.09., Parishes experiencing continued population growth 1951-71. (Source: Census).

the total figures for the District conceal spatial variations, for the vast majority of the population increase was experienced in the hinterland of Northampton (82 percent of the average annual population change).

In the following decade (1961-71) the District experienced exceptional population growth, the greatest of any post-war intercensal period, with the total number of residents increasing by over one third (37.33 percent). Within the District, Northampton RD experienced the largest gain in population (+6,321, a gain of 43 percent). In contrast to the previous two decades, the growth in Towcester RD was more than twice that occurring in Brackley RD (+5,841, compared to +2,480).

In the period 1971-81 the District's population continued to expand, growing by 11.36 percent, with 33 parishes - almost half the total - experiencing continuous population growth in both the 1960s and the 1970s (fig 4.09).

It is against this background of waves of in-migrants that both the new and established local authority housing in the District performed a crucial function in providing housing for local people predominantly of lower occupational social class positions who were having to compete in the housing market with increasing numbers of relatively affluent in-migrants. The fact that most of this housing was located in the same villages where expansion of private housing was greatest meant that the future sale of such dwellings was likely to accelerate this process and further limit the access of such households to the local stock.

4.31 Local Authority Housing Provision: National Policy 1945 - 1953

The experience of the inter-war years had transformed local authority housing from an experimental form of housing to an accepted dimension of the domestic housing market. In the post-war era the tenure was subject to major changes which explain the varied nature and distribution of the stock dating from this period and 'inherited' by the local authorities at the outset of the Right To Buy.

The immediate post-war years marked a new phase of sustained local authority housebuilding on a massive scale, and resulted in the construction of 2.9 million dwellings between 1945 and 1965 (Shucksmith, 1990:6). The provision of local authority housing was altogether different from that in the 1930s. The social and economic changes wrought by the Second World War included a widespread desire for social reform; the population had grown by a million persons and three and a half million homes had either been damaged or destroyed in the conflict (Malpass and Murie, 1994:64). The discontinuity with the local authority housing policy of the 1930s was greatest in respect of the purpose of housebuilding by local government. Instead of concern with slum clearance there was an urgent need to increase the size of the dwelling stock.

In the years between 1946 and 1951 local authorities were responsible for constructing the greatest number of new dwellings. This departure is directly related to the ideology of the first post-war socialist government which imposed quotas severely limiting private-sector housebuilding. Such a turnaround occurred as a result of the 1946 Housing Act which increased the necessary subsidies and rate contributions available to local government; higher subsidies were made available in rural areas (Burnett, 1978:286), no doubt reflecting generally higher dwelling costs as a result of connecting services to remoter localities and the smaller scale of such

developments and therefore the resulting loss of economies of scale. Across England and Wales 900,000 dwellings were built under the 1946 legislation, though in contrast to the pre-war situation, the Scott Report, the Town and Country Planning Act (1947), and successor legislation⁵ required stricter controls on the siting of new housebuilding in the countryside because these measures "enshrined the principal of protecting rural land and agricultural areas [from urban development]" (Rydin, 1993:28). The sustained high level of local authority housebuilding continued until the mid-1950s, when housing policy was reviewed by the new Conservative government and local authorities were once again left to concentrate on slum clearance, giving the private sector the main task of expanding the dwelling stock.

4.32 Local Authority Housing Provision: National policy 1954 - 1980

In the period 1954 to 1964 local authority housebuilding in Britain as a whole decreased by 50 percent, dropping from 223,731 units in 1954 to 105,529 in 1961 (Malpass and Murie, 1994:67). With the singular exception of single bedroomed housing for the elderly, the Housing Subsidies Act (1956) removed the central government subsidy for general needs housing, and thus in effect forced councils to concentrate on slum clearance.

The level of local authority housebuilding was briefly restored to earlier levels during the Labour government of 1964 - 1968, with 400,000 dwellings built per annum in 1967 and 1968, but thereafter average annual completions in England totalled 83,500 to 1980 (Newton and C.H.A.S, 1991:16). The role of local authority housing was now much diminished, reflecting changing economic circumstances and, importantly, a change of policy on the part of the Labour Party, hitherto the tenure's principal proponent.

⁵ Town and Country Planning Acts 1968 and 1971.

"Once the country has overcome its huge social problem of slumdom and obsolescence ... the programme 'of subsidised council housing should decrease ... the expansion of building for owner-occupation on the other hand is normal; it reflects long-term social advance which should gradually pervade every region..."

(Great Britain, 1965, cited in Malpass and Murie, 1994:70).

Urban areas received the bulk of post-war local authority dwellings; the rate of local authority housebuilding in the period 1949 to 1974 was highest in the urban districts with a rate of 2.18 dwellings built per 1,000 population per annum (for England as a whole), compared to 1.55 per 1,000 in rural districts (Clark, 1984:23). Such a pattern largely reflects the political complexion of local government; predominantly Labour controlled urban authorities were generally in favour of continued local authority housebuilding, in contrast to rural areas which were mainly administered by Conservative councils opposed to such housing provision.

4.33 Local responses

High levels of new local authority housebuilding and strict limits on private-sector housing construction characterised the immediate post-war period in South Northamptonshire. By 1951, 1,289 local authority dwellings had either been approved by the Housing Ministry, were in the course of construction, or had been completed (Sherwood, 1984:213). As in the case of earlier local authority housebuilding in the District, the siting of the dwellings was determined by a combination of factors including: the prevailing patterns of population change, the decision-making of the rural district councils, the co-operation of private landowners, the availability of mains services (primarily sewerage and water connections) and the constraints of planning legislation. Economic factors were also instrumental in the siting of post-war dwellings, as for example in the case of Northampton RDC which determined on 7th August 1949 that 25

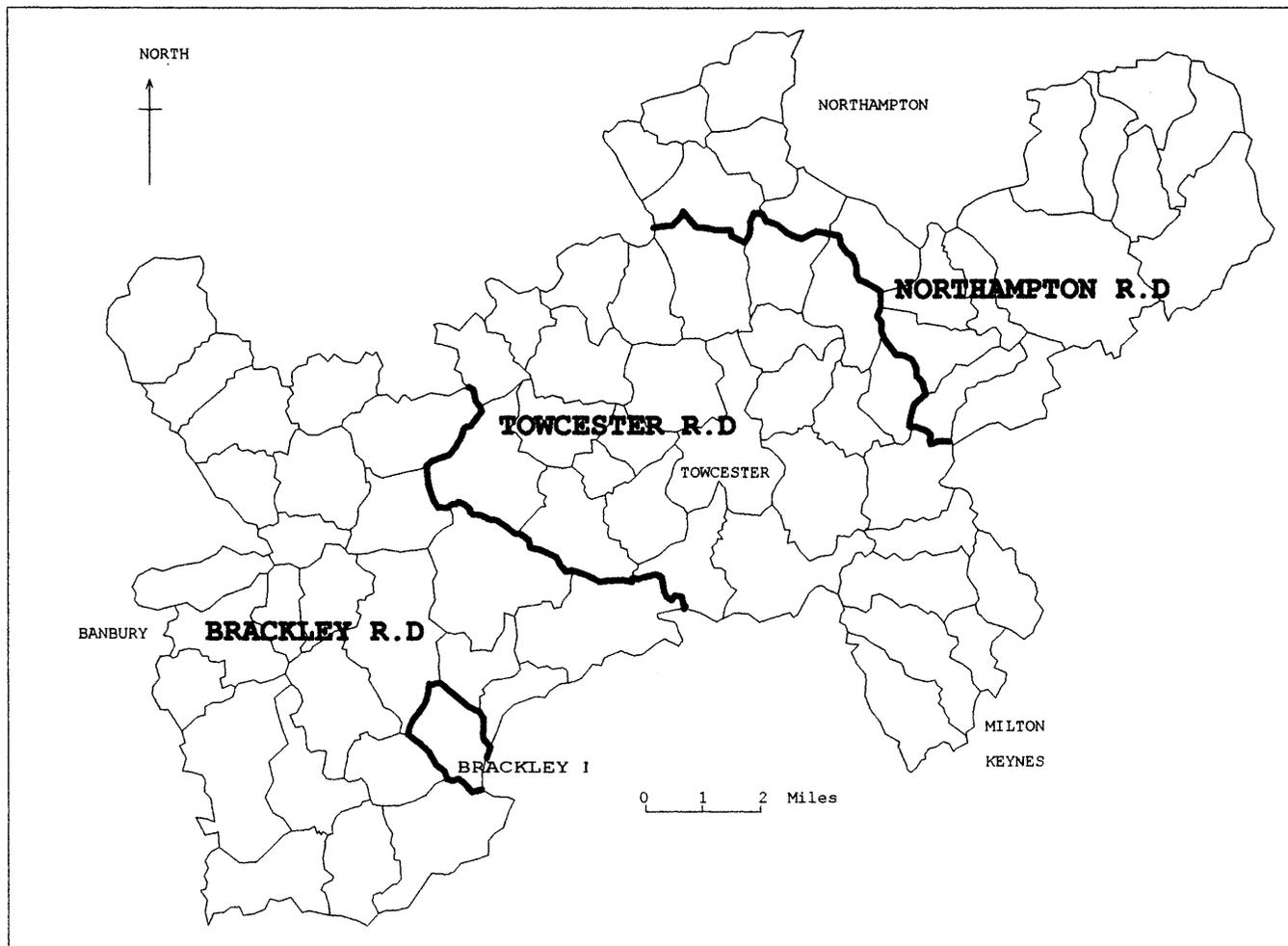


Fig 4.10., Administrative Sub-Divisions of South Northamptonshire, 1935 - 1974.

aluminium bungalows would be sited near factories and let to workers in 'particular vital industries' to minimise the journey to work and "speed-up the export drive" (NRO: LG/28, 7th July, 1949). Furthermore, the changes in local government administration dating from 1935 had a direct impact on the implementation of the post-war legislation, so that local housing need and the siting of local authority dwellings was now assessed by just three successor RDCs; thus Northampton RDC's 'local' responsibility now extended to the population of 24 parishes, double the pre-1935 number (fig 4.10).

During the immediate post-war reconstruction effort, controls on housebuilding were imposed on the basis of the size of the local population and its perceived local housing needs. At a conference of RDC's in 1947 the initial intention was expressed that future housebuilding programmes be linked to local population changes. Furthermore the minutes note,

"... local needs must be [one of] the governing factors of the programmes..."

(NRO: LG 33/9, 13th March, 1947).

The availability of suitable development land was a major influence on the actual location of local authority building throughout the development of the tenure in the District. The siting of 40 new local authority dwellings by Brackley RDC in February 1950 provides a good example of how notions of housing need in given parishes were modified by the availability of suitable sites. Despite evidence of local housing need in the parishes of Aston-le-Walls, Eydon and Sulgrave, inadequate drainage and water supplies prevented the siting of new dwellings in these parishes and development proceeded in neighbouring parishes instead.

It was during these years that an important change in the purpose of local authority housing was implemented; earlier

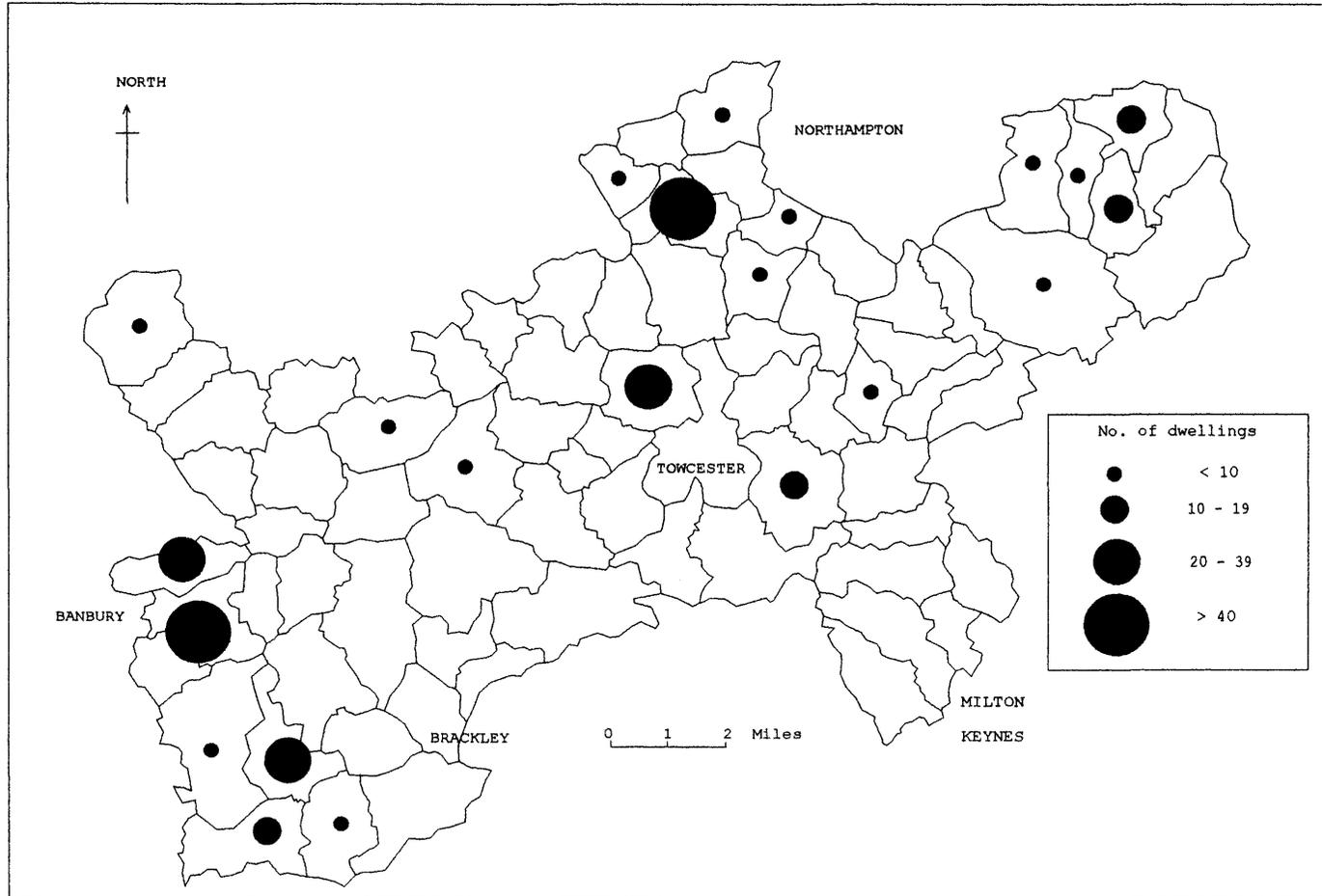


Fig 4.11., Distribution of New Local Authority Dwellings 1973 - 1980.

requirements that the tenure be used for housing the 'working classes' were revised, so that,

"local authorities are now required to meet the varied needs of the community and to ensure a proper balance in the development of their new estates..."

(Housing Act, 1949:105).

Within the District much of the new local authority housing development took the form of 'estates' in the larger hinterland villages. Such a style of building ensured that greater economies of scale could be achieved. The building of council estates had the effect of widening further the difference in housing provision between hinterland and remoter parishes. In the latter, dwellings were usually built in modest racks on the outskirts of villages, such an approach being more cost-effective than in-situ replacement of unfit dwellings and the infilling of gaps left by the earlier demolition of condemned properties.

Limited numbers of dwellings were built between 1954 -80 (approximately 800), and in the period after 1961 the scale of local authority housebuilding decreased greatly following the easing of restrictions on the private-sector. In seven of the nine years between 1945 and 1954, local authority housebuilding exceeded 120 dwellings per annum, but it was never to exceed this level of new building after 1954.

In the years between 1973 and 1980, a total of only 329 local authority dwellings were built; their siting illustrates the influence of the planning legislation in shaping the subsequent pattern of housing and population change. Thus, these dwellings were located in 25 of the 74 rural parishes of the District (fig 4.11); however the development categories assigned to each village in the 1972 Rural Development Plan resulted in concentration of the majority (63.5 percent) into just six parishes, namely Hartwell and Chacombe (moderate growth villages - infill

only), Bugbrooke and Middleton Cheney (key centres), Greens Norton (moderate growth village - estate development Only), Newbottle (limited growth village - estate development not allowed) (Sherwood, 1984:236).

Once again the changing geographical scale of local government administration was a further factor influencing the siting of local authority housebuilding. Thus in 1975, one year after South Northamptonshire District was formed from the three pre-existing RDCs (and one MBC), the spread of its new housebuilding programme was based upon notions of need and the availability of council-owned land - as opposed to previous parochial policies which focused principally on centres of need.

In summary, in the immediate post-war period local authority housing added to the housing stock of the District during a time when private sector building was severely restrained by government policy. Subsequently, between 1961 and 1981, private sector building accounted for the vast majority of the 74 percent increase in the size of the dwelling stock, with the local authority reduced to a relatively minor role in new dwelling provision.

4.34 Dwelling types.

The emerging post-war crisis in housing led to the authors of the 'Dudley Report' (1944) - the government appointed Central Housing Advisory Committee - assessing the overall situation. It recommended that the slide in building standards evident throughout the 1930s be addressed. Thus, a minimum of 900 sq. feet per dwelling was recommended, compared to average house sizes of 750 - 850 sq. ft throughout the preceding decade (Holmans, 1987:118).

Those concerned with the provision of housing immediately after the war were determined that the new local authority dwellings should set new and higher standards,

"While we shall be judged for a year or two by the number of houses we build, we shall be judged in ten years time by the type of houses we build"

(Aneurin Bevan, 1946, quoted in Foot, 1973:82).

Thus it was decided that the new dwellings should incorporate the following features:

- enlargement of the scullery to a kitchen
- inclusion of a small utility room
- the bathroom to be placed upstairs
- incorporation of better plumbing, heating, equipment and storage facilities.

(Cullingworth, 1966:142).

Those dwellings completed in the first five years after the war realised such standards, being popularly named after the housing Minister of the day,

"... the three-bedroomed 'Bevan houses' completed during the period 1946-51 averaged 1,044 sq. ft., boasted most or all of the detailed recommendations of the [Dudley] Report, and incorporated two lavatories - a controversial feature which provoked charges of extravagance..."

(Cole and Furbey, 1994:98).

Within South Northamptonshire the majority of post-war dwellings were built during this period and consequently reflect the higher prevailing dwelling standards of the time.

The return to higher building standards was short-lived and economic considerations led to a reduction in dwelling specifications following the change of government in 1951. Instead, local authorities were encouraged to build smaller, two bedroomed houses, approximately 150 sq. ft. smaller than the 'Bevan houses' (Holmans, 1987:119). However it was the 1954 Housing Act which effected a "brutal reduction in standards" (Merrett, 1979:246) and

changed the role of local authorities, one which has endured to the present day. No longer were they to be the main providers of new housing, instead this task was passed to the private-sector. Once more the emphasis was on slum clearance.

Widespread concern with the reduced standards of local authority housing led to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government Committee (the 'Parker Morris Committee') recommendations in 1961 which suggested that standards be restored roughly in line with the earlier Tudor Walters and Dudley Committee recommendations (Malpass and Murie, 1994:98). However, only a few local authorities adopted these standards and it was not until 1969 that they were finally given force of law.

As Holmans (1987) notes, the reduction in the slum clearance activities of local authorities in the 1960s and 1970s was due to the,

"... limited esteem in which much new local authority building was held, [particularly the] houses built by industrialized methods... to replace nineteenth century unfit housing by such dwellings could be derided as no more than 'new slums for old'"

(Holmans, 1987:127).

The standards of the relatively modest numbers of local authority dwellings constructed in the 1970s and 1980s, were to their detriment, influenced by the penny-pinching specifications of modern 'starter' homes.

Thus, the post-war period resulted in a great range of local authority dwelling types and standards, a legacy which was to ensure that later purchasers under the Right To Buy in 1980 were faced with a multiplicity of housing opportunities all falling under the deceptively simple heading - 'council house sales'.

4.4 The Sale of Council Dwellings Prior to 1980.

The sale of local authority housing has always been a feature of the tenure and can be traced back to the precursor of the mass provision of council housing, the Artisan's and Labourers' Dwelling Improvement Act (1875); indeed this Act obliged any local authority building dwellings to sell them within a decade.

Between 1953 and 1980, over a third of a million council dwellings were sold in England and Wales (Merrett and Gray, 1982:118), and indeed for the majority of the period between 1919 and 1980 tenants were able to purchase their home at the discretion of the local authority. However certain dwellings, such as most of those built under the Addison Act, were excluded from discretionary sales. The war also affected sales,

"... the onset of the Second World War and the concurrent fall in housing production led to a ban on sales in 1939 and after peace was declared the Labour government maintained the restriction through until 1951, essentially to ensure the availability of houses to let to persons in need"

(Merrett and Gray, 1982:118).

Thereafter sales took place at the discretion of the local authority with varying degrees of encouragement or restriction according to the prevailing policy of central government. Despite the ideological and policy support extended to discretionary sales by the Conservative party, Merrett and Gray (1982) point to the opposition of some Tory controlled rural authorities who were concerned with,

"... the low availability in villages of rental accommodation for rural workers and their families..."

(Merrett and Gray, 1982:124).

Although some local authorities were opposed to such developments, discretionary sales of rural council houses

proceeded across the country. In South Northants few sales occurred before 1951 as a result of a combination of factors including the general absence of a 'culture' of owner-occupation; low income levels amongst rural tenants and limited availability of mortgage finance; and the reluctance/ failure of RDCs to promote the sale of dwellings.

The case of Brackley RDC illustrates the impact of the era of discretionary sales on the period currently under study. Such sales followed the lifting of the wartime restrictions on the sale of local authority dwellings by the Conservative government in 1951. The District Council records show that, following receipt of a preliminary report into council house sales in the District in February 1953, councillors decided which dwellings would be offered for sale. Central government policy influenced the council's decision, for Ministry rules excluded the sale of properties built under the provisions of the 1919 Housing Act ('Addison Act'). Furthermore, the sale price of these dwellings was set centrally. Pre-1945 homes were to cost twenty times the annual sum of rent, whereas post-war dwellings would be sold for the all-in cost of construction.

In implementing a sales policy Brackley RDC identified 102 dwellings (15 percent of its housing stock in 1953) as potentially suitable for sale under the prevailing legislation. All of these dwellings were the cheaper pre-war properties, for the council felt there would be little interest in the purchase of the more expensive later dwellings. The price of the pre-war dwellings was set by a subsequent meeting as follows:

2 Bedroom Houses, without parlour	£675
3 Bedroom Houses, with parlour	£825
3 Bedroom Houses, without parlour	£725

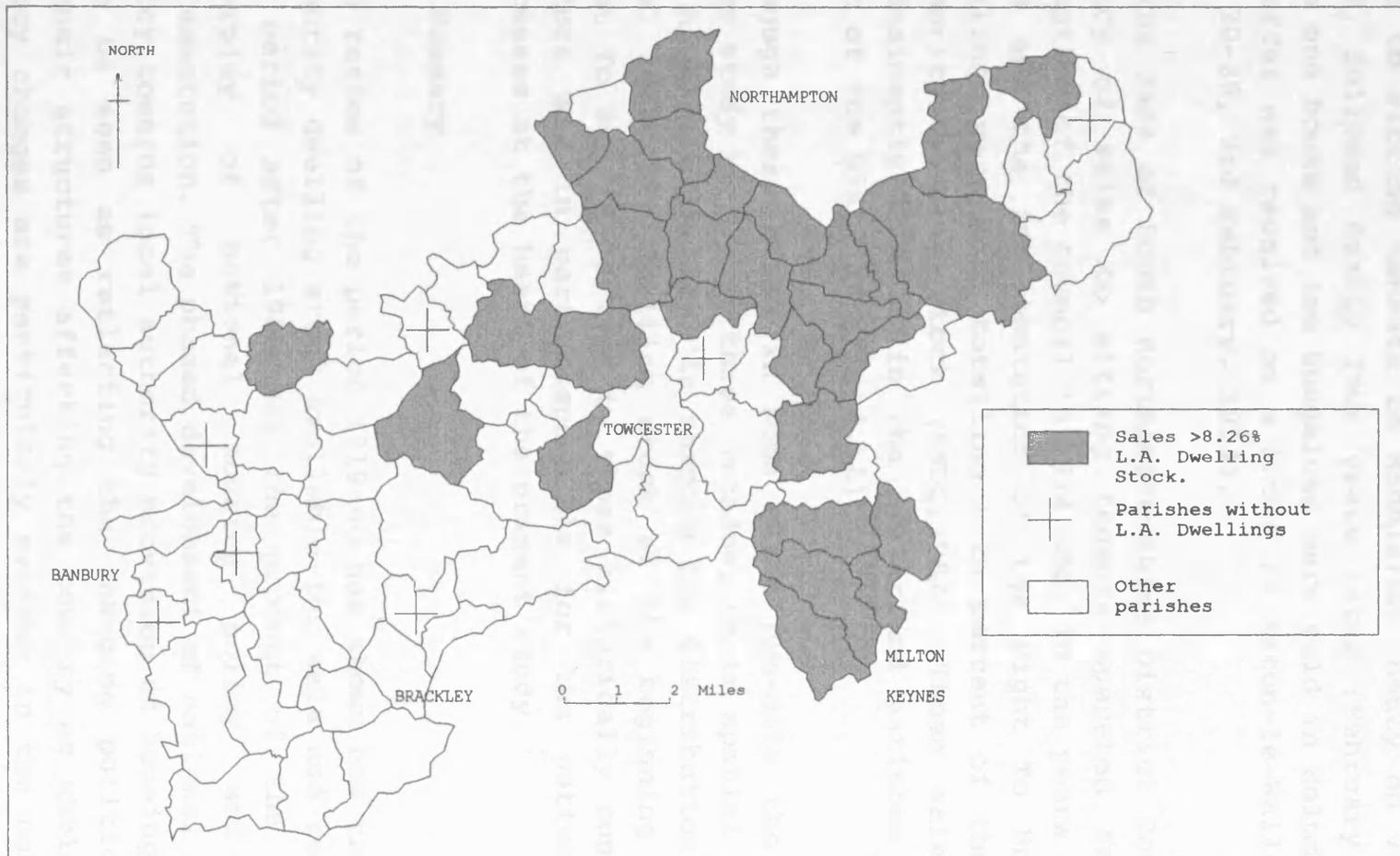


Fig 4.12 Parishes with above the District average of local authority dwelling sales 1973 -1981. (Source: Sherwood, 1984/ SNC).

However, under these terms, only 11 tenants expressed an interest in purchasing their home from the council. Council records over the following years detail the limited number of sales in the Brackley District. Thus, a bungalow was sold to sitting tenants in Middleton Cheney on 7th July 1953, followed nearly four years later (February 1957), when one house and two bungalows were sold in Helmdon, and an offer was received on a house in Aston-le-Walls (NRO: LG/ 20-25, 3rd February, 1953).

In the case of South Northamptonshire District Council a policy of sales to sitting tenants operated from the inception of the council in 1974 and, in the years between 1973 and the implementation of the Right To Buy, 373 dwellings were sold totalling 8.26 percent of the local authority housing stock (SNDC,1982). These sales were predominantly located in the hinterland parishes to the east of the District (fig 4.12).

Although these sales in some cases pre-date the period under study by two or three decades, their spatial pattern was highly influential in shaping the distribution of the local authority dwelling stock at the beginning of the Right To Buy. As a result, these historically contingent factors are in part responsible for the patterns and processes at the heart of the present study.

4.5 Summary

This review of the period 1919-80 has shown how the local authority dwelling stock available for sale and resale in the period after 1980 was the product of the complex interplay of national housing policy and local implementation. The phased development of national housing policy towards local authority provision of housing can in turn be seen as reflecting the changing political and economic structures affecting the country as whole. Such policy changes are particularly evident in the nature of the dwellings built at different stages in the development

of the tenure over six decades; the dwelling stock is therefore a diverse collection of dwelling types and standards (table 4.07). As Malpass and Murie (1994) note,

"... in the years immediately after each war, when the shortage was most severe and the economy most disrupted, the quality of new local authority was highest..."

(Malpass and Murie, 1994:69).

Reference to the age of a dwelling therefore provides a good indication of its standard, illustrated by the fact that typical local authority dwellings constructed in the 1970s and 1980s had just 53 percent of the floor area of an average Parker Morris three-bedroomed house (Cole and Furbey, 1994:101).

At a local level, the previous councils in South Northamptonshire were particularly pro-active in providing housing for the local population as reflected in the relatively large size of the local authority dwelling stock 'inherited' by 1980.

The ever changing national policy requirements, coupled with local attempts to meet housing need, contributed to the diversity of dwellings types comprising this stock, as Sherwood (1996) notes:

"... the usual building material was some combination of brick and pebbledash ... [however,] ... in the years after World War II there were even greater pressures for new dwellings to meet the housing shortages, and a wide range of dwellings were constructed in many villages adjacent to Northampton - Swedish - 'timber' dwellings in Kislingbury, 'Airey' houses in Hartwell and Roade, 'aluminium' bungalows in Duston and flats in Brafield, Milton Malsor and Cogenhoe"

(Sherwood, 1996:22).

Period	Prevailing dwelling standards
1919-22	Generous provisions of the Tudor Walters Committee ensured relatively high standards and good specifications. Typical floor sizes ranged from 950-1,400 sq. ft.
1923-29	The 1923 and 1924 Housing Acts diminished the standards slightly, however they remained relatively good. 750-850 ft. sq. Typical density 12 dwellings per acre.
1930s	Slum Clearance, subsidies re-calculated on a "cost-per-head" basis major drop in standards. Average floor area dropped to 700ft. Typical density 16 dwellings per acre
1946-53	'Bevan Houses' - generous standards - features included: enlarged scullery transformed to an eat-in kitchen, small utility room, upstairs bathroom, better equipment and storage space. Average size 1,044 ft. sq.
1954	Return to slum clearance. Emphasis on economy, encouragement of two-bedroom dwellings with modest facilities. Floor area falls to an average of 750 ft. sq.
1960-80	Great variety of dwelling styles in contrast to earlier periods owing to local authorities employing different architects. Strong influence of the industrialized building techniques employed by the private-sector in the construction of 'starter homes'. Lower standards. Size fell to approx. 500 sq. ft.

Table 4.07., The varying standard of local authority dwellings 1919-1980.

Examples of dwellings built under the principal housing Acts highlight the widely ranging standard of dwellings comprising the local authority stock in the District (tables 4.08 and 4.09).

The spatial distribution of the stock available for transfer to private ownership after 1980 has been shown to be the product of a great range of factors, foremost amongst which is the changing size and distribution of the District's population. The composition of the resident population shaped the findings of successive local housing needs surveys which in turn influenced both the number and

LEGISLATIVE PERIOD:	'Addison' Act 1919	Housing Acts 1919 - 1924	Housing Acts 1919 - 1924	Housing Acts 1930 - 1939
LOCATION:	70 Station Road, Cogenhoe	10 Dukes Green Rd Kislingbury	42 Furnace Lane Nether Heyford	82 School Road Ascote
PLOT SIZE:	34' x 132'	39' x 103'	24' 117'	25' x 186'
DWELLING STANDARDS:	Semi-detached house Built 1919	Semi-detached house Built 1924	Terraced house Built 1926	Terraced house Built 1938
Living room:	16' x 10'10"	13'3" x 12'6"	13'4" x 12'6"	12'10" x 11'3"
Entrance hall:	n/a	n/a	yes	yes
Dining room:	10'10" x 9'	n/a		
Kitchen:	10'11" x 7'11"	14'3" x 9'6"	9'3" x 17'4"	16' x 7'10"
Bathroom:	9'6" x 6'6"	n/k	n/k	n/k
Bedroom 1:	12'10" x 11'11"	10' x 9'6"	9'3" x 8'6"	11'10" x 11'3"
Bedroom 2:	12'8" x 10'2"	9'3" x 8'6"	7'3" x 12'6"	9'7" x 7'11"
Bedroom 3:	10'11" x 8'	12'6" x 8'4"	11'6" x 11'6"	
Outside:	Porch and brick coal barn	Brick outbuilding	Detached brick barn	
DWELLING SIZE:	Approx. 813 ft. sq.	Approx. 600 ft. sq.	Approx. 820 ft. sq.	Approx. 500 ft. sq.
RESALE DETAILS:	On market for £69,500 described as "... a mature ... house situated in a 'non-estate' location ..."	n/k	n/k	On market for £45,000 in 1994 (purchased under RTB for £5,695 in 1980).

Table 4.08., Varying Dwelling Standards: Examples of Local Authority Dwellings Built between 1919 and 1938.

LEGISLATIVE PERIOD:	Housing Act 1946	Housing Act 1946	Housing Acts 1946 - 1964	Housing Acts 1946 - 1964
LOCATION:	17 Millers Close Kislingbury	14 The Piece Cogenhoe	7 Murswell Close Silverstone	10 Portaway Crescent Croughton
PLOT SIZE:	25' x '85	78' x 29'	27'6" x 99'6"	60 x 75'
DWELLING STANDARDS:	Semi-detached house Built 1948	Semi-detached house Built 1951	Semi-detached house Built 1965	Semi-det' bungalow Built 1966
Living room:	15'8" x 12'6"	20'2" x 12'6"	11'3" x 19'8"	14'2" x 10'11"
Entrance hall:	yes	yes	yes	yes
Dining room:	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Kitchen:	13'6" x 13'	13' x 13'9"	9'1" x 12'3"	8'11" x 7'7"
Bathroom:	n/k	n/k	n/k	n/k
Bedroom 1:	13'6" x 13'	12'6" x 10'9"	10'7" x 16'	12'10" x 9'9"
Bedroom 2:	12'62 x 9'3"	12'6" x 9'3"	10' x 8'10"	8'6" x 7'7"
Bedroom 3:	10'7" x 8'9"	8'8" x 10'8"		
Outside:	W.C and brick coal barn	W.C and brick outbuilding	Detached brick coal shed	
DWELLING SIZE:	Approx. 650 ft. sq.	Approx. 770 ft. sq.	Approx. 770 ft. sq.	Approx. 460 ft. sq.
RESALE DETAILS:	n/k	On market for £53,950 in 1994	n/k	On market for £54,950 in 1994

Table 4.09., Varying Dwelling Standards: Examples of Local Authority Dwellings Built between 1946 and 1966.

type of dwellings built in each locality. The growth and changing distribution of the District's population, together with an emerging planning framework and logistical problems attached to developing remoter sites, resulted in the majority of local authority dwellings being sited in hinterland parishes. In addition, changing patterns of local government administration covering increasingly larger areas (and populations) resulted in broader interpretations of 'local' housing needs. Furthermore, the influence of local vested interests such as farmers, landowners and proprietors, together with the varying degrees of proactivity displayed by each local government body further determined the siting of the stock.

It is a result of such a multiplicity of factors, emphasising the contingent effects of both time and space, that a stock of 4,500 local authority dwellings was amassed in the District and available for purchase under the Right To Buy in 1980. The distribution of this stock of dwellings - from whence the resold dwellings under study would emerge is summarised in table 4.10.

Parish	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Abthorpe	2		4	12	18	2	
Ashton	22			31	53	2	
Aston-Le-walls	16			8	24		
Aynho			6	45	51		
Blakesley				18	18		
Blisworth	39			132	171	3	
Boddington - (Lower & Upper)	4			29	33		
Bradden				4	4		
Brafield-on-the-Green	30			89	119		8
Bugbrooke	72	2		143	218	1	12
Chacombe	17			45	62		
Chipping Warden				62	62		
Cogenhoe (inc. Whiston)	16			70	86	1	
Cold Higham (inc. Grimscoate)	8	2		4	14		
Cosgrove	24			42	66		
Courteenhall				6	6		
Croughton	8		12	30	50		
Culworth	21		21	42			
Deanshanger	114			143	257	1	
Denton	27			35	62	2	
Evenley			6	13	19		
Eydon	12			13	25		
Farthinghoe (inc. Steane)	8	2		20	30	1	
Gayton	29			28	57		
Grafton Regis (inc. Alderton)	8	2		8	18	1	
Greatworth (inc. Halse)	16			41	57		
Greens Norton (inc. Duncote)	53			68	121	5	
Hackleton (inc. Piddington)	34		4	77	115		
Harpole	44			100	144		2
Hartwell	18			84	102		22
Helmdon	16			44	60		
Kings Sutton	67		10	215	292	2	
Kislingbury	71			87	158		
Litchborough	15			14	29		
Little Houghton	10			26	36		
Maidford		2		14	16		6
Marston St. Lawrence	6			18	24	2	
Middleton Cheney (inc. Overthorpe)	72			238	310	9	70
Milton Malsor	16			93	109		
Moreton pinkney	8			13	21		
Nether Heyford	44			89	133		6
Newbottle (inc. Charlton)	18			45	63		
Old Stratford (inc. Passenham)	2			46	48	2	
Pattishall (inc. Astcote ,Eastcote)	29			56	85	3	
Paulespury (inc. Pury End)	24	2		62	88	2	
Potterspury	46		10	76	132	4	
Quinton				24	24		
Road	42	6		240	290	1	
Rothersthorpe				28	28		6
Shutlanger	14			20	34	1	
Silverstone	40	4		126	170	5	
Slapton				8	8		
Stoke Breurne	4			25	29	1	
Sulgrave	14		2	23	39		
Syresham (inc. Crowfield & Pimlico)	38			37	75	2	
Thorpe Mandeville	6			6	12		2
Tiffield	4			6	10		5
Upper Heyford	12				12		
Wappenham				10	10		
Weston & Weedon (inc. Plumpton)				24	24	2	
Whitfield				6	6		
Whittlebury		4		26	30	2	
Wicken				34	34	7	
Woodend	6			12	18		
Yardley Gobion				74	74	2	
Yardley Hastings	26	2		48	76		
TOTALS	1292	28	75	3355	4669	66	139

Key to columns
A L.A. Houses built pre-1945
B L.A. Houses built between 1940-45
C L.A. Houses Acquired
D L.A. Houses built after 1945
E L.A. Houses: Total Stock June 1974
F L.A. Houses: Total Sold Up To June 1974
G L.A. Houses Under Completion June 1974

Table 4.10., The Total Local Authority Dwelling Stock Prior to the Introduction of the RTB: Rural Parishes of S. Northamptonshire.

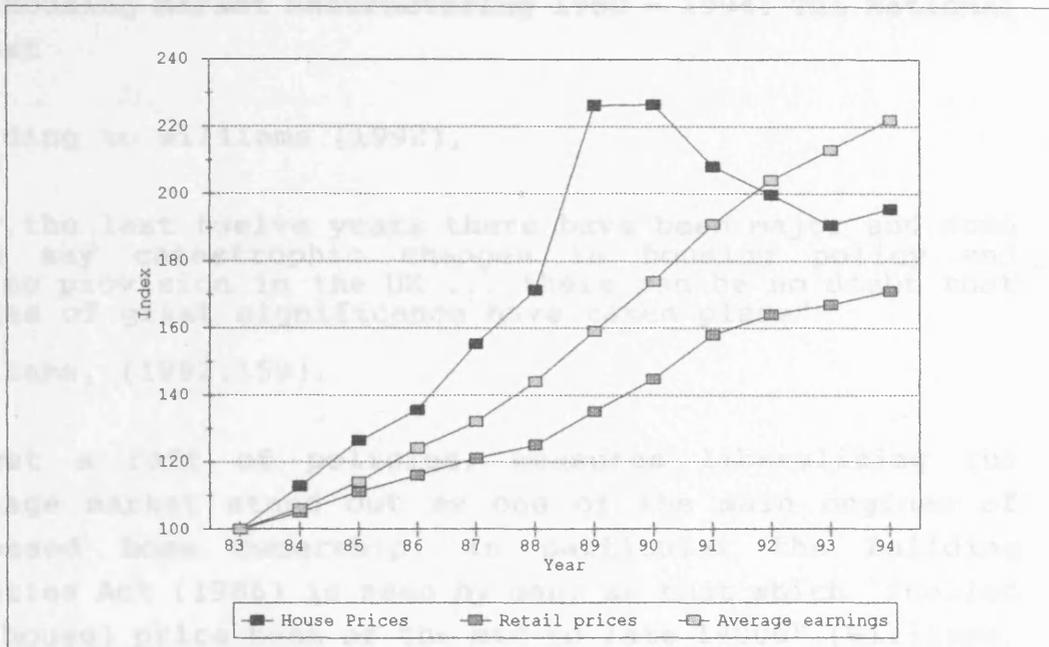
CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRODUCTION OF RESOLD DWELLINGS IN THE HOUSING MARKET.

5.0 Introduction

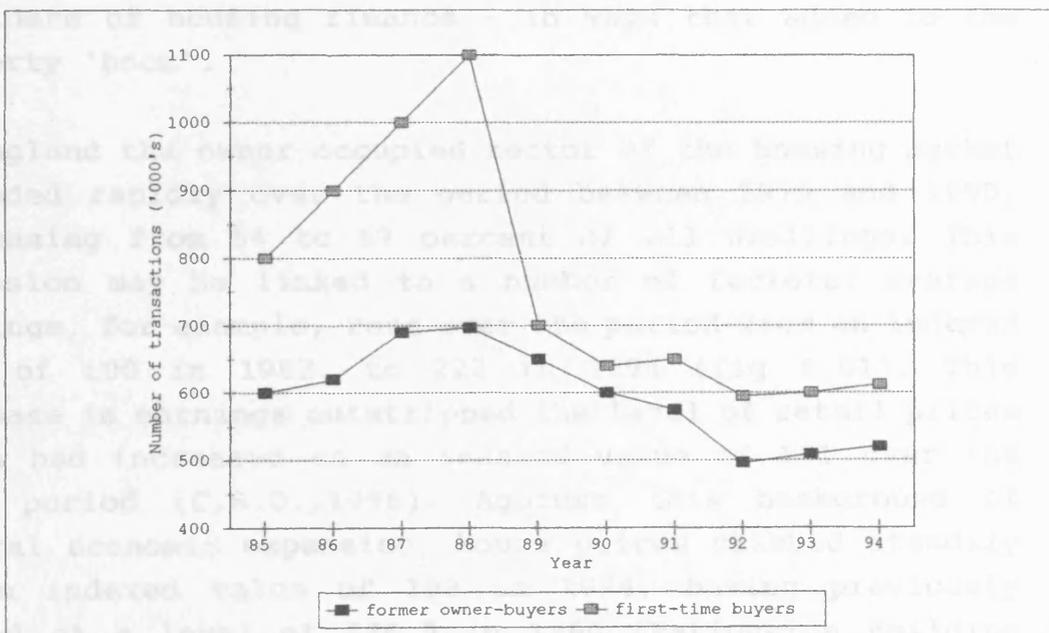
Following an examination of the way in which the housing market at the heart of the present study developed from wider historical processes, this chapter focuses on events after the 1980 Housing Act in order to understand the emergence of a new and, initially, rapidly expanding sector of the (rural) housing market - former local authority dwellings. The role of this key piece of legislation as one of the main factors underpinning the restructuring of the housing market throughout the 1980s is examined, together with the way the Act initiated a housing market process beginning with sales to council tenants under the Right To Buy and ending with the resale of former local authority dwellings. At each stage, events at a national level will be considered with regard to their impact on the housing market in rural areas.

Discussion then turns to events in South Northamptonshire. Examination is made of the principal features of housing market restructuring between 1980 and 1994; particular focus is placed the changing role of local authority dwellings - from state ownership to subsequent resale. Further analysis then examines the variety of factors which influence the rate at which resold dwellings are produced for sale on the open market.



Source: Nationwide Anglia Building Society, 1995:3 / C.S.O, 1996.

Figure 5.01., The National Housing Market 1983 - 1994



Source: Nationwide Anglia Building Society, 1995:5

Figure 5.02., Annual Number of Housing Market - transactions in the UK.

5.1 Housing Market Restructuring 1980 - 1994: The National Context

According to Williams (1992),

"over the last twelve years there have been major and some would say catastrophic changes in housing policy and housing provision in the UK ... there can be no doubt that changes of great significance have taken place"

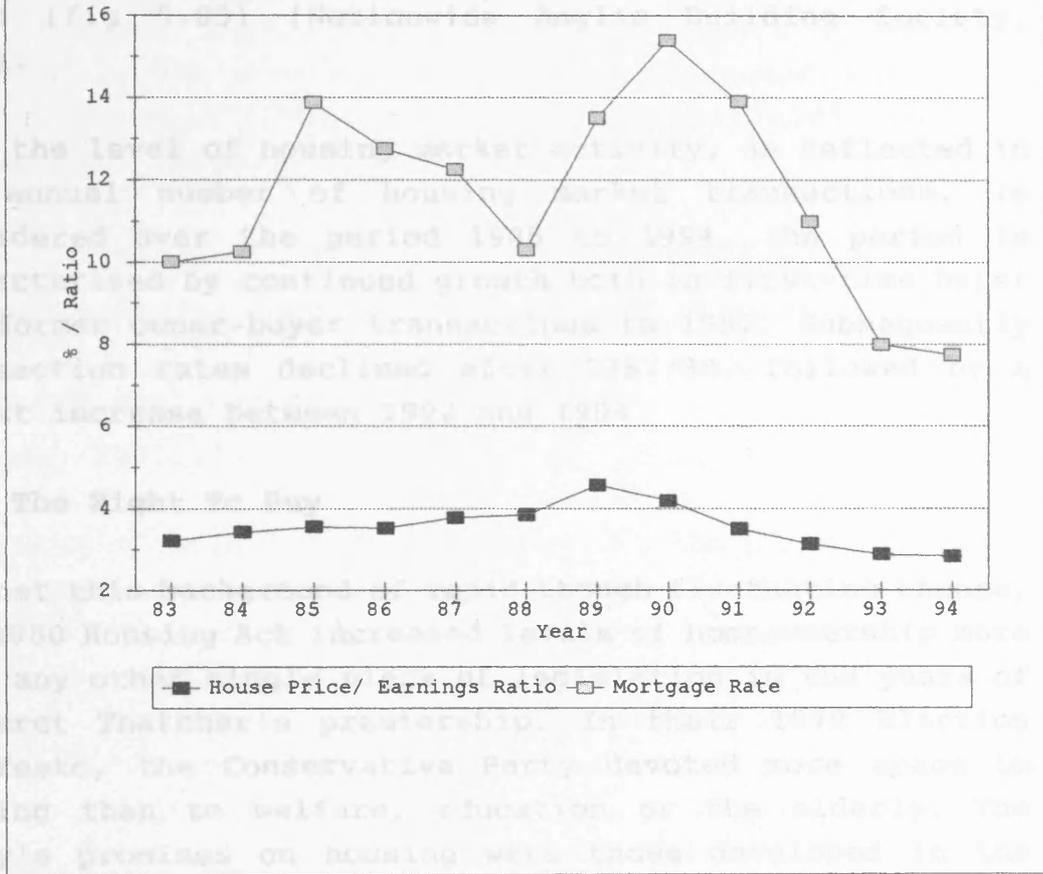
(Williams, (1992:159).

Amongst a raft of policies, measures liberalizing the mortgage market stand out as one of the main engines of increased home ownership. In particular the Building Societies Act (1986) is seen by many as that which "fuelled the [house] price boom of the mid to late 1980s" (Williams, 1992:186). In addition, changes in the wake of the Financial Services Act (1988) impacted on most housing market intermediaries - conveyancers, the Land Registry, providers of housing finance - in ways that added to the property 'boom'.

In England the owner-occupied sector of the housing market expanded rapidly over the period between 1979 and 1990, increasing from 54 to 67 percent of all dwellings. This expansion may be linked to a number of factors: average earnings, for example, rose over the period from an indexed base of 100 in 1983, to 222 in 1994 (fig 5.01). This increase in earnings outstripped the level of retail prices which had increased to an indexed value of 171 over the same period (C.S.O.,1996). Against this background of general economic expansion, house prices climbed steadily to an indexed value of 199 in 1994, having previously peaked at a level of 226.5 in 1990 (Nationwide Building Society, 1994).

Within this period, 1987 was a significant year, marking the peak in the property boom. Prior to this point housing demand had seen steady growth, but changes in the level of

mortgage tax relief in 1987 caused a surge in the number of (first-time buyer) housing transactions, which increased by 100,000 over the previous year, and then decreased by 100,000 the following year (Fig 5.02). Following this key year, mortgage rates increased from 10 to 15 percent (1990), and house price levels fall continuously (until 1993), resulting in a fall in the national house-price-to-earnings ratio (1995).



Source: Nationwide Anglia Building Society, 1995:5
 Average earnings Index based on male full time employment over 21 years
 - all occupations derived from Annual New Earnings Survey
 Ratio of weighted house price mortgaged to N.W.A Building Soc. to national
 - average earnings.

**Figure 5.03., The National Housing Market
 1983 - 1994.**

"Thousands of people in council houses and new towns come out to support us for the first time because they wanted a chance to buy their own homes. We will give to every council tenant the right to buy his (sic) home at a substantial discount on the market price and with 100% percent mortgages for those who need them. This will be a giant stride towards making the reality of Anthony Eden's dream of a property owning democracy. It will do something

mortgage tax relief in 1987 caused a surge in the number of (first-time buyer) housing transactions, which increased by 100,000 over the previous year, and then dropped by 400,000 the following year (fig 5.02). Following this key year, mortgage rates increased from 10 to 15 percent (1990), and house price levels fell continuously (until 1993), resulting in a fall in the national house-price-to-earnings ratio (fig 5.03) (Nationwide Anglia Building Society, 1995).

When the level of housing market activity, as reflected in the annual number of housing market transactions, is considered over the period 1985 to 1994, the period is characterized by continued growth both in first-time buyer and former owner-buyer transactions to 1987. Subsequently transaction rates declined after 1987/88, followed by a modest increase between 1992 and 1994.

5.11 The Right To Buy

Against this background of rapid though fluctuating change, the 1980 Housing Act increased levels of homeownership more than any other single piece of legislation in the years of Margaret Thatcher's premiership. In their 1979 Election manifesto, the Conservative Party devoted more space to housing than to welfare, education or the elderly. The Party's promises on housing were those developed in the run-up to the 1974 general election and embraced the right of tenants to purchase their home. Speaking in the debate on the Queen's Speech, which would in due course lead to these election promises being given legal force, the new Prime Minister said:

"thousands of people in council houses and new towns came out to support us for the first time because they wanted a chance to buy their own homes. We will give to every council tenant the right to buy his (sic) home at a substantial discount on the market price and with 100% percent mortgages for those who need them. This will be a giant stride towards making a reality of Anthony Eden's dream of a property owning democracy. It will do something

else - it will give more of our people the prospect of handing something on to their children and grandchildren - which owner occupation provides"

(Margaret Thatcher. Hansard, 1979, Vol. 967, Cols. 79- 80).

This restructuring of the housing market was part of the changing ideology of central government which revised the role of local authorities from housebuilders to enabling agencies in the provision of housing (Sherwood and Lewis, 1993). As Langan (1994), writing on the post-1979 reform of the welfare state, notes:

"... for much of this period the direction of policy remained uncertain as the government proceeded tentatively against powerful vested interests and pressure groups in key areas of welfare. Yet it is striking that it was in the sphere of housing ... that the agenda of the New Right was first and most successfully advanced"

(Langan, 1993:xi).

Following a decade (1971-81) in which, the number of local authority dwellings had increased by over 500,000 (to 5,068,000 dwellings in 1981) and the local authorities' share of the dwelling stock had fallen by only -0.1 percent, political and legislative changes saw the state-rented sector of the housing market in England decrease from 28 percent of dwellings in 1981, to 20 percent in 1991 (Newton and C.H.A.S, 1991). The Housing Act (1980) was the most significant individual factor in the post-1980 restructuring of the housing market, for most of the decrease in the state-rented sector of the housing market was matched by the increase in the share of the owner-occupied sector. Less pronounced changes occurred in the other tenures. Private renting decreased by 3.4 percent between 1981-1990 (from 1,994,000 dwellings in 1981 to 1,507,000 or 7.7% of the dwelling stock in 1990) and the number of dwellings managed by housing associations increased by 0.7 percent over the same period (Newton and C.H.A.S, 1991).

A full account of the sale of council housing including spatial variations in the rate of sales has been extensively covered elsewhere (Forrest and Murie, 1984, 1988; Cole and Furbey, 1994), though within the present context it is necessary to outline the success of Right To Buy (in terms of numbers of dwellings sold) as the starting point in the production of resold former local authority dwellings.

In a sense, the resale of former local authority dwellings after 1980 did not represent anything new. Over a third of a million council dwellings had been sold to sitting tenants throughout the period 1951-79 (Merrett and Gray, 1982). However this is to oversimplify matters; the RTB marked a radical departure from earlier sales in a number of important respects. The geographical pattern of discretionary sales was influenced greatly by the political control of local authorities. This had major implications for rural areas, which on the whole tended to be Conservative-controlled and favourably disposed to sales and reluctant to built new council dwellings. Disproportionately high sales levels in rural areas combined with the smaller size of the local authority dwelling stock in such districts to diminish local authority housing provision by a far greater extent than in urban areas (table 5.01), (Murie, 1975; Merrett and Gray, 1982).

The 1980 Act facilitated sales in all localities by the establishment of a right to buy, resulting in the greatest discontinuity with the past - namely the scale and speed of sales. The success of the policy (in terms of number of sales) is directly related to the rights attached to the sale of local authority dwellings; the main provisions of the 1980 Act are summarised in fig 5.04.

- (i). A statutory right of purchase conferred on local authority tenants. This applied to the majority of secure tenants with at least three years of local authority tenancy (or equivalent periods of tenancies with other public bodies/ military service). The RTB applied to the majority of local authority dwellings with the exception of: some dwellings for the elderly and disabled, almshouses, certain police and fire brigade houses, dwellings attached to schools, businesses, farms and social service homes, - and a range of lesser categories. Flats were sold on a long-lease of 125 years.
- (ii). The procedures for sale under the RTB were regulated by statute to limit local variations in implementation
- (iii). The Secretaries of State (England and Wales, respectively) had strong powers of intervention in the local administration of sales.
- (iv). Discounts against the market value of the property were given - based on the duration of qualifying periods of state-sector tenancies (initially, 33 percent for 3 years tenancy, with +1% for each additional year, up to a maximum of 50 percent).
- (v). If the dwelling was resold within 3 years of purchase under the RTB some of the discount would have to be repaid.
- (vi). Tenants were legally entitled to a mortgage from the local authority (subject to meeting certain qualifying -criteria).
- (vii). On payment of a fixed deposit tenants could defer the RTB for up to 2 - years, with the initial agreed price still applicable to the final transaction.
- (viii). Local authorities were empowered to continue discretionary sales outside the provisions of the RTB.
- (ix). The RTB could be shared with up to 3 other family members (including unmarried partners). The RTB could be claimed from tenancies taken over by surviving spouses/ children.

Figure 5.04., Summary of the Principal Features of the Right To Buy Contained in the Housing Act (1980). (DoE/ Welsh Office, 1990; Forrest and Murie, 1991).

County	Urban / rural	L.A Stock per 1,000 households	New L.A housing starts per 1,000 households	Ratio L.A waiting list to L.A starts
Buckinghamshire	Urban	298	10	4:1
	Rural	184	10	7:1
Hampshire	Urban	273	11	2.7:1
	Rural	180	7	9:1
Berkshire	Urban	210	17	3.5:1
	Rural	165	5	8:1

Table 5.01., Contrasting Local Authority Housing Provision in Urban and Rural Districts: Buckinghamshire, Hampshire and Berkshire (Larkin, 1979:74).

5.12 the Impact of the RTB in Rural Areas

Despite the determination of central government to restrict local variations in the implementation of the RTB, special provisions were contained in the Act in respect of some rural areas in order to maintain some affordable, rented housing against a trend of rising prices in the owner-occupied sector. This measure was in response to the promise contained in the 1979 Conservative Party Election Manifesto:

"... to give council tenants the right to buy their homes, whilst recognising the special circumstances of rural areas"

(Conservative Party, 1979, quoted in Hawke, 1985:1).

Thus, section 19 of the 1980 Act enabled restrictive covenants to be placed on dwellings sold under the RTB limiting the subsequent resale of these properties to 'local' people. In addition a pre-emption covenant also allowed the local authority to buy back former council dwellings when they appeared on the open market. The aim of this clause was to safeguard rural communities, particularly against the perceived problems caused by second homes. As a result such special measures could only be invoked in cases where the former local authority dwelling was situated in,

"a national park, area of outstanding natural beauty or a 'designated rural area'"

(Hawke, 1985:1).

Research by Hawke (1985) found the effect of 'section 19' arrangements in respect of the resale of local authority housing in rural areas, to have created:

"an erratic patchwork effect of ... legal protection for vulnerable rural areas"

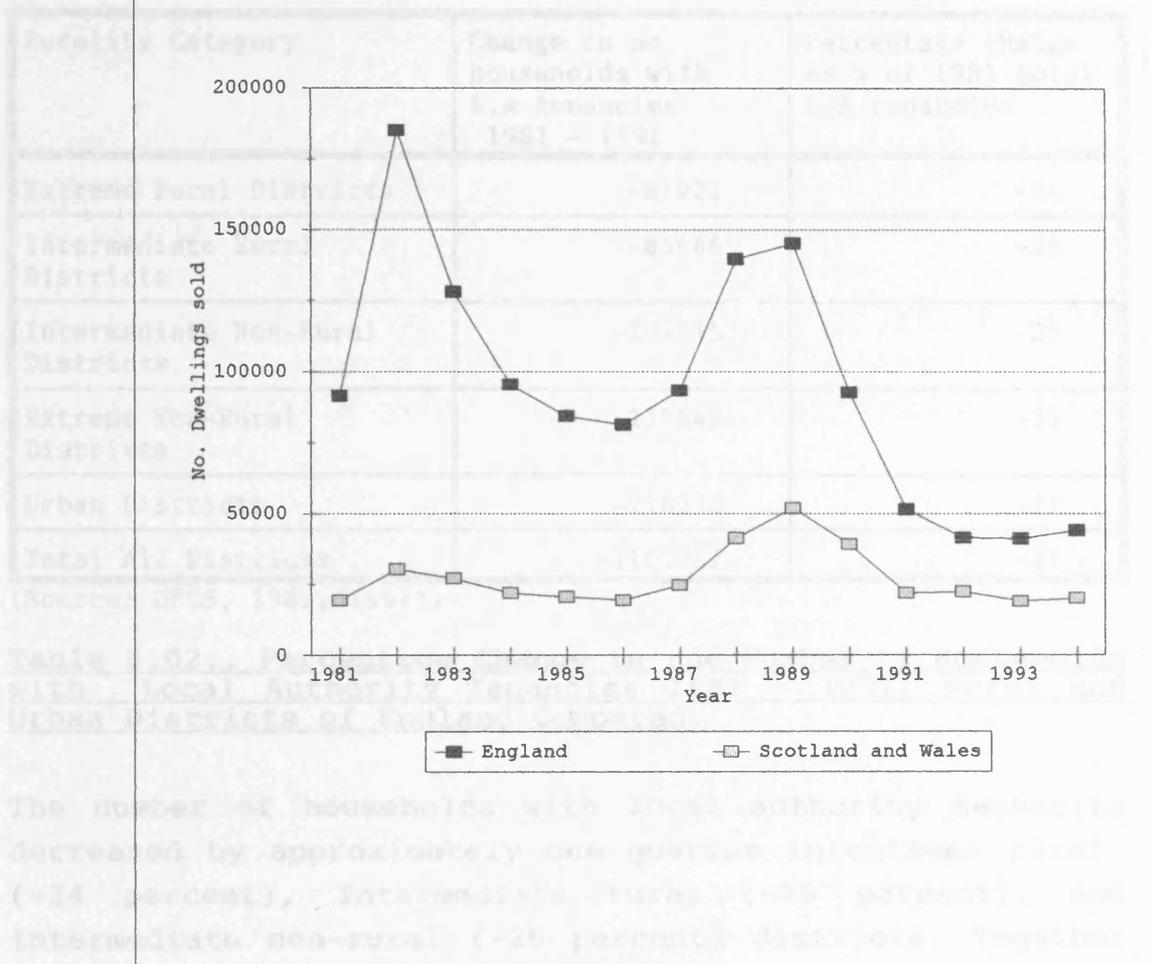
(Hawke, 1985:28).

The effectiveness of the legislation was dependent on the willingness of local authorities to apply for 'designated rural area' status. Such status was only granted to rural areas meeting prescribed levels of second homes and population densities, so many rural districts were automatically excluded from the outset. The overall significance of 'section 19' to the resale of local authority dwellings in rural areas lies not in the number of dwellings affected (a small minority), but in the initial recognition of the particular impact resales were likely to have in rural areas. Indeed, as the foregoing shows, such an impact was foreseen by the creators of the RTB before they gained power in 1979.

As figure 5.05 indicates initial RTB sales to tenants in England reached 91,000 dwellings in the first year following implementation of the Act (6.9 percent of all sales 1980 - 1990), after which the rate doubled to 185,000 dwellings in 1982 (or 14 percent of the total). Sales levels remained high in 1983, at 128,000 dwellings (9.7 percent), before dipping to mean level of 88,000 dwellings per annum (6.7 percent) between 1984 and 1987. The general surge in housing market activity in 1987 was reflected in RTB sales which increased to 140,000 properties in the year 1987/1988 (10.6 percent), and 145,000 in 1988/1989 (11 percent), before declining to 44,060 in 1994 (3.3 percent). Thus, by 1994, 1,314,502 local authority dwellings in England had been sold to sitting tenant households under the RTB (DoE et al., 1994), representing 5.9 percent of the country's 19,036,000 households (DoE, 1989). The scale of the changes introduced by the RTB is revealed by the fact that as many dwellings were sold in the 36 months following its implementation as in the preceding thirty six years.

The foregoing RTB figures refer to the country as a whole. Understanding of the sales patterns and tenurial change affecting rural areas is central to the present study of patterns of change in the countryside, though in the absence of a rural/urban differentiation in official housing statistics such calculations are problematic. To tackle this issue, Cloke and Edward's (1986) 'index of rurality' has been used to classify all English districts. Census data for 1981 and 1991 have been applied to this framework in order to determine any decrease in the number of households with local authority tenancies in each district over the period. As a result it is possible to provide an indication of the levels of RTB sales in each district over the period (table 5.02). A caveat is necessary in that the change in the number of local authority tenancies 1981 - 1991 differs from the exact number of RTB sales primarily owing to 'tenant's choice' disposals, voluntary transfers of dwellings to housing associations and the limited number of new local authority

dwellings constructed during the period; however the annual variations (produced by these factors) do not obscure the overall pattern of sales between spatial categories.



Data Source: 1979 - 1994 Housing and Construction Statistics Annual Edition.

Figure 5.05., The Rate of Sales Under The Right To Buy - 1981 - 1994.

dwellings constructed during the period; however the minor variations introduced by these factors will not greatly distort the overall pattern of sales between spatial categories.

Rurality Category	Change in no. households with L.A tenancies 1981 - 1991	Percentage change as % of 1981 total L.A tenancies
Extreme Rural Districts	-61221	-24
Intermediate Rural Districts	-85646	-26
Intermediate Non-Rural Districts	-104215	-25
Extreme Non-Rural Districts	-137848	-31
Urban Districts	-716292	-27
Total All Districts	-1105222	-27

(Source: OPCS, 1981, 1991).

Table 5.02., Percentage Change in the Number of Households with Local Authority Tenancies 1981 - 1991: Rural and Urban Districts of England Compared.

The number of households with local authority tenancies decreased by approximately one quarter in extreme rural (-24 percent), intermediate rural (-26 percent), and intermediate non-rural (-25 percent) districts. Together these were defined by Cloke as districts

"on the periphery of lowland England, demonstrating in some cases the outermost spread of urban pressure exerted on the rural environs both by the London conurbation, and the Central Urban Region"

(Cloke, 1977:41).

By contrast the greatest decrease was in the 'extreme non-rural districts' of England which experienced a reduction of almost one-third of such tenancies (-31 percent). These districts:

"form well defined rings around the conurbations of the central urban region ... the areas around London are well represented amongst the most extreme non-rural districts ... [such districts are also] found away from major conurbations. These districts illustrate the urban influence of more peripheral urban nodes such as Plymouth, Bristol, Norwich and Grimsby"

(Cloke, 1977:41).

Urban districts of England experienced a 27 percent decrease in the number of local authority tenancies over the decade.

The nomenclature of the Rurality Index is slightly confusing with regard to the present task of distinguishing the pattern of RTB sales between rural and urban areas. As Cloke states,

"the term 'non-rural' is preferred to 'urban' because the index is specifically designed to investigate rural indicators. Consequently, variables which are inversely correlated with the rural extreme are not strictly urban pointers, although the two meanings often coincide"

(Cloke, 1977:41).

Thus, in its broadest sense rural may be taken as all districts classified as non-urban. Following this definition of rural, the mean level of RTB sales in rural districts (26.5 percent) was marginally lower than that experienced in urban districts (27 percent). Of the non-urban districts, when compared to mean level for such districts as a whole, sales levels were notably higher (+4.5 percent) in the those pressurized districts surrounding urban centres where population growth in the past five decades or so has been greatest. Indeed when the total number of RTB sales in rural districts is divided between the four categories, it is the two categories closest to urban districts which account for the greatest share of total RTB sales (62 percent).

The full significance of the varying levels of RTB sales in urban and rural districts is only apparent when the initial size of the state-rented sector of the housing market is taken into account. At the outset of the RTB the numbers and proportion of local authority dwellings were lower in rural areas. Higher proportionate sales combined with a smaller initial stock of local authority dwellings reveal that the RTB has had a greater impact on the rural housing market. Such a pattern has contributed to the current difference in tenurial structure between urban and rural areas. Thus, in 1995 Department of the Environment figures suggest that 75 percent of rural housing in England was owner-occupied compared to 64 percent in urban districts. Furthermore the state-rented housing sector in rural areas, already smaller than urban areas in 1980, stood at 12 percent of housing compared to 25 percent in urban areas (DoE, 1995:14), with wide variations regionally - and certainly within districts, reflecting varying local implementation of housing policies 1919 - 1980.

Analysis of the spatial distribution of these dwellings has shown that a pool of approximately 389,000 former local authority dwellings was located in non-urban districts of England in 1991, constituting 7.39 percent of the 5,238,400 households in non-urban districts of the country (OPCS, 1981, 1991). The contrasting structure of the housing market in rural districts of England suggests that the arrival of over a third of a million resold dwellings will have a major influence both on the rural housing market and on attendant migration processes. Clearly the (re-)sale of these former local authority dwellings by tenant-purchasers will be phased over a number of years, by which time greater numbers of local authority dwellings may have been sold, thereby adding to the pool of former local authority dwellings; resale therefore represents part of an ongoing process in the housing market.

5.2 The Resales Process: The National Context

Almost the entire¹ local authority dwelling stock (5,106,000 dwellings, or 22.4 percent of the dwelling stock in 1990, Newton and C.H.A.S., 1991) may be seen as potential resales, given that current legislation allows sitting tenants to purchase their home from the local authority². Whether such dwellings will be purchased by sitting-tenants is far from certain, so in terms of the resales process they can be considered as Non-certain Potential Resales, (NPR's).

All the 1,136,000 dwellings sold under the RTB in England (c.1990) will be (re-)sold eventually on the open market over the years following purchase by tenant-households, whether on the relocation, or death of tenant-purchasers³. Accordingly, within the current framework such dwellings may be termed Certain Potential Resales (CPR's). Those dwellings which have been resold by tenant-purchasers during the period covered by the present study are distinguished as Actual Resales.

This scenario pertains to the movement of the majority of former local authority dwellings in the housing market to date, though following the 1988 Housing Act an alternative and increasingly important route to resale emerged. By

¹ Certain categories of dwellings are excluded from sales (figure 5.01). The RTB does not at present attach to former local authority dwellings which are the subject of large scale voluntary transfers (LCVTs) under the 1988 Housing Act.

² In exceptional cases under the provisions of the 1988 Housing Act, ownership and management of local authority dwellings may pass directly into private ownership when tenants vote in favour of transfer to a private landlord; the so-called 'tenant's choice' policy initiative. In a limited number of cases eg. Chiltern and Sevenoaks districts, local authorities have disposed of their entire dwelling stock by large-scale transfer to a private landlord (Forest and Murie, 1991:257).

³ It is conceivable that some properties will either be re-purchased by the local authority, or demolished. Such eventualities would prevent the resale of these dwellings. It is likely that only a tiny minority of resales would be prevented in this way.

December 1992, 19 local authorities in England had transferred their entire housing stock to newly created housing associations or housing companies - so-called Large Scale Voluntary Transfers (LSVT) (Wilcox et al., 1993:14). The 16 such transfers which took place between December 1988 and April 1991 involved a total of 76,338 dwellings (Newton and C.H.A.S., 1991). The increasing likelihood that many more local authority dwellings will be transferred in this manner was highlighted by Wilcox et al. (1992);

"... in this context well over a hundred English councils were thought to be considering promoting a transfer of housing following the next election"

(Wilcox et al., 1992:6).

Under the provisions of the 1988 Act, tenants continue to be entitled to purchase their home under the Right To Buy, though this does not extend to new tenants (these are given conventional assured tenancy agreements with the new landlord body). Covenant restrictions require that dwellings transferred in this way, and not sold under the RTB, should be made available for social renting purposes. The 1988 Act therefore has two effects on the resale process, by altering the path to resale by the intervention of the housing association or company and by diminishing the stock of potential resales. New tenants, post-transfer, do not enjoy the RTB, yet covenant requirements ensure a continuing 'social housing' role for the former local authority dwellings.

At a national level there is presently no practical method of determining the number and patterns of actual resales, but an understanding of the patterns and processes of actual resales can be gained by reference to contingent events in the study area of South Northamptonshire over the period 1980 to 1994.

5.3 Housing Market Restructuring 1980 - 1994: South Northamptonshire

In common with many rural areas across England, the housing market in South Northamptonshire underwent major changes over the period 1980 - 1994. The principal features of this restructuring included a sustained strong demand for housing, a limited supply of new housing in the District, large numbers of council dwellings sold to tenants, little or no increase in private-rented sector or provision by housing associations, the sale of private-rented accommodation and rising houses prices.

Each of these main areas of housing market restructuring will be explored in turn as a context for a wider understanding of the patterns and processes of resales in the former local authority sector.

5.31 Housing Demand

The local authority planning department cited inward movement of population as one of the main reasons for the 'additional demands' for housing in the District. It stated;

"improved road and rail communications, better local employment opportunities, an attractive living environment, and lower prices have been the principal reasons why there have been additional demands for housing, particularly from the South East, in recent years".

(South Northamptonshire Council, 1993:9).

This assertion is supported by recent statistics since the population of the District grew by 8.2 percent over the last inter-censal period, from 63,999 residents in 1981, to 69,224 in 1991. Such a growth rate was marginally higher than the county average of 8.0 percent. In-migration to the District comprised 3.5 percent of this increase (with

births and deaths accounting for the remainder of the change - OPCS, 1991.). Within a regional context such patterns are forecast to continue, and recent DoE forecasts estimate that Northamptonshire as a whole will be the fastest growing county (in percentage terms) in the East Midlands; a 31.1 percent population increase is forecast by 2016 (DoE, 1995).

In the year 1990-91, 9.7 percent of the District's 26,466 households were 'moving households' (resident at a different address one year previous to the 1991 census). Such a proportion of moving households was higher than the average for the East Midlands (9.0 percent), the county (9.6 percent) and all other six districts in the county (excluding the urban borough of Northampton).

The trend towards smaller households was a further factor in generating high housing demand levels, and was identified as a "main issue" by South Northamptonshire Council in a recent review of housing policy (SNC, 1993:9). The upshot of this trend is that the existing dwelling stock accommodates a progressively smaller proportion of the population, thereby increasing under-occupation of the dwelling stock and the demand for new housing. Census data for 1991 reveals that the District had the lowest percentage of households with over 1.0 persons per room in the county at 0.8 percent of households, approximately half the county rate of 1.4 percent (OPCS, 1991).

According to the DoE's 'Classification of Rural Housing Markets in England' (DoE, 1995), housing demand is high across the District, but particularly so in nine of the District's thirty-two wards. In this context, demand is defined by a range of indicators including: the total number of households in an area as a proportion of the effective housing stock (permanent accommodation plus vacant permanent accommodation), large households as a percentage of the housing stock, total in-migration as a

percentage of all households and mean house price⁴.

5.32 Housing Supply

The decrease in the construction rate of new dwellings within the District over the period 1983 - 1993 has been consistent with the local authority's overall planning strategy:

"growth in the rural areas over the last ten years has been at the rate of approximately 200 dwellings per annum. This rate has decreased slightly from the average over the previous ten years which reflects the effect of strategic guidance and the more restrictive policies in the recently prepared draft Rural Areas Local Plan"

(SNC, 1993:13).

The restriction on the amount of land available for housing development is the "crucial factor" identified in the DoE classification of housing supply across the District (DoE, 1995:35). The DoE study used a range of housing market variables to determine the level of supply in the housing market and they can be grouped as follows: planning applications per capita, planning refusals per application, mean house price, and the house completion rate. Measured against these criteria all wards of South Northamptonshire were classed as having low levels of housing supply.

The supply of 'affordable housing' is a particular area of concern which has attracted much attention nationally and in the District. South Northamptonshire Planning Department has been pro-active in providing four of the fourteen affordable housing schemes built across the seven districts of Northamptonshire by the end of 1995 (Sherwood, 1995:1). Such programmes have been built under PPG3 planning guidance enabling a dwelling to be reserved for the use of

⁴ A full discussion of the techniques used to assess rural housing demand is to be found in Shucksmith et al., (1995:25).

'local' residents and to be built on 'exceptions' sites outside those allocated for general needs housing in the County Structure Plan.

The dearth of affordable housing within a county context is revealed by the results of the Northamptonshire County Council Strategic Planning Services House Price Survey (1992), reproduced in table 5.03.

Following a sharp decline in the availability of affordable houses across the county between 1987 and 1988, a year on year increase was recorded 1988 to 1992. However, of all the districts South Northamptonshire consistently had the lowest levels of 'affordable' dwellings for sale in the housing market.

Successive planning policies have directed the majority of new housing into the two market towns of the District,

"since 1976 there have been approximately 1,250 dwellings completed in the town [of Towcester] ... Brackley has experienced a rapid rate of growth over the period [1976-93] with approximately 1,190 dwellings being completed"

(S.N.C, 1993:10).

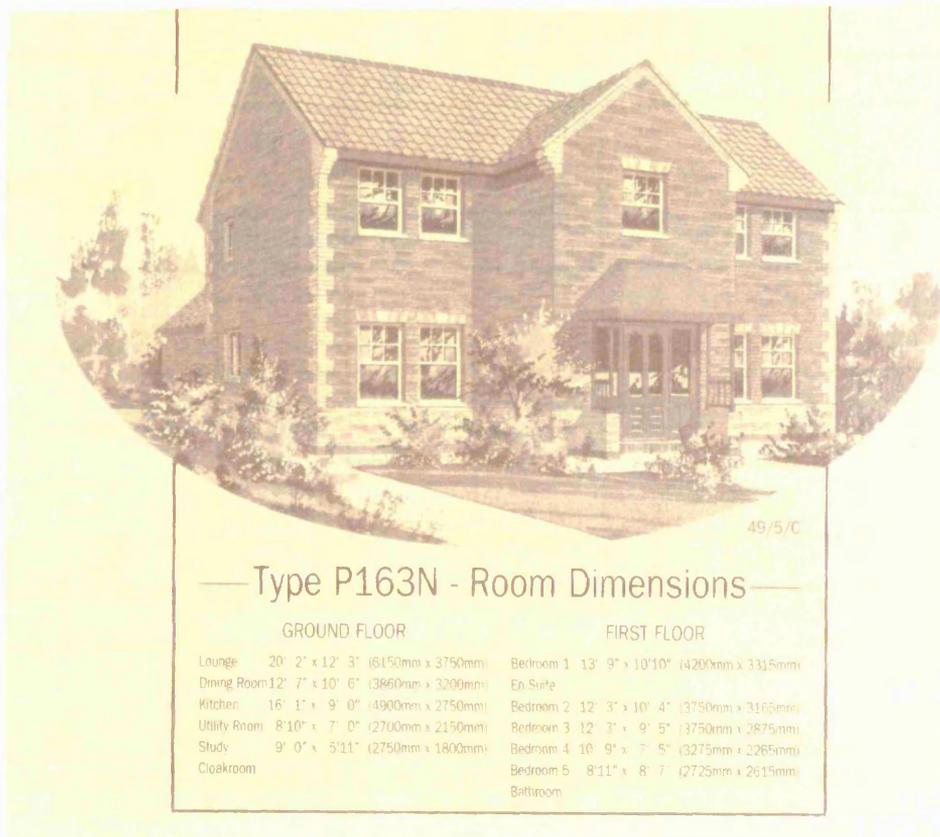


Figure 5.06., New Housebuilding in the Private sector, 'The Lodge' Development in Brafield-on-the-Green. Individual Dwellings Priced at £149,950.

District	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
SOUTH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	26	0	0	7	10	15
Daventry	32	10	3	13	8	21
East Northamptonshire	54	10	12	27	25	53
Kettering	68	18	18	37	43	50
Northampton	68	13	15	29	33	47
Corby	81	27	28	50	59	69
Wellingborough	72	18	16	36	43	47
County	58	13	13	27	31	41

Source: NCC, Strategic Planning Services House Price Survey, 1992:8.

Table 5.03., Lower Priced Housing in Northamptonshire - Properties under £50,000 (as a percentage of all properties for sale in the District), July 1987 to July 1992.

By contrast housebuilding in the 74 rural parishes has been strictly limited, averaging approximately 200 new dwellings per year (S.N.C, 1993:10). These dwellings have tended to be relatively expensive, often at the 'executive' or 'luxury' end of the market. The 'Lodge' development in Brafield-on-the-Green comprised dwellings typical of this latter type of property (fig 5.06). Other similar properties on the market are included in table 5.04.

Settlement	Property details	Price
Silverstone	"Elmdale Grange", The Slade, Silverstone 4 or 5 bedroom detached houses	£132,500 - £134,950
Bugbrooke	"The Beech", "4 bedroom detached house with utility room, en suite, double garage"	"prices from £68,500"
Silverstone	"Home Farm - a select development of only 3 stone-built detached properties in the heart of this beautiful village..."	"prices from £159,500"

Sources: Northampton Herald and Post (27.01.94, 11.11.93) and Northampton Mercury (04.11.93).

Table 5.04., Examples of New Housing in the Rural Parishes of South Northamptonshire.

On the other hand, vacated properties for sale in the rural parishes of the District (1993-4) were composed of a variety of dwelling types including traditional vernacular stone cottages, modern semi-detached houses and brick cottages; table 5.05. gives typical examples.

Settlement	Property details	Price
Silverstone	"a detached property... 3 bedrooms, double length garage..."	£67,500
Cogenhoe	"a 3-bedroom , 3 storey semi- detached cottage situated in the conservation area of Cogenhoe"	£74,950
Denton	"a grade II listed thatched stone cottage... with winding staircase"	£139,995

Sources: John Faulkner & Co, Nationwide Estate Agents, O'Riorden and Bond Estate Agents, June 1994.

Table 5.05., Examples of Dwellings for Sale in the Rural Parishes of South Northamptonshire, Summer 1994.

5.33 Sales of Local Authority Dwellings

South Northamptonshire has consistently had one of the highest levels of council house sales in the country⁵. In 1985, the District was ranked the fourteenth highest selling district of the 366 districts across England (Forrest and Murie, 1988:118). Total sales of 2,113 dwellings between 1979 and 1989⁶ saw the District rise one place up the rankings to the thirteenth highest selling district⁷ (Forrest and Murie, 1988:257).

The decline in the local authority sector of the local housing market has been mainly a function of the high level of sales, but it has also arisen because of the limited rate at which the District Council has been able to add to its dwelling stock in recent years. Despite the curtailing of exchequer subsidies for most local authority housebuilding, South Northamptonshire District Council has built or acquired a number of dwellings since 1980, though such dwellings are principally concerned with accommodating elderly residents, either in dedicated flats or warden controlled schemes. However, the total number of dwellings involved in such schemes is modest in comparison to the level of RTB sales (table 5.06)⁸.

⁵ in terms of total number of dwellings.

⁶ between 1.4.79 and 30.9.89

⁷ Rankings exclude the minority of English districts transferring the whole of their housing stock to private control, Eg. Chiltern and Sevenoaks.

⁸ New housebuilding involving the local authority in the decade following the introduction of the RTB totalled 159 dwellings.

Settlement	Dwelling Type	No. of Units	Other Details
Abthorpe	2 Bedroom- house	4	-
	2 Bed' bungalows	4	
Deanshanger	2 Bed' bungalows	7	-
Greens Norton	1 Bedroom flats	17	The only village to experience an increase in L.A dwelling stock, +23 dwellings 1981-89. Total 150 dwellings 1989.
	1 Bed' bungalows	6	
	2 bed' flats	7	
	House acquired	1	
Nether Heyford	houses to rent	10	Cooperation between SNC, Northants Rural Housing Assoc, and English Villages Housing Assoc. built 1993/4
	shared ownership houses	5	
Potterspury	2 and 3 bedroom houses rental & shared ownership	18	Parish council instrumental in development
Roade	sheltered housing - flats for the elderly	24	project to encourage local people to move from dwellings larger than they can manage
Harpole	sheltered bungalows	5	Opened July 1995, developed with Age Concern
Towcester	1 bed' flats	35	Scheme opened July 1996. Developed by SNC and Bedford Pilgrims H.A.
	Bungalows	5	
	shared-ownership houses	7	

Sources: SNC Housing Records, Sherwood, South Northamptonshire Review, Northamptonshire Chronicle and Echo 12.07.96.

Table 5.06., Local Authority Involvement in the Provision of Housing in South Northamptonshire 1981-1996.

As a result of these changes, the state-rented sector of the housing market across the District decreased from 24.5 percent in 1981, to 14.2 percent in 1991, making it one of the lower ranking districts (in terms of local authority

housing provision) in England (table 5.07.); 226th from 366 districts. There were similar patterns of sales in each of the predominantly rural districts of the county (table 5.07) giving them low national rankings compared to urban districts.

Area	local authority housing as a % of all tenures		District ranking (/366)
	1981	1991	
England	28	20	-
East Midlands	27	19	-
Northamptonshire	32.2	20.6	-
SOUTH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	24.5	14.2	226
Daventry	28.6	16.8	159
East Northamptonshire	26.1	17.6	142
Kettering	24	16	174
Northampton	31.3	21.7	95
Corby	67.8	38.7	11
Wellingborough	32.6	22	91

Source: N.C.C, (1995).

Table 5.07., Changing Share of the State-Rented Sector of the Housing Market 1981 - 1991: South Northamptonshire Compared.

Within the county South Northamptonshire has the lowest level of local authority housing provision amongst all seven districts. In 1991 the local authority sector housed 3,970 households, 80 percent of which were resident in the rural parishes. The effect of RTB sales has been to widen the divergence between the market share of local authority housing found in South Northamptonshire both with the regional and national average. Thus, in 1981, such housing accounted for almost a quarter (24.5 percent) of all dwellings, only 2.5 percent less than regional levels and 4 percent below national levels: by 1991, with a 14.2 percent share of the market, district levels were 4.8 percent below regional levels and 5.8 percent below the

national average.

The high levels of local authority dwelling sales across South Northamptonshire between 1980 and 1994, have distorted the statistical rating of the District's 'local housing opportunity' as measured by the DoE 'rural housing market classification'. This rating was designed to "reflect(ed) local housing opportunities, both in public rented and the owner-occupied sectors" (Shucksmith et al., 1995:50). The effect of RTB sales has been to change the relationship between two key variables measuring rural housing market opportunity in South Northamptonshire and beyond. The DoE authors note,

"the affordability of owner-occupation during 1987/88 was positively related to the level of public housing in 1981, but is now negatively related to it"

(Shucksmith et al. 1995:51).

For this reason the DoE variables for South Northamptonshire based largely on local authority housing must be treated with caution. Following such a caveat, just under a half (11 wards) of the District's rural wards score in the top four-fifths of the scaling measure devised to gauge local housing opportunity. The remainder of wards have a more realistic (given the high level of RTB sales) middle-ranking score.

The full impact of the 1980 Housing Act as an engine of tenurial change in the District is witnessed by the fact that over five times more dwellings were sold to tenants in the period 1980-87 (2,113 sales) than in the seven years before the introduction of the Act (373 sales).

5.34 The Private-Rented Sector

A 'housing information booklet' prepared by South Northamptonshire Council leaves prospective tenants in no doubt about the situation in the District:

"It is extremely difficult to obtain rented accommodation in the South Northants area...."

(SNC, 1994:1).

Comparison of the rent levels of dwellings for let in urban and rural areas of the District shows the relatively high cost of rural dwellings (table 5.08.).

	Urban	Rural
Furnished dwellings	374	486
Unfurnished	350	610

Sources: A survey of dwellings advertised in the Northampton Property Newsletter in June 1996. Mean figures based on 252 dwellings.

Table 5.08., Mean Monthly Rents (£'s) in South Northamptonshire, June 1996: Urban and Rural Areas Compared.

Thus, the mean monthly rental for furnished dwellings was 30 percent higher in rural areas than in urban areas (Northampton) whilst unfurnished dwellings were 75 percent more expensive. The majority of rural rents (furnished £350 - £1,800, unfurnished £295 - £1,250 per month) exceeded typical monthly mortgage repayments (table 5.09).

At a district level the proportion of households within the private rented sector (including housing association accommodation) showed no change between 1981 and 1991 (N.C.C, 1995).

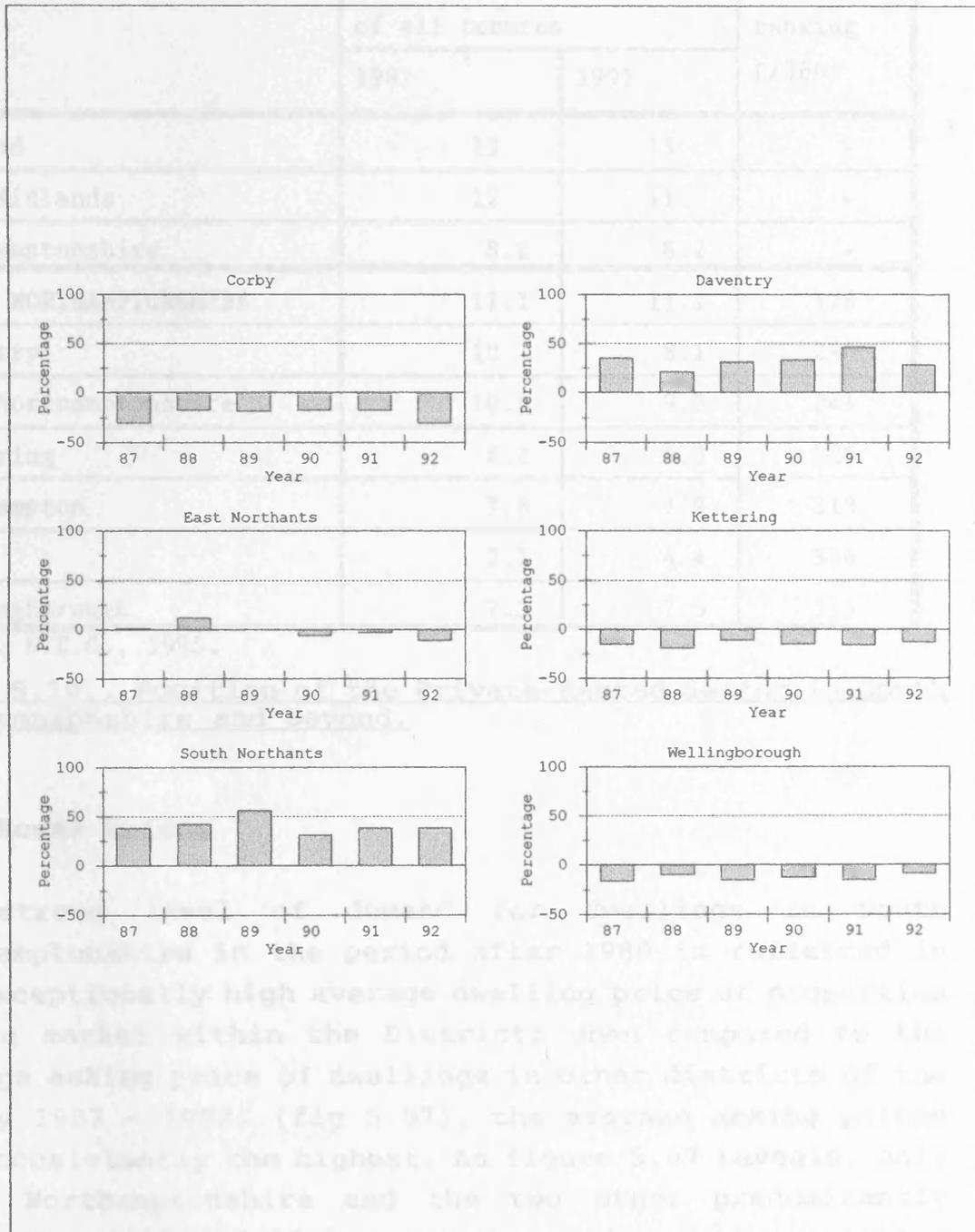
Lender	Interest Rate	Monthly repayment on £50,000 (£'s)	Monthly repayment on £100,000 (£'s)
Nationwide Building Society	7.74%	345.65	725.51
Cheltenham & Gloucester Building Society	7.99%	340.05	730.04
Halifax Building Society	7.64%	340.20	718.59

Sources: Nationwide, C. & G., Halifax Building Societies.

Table 5.09., A Comparison of Housing Costs in the Owner-occupied Sector Circa April 1994.

This sector consisted of 11.1 percent of households (including housing association tenants) and was proportionately much larger than that found in other districts of Northamptonshire (table 5.10), though the share of the housing market held by this tenure was below the national (English) average (-1.9 percent), giving the District a mid-ranking position in a comparison to all English districts (176/366) - (the 1995 DoE classification did not include the private rented sector, Shucksmith *et al.* 1995:42).

The mean level of private renting in the rural parishes of the District in 1991 was slightly higher than for the District as a whole at 12.2 percent of households. This latter figure excludes five 'estate' parishes which were dominated by a single-landed estate or proprietor and where an average of 83 percent of households rented privately - Courteenhall (71.79 percent of households private-renting), Easton Neston (75 percent), Thenford (75 percent), Castle Ashby (95.16 percent) and Edgcote (96 percent).



Source: N.C.C., 1992.

Figure 5.07., Mean District House Prices as a Percentage - of the Northamptonshire Average.

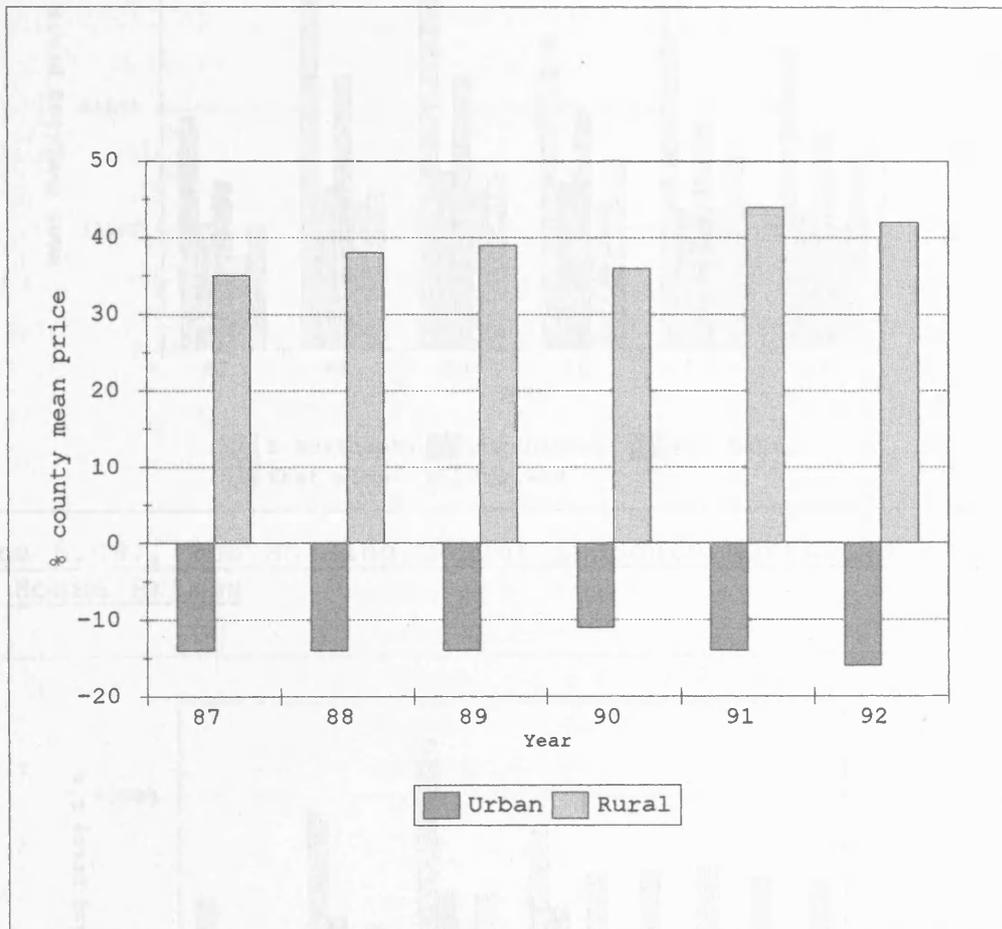
Area	Private-renting as a % of all tenures		District ranking (/366)
	1981	1991	
England	13	13	-
East Midlands	12	11	-
Northamptonshire	8.2	8.2	-
SOUTH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	11.1	11.1	176
Daventry	10	8.1	290
East Northamptonshire	10.4	9.3	244
Kettering	8.2	8.3	286
Northampton	7.8	7.9	313
Corby	2.1	4.4	366
Wellingborough	7.3	7.5	315

Source: N.C.C., 1995.

Table 5.10., Position of the Private-Rented Sector in South Northamptonshire and Beyond.

5.35 House Prices

The strong level of demand for dwellings in South Northamptonshire in the period after 1980 is reflected in the exceptionally high average dwelling price of properties on the market within the District; when compared to the average asking price of dwellings in other districts of the county 1987 - 1992, (fig 5.07), the average asking prices were consistently the highest. As figure 5.07 reveals, only South Northamptonshire and the two other predominantly rural districts had higher average asking prices relative to the county average over the period. In respect of South Northamptonshire and one other district (Daventry), asking prices were above the county average in each year between 1987 and 1992: indeed the average asking price of properties in the district under study did not fall below 125 percent of the county average and peaked at 156 percent of the county figure in 1989 (N.C.C., 1995).



Source: N.C.C. , 1992:5

Figure 5.08., Mean Northamptonshire House Prices

Source: N.C.C. , 1992: 5

Figure 5.10., The Housing Market in Northamptonshire
Adjusted Mean House Values

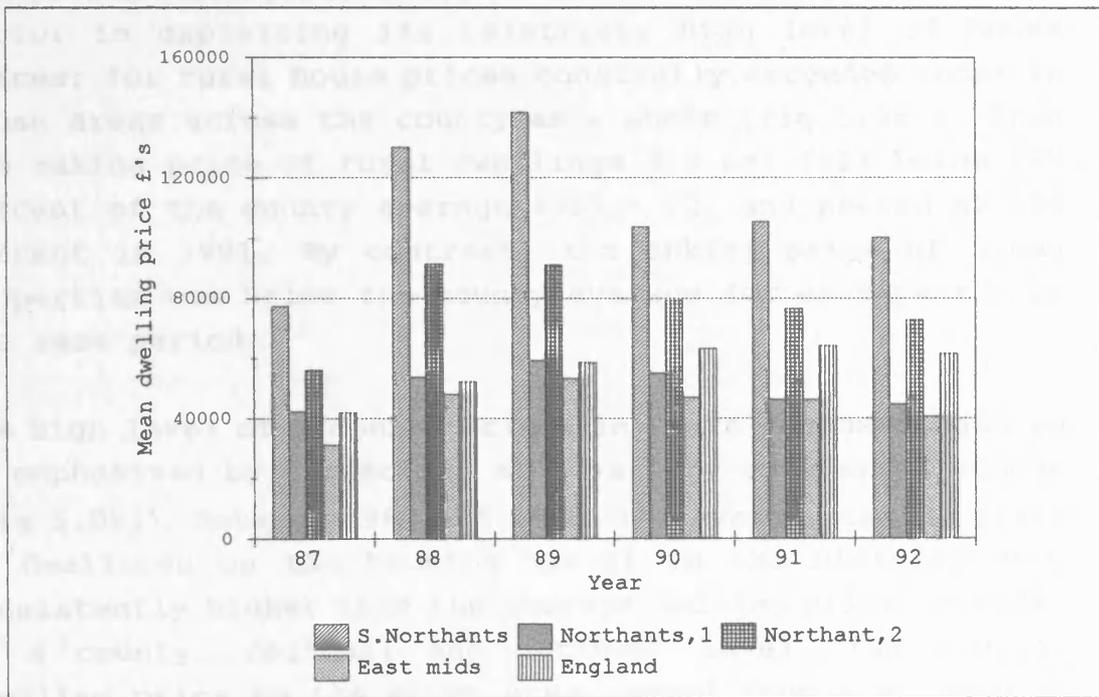
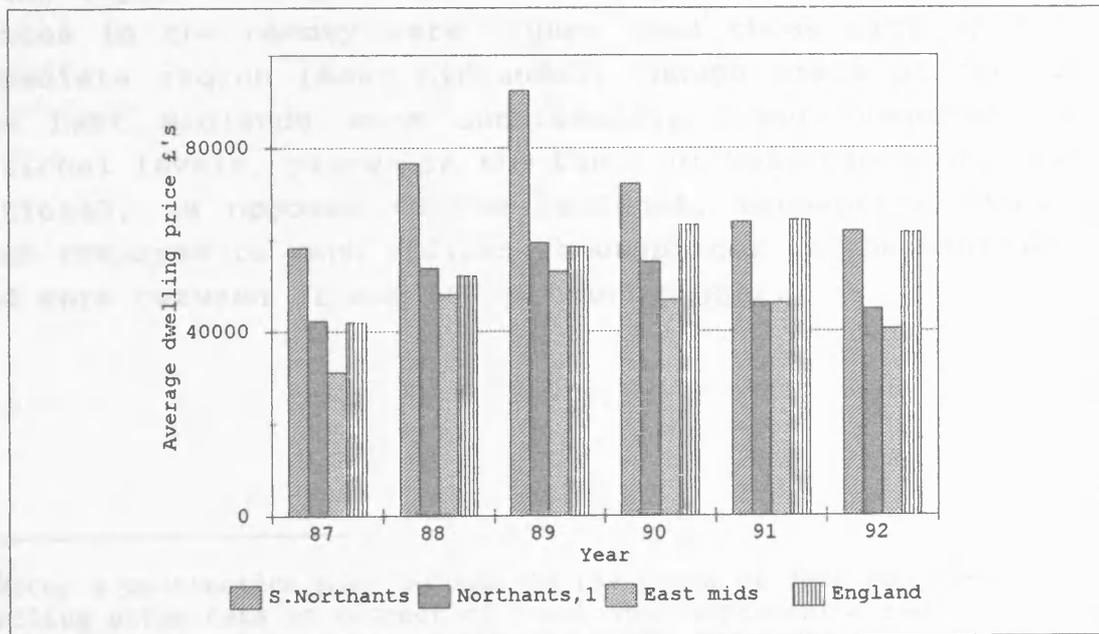


Figure 5.09., The Housing Market in South Northants Mean House Prices



Source: N.C.C., 1992; Nationwide Anglia Building Society, 1994; - Newton and C.H.A.S. , 1991.

Figure 5.10., The Housing Market in South Northants Adjusted Mean House Prices

The predominantly rural nature of the District was a major factor in explaining its relatively high level of house prices; for rural house prices constantly exceeded those in urban areas across the county as a whole (fig 5.08.). Thus the asking price of rural dwellings did not fall below 135 percent of the county average 1987 - 92, and peaked at 144 percent in 1991. By contrast, the asking price of urban properties was below the county average for each year over the same period.

The high level of property prices in South Northamptonshire is emphasized by comparison at a variety of spatial scales (fig 5.09)⁹. Between 1987 and 1992, the average asking price of dwellings on the housing market in the District were consistently higher than the average selling price recorded at a county, regional and national level. The average dwelling price in the study area ranged from a minimum of £77,360 in 1987, to a maximum of £141,850 in 1991. The general pattern which emerges is of prices in the District being higher than those in the county as a whole. In turn, prices in the county were higher than those within the immediate region (East Midlands), though since prices in the East Midlands were consistently lower compared to national levels, prices in the District were closer to the national, as opposed to the regional, houseprice index. When compared to such indices, houseprices in the District and were between 31 and 167 percent higher.

⁹ Note: a distinction must be made in the types of data employed. Dwelling price data in respect of South Northamptonshire and Northamptonshire (the latter series labelled 'Northants 2') detail the average asking price of dwellings over the period concerned. Such data represents the only information available at a district level. All other indices are based on the average selling price of properties. However, given the high demand levels noted in respect of the study area it would seem unlikely that the average asking and selling prices would deviate greatly, however the possible effects of the different price series will be incorporated into the following analysis.

Year	Northants ASKING price	Northants SELLING price	East Midlands	England
1987	38	83	149	84
1988	42	143	172	150
1989	56	139	167	143
1990	31	88	121	64
1991	38	128	128	64
1992	38	124	148	63

Sources: N.C.C, 1992; Nationwide Anglia, 1994.

Table 5.11., Percentage Difference Between Average Dwelling Asking Prices in South Northamptonshire and Prices in Northamptonshire, the East Midlands and England as a whole, 1987 - 1992.

Inclusion of average asking and selling prices in respect of Northamptonshire in table 5.11 enables direct comparison of these different types of index. This presents an opportunity to assess the possible distortion arising from use of asking prices - the only set houseprice data available at a district level - in the wider comparison between house prices in South Northamptonshire and elsewhere. On average the asking prices are 54.7 percent higher than the recorded selling prices over the period under examination. If average dwelling prices are adjusted to eliminate this apparent difference¹⁰ the District still

¹⁰ ie. by reducing the South Northamptonshire values by the annual percentage difference between asking and selling prices in Northamptonshire as follows:

$$n2 - n1 = y,$$

$$\frac{n2}{100} \times y = z,$$

$$s1 \times \left(\frac{100-z}{100}\right) = s2$$

Where: n2 = Average asking price Northamptonshire, n1 = Average selling price Northamptonshire, y = annual difference between n1 and n2, z = y expressed as a % of n2, s1 = south Northamptonshire asking price, s2 = annual adjusted average dwelling price in South Northamptonshire

emerges with the highest property prices compared to other indices (fig 5.10). The difference between the adjusted prices for the study area and the actual prices at a county, regional and national level (table 5.12.) still show average South Northamptonshire dwelling prices were higher in all but one instance. Under this revised view the District's prices are on average 40.5 percent higher than Northamptonshire selling prices, 61 percent higher than the average East Midlands price, and 26 percent higher than the national average dwelling price.

Year	Northamptonshire, Average Selling Price	East Midlands, Average Selling Price	England, Average Selling Price
1987	38	87	39
1988	42	60	47
1989	56	74	58
1990	31	54	14
1991	38	38	-1
1992	38	53	1

Source: Nationwide Anglia (1994).

Table 5.12., Percentage Difference Between Adjusted Average Dwelling Asking Prices in South Northamptonshire and Average Selling Prices in Northamptonshire, the East Midlands and England as a Whole, 1987 - 1992.

Such findings support Dunmore and Acre's (1996) assertion that,

" the very diversity of the East Midlands region works against it. South and East Northamptonshire have very little in common with Nottingham or with Erewash ... Northampton, Milton Keynes and arguably Kettering and Wellingborough form a distinct sub-region straddling the boundary between the East Midlands and the South-East"

(Dunmore and Acres, 1996:187 - emphasis added).

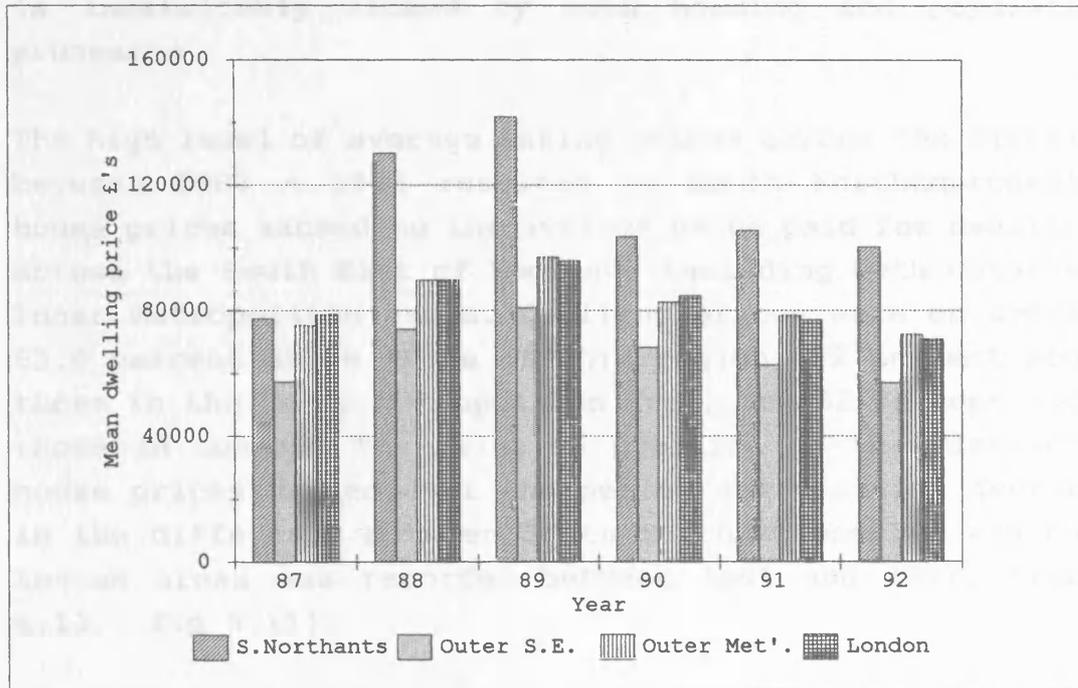
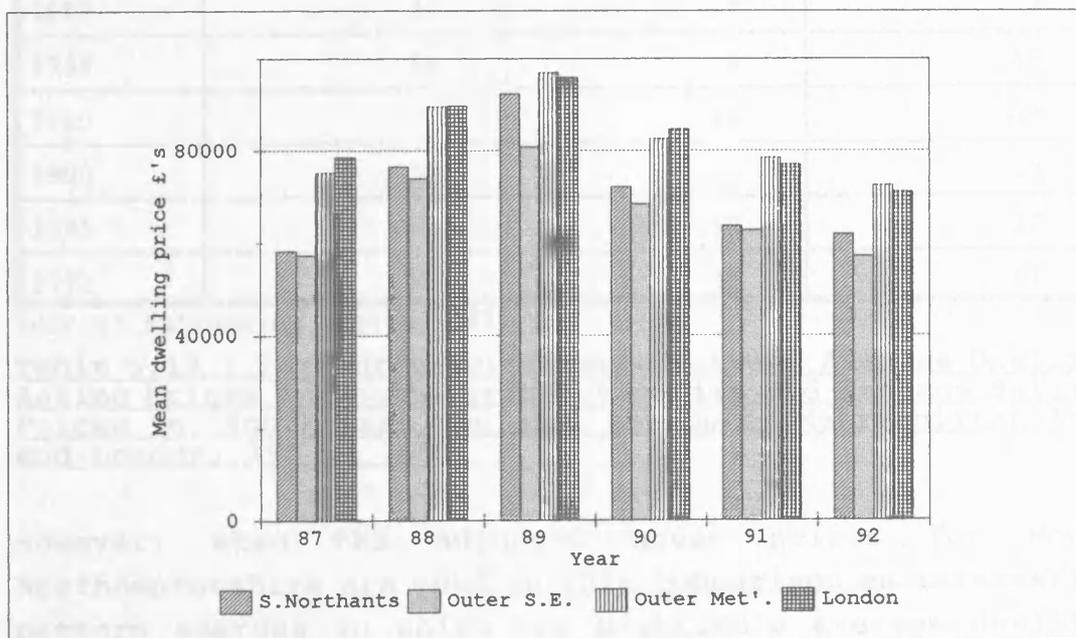


Fig 5.11., Mean Asking Price of Dwellings in South Northants Compared to the South East Region, 1987-92.



Source: N.C.C., 1992, Nationwide Anglia Building Society, 1994.

Fig 5.12., Mean Adjusted Asking Price of Dwellings in S.Northants Compared to the South East Region, 1987-92.

Accordingly, the District's housing market may be more usefully related to the South-East region - with which it is inextricably linked by both housing and population processes.

The high level of average asking prices across the District between 1987 - 1992 resulted in South Northamptonshire house prices exceeding the average price paid for dwellings across the South East of England, including both Outer and Inner Metropolitan areas. Dwelling prices were on average 63.6 percent above those of this region, 32 percent above those in the Outer Metropolitan area, and 32 percent above those in London. The relative position of the District's house prices varied over the period and a slight decrease in the difference between South Northamptonshire and both London areas was recorded between 1991 and 1992, (table 5.13., fig 5.11).

Year	South East selling price excluding London	Outer Metropolitan selling price	London selling price
1987	35	3	-2
1988	76	45	45
1989	75	46	48
1990	52	25	23
1991	68	35	37
1992	76	38	41

Source: Nationwide Anglia (1994).

Table 5.13., Percentage Difference Between Average Dwelling Asking Prices in South Northamptonshire and Average Selling Prices in South East England, the Outer Metropolitan Area and London, 1987 - 1992.

However, when the adjusted house prices for South Northamptonshire are used in this comparison an interesting pattern emerges in which the District's average dwelling prices appear more attractive to those resident in the South East of England (fig 5.12 , table 5.14).

Year	South East selling price excluding London	Outer Metropolitan selling price	London selling price
1987	2	-22	-26
1988	3	-15	-15
1989	14	-5	-4
1990	6	-13	-15
1991	1	-19	-17
1992	8	-15	-13

Sources: Nationwide Anglia (1994).

Table 5.14., Percentage Difference Between Adjusted Average Dwelling Asking Prices in South Northamptonshire and Average Selling Prices in the South East of England, the Outer Metropolitan Area and London, 1987 - 1992.

Adjusted house prices are on average 5.7 percent higher than those in the South East of England over the period 1987 - 92, peaking at 14 percent higher in 1989, and falling to just 1 percent higher in 1991. In contrast when compared with the average dwelling price in both the Outer Metropolitan Area and London itself, South Northamptonshire dwellings were relatively cheaper during the period under examination. On average the District's dwellings were 14.9 percent cheaper than those in the Outer Metropolitan Area, and 15 percent cheaper than those in London. Thus, from a financial point of view, the housing market in South Northamptonshire was most attractive to those in the (entire) metropolitan area in 1987 (average District dwelling prices being approximately three-quarters of those in the metropolitan area), with the difference diminishing to an average of 13 percent in subsequent years to 1992.

Such a comparison supports the local authority's assertion that relatively lower house prices have been amongst the principal reasons,

"... why there have been additional demands for housing, particularly from the South-East, in recent years"

(South Northamptonshire Council, 1993:10).

Thus in "straddling" the East-Midlands and South-East regions (to use Dunmore and Acres' term - Dunmore and Acres, 1996, op. cit.) the local housing market in South Northamptonshire exhibits a reciprocal relationship with migration patterns affecting the South East of England. As Fielding notes (1996), the population growth and housing market changes experienced by those areas on the peripheries of the South East region can in turn be directly related to wider structural changes including short-term factors related to the business cycle, medium-term factors based on 'spatial divisions of labour'; and long-term factors such as the continuing function of the South East as a 'social-escalator' region central to middle-class formation, and the changing position of London as a global and European economic (and political) centre.

These factors shape the demand experienced in local housing markets such as that in South Northants, whilst at the same time their continually modifying influence on the nature of the housing market concerned (for example, stock size, composition, price) determines its attractiveness to future waves of population moving from the South-East. Research by Lewis and Sherwood (1992), revealed that in neighbouring East Northamptonshire and the other study areas examined¹¹,

"26 percent of households which had moved since 1970 came from South East England - and the flow was greater in the 1980s than in the 1970s. The fact that long-distance migration had increased (14% to 17%), particularly amongst high status households, suggests that despite some variations by social class, migration is becoming polarised between very local moves and longer-distance moves in which the South-East is playing a greater role"

(Lewis and Sherwood, 1992:8).

The economic success of the South East region in the late-1980s in large measure explains the trends experienced in the local housing market under study,

¹¹ Breckland in Norfolk, North Dorset, and North Wiltshire.

Market type	Constrained Supply: retired/ established demand	Constrained Supply: mixed demand	Constrained Supply: commuting/ fluid demand
Nature of market	High proportion of in-migration, degree of demand from people retiring. Low turnover of housing stock. Few indications of commuting, suggesting indigenous population settled or 'established' in area.	"these are intermediate categories which incorporate wards which do not fall within the cut-off levels of the other two categories" (Shucksmith et al., 1995:53).	Inverse to retired/ est. category. Long distance commuting (20+ miles) prevalent. High residential turnover. High proportion of young heads of household. House prices higher in this category, reflecting constraints on land supply. So termed because of fluidity in housing supply.
No. of wards in S. Northants (%).	9 (37)	13 (54)	2 (9)
No. of wards after division of 'intermediate' wards	20 (83)	-	4 (17)
Housing Opportunity Category 3	9 (37)	-	2 (9)
Housing Opportunity Category 4	11 (45)	-	2 (9)

Table 5.15. Classification of the Housing Market in South Northamptonshire
after Shucksmith et al., 1995.

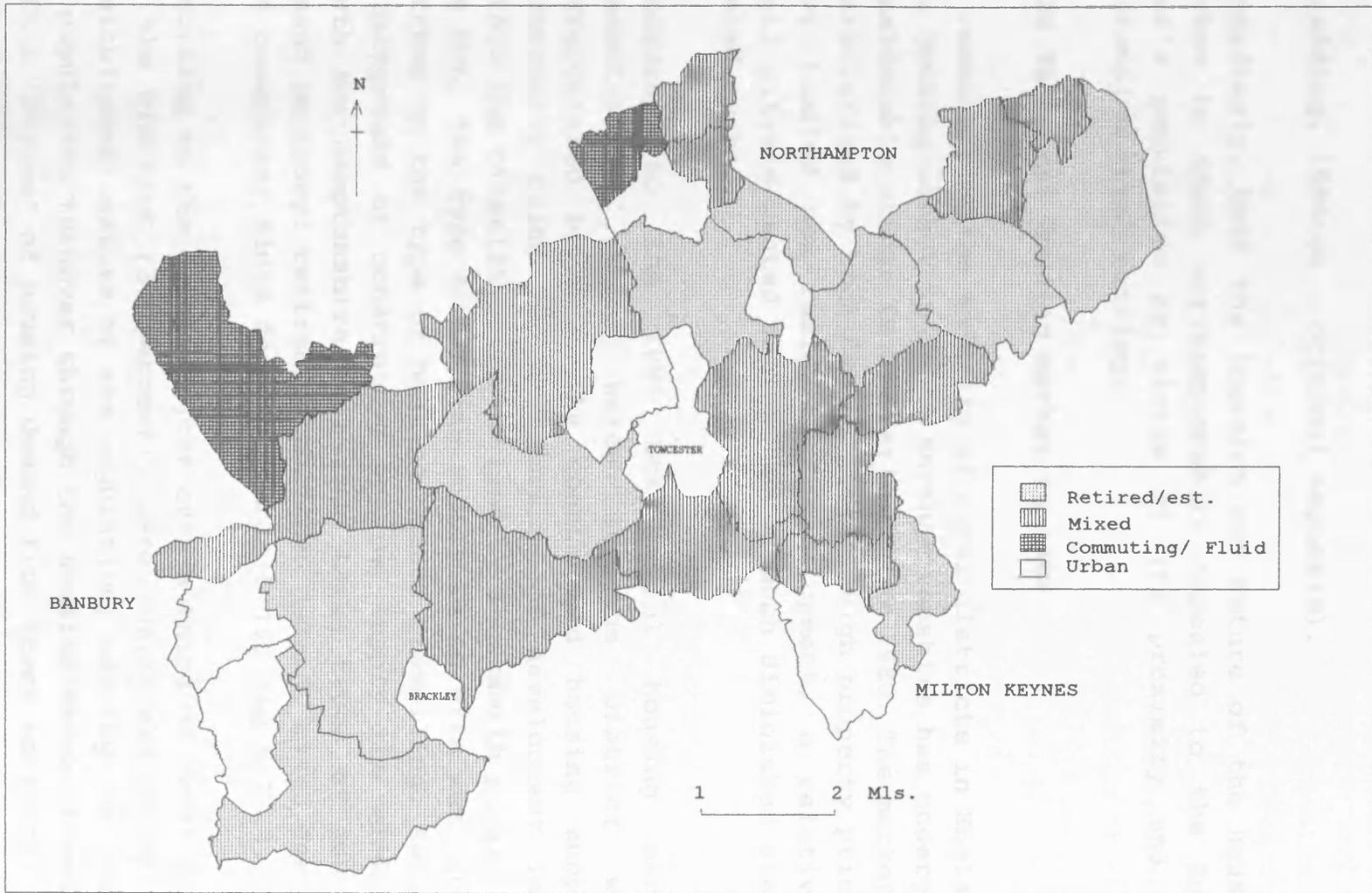


Figure 5.13., Housing Market Classification - South Northants after Shucksmith et al., 1995.

"... the restructuring process seems to have isolated the South East economy somewhat from the rest of the country, making its labour and housing markets less rather than more accessible to potential in-migrants"

(Fielding, 1996:84 - original emphasis).

Accordingly, both the location and nature of the housing market in South Northamptonshire appealed to the South East's population by virtue of its proximity and its attractive rural setting.

5.36 The Local Housing Market to 1994

In common with the majority of rural districts in England, the housing market in South Northamptonshire has undergone considerable change in the period after 1980. The market is characterized by high demand levels, high property prices, very limited new residential development, a relatively small private-rented sector, and a much diminished state-rented sector.

According to the 1995 DoE 'rural housing market classification', all wards in the District were characterized by a highly constrained housing supply, principally owing to the scarcity of development land. Within the classification devised by Shucksmith et al. for the DoE, the type of housing supply in an area was cross-matched to the type of housing demand prevailing. Against a background of constrained housing supply the wards of South Northamptonshire fell into three types of housing demand category: retired/established demand, mixed demand, and commuting/ fluid demand, (table 5.15, fig 5.13).

According to the authors, just over a third of rural wards in the District (37 percent), were characterized by the 'established' nature of the population, meaning low levels of population turnover through the housing stock, together with a 'degree' of housing demand from those retiring, and high levels of in-migration. Wards in this latter group

were described as having "retired/ established housing demand". A minority of wards were characterized by high residential turnover through the housing stock, higher house prices, and a higher proportion of younger heads of households and commuters. This latter group, constituting 17 percent of wards, were termed as having 'commuting/ fluid housing demand'. The remainder of wards in the District, the majority, fell between the cut-off points devised by the classification's authors and were designated as having 'mixed housing demand'. The distribution of these rural housing market categories across the District was uneven, with no overall pattern evident based on the proximity to the towns surrounding the District.

The DoE classification also provided a further measure of the local housing market, namely 'housing opportunity'. This characteristic is derived from multivariate analysis of both housing supply and demand and was designed to focus on two issues,

"the availability of [state-] rented accommodation and the extent to which the owner-occupied market was 'affordable'"

(Shucksmith et al., 1995:41, para 7.3)¹².

Index scores operated on a scale of 5 units, with a score of 1 indicating high housing opportunity and 5 low housing opportunity. The authors note,

¹² The Housing Opportunities Index was based on the following variables: Proportion of households in public renting in the ward, Proportion of households in public housing in the wider area, Proportion of dwelling sales which were £52,000 or above, Proportion of dwelling sales which were £39,000 or above, and Concealed households as a proportion of the effective housing stock (Shucksmith et al., 1995:42).

The index ranges from a score of 1 (indicating the highest levels of housing opportunity), to 5 (lowest opportunity levels), "A high score indicates more expensive owner occupation but more access to public housing" (Ibid:53).

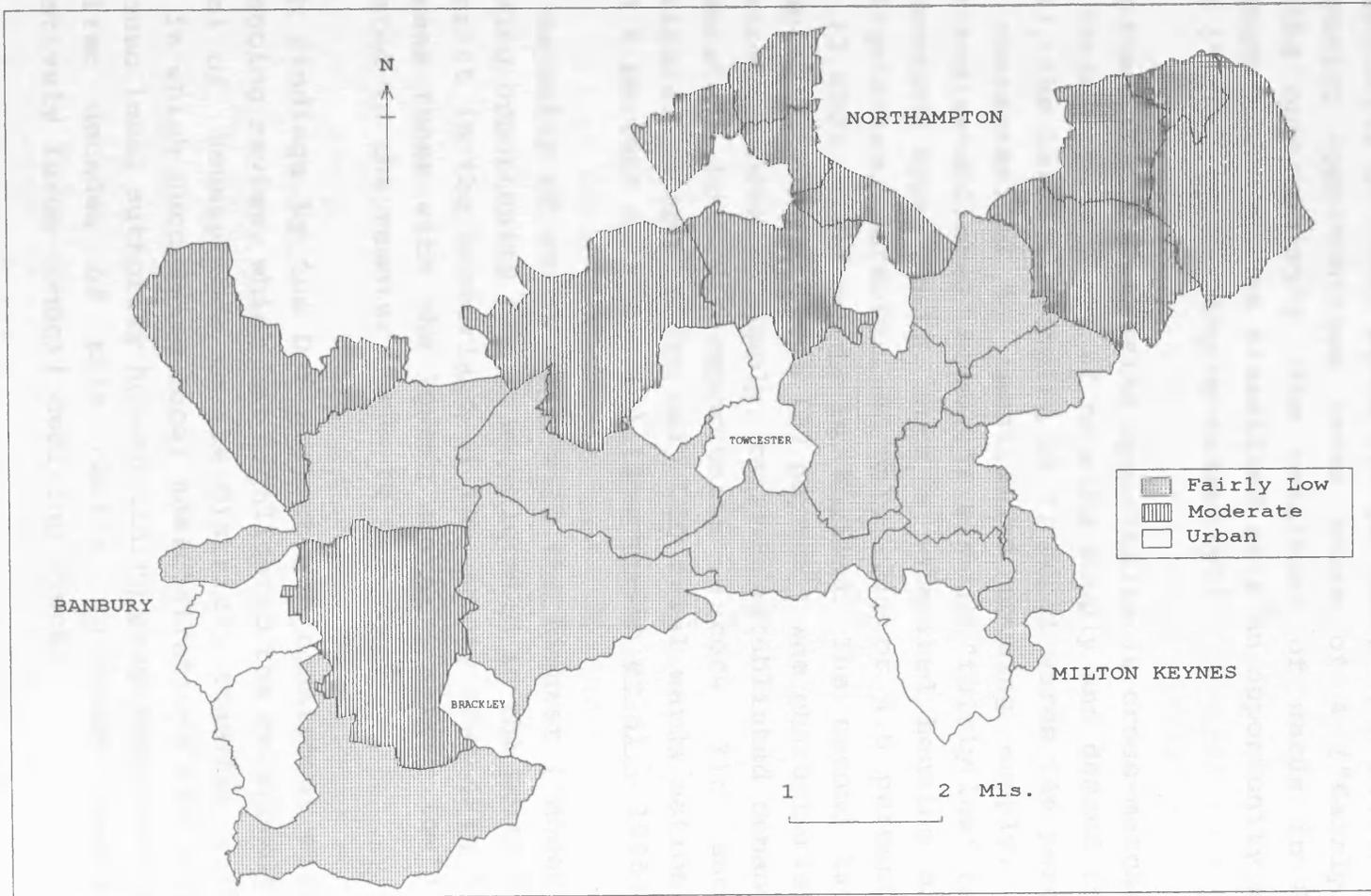


Figure 5.14., Index of Housing Opportunity in S. Northants, after Shucksmith et al. 1995.

"a high score indicates more expensive owner occupation but more access to public housing"

(Shucksmith et al., 1995:53).

The majority of rural wards (54 percent) were classed with a housing opportunities index score of 4 ("fairly low housing opportunity"). The remainder of wards in South Northamptonshire were classified with an opportunity score of 3 ("moderate housing opportunity").

When the measure of housing opportunity is cross-matched to the foregoing measures of housing supply and demand (table 5.14), the largest grouping of 11 rural wards (46 percent) was characterised by constrained housing supply, high "retired/established" demand levels and "fairly low" (score 4) housing opportunity. Such a polarized housing market configuration characterized only 121, or 4.6 percent, of all (2,630) rural wards in England. The second largest grouping of 9 rural wards (37 percent) was characterised by constrained housing supply, retired/established demand and "moderate" housing opportunity (score 3); such a configuration applied to only 200 rural wards nationally, or 7.6 percent of the total (Shucksmith et al., 1995).

The majority of rural wards with the highest ('moderate') housing opportunity scores were located in the north of the District in the hinterland of the county town (Fig 5.14), whereas those with the lowest scores ('fairly low') were located in the remoter wards to the south.

Such findings by the DoE project are consistent with the foregoing review, which has highlighted the relatively high level of houseprices in the District, together with the way in which successive local administrations had actively pursued local authority housebuilding programmes during the earlier decades of this century, thereby amassing a relatively large council dwelling stock.

This review has also revealed that the housing market in South Northamptonshire is characterized by high levels of demand and low levels of supply, creating low housing opportunity. Policy decisions at a national level after 1980 have resulted in an ongoing process of tenurial restructuring leading to an expansion of the owner occupied sector of the housing market. Set against such a housing market configuration, the resale of significant numbers of local authority dwellings will comprise a major element in the supply of housing reaching the local market over future years.

5.4 The Resales Process: South Northamptonshire

Following the earlier identification of a resales process (Section 5.2), almost the entire local authority stock of 6,071 dwellings (circa 1979) may be regarded as (Non-certain) Potential Resales (NPR's)¹³. These properties comprised 21.94 percent of the 27,661 dwellings in the District in 1991.

By 1994, approximately 2,200 local authority dwellings had been sold to tenants under the provisions of the 1980 Housing Act. Those forming the basis for the present study, and accounting for the majority of sales (1,700 dwellings, or 77 percent), are located in the rural parishes of the District. All of these dwellings located in the study area and sold under the RTB by 1994 may be viewed as Certain Potential Resales (CPR's). For the present purposes 'resales' refer solely to dwellings sold under the RTB (therefore the 427 properties sold under 'discretionary' sales legislation prior to 1980 are excluded).

¹³ A minority of dwellings were excluded from sale under the RTB, these included, so-called 'Airey houses' which frequently presented structural problems, and sheltered housing for the elderly and disabled. Restrictions on the sale of the latter classes of dwelling were partially lifted in the late 1980s.

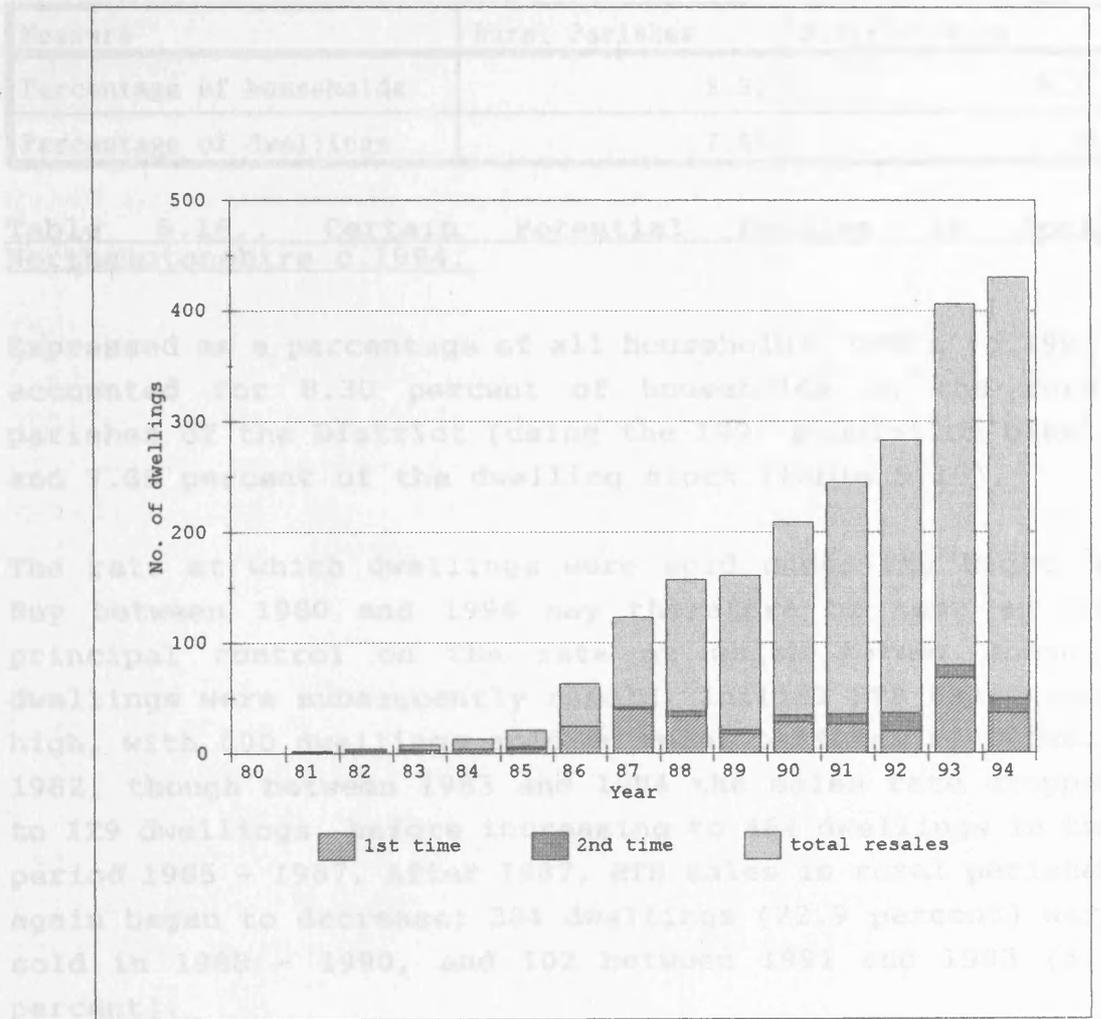


Figure 5.15., Rate of Resale Former Council Dwellings in South Northamptonshire.

Period	Percentage of all resale sales
1980 - 1983	76
1984 - 1986	8
1987 - 1988	27
1989 - 1991	43
1992 - 1994	9

Table 5.17., Rate of Right To Buy Sales, By 5 Year Periods in South Northamptonshire, 1980 - 1994.

In the first five years following the 1980 Housing Act the number of dwellings resold rose from 11 dwellings in 1980 to a peak of 434 dwellings in 1985. This was followed by a sharp decline in the number of dwellings resold in 1986 and 1987, followed by a steady increase in the number of dwellings resold in 1988 and 1989.

Measure	Rural Parishes	District-wide
Percentage of households	8.30	8.31
Percentage of dwellings	7.85	7.95

Table 5.16., Certain Potential Resales in South Northamptonshire c.1994.

Expressed as a percentage of all households, CPR's (c.1994) accounted for 8.30 percent of households in the rural parishes of the District (using the 1991 population base), and 7.85 percent of the dwelling stock (table 5.16).

The rate at which dwellings were sold under the Right To Buy between 1980 and 1994 may therefore be seen as the principal control on the rate at which former council dwellings were subsequently resold. Initial RTB sales were high, with 600 dwellings sold in rural parishes by October 1982, though between 1983 and 1984 the sales rate dropped to 129 dwellings, before increasing to 464 dwellings in the period 1985 - 1987. After 1987, RTB sales in rural parishes again began to decrease; 384 dwellings (22.9 percent) were sold in 1988 - 1990, and 102 between 1991 and 1993 (6.1 percent).

Period	Percentage of all rural RTB sales 1980 - 1994
1980 - 1982	36
1984 - 1986	8
1987 - 1988	27
1989 - 1991	23
1992 - 1994	6

Table 5.17., Rate of Right To Buy Sales, Rural Parishes South Northamptonshire 1980 - 1994.

In the first five years following the 1980 Housing Act few dwellings were resold (14 dwellings); 1986 saw a fourfold increase in the numbers of dwellings resold; in addition

some dwellings were subsequently being resold (ie. resold twice-over) (table 5.17, fig 5.15). After 1985, the annual rate of (first-time) resales leapt to a mean value of 32 dwellings per year over the following nine years; thus the great majority of the dwellings under study found their way onto the open market after 1985 (95 percent).

The emergence of dwellings which have been resold three times became a feature of the housing market after 1990, and though by 1994 such dwellings comprised a minority of only seven dwellings these repeatedly resold dwellings, or multiple resales, will obviously become a sizeable proportion of former local authority dwellings in the future.

Although the total number of resold dwellings in the District showed a steady increase over the period 1980 to 1994, the annual rate of resale was subject to considerable variation. This is exemplified by the pattern of resale over the period 1992 to 1994, when the number of first-time resales more than doubled 1992-3 (+53.75 percent) before declining by one third (33.75 percent) 1993-4.

Year	No. dwellings resold for first time in year	No. dwellings resold for second time in year	No. dwellings resold for third time in year	Total no. of resales in year	Cumulative total as % of all resales '80 - '94
1980	0	0	0	0	0
1981	1	0	0	1	1
1982	2	0	0	2	1
1983	3	0	0	3	2
1984	4	0	0	4	3
1985	4	2	0	6	4
1986	24	0	0	24	11
1987	40	2	0	42	22
1988	33	5	0	38	32
1989	17	4	0	21	37
1990	28	6	1	35	46
1991	26	9	0	35	55
1992	20	16	1	37	65
1993	68	11	1	80	86
1994	36	13	4	53	100
TOTAL	306	68	7	381	100

Table 5.18., Resale Rate Across Rural Parishes of South Northamptonshire 1980 - 1994.

Over the period 1980 - 1994, the total proportion of RTB sales subsequently resold for the first time increased steadily (table 5.19), from under one percent in 1982, to 18 percent in 1994. In this way resales are being drawn increasingly into the ongoing household turnover affecting all sections of the housing market in the District.

1982	1984	1987	1990	1993	1994
0.33	1.35	6.5	8.6	16	18.15

Table 5.19, Proportion of Right To Buy Sales Resold for the First Time, 1982 - 1994¹⁴.

In summary, the restructuring of the housing market in the rural parishes of South Northamptonshire following the 1980 Housing Act, produced approximately 1,700 potential resales (NCPR's). From this total, 300 had been resold by 1994 (Actual Resales), leaving 1,400 Certain Potential Resales. Therefore, by 1994, actual resales comprised 1.46 percent of the dwelling stock in rural parishes, whereas certain potential resales constituted 6.88 percent of dwellings. Such data provides a 'snapshot' of the ongoing resales process up to 1994 and this may be seen as the beginning of the process, for the great majority of certain potential resales had yet to be resold.

5.5 Factors Influencing the Production of Resold Dwellings

The variability in the pace of resales is of major importance in understanding the patterns of migration and social change attached to this process. Clearly, if no such dwellings are available at a given time, then no influence will be exerted on the overall patterns of migration and social change. Consideration of those factors which influence the rate at which resold dwellings are produced is necessary in order to understand the period 1980-94 and to provide an insight into the release of the majority of former local authority dwellings onto the housing market in the years following 1994.

¹⁴ Uneven time series arises from RTB totals known for certain years only

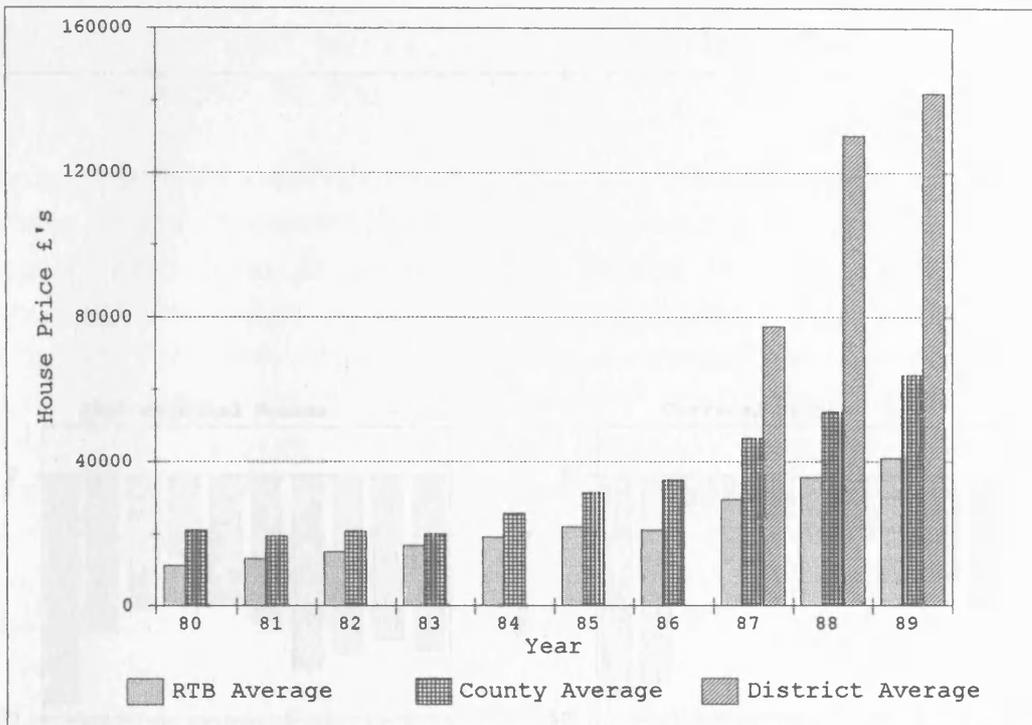
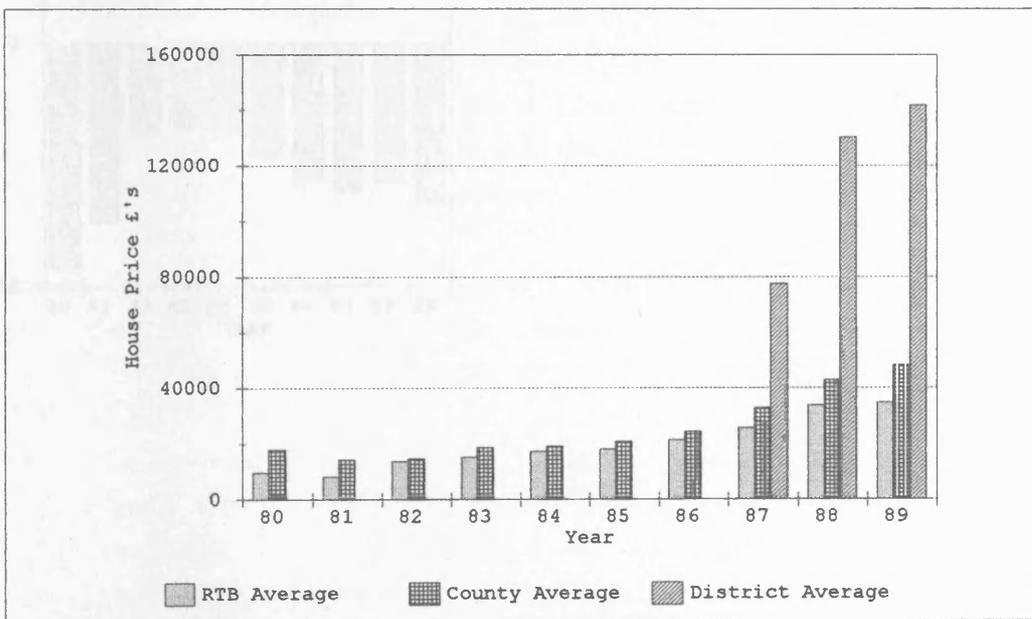


Figure 5.16., The Market Position of Semi-Detached Houses Purchased under the RTB.

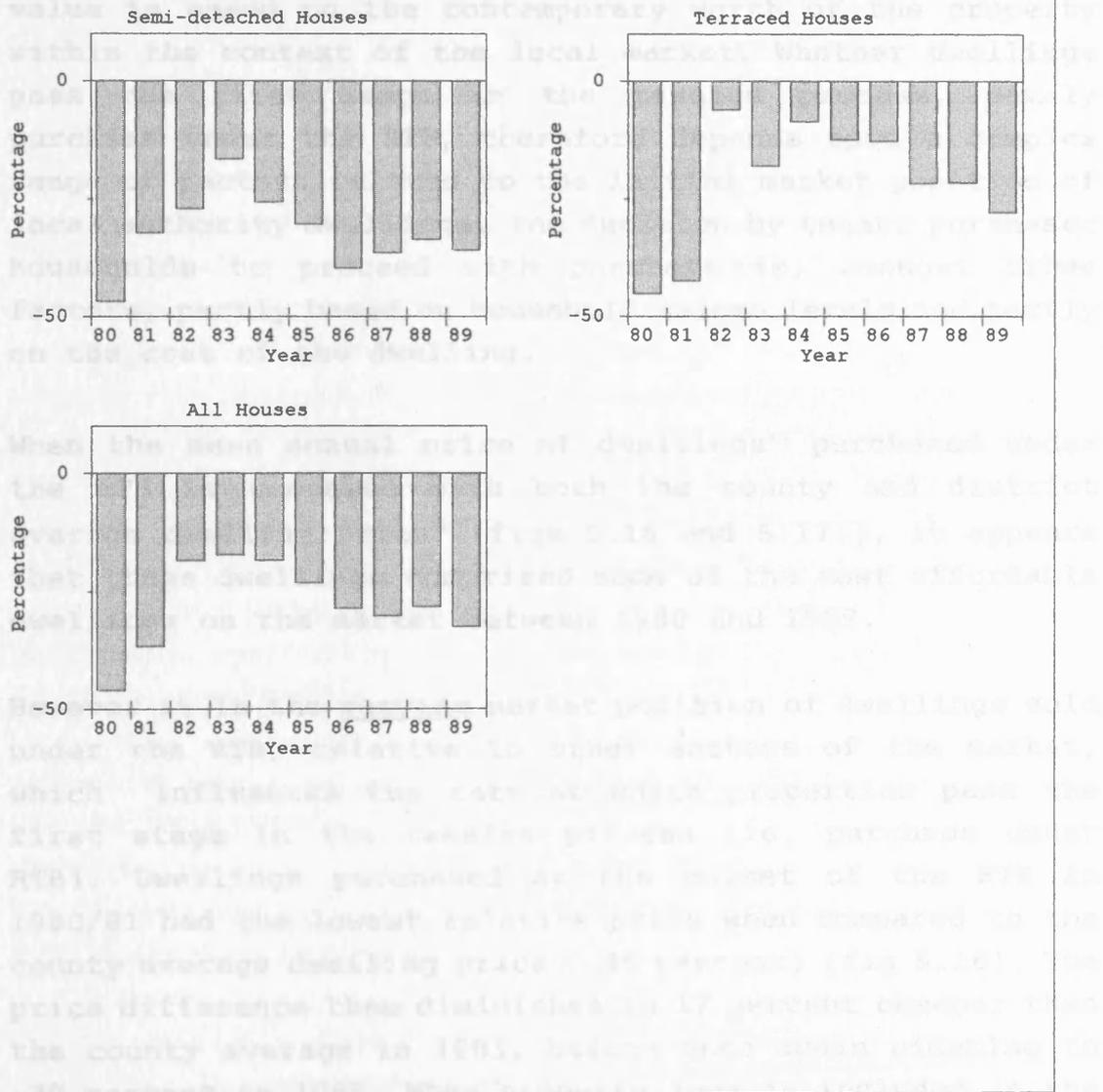


Source: N.C.C., 1992. Nationwide Anglia Building Society, 1994.

Figure 5.17., The Market Position of Terraced Houses Purchased under the RTB.

5.18 - The Initial Market Position of Dwellings Purchased Under the Right to Buy

One of the key decisions made by all purchasing households is whether they can afford to purchase the property. The price of the dwelling is determined by a valuation conducted by the local authority at the time a RTB application is received. The value of the contemporary market price is determined by the local authority at the time a RTB application is received. The value of the contemporary market price is determined by the local authority at the time a RTB application is received.



Source: S.N.C. Housing Records, Nationwide Anglia Building Society, 1994.
Figure 5.18., Percentage Difference Between Mean RTB Price and Mean Selling Price of Dwellings in Northamptonshire 1980 - 1989.

* District price data only available 1987 - 1992.

5.51 The Initial Market Position of Dwellings Purchased Under the Right To Buy

One of the key decisions made by all purchasing households buying their home under the RTB is whether they can afford to purchase the property. The price of the dwelling is determined by a valuation commissioned by the local authority at the time a RTB application is received. The value is based on the contemporary worth of the property within the context of the local market. Whether dwellings pass the first stage in the resale process, namely purchase under the RTB, therefore depends upon a complex range of factors related to the initial market position of local authority dwellings. The decision by tenant purchaser households to proceed with purchase is, amongst other factors, partly based on household income levels and partly on the cost of the dwelling.

When the mean annual price of dwellings¹⁵ purchased under the RTB is compared with both the county and district average dwelling price¹⁶ (figs 5.16 and 5.17.), it appears that these dwellings comprised some of the most affordable dwellings on the market between 1980 and 1989.

However it is the varying market position of dwellings sold under the RTB, relative to other sectors of the market, which influences the rate at which properties pass the first stage in the resale process (ie. purchase under RTB). Dwellings purchased at the outset of the RTB in 1980/81 had the lowest relative price when compared to the county average dwelling price (-46 percent) (fig 5.18). The price difference then diminishes to 17 percent cheaper than the county average in 1983, before once again widening to -30 percent in 1989. When property type is included in the

¹⁵ The gross purchase price under the Right To Buy was used in calculating the annual mean purchase price, ie. ignoring the discount given to purchasing households based on duration of tenancy.

¹⁶ District price data only available 1987 - 1992.

comparison semi-detached houses display a more competitive position relative to the county average than terraced houses. Such variability in the market position of local authority dwellings at the time of purchase will have a major impact on household wealth, directly affecting the decision to relocate and hence the rate of resale. Thus, the changing market position of resales clearly illustrates the way in which wider economic structures influence the decision to move at a household level.

5.52 The Marketing of Former Council Dwellings.

Without awareness of the availability of such properties no resales will proceed. The technique used to market resales will influence not only the rate of (re-)sales, but also who buys such properties. This follows because the way housing market intermediaries promote such properties will affect the numbers of prospective house-buyers who decide to actually 'view' the dwelling - whilst the projection of the dwellings in sales literature will influence their appeal to different sections of the buying public. In marketing former local authority dwellings housing market intermediaries were confronted with the task of attracting potential purchasers to an increasingly common type of housing opportunity.

Analysis of the property specifications obtained in respect of 31 former council dwellings for sale in South Northamptonshire in 1994 provides an insight into the way ex-council dwellings were marketed by fourteen estate agent businesses in the District.

On the whole a distinctly 'local' marketing approach was observed to operate, and agents with multiple offices across the region were inclined to promote properties (of all types) solely in the office local to where the dwelling was situated.

Agents stated¹⁷ that they saw no difference between the marketing of former council dwellings and other dwellings; emphasis was placed on the most saleable aspects of the dwelling in every case. All agents questioned stated that they felt former council properties presented no particular problem in terms of marketing, and that no previous problems had been encountered in selling such dwellings. A number of agents stated that former council dwellings were highly saleable given their generally good state of repair and upkeep. In terms of dwelling price estate agents were agreed that former council dwellings were generally at the cheaper end of the market, but that some former council dwellings, particularly in the more attractive remoter villages, commanded a higher than average price.

None of the seven estate agents questioned stated that they had a practice or working policy of omitting to mention the public sector background of these dwellings either in the advertising material or in the property specifications circulated to potential buyers. However, analysis of those properties on the market in 1994 reveals that only one¹⁸ of the fourteen estate agent firms studied stated that the properties described in the written property specifications were ex-council properties, indicating either that it was unimportant, or apprehension on the part of vendors and agents at the way such information would affect the desirability of the properties to potential purchasers.

Analysis of the property specifications of former council dwellings prepared by estate agents reveals that emphasis was focused on a number of selling points, as summarised in table 5.19.

¹⁷ Findings based on conversations with estate agents summer/autumn 1994

¹⁸ Davies and Partners, Brackley.

Selling point of former local authority dwelling	% of property specifications highlighting selling point
Large garden size	39
Good state of repair/ maintenance	6
Generous dwelling size	6
Rural/ village location	16
Competitively priced / cheaper price	6
Extensively renovated	6

Table 5.20., The Marketing of Resold Council Dwellings: Saleable Features Identified in Estate Agent's Property Specifications.

The low percentage of estate agent specifications highlighting specific saleable aspects in respect of resold dwellings arises as a result of the practice of some of the larger estate agents to provide very succinct descriptions of the property for sale¹⁹. This practice contrasts with the approach of smaller agents who generally provided a longer description of the dwelling, with an introductory paragraph outlining some of the more saleable aspects of the property (fig 5.19.).

The marketing of resold dwellings in specialist property newspapers covering South Northamptonshire was similar to the approach adopted by estate agents. Examination of three property newspaper titles²⁰ over a two year period (1993 -95), revealed that resold dwellings could only be differentiated from the remainder of the market by their appearance.

¹⁹ 18 of the dwellings analysed were marketed by Taylors Estate Agents with branches in Banbury and Towcester. Property specifications from this agent generally failed to highlight specific aspects such as those listed in Table 5.14., instead being more succinct in style.

²⁰ Property newspapers studied: Property Week with the Northampton Mercury, Property Today with the Northampton Herald and Post, and the County Property Chronicle.

"Pleasantly situated on the outskirts of the village overlooking the open countryside this particular property offers easily managed accommodation ideal for a first-time buyer or others seeking an inexpensive country home set in larger than usual gardens

"A three-bedroomed terrace cottage built in 1937 with gas heating to radiators...

"Located in a close on the outskirts of the village of Greatworth with views over open countryside to the rear, this larger, older style, three bedroomed end of terrace property

"Open aspects ... Approximately 186' rear garden..."
"... further points include a 20' lounge"

"Located in the centre of the small and attractive South Northamptonshire village of Woodend, this semi-detached, brick built house has views over open fields to both front and rear

"An extended semi-detached residence situated in a non-estate location ... off-road parking and a rear garden in excess of 100ft.

"A mature three bedroom semi-detached house, situated in a non-estate location with a reasonably private rear garden in the heart of the village of Cogenhoe"

Sources: The Village Agency Limited, Millers Estate Agents, Scrivener & Reigner Ltd, General Accident Property Services.

Figure 5.19., Saleable Aspects of Resold Dwellings Highlighted in Estate Agents Property Specifications, c.1994.

This identification was subject to a photograph accompanying the advertisement; accordingly such identification of former local authority dwellings was uncertain in many cases, given some of the non-traditional and vernacular styles of former council dwellings in the District.

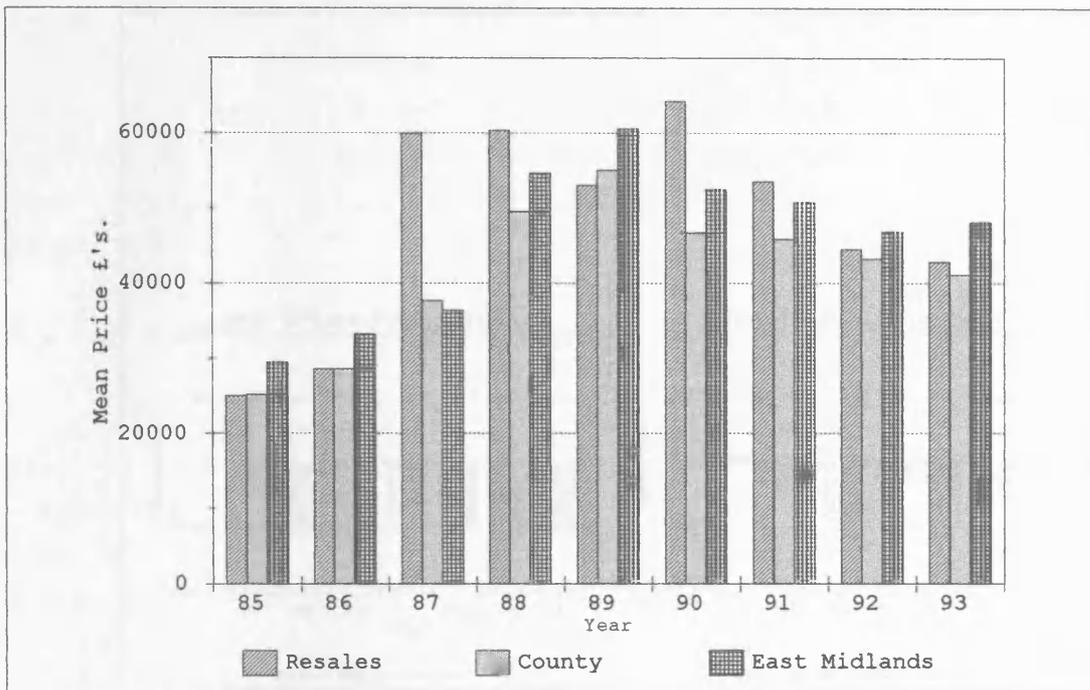
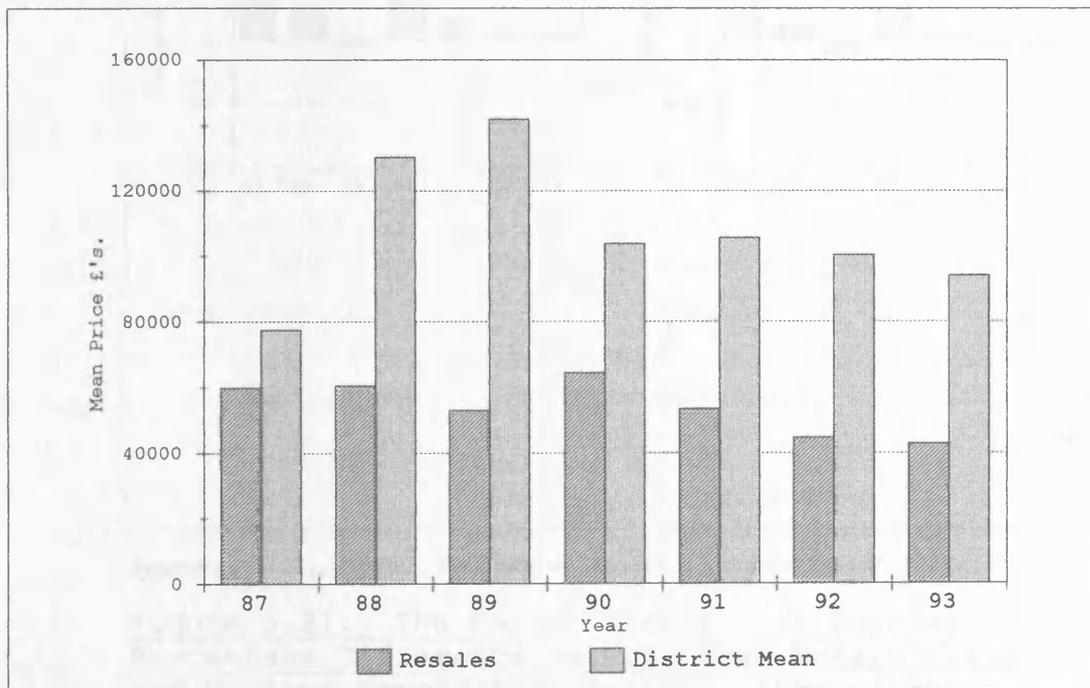


Figure 5.20., The Mean Resale Price in a County and Regional Context 1985 - 1993.



Source: Nationwide Anglia Building Soc. Unpublished data, 1994., N.C.C., 1995.

Figure 5.22., The Mean Resale Price within in a District - Context 1985 - 1993.

From the above it can be concluded that no difference exists between the marketing of resale dwellings and properties on the market. Such was the stated position of the estate agents questioned and this was verified by examination of property specifications issued by estate agents together with advertisements in local property magazines.

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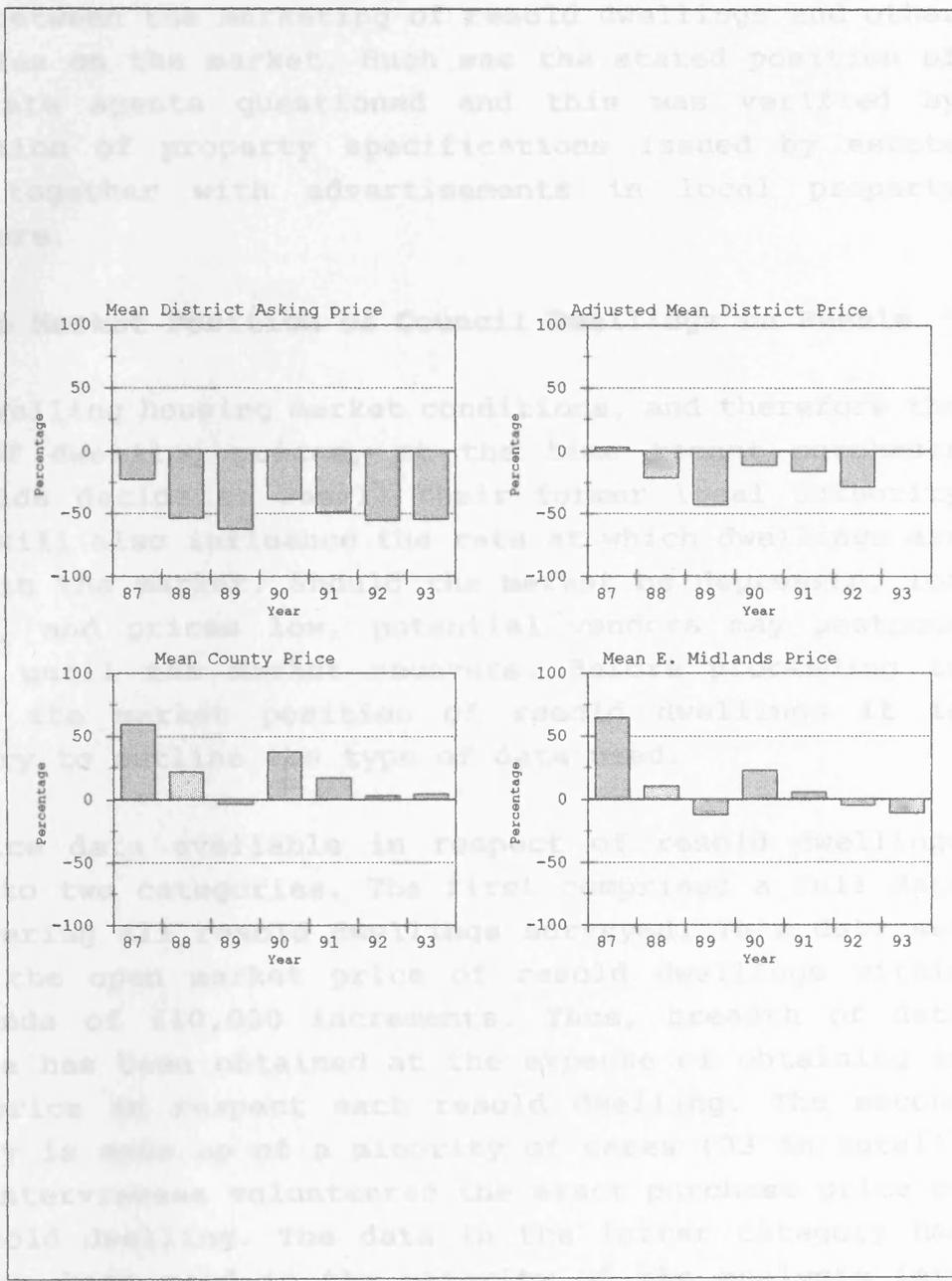
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Source: N.C.C., 1995. Nationwide Anglia ., Unpublished/ 1994.

Figure 5.21., The Market Position of Resales. Percentage Difference Between Mean Resale Price and Various Comparative Indices, 1987 - 1992

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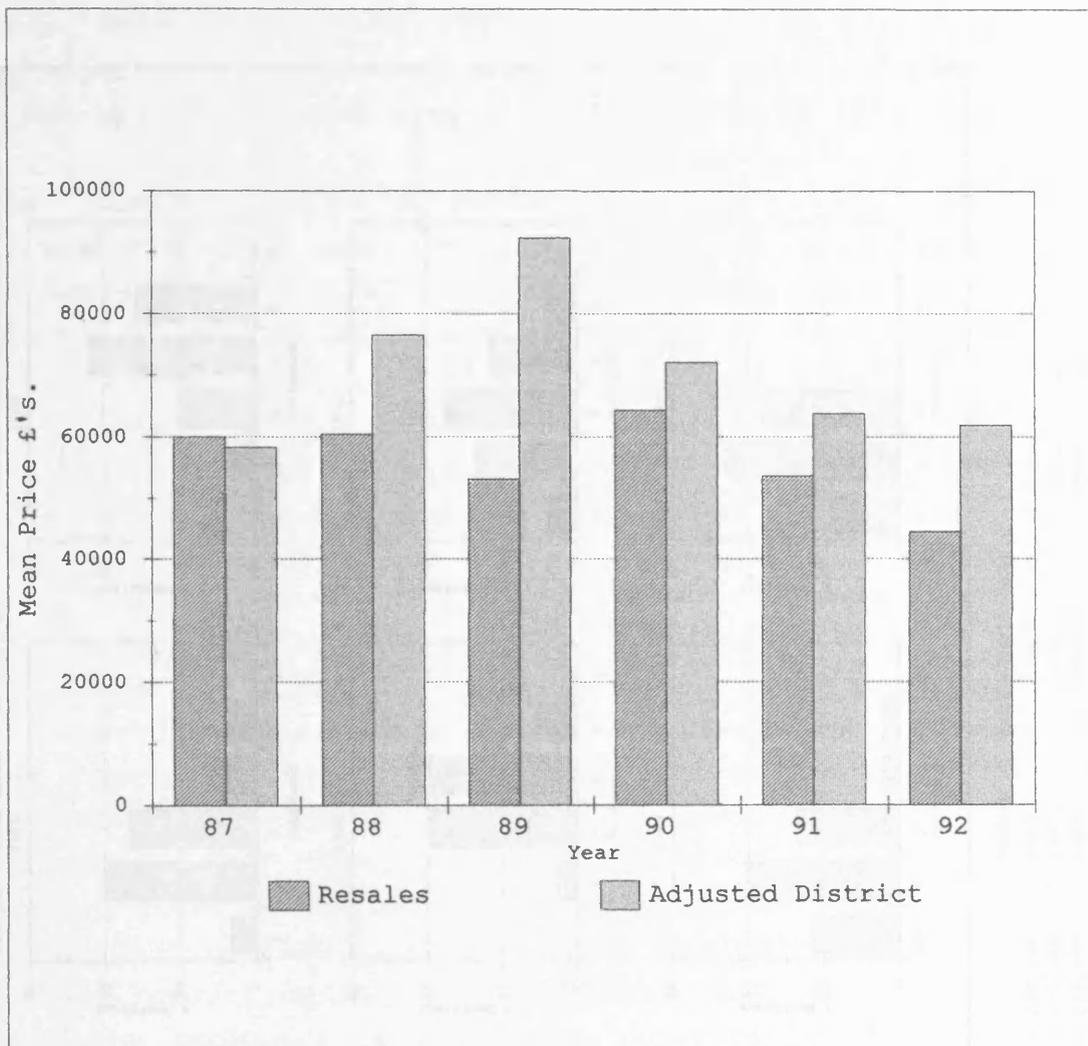
From the above it can be concluded that no difference exists between the marketing of resold dwellings and other properties on the market. Such was the stated position of the estate agents questioned and this was verified by examination of property specifications issued by estate agents together with advertisements in local property newspapers.

5.53 The Market Position of Council Dwellings on Resale

The prevailing housing market conditions, and therefore the level of dwelling prices, at the time tenant purchaser households decide to resell their former local authority homes, will also influence the rate at which dwellings are resold in the market. Should the market be depressed, for example, and prices low, potential vendors may postpone selling until the market recovers. Before proceeding to analyse the market position of resold dwellings it is necessary to outline the type of data used.

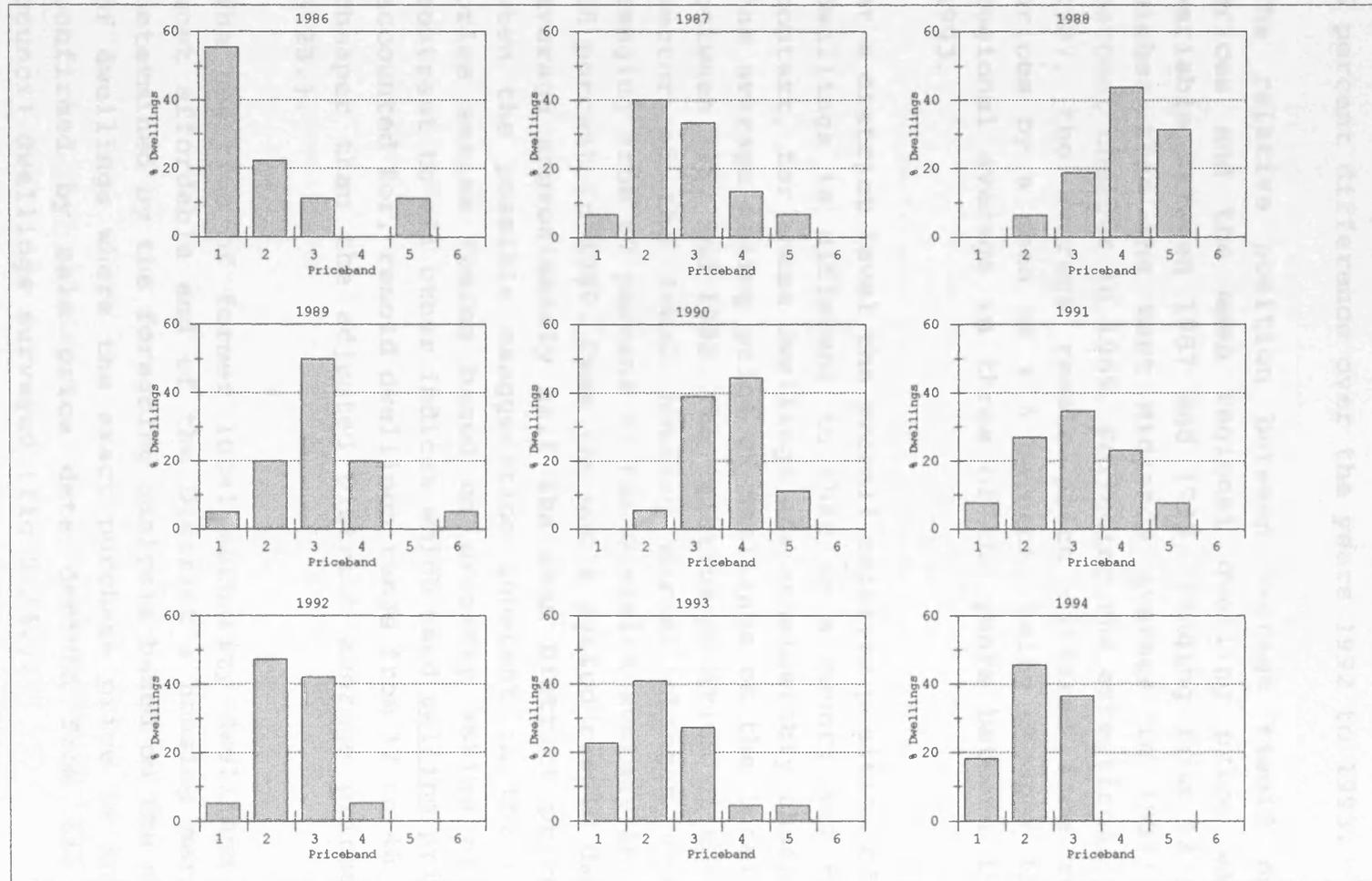
The price data available in respect of resold dwellings fall into two categories. The first comprises a full data set covering all resold dwellings surveyed. This data set places the open market price of resold dwellings within pricebands of £10,000 increments. Thus, breadth of data coverage has been obtained at the expense of obtaining an exact price in respect each resold dwelling. The second category is made up of a minority of cases (33 in total), where interviewees volunteered the exact purchase price of the resold dwelling. The data in the latter category has therefore been used in the majority of the analysis into the market position of resold dwellings.

The price of resold dwellings between 1985 and 1993 ranged from £25,000 in 1985, to a maximum of £64,000 in 1990 (fig 5.20.). The relative position of resold dwellings to the average dwelling price at a county level varied greatly over time (fig 5.21.), from being 54 percent above the Northamptonshire average in 1987, to 3 percent below it in



Source: N.C.C., 1995.

Figure 5.23., The Market Position of Resold Dwellings 1985 - 93, Mean Annual Resale Price Compared to Mean - Annual Asking Price of Dwellings in South Northants.



Key to Pricebands:

1. £30,000 - £39,999	4. £60,000 - £69,999
2. £40,000 - £49,999	5. £70,000 - £79,999
3. £50,000 - £59,999	6. £80,000 - £89,999

Number of Resold Dwellings:

1986.	9	1989.	20	1992.	21
1987.	15	1990.	19	1993.	27
1988.	16	1991.	26	1994.	11

Figure 5.24., Price of Resold Dwellings, 1986 - 1994.
Priceband of all Resold Properties in Year. (Year = 100%).

1989. Over the period 1987 - 93 there is a convergence between county and resold dwelling averages, with only 4 to 6 percent difference over the years 1992 to 1993.

The relative position between average resold dwelling prices and the mean regional dwelling price was very variable between 1987 and 1993, ranging from 63 percent higher than the East Midlands average in 1987, to 15 percent cheaper in 1989. Following the exceptional year of 1987, the average resale price differed from regional prices by a mean of ± 6 percent, being cheaper than the regional average in three of the years between 1987 and 1993.

At a district level the overall relative position of resold dwellings is different to that in a county and regional context, for these dwellings are considerably cheaper than the average asking price of dwellings on the local market between 1987 and 1993. The relative position of the resold sector of the local housing market changes over time ranging from 87 percent of the District average in 1987 to 36 percent in 1989. Over the whole period resold dwellings average approximately half the mean District price. Even when the possible exaggeration inherent in the District price series (being based on property asking prices in contrast to all other indices which used selling prices) is accounted for, resold dwellings range from 12 to 46 percent cheaper than the adjusted District average prices²¹ (fig 5.23.).

The position of former local authority dwellings at the most affordable end of the District's housing market, as determined by the foregoing analysis based on the minority of dwellings where the exact purchase price is known, is confirmed by sale price data derived from all former council dwellings surveyed (fig 5.24.).

²¹ Excluding the exceptional year 1987, when resold prices were 4 percent higher than the adjusted District average.

Year	Percentage of resold dwelling priced under £50,000
1986	78
1987	46
1988	5
1989	25
1990	5
1991	32
1992	57
1993	63
1994	63

Table 5.21., The Market Position of Resold Dwellings: Proportion of Annual Sales Below £50,000.

Despite the rather erratic picture which emerges from the declared purchase pricebands of interviewed households, the relative affordability of resold dwellings (in the context of the local market) emerges as a principal feature. Thus the annual proportion of resold dwellings priced at below £50,000, whilst varying considerably (from 5 to 78 percent), averages 42 percent across the period 1986 - 1994, actually increasing to between 57 and 63 percent in 1992 - 1994, (table 5.21).

Comparison with the range of price-indices used above enables resold dwellings to be placed within a market context. From such a perspective the variability of the resold sector's relative market position over time becomes evident. Such variability outlined both in respect of the market position of former local authority dwellings at the time of purchase under the RTB (Section 5.43), and on resale, makes the timing of transactions involving resold dwellings of key importance in terms of household wealth.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
la	RTB	Exact	OMP	abate'	cons'	RTB net	Gross	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	DIFF'
Y	80	38000	1993	48	1970	6422	12350	12609	12698	13891	15336	17437	18710	21273	23103	35670	35991	31780	30414	27981	30891	10019
Y	80	47500	1988	50	1931	4875	9750	9955	10024	10967	12107	13766	14771	16794	18239	28161	28414	25090	24011	22090	24387	29261
Y	80	77000	1990	30	1952	7525	10750	10976	11053	12092	13349	15178	16286	18517	20109	31049	31328	27663	26474	24356	26889	45672
Y	80	62000	1991	34	1956	8910	13500	13783	13880	15185	16764	19061	20452	23254	25254	38992	39343	34740	33246	30586	33767	27260
Y	80	60000	1988	43	1948	4845	8500	8679	8739	9561	10555	12001	12877	14641	15901	24550	24771	21873	20933	19258	21261	44099
N	81	40000	1993	33	1951	7450	11119	11119	11197	12250	13524	15377	16499	18759	20373	31455	31738	28025	26820	24674	27241	15326
N	81	55000	1994	42	1954	6920	11931	11931	12015	13144	14511	16499	17703	20129	21860	33751	34055	30071	28778	26475	29229	25771
Y	81	25000	1985	41	1957	7080	12000	12000	12084	13220	14595	16594	17806	20245	21986	33946	34252	30245	28944	26628	29398	8406
N	81	67000	1990	50	1946	5250	10500	10500	10573	11567	12770	14520	15580	17714	19238	29703	29971	26464	25326	23300	25723	37029
Y	81	44000	1987	50	1957	6100	12200	12200	12285	13440	14838	16871	18102	20582	22353	34512	34823	30749	29426	27072	29888	23418
Y	82	47000	1994	39	1972	9699	15900	15900	17395	19204	21835	23428	26638	28929	44666	45068	39795	38084	35037	36681	8319	
Y	82	52000	1989	33	1946	9681	14449	14449	15807	17451	19842	21291	24208	26289	40591	40956	36164	34609	31841	35152	11409	
Y	82	40000	1986	34	1926	9765	14795	14795	16186	17870	20318	21801	24788	26919	41564	41938	37031	35439	32603	35994	18199	
Y	82	39500	1987	34	1935	10230	15500	15500	16957	18721	21285	22839	25968	28201	43543	43935	38794	37126	34156	37708	13532	
Y	82	30000	1987	30	1966	13300	19000	19000	20786	22948	26092	27996	31832	34569	53375	53855	47554	45509	41869	46223	-1882	
Y	82	60000	1991	46	1948	8370	15500	15500	16957	18721	21285	22839	25968	28201	43543	43935	38794	37126	34156	37708	21206	
Y	82	57000	1990	39	n/k	8540	14000	14000	14000	15316	16909	19225	20629	23455	25472	39329	39683	35040	33533	30851	34059	17917
N	83	55000	1993	50	1952	8250	16500	16500	16500	18216	20712	22224	25268	27441	42369	42751	37749	36126	33236	36692	21766	
Y	83	67000	1988	48	1949	8710	16750	16750	16750	18492	21025	22560	25651	27857	43011	43398	38321	36673	33739	37248	39143	
Y	84	40000	1992	30	n/k	13160	18800	18800	18800	21376	22936	26078	28321	43728	44121	38959	37284	34301	37868	27316	37868	
N	85	39000	1991	60	1933	6680	16700	16700	16700	17919	20374	22126	34163	34470	30437	29128	26798	29585	8563	1337	8563	
N	85	29000	1993	33	1939	11550	17239	17239	17239	18497	21031	22840	35265	35582	31419	30068	27663	30540	27738	25464	10684	
N	86	54000	1991	50	1953	8400	16800	16800	16800	19102	20744	32029	32318	28536	27309	25125	27738	25464	10684	10684	10684	
N	87	50000	1992	60	1954	11000	27500	27500	27500	29865	46112	46527	41083	39316	36171	39933	39316	36171	39933	39316	36171	11500
Y	87	17000	1987	40	1950	17100	28500	28500	28500	30951	47788	48218	42577	40746	37486	41385	41385	41385	41385	41385	41385	1504
N	88	54000	1989	60	1952	13600	34000	34000	34000	34000	52496	52968	46771	44760	41179	45462	45462	45462	45462	45462	45462	-2025
N	88	53000	1991	32	1936	27200	40000	40000	40000	40000	61760	62316	55025	52659	48446	53485	53485	53485	53485	53485	53485	5419
N	88	46000	1991	49	1938	15045	29500	29500	29500	45548	45958	40581	38836	35729	39445	39445	39445	39445	39445	39445	39445	-30211
N	88	56000	1990	58	1938	17850	42500	42500	42500	42500	65620	66211	58464	55950	51474	56827	56827	56827	56827	56827	56827	56827

Mean £15,423

Column	Column
1 Local authority mortgage?	6 Year property constructed
2 Year tenants purchased	7 Net RTB price
3 Exact resale price	8 Gross RTB price
4 Year of open market purchase	9 - 22 Indexed prices '81 - '94 (E. Midlands Average)
5 Percentage discount under RTB	23 Difference from indexed price

Figure 5.25., The Sale of Former Local Authority Dwellings and Household Wealth. Indexed Dwelling Price and Resale Price compared.

5.54 The Resale of Dwellings and Household Wealth

Thus far reference to the effect of the changing market position of former local authority dwellings on the rate at which such properties arrive on the housing market has been at the aggregate level. Accordingly, general reference has been made to 'purchasers' and the effect that the changing market position of resold dwellings may have on the decision to relocate and therefore on the rate of resale.

Such factors form part of every tenant purchaser household's decision to resell, and as such act as a major influence on the rate at which resales occur. However, given the variability of the position of resales within the housing market revealed above, the economic implications for households, of first purchasing and subsequently reselling former local authority dwellings, will differ greatly. The following section examines the economic impact of reselling former council dwellings with the aim of gaining a greater understanding of the resale process and the way it may affect the decision-making of those households determining the rate at which former council dwellings pass onto the open market.

Complete data on the RTB purchase price and subsequent resale price in respect of twenty-nine households (approximately 15 percent of the dwellings surveyed), enables a full assessment of the economics of reselling at a household level.

Indexing the gross RTB price²² of each dwelling by the regional house price index (Nationwide Anglia, 1994) provided a measure of the price of the former local authority dwellings had they conformed to the regional norm (fig 5.25.). By comparing the indexed price with that actually realised on resale in respect of each property, an

²² Ignores discount based on duration of residence, thereby reflecting the current market value of the dwelling.

insight is gained on the economics of resale. The variability in the difference between indexed value and actual resale price is a striking aspect of the analysis, ranging from +£46,000 to -£10,000. Overall the mean difference between the resale price and the indexed price was £15,423²³. The volatility of the housing market in the period under consideration is evident from these calculations. The instances where the actual amount achieved on reselling the former local authority dwelling was lower than the indexed price are in the minority and relate to the 'boom' in the property market 1987/88. In such cases the RTB purchase was at the 'top' of the market, with resale shortly afterwards when prices fell sharply in some instances.

A caveat is necessary in regard to these calculations for they are not based on a representative sample of all resales, but rather focus on those dwellings where exact price data were obtained. Nevertheless, the foregoing section has revealed that the resale prices used in these calculations of household wealth were typical of those achieved by all resold dwellings.

The relationship of housing market trends to the economics of resale at a household level achieves an important purpose in confirming the argument of the foregoing sections of this chapter that the changing nature of the housing market over time performs an important function in strongly influencing the rate of resale. Also emergent from analysis of the economics of resale by households is the substantial level of capital gains achievable from the resale of local authority dwellings. This point is emphasized when it is remembered that the foregoing exercise, in comparing the indexed average price and the actual resale price, was based on the gross RTB purchase

²³ For calculation of the overall mean value, the property noted in Figure 5.24 as bought under the RTB in 1987 and resold in the same year resulting in a loss of £11,500, was omitted as being a result of the exceptional market conditions in that year.

price. All households received a substantial abatement at the time of purchase under the RTB, so the potential capital gains from the resale of council dwellings is likely to be much higher than the levels suggested from the foregoing analysis²⁴.

The rate at which former local authority dwellings are resold over the next decades may therefore be seen as a function of the way in which wider economic trends impact on the housing market which in turn influences the attractiveness of resale at a household level.

5.6 Summary

The foregoing analysis has shown that the Right To Buy, introduced in 1980, has effected an episode of major tenurial restructuring, the effects of which were particularly pronounced in the rural housing market. Examination of the local housing market in South Northamptonshire found it to be characterised by high demand, constrained supply and exceptionally high prices. Against this background the arrival of increasing numbers of relatively cheap resold local authority dwellings has caused an increase in the size of the owner-occupied sector that, given prevailing planning legislation, would have taken decades to achieve by new building. It is the speed, extent and exceptional nature of this housing market restructuring that will have major implications for the ensuing patterns of social change in the countryside. The following chapter focuses on these processes by analysing the migration patterns connected to this 'special' sector of the housing market in order to determine the exact nature of social change arising from resales.

²⁴ The mean potential gain for tenant purchaser households on resale if the net RTB price is indexed and subtracted from the actual resale price is £30,558 (£31,296 in respect of semi-detached houses and £29,154 in respect of terraced houses).

CHAPTER SIX

HOUSEHOLD MIGRATION INTO FORMER LOCAL AUTHORITY DWELLINGS

6.0 Introduction

Earlier discussion has revealed how nationally the resale of former local authority dwellings, as part of an ongoing process, is transferring hundreds of thousands of dwellings for reallocation by market forces. In examining the housing opportunity these dwellings present to those migrating in rural areas, this study will examine population flows affecting the countryside at a household level, thereby linking population changes with the dwelling stock and the underlying motives behind the household moves. The definition of a household first used in the 1861 census will be adopted here:

"a 'household' is either one person who lives alone and keeps house for him or herself, or two or more people who share their housekeeping arrangements and/or who share a sitting room or living room"

(DoE, 1996:x).

By relating each migrant group to the housing stock under study, it is intended to move away from the approach of many migration studies - as noted by Clarke (1984), Grundy (1992), and Sherwood (1996) - which examine aggregate-level data without reference to the housing market through which migrants move.

Generally, earlier studies of migration in the countryside have failed to adopt a critical social theory. By contrast, the use of realism in this analysis will advance the theoretical basis for rural migration research. In outlining the contemporary and historical structures from

whence the events under study emerged, this theoretical approach reconciles household agency with wider structural constraints. The link between central government housing policy and household migration is one example of such a structure-agency relationship.

Changes in housing policy have shaped the way in which local authorities have emerged as the main providers of rented housing in twentieth century, whilst recent research has highlighted the lower migration rates amongst tenants in this tenure when compared to the population as a whole (Hughes and McCormick, 1981; National Consumer Council, 1984; Minford et al., 1987; Ford and Smith, 1990).

Monro (1992) has questioned whether recent policy decisions aimed at breaking local authorities' dominance in supplying rented housing are likely to affect migration patterns:

"these new policies are crucial to whether migration in Britain can be increased, as these are largely focused on the groups believed to be most disadvantaged in mobility terms. An important research question is whether this strategy of restructuring the public sector [of the housing market] is consonant with the objective of increasing migration rates within the UK ...".

(Monro, 1992:50)

Policy-makers were keen to advance the post-1980 changes in the state-rented sector of the housing market as promoting 'choice' for tenants¹. At a local level, as Monro (1992) notes:

¹ "That policy [the RTB] has been so successful that we have irreversibly altered the perceptions of tenants of the choices and opportunities which should be open to them ...".

(John Patten M.P. then Minister for Housing, Urban Affairs and Construction, Hansard, 1986, Volume 91., Columns 153-4).

"... tenure diversification and consequent population diversification were viewed as important local benefits...".

(Monro, 1992:50, emphasis added).

Analysis of the migration implications of changes in local authority housing policy is well established within an urban context (for example, Murie *et al.*, 1976; Clark and Moore, 1980), yet remains largely unexamined in respect of the post-1980 changes in rural areas. If the policy changes embodied in the 1980 Housing Act (and later legislation) have indeed had the effect both of increasing and diversifying population movements through the (former) local authority dwelling sector, then such changes hold major, but mostly unknown, implications for the nature of the rural population change.

Nothing is yet known about the migration patterns attaching to resales; should their effect be to increase the prevalence of longer-distance moves into these dwellings, then such changes would represent major discontinuity with earlier housing policy (1919-1979) when the function of local authority housing was to meet local housing needs - thereby resulting in the predominance of short-distance moves.

It has yet to be determined whether the migration patterns associated with the resold sector of the rural housing market are typical of the urban-to-rural population movements constituting the much documented 'population turnaround' in rural areas; or whether they are part of the rural-to-rural moves increasingly identified with the countryside (for example, Lewis and Sherwood, 1992, Halfacree, 1994, Boyle, 1995).

In addressing these matters it is necessary to classify the types of household moves made by OMP households according to a range of factors to facilitate comparison of different elements within the purchaser group (and also with the

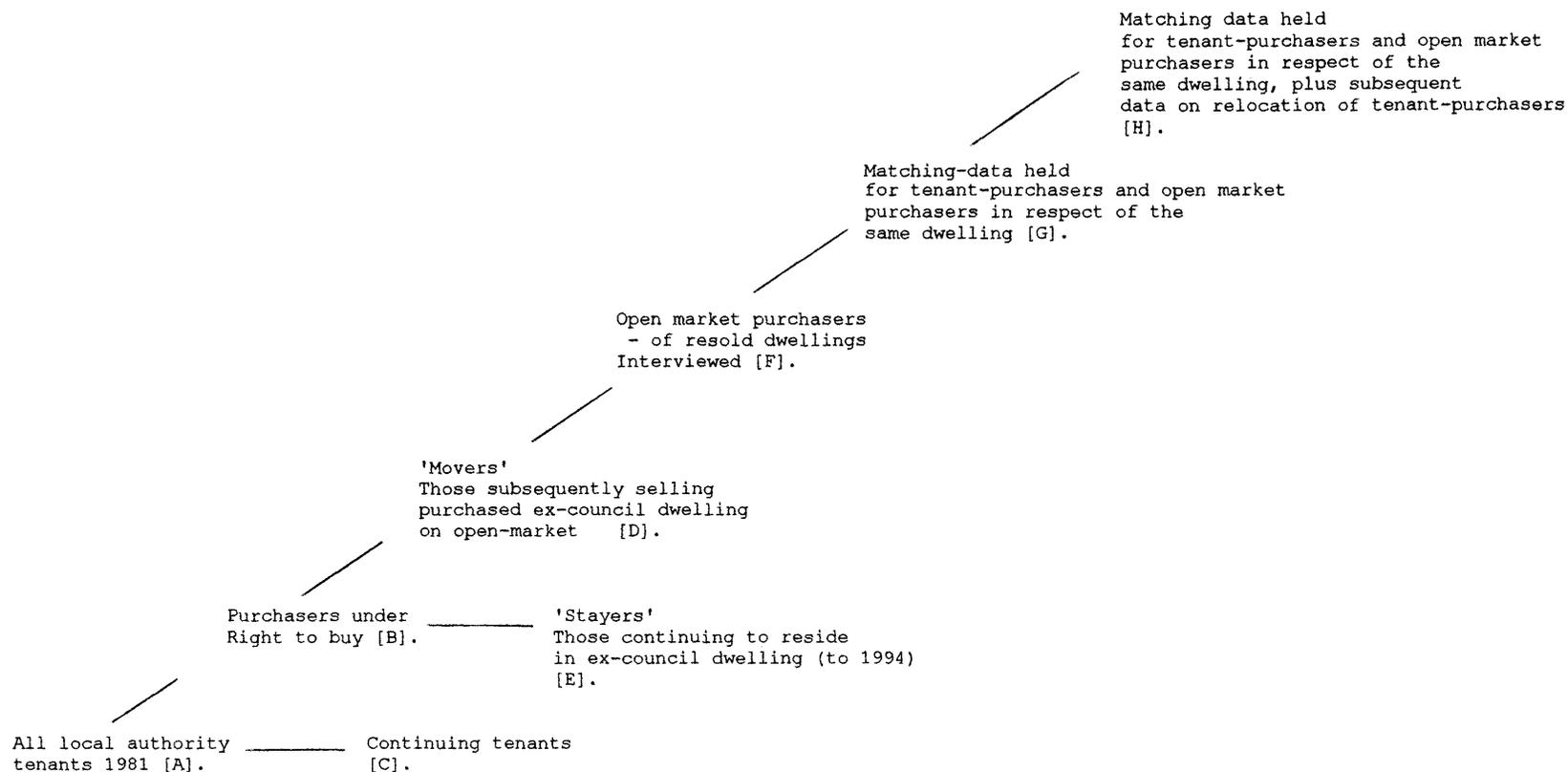
wider population). At present there is a dearth of knowledge about the origins and migration histories of households purchasing former local authority dwellings and few existing studies have examined the migration histories of households moving into the countryside. Often earlier work has readily characterised migratory flows in terms of 'newcomers' and 'locals' by sole reference to the last (household) move. Scant attention has been paid to lifetime migration histories of those studied, and in particular the way in which household formation, involving two partners of contrasting geographical origins, in itself fuels population diversity and rural social change. In short, previous studies have been guilty of oversimplifying the processes at work, though the inadequacies of the secondary data sources employed have contributed to this difficulty. These problems will be addressed in the following analysis.

Moreover, little is known about why these households decided to buy former local authority dwellings. Understanding of the decision-making underpinning the migration patterns associated with resales is crucial to gaining a fuller insight into the resulting processes and patterns of change in the countryside. The resale of local authority dwellings marks a fundamental change in the way these dwellings are allocated. Hitherto managed by local government bureaucracy, resale has introduced the market as the prime allocator of such dwellings. In covering the key areas of dwelling price, quality, image, and location, the decision-making attached to the purchase of resales is an important unresearched area to be explored. Knowledge of the destination area of the household move and the social ties of moving households may be added to the list of migration variables to be examined. However, the exact importance of each of these factors in shaping the contemporary patterns of population change in the countryside has yet to be identified. In order to proceed this chapter will focus on two main areas of analysis:

- I. A classification of household moves into former local authority dwellings.
- II. The decision-making underpinning moves into resold dwellings.

The successive stages of the resale process provide a convenient order in which to conduct the following analysis. Initially the migration patterns associated with the movement of tenant-purchaser households into and from (former) local authority dwellings will be analysed. These patterns will then be contrasted with those of the OMPs subsequently occupying these dwellings. The greater wealth of data in respect of OMP household moves will be used to develop two main areas of enquiry: (a). the geographical origins of those comprising OMP households, and (b). the migration histories of these households prior to moving into the former local authority dwelling. Subsequently, the decision-making leading to the observed pattern of household moves into resold dwellings will be analysed.

Three main groupings involved in household turnover through the former local authority dwelling stock will be examined in this chapter. Tenant-purchasers will be sub-divided into 'movers' and 'stayers'. Movers are those tenant-purchasers who subsequently resell their former council dwelling and move on. Stayers are those households which purchased their home under the provisions of the (1980) Housing Act and continued to reside in such properties up to the time of this study (1994). Using local authority housing records it has been possible to assemble comprehensive profiles of approximately 300 households in each of these groups. The purpose of comparing these two groups is to provide a link between their social characteristics and the differential rate at which former council properties are resold on the private market. The resale of these properties presents a housing opportunity to subsequent migrants who comprise the third group in this analysis, namely open market purchasers of resold dwellings. Parallel data is held on the tenant-



Number of households in each of the above groups.

Group:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Total no. in group - district-wide	6071	2225	3846	-	-	-	-	-
Total no. in group - rural parishes	4474	1990	2484	433	1792	-	-	-
No. households where data held - district-wide	-	755	-	419	336	239	-	-
No. households where data held - rural parishes	-	596	-	301	286	188	93	20

Fig. 6.01., Relationship between all groups of households involved in the resale of former council dwellings

Sources: Forrest and Murie, 1991.. Sherwood, 1980-89.

purchaser households previously resident in a half of the 188 resold dwellings where interviews were held with the subsequent OMP household. This latter aspect of the data is important as it has afforded a unique opportunity for a detailed examination of the household turnover matched to almost one hundred resold local authority dwellings. In addition a number of 'mover' households were traced and interviewed. A summary of the relationship between each resident group connected with the resale of former council dwellings is presented in figure 6.01.

6.1 Analysis of Population Movements Through Resold Dwelling Stock: Classification of Population Movements

As an initial framework for the analysis of the geographical patterns of migration a four-tier system has been introduced:

- (a). Local migration - migration within the district under study
- (b). County migration - migration into the district from within Northamptonshire
- (c). Regional migration - migration into the district from an adjoining county to Northamptonshire
- (d). National migration - migration into the district from beyond the region (c).

Whilst the use of administrative districts provides a convenient means of gathering data for questionnaire surveys, and parallels that provided by other sources such as the census, the 'boundary effect' can distort what appears to be a valuable framework for analysing the distance between migration origin and destination. Thus a move between neighbouring parishes, one in Oxfordshire and the other in South Northamptonshire, constitutes intra-

regional migration, even though it could be substantially shorter than a move within Northamptonshire (- defined as local migration). Such difficulties are common to migration research but are far outweighed by the advantages of a simple structure which provides opportunities for comparison of other migrant groups or with other data sources.

6.2 Migration Patterns of Tenant-Purchaser Households

6.21 The In-migration of Tenant-Purchaser Households

Use of local authority housing records in respect of tenant-purchaser households enabled analysis of previous household moves. However, such data is only available in respect of previous homes in the state-rented sector. Despite such limitations, this data does provide a good picture of tenant-purchaser household moves prior to residence in the dwelling purchased under the RTB (and subsequently resold).

The traditional function of local authority dwellings in housing 'local' people was emphasized by the fact that the overwhelming proportion (76 percent) of tenant-purchaser households (which had held previous local authority tenancies) moved into the home they were purchasing under the RTB, from within the district under study (Table 6.01.).

Location of previous household home * discrete categories	Tenant-purchasers	
	% All	% P.T*
Percentage of tenant-purchaser households with previous state-sector tenancies	42	-
Within South Northamptonshire District	31	76
Another district of Northamptonshire	2	5
Adjoining county to Northamptonshire	3	8
Outside Northamptonshire or adjoining county	5	11
(Households with qualifying periods of military service counting as previous public sector tenancies)	1	3

* P.T. - All households with previous state-sector tenancies

* Based on 252 tenant-purchaser 'mover' households.

Table 6.01., Previous Home Location of Tenant-purchaser Households.

Indeed, the housing records revealed that only a small minority (24 percent) of tenant-purchaser households had previously resided outside the District, though in most instances even these moves were linked to family connections in the area. For the majority of tenant-purchaser households (58 percent) the dwelling they ultimately purchased under the RTB was their first home in the local authority sector. Information on the migration patterns of this group is therefore much more limited. It can be inferred, by comparing the number of years of tenancy with the age of tenant-purchasers, that one-in-five (19 percent) tenant-purchaser households had only lived in the dwelling purchased under the RTB².

Thus, all the available evidence from the local authority housing records reveals that these dwellings were serving

² Proportion of tenant-purchasers that had only lived in the dwelling subsequently purchased was calculated by reference to the age at which tenant-purchasers took over the tenancy of the dwelling. The latter was derived from the age of tenants at the time of applying to purchase under the RTB minus the duration of residence. Accordingly, if tenants were aged 20 years or younger on gaining the tenancy it is unlikely that they had previously been established as a household unit.

the housing needs of local people, whether living locally or with strong social connections to the locality.

6.22 The Out-migration of Tenant-purchaser Households

The resale of former local authority dwellings would not be possible without tenant purchaser households first vacating such dwellings.

Information on the relocation of tenant-purchaser households has been gathered from two sources - a questionnaire completed by tenant-purchaser households who had moved elsewhere within South Northamptonshire District (Appendix 3B) and from interviews with the subsequent occupants of resold dwellings.

Evidence of the strong connections between tenant-purchaser households and South Northants, together with a general absence of long-distance migration amongst these households, emerges from these relocation patterns (table 6.02.). On leaving former local authority dwellings almost a half (48 percent) of tenant purchaser households moved to a new address elsewhere within the District. Overall, intra-regional population movements prevail in respect of tenant-purchasers, with over three-quarters of all households (77 percent) moving to a new address within the immediate region (Northamptonshire or an adjoining county) and only 23 percent moving further afield. When the movements of tenant purchaser households both into and from dwellings purchased under the RTB are combined, 66 percent of all moves were within the District itself³.

³ 192 of the 252 previously established mover households moved into dwellings purchased under the RTB from within S. Northamptonshire; 68 of the 141 households where relocation details are known moved to a new address within the District on resale. Total moves = 393, total moves within District = 260, total percentage of moves within District = 66 percent.

Relocation of tenant-purchaser households on resale (discrete categories)	Tenant-purchasers % All
Within South Northamptonshire District	48
Another district of Northamptonshire	15
Adjoining county to Northamptonshire	14
Elsewhere	23

* Percentages of 141 tenant-purchaser 'mover' households formerly residing in dwellings purchased by OMPs.

Table 6.02., Destination of Tenant Purchaser Households on Resale.

Housing-related factors accounted for two-thirds of the decisions to sell-up and move-on from former local authority dwellings (table 6.03). The desire to have a better and more comfortable home was by far the single most often cited motive for (re-)selling the former council property, accounting for approximately one-half (49 percent) of all responses. Those wishing to make an investment by purchasing a new home accounted for 13 percent of responses. A minority of households moved in order to purchase a cheaper dwelling (4 percent). These latter households consisted of adults who were either of retirement age or approaching retirement age, and it is possible that the purchase of cheaper dwelling on resale represented an attempt to realise capital in the transaction. Life cycle factors accounted for just over a fifth (22 percent) of moves as manifested by the desire to own a more suitable home in which to raise children.

Cited reasons for reselling the former council dwelling	Percentage of all cited motives
To secure a better/ more comfortable home	49
To have more suitable accommodation to bring-up children	22
To make an investment	13
To be near employment	4
To be near friends	4
Divorce/ separation	4
To buy a cheaper property	4

Table 6.03., Cited reasons for tenant-purchasers reselling former council dwellings.

Over one-third of households chose to remain in the same village on resale of the former council dwelling. Clearly, satisfaction with the level of facilities available in the village comprising the site of the new home, and the strong social and kinship networks built up over many years were very important reasons for these local moves, as the table (6.04) and the following quotations indicate (fig 6.02):

Village selection motives	Percentage of cited motives
Liked village facilities/amenities/school	43
Moved to join new partner	7
Stayed in village	36
Moved closer to place of work	14

Table 6.04., Cited reasons for selecting village - site of subsequent home following resale.

"Have always lived in Hartwell and Roade and [have] no wish to move from this area".

"Born here".

"Born and bred in Greatworth".

"Always lived local at Halse, [a small hamlet], easy for kids' schooling and social activities".

Figure 6.02., Selected Questionnaire responses to the open question: What were the main reasons for moving to this particular village?

On leaving their former local authority dwelling, factors of dwelling quality were cited by the majority (60 percent) of tenant-purchaser households when giving reasons for selecting their new home. Dwelling cost was cited in only 16 percent of cases (table 6.05).

Reason for selecting new home	Percentage of cited motives
Thought property be a good investment (one which would realise a good profit on sale)	12
Liked the size and layout of the dwelling	32
Liked appearance and aspect of property	28
Liked character of neighbourhood	16
Felt property had the potential for development	8
Wanted a less expensive dwelling	4

Table 6.05., Property Selection Motives - Dwelling Purchased on Leaving Resold Dwelling.

The findings in respect of tenant-purchasers reveal the way in which resales fit into the wider contemporary debates about capital gains and the social geography of housing (eg. Forrest and Murie, 1989, 1995; Saunders, 1990; Longley et al. ,1991). The large scale capital gain made by tenant-purchasers on reselling former council properties (Chapter Five) is reflected in the price of the subsequent dwelling purchased (table 6.06.). Nearly two-thirds (63 percent) of tenant-purchasers bought a property of greater value than the resold dwelling, with the majority of such purchasers buying a dwelling of 'significantly higher' value (accounting for 41 percent of all moves).

Cost of subsequent dwelling relative to resold dwelling	Percentage of dwellings
Lower value	21
Same Value	14
Slightly higher	21
Significantly higher	43

Table 6.06., Cost of subsequent dwelling purchased relative to sale price of resold dwelling.

Only a fifth (21 percent) of households traded down (ie. purchased a cheaper dwelling) following resale and it is likely from the age of the individuals that the majority of these households were moving to their retirement home, thus looking for something smaller and more convenient yet with the additional benefit of a capital windfall to support their old age.

In summary, the out-migration patterns of tenant purchasers were characterised by 'pull' factors associated with the existence of local housing opportunities; only a small minority were associated with 'push factors' (under 12 percent⁴). In making these short distance moves tenant

⁴ Push factors include divorce/separation (4%), the need to be near employment (4%), and the need to purchase a cheaper property (4%).

households exploited their knowledge of the local area and its housing market. Such a pattern is consistent with existing urban studies of residential relocation (for example, Clark, 1982), as Lewis and Sherwood (1991) note in respect of such studies:

"generally, the evidence suggests that the search for a new residence [in the city] will be concentrated near to the home, or in other accessible areas, simply because an individual's activity and awareness space are so highly localised"

(Lewis and Sherwood, 1991:21).

The combination of voluntarist motives for onward household moves, a thorough knowledge of the local area and its housing market, and the substantial capital gains made on resale resulted in tenant purchasers moving short distances into more expensive local properties. Moreover, this process has further implications for rural social change for these household have undergone relatively rapid changes in their social status; from council tenants to property owners in an area of exceptionally high house prices - in just one decade. Thus, the social mobility resulting from resales supports recent assertions by Savage et al. (1992) regarding the role of domestic property in promoting social and spatial mobility:

"... as owner occupation has spread and long-term house price inflation has been sustained, petty property assets may have become a more prominent axis for class formation in contemporary Britain"

(Savage et al., 1992:213).



Fig 6.03., The geographical origins of purchasers of resold dwellings in England (excluding Northamptonshire).

6.3 Migration Patterns of Open Market Purchaser Households

6.31 Geographical Origins of Open Market Purchasers

Complete migration data is available in respect 89.4 percent of OMP households (table 6.07.).

Type of household	No. of households	Percentage of all 188 open market purchaser households
Single adult households	22	11.7
Two adult families where migration data held	146	77.7
Households where migration data unavailable/incomplete	20	10.6
TOTALS	188	100

Table 6.07., Migration data coverage.

In respect of the analysis of the OMPs, their geographical origins are defined as the location of the family home at the time of birth. Reference to these origins reveals that a dramatic pattern of change has occurred on resale, for almost three-quarters (73 percent) of adults originated from outside Northamptonshire (fig 6.03), and over a half of all adults (57 percent) originated from beyond the immediate region of South Northamptonshire (Northamptonshire or an adjoining county, table 6.08).

Geographical origins of purchasing adults	Percentage of all resident adults *
Within Northamptonshire	27
An adjoining county to Northamptonshire	16
Beyond (the above)	57

* Based on 326 adults resident in 188 households. In addition to the majority of adults originating in England: 9 adults originated from Scotland, 2 from Wales, 3 from Ireland, and 6 from further afield.

Table 6.08., Geographical origins of all open market purchaser adults.

A minority of OMPs had local origins; just over a quarter (27 percent) were born in Northamptonshire but only 17 percent were born within South Northamptonshire.

Geographical origins of adult household members	No. of households	Percentage of all 188 OMP households	Percentage of all 146 two-adult households where migration data held
Households with partners from the same geographical area	[91]	[48]	[62.32]
Both partners from Northamptonshire	23	12.2	15.75
Both partners from an adjoining county to Northamptonshire	5	2.8	3.42
Both partners from beyond Northamptonshire region	63	33.5	43.15
Households with partners from different regions	[55]	[29]	[37.67]
One partner from Northamptonshire, the other from an adjoining county	14	7.5	9.58
One partner from Northamptonshire, the other from beyond the Northants region	24	12.7	16.43
One partner from an adjoining county, the other from beyond the Northants region.	17	9.0	11.64
TOTALS	146	77.7	100

Table 6.09., Open Market Purchaser Households Classified by the Geographical Origins of Adult Household Members: Two-adult Households.

In contrast to many existing studies, analysis of the life-time migration patterns⁵ of those under study enables a fuller insight to be gained into the processes at work. Classification of households by the geographical origins of adult members (Table 6.09.) reveals that almost two-thirds

⁵ 'Life-time migration patterns' - data in respect of OMP's covers location of the family home at time of birth, location of family home at time of leaving the parental home, and all household moves between 1984 and 1994.

of OMP households with two adult members (62 percent), consisted of partners originating from the same geographical area (table 6.10.), though those with partners from different areas comprised a sizeable minority. Open market purchaser households therefore conformed to the distance relationship revealed in many migration studies, such that the likelihood of partners combining in a household unit is inversely related to the distance between the home areas of each partner.

Households with partners originating from the same area (a)., and those with partners originating from the different areas (b). - will now each be considered in turn.

(a). Households with partners originating from the same area.

Column a. Geographical origins of purchasing adults	Percentage of households with both partners originating from the SAME geographical area (Column a)	Percentage of all purchaser households
Within Northamptonshire	25	12.2
An adjoining county to Northamptonshire	6	2.7
Beyond (the above categories)	69	33.5

Table 6.10., Geographical origins of open market purchaser households: Households with both partners originating from the same geographical area.

The small proportion of 'locals' amongst OMP households is immediately evident, for only one quarter of households with adults originating from the same geographical category (column a, table 6.10) came from Northamptonshire, representing 12 percent of all households under study. Of the 23 households with both partners originating from

Northamptonshire, only 10 households (47 percent) had both partners originating from South Northamptonshire. Few households with both partners originating from the same area came from an adjoining county to Northamptonshire (6 percent). The vast majority of households of this type were those in which both adults were born outside the immediate region (69 percent).

(b). Households with partners originating from different areas.

The patterns associated with household formation in this group reveal that the process of social and migratory change is a great deal more complicated than presented in earlier work on rural social change, described by Cloke and Thrift as,

"an over-standardization in previous studies of 'newcomers' and 'locals'"

(Cloke and Thrift, (1990:165)).

Rather than being a case of the in-migration of 'newcomer' households, the patterns associated with OMPs reveal that the process of household formation incorporates 'newcomers' into household units with 'local' partners. Involving a third of established OMP households, such households constitute a sizeable fraction and are therefore deserving of further attention.

<u>Column a.</u> Geographical origins of purchasing adults	Percentage of households with both partners originating in DIFFERENT geographical areas (Column a) *	Percentage of all open market purchaser households
One within Northamptonshire and the other beyond region	44	12.7
One within Northamptonshire and the other from an adjoining county	25	7.4
One within an adjoining county to Northamptonshire and the other beyond region	31	9.0

* 55 such households.

Table 6.11., Geographical origins of open market purchaser households: Households with both partners originating from different geographical areas.

Of these households, over two-thirds (69 percent) had one adult originating from Northamptonshire (table 6.11, - shaded), accounting for a fifth (20.1 percent) of all OMP households. Just under a half of this group (42 percent), totalling 17 households, had one partner originating from the district under study. Household formation can therefore be seen to be a significant process leading to rural population diversification.

The foregoing analytical framework based on the origins of each partner will now be used to relate the geographical origins of adult household members with household moves between 1984 and 1994, in order to built up a fuller picture of contrasting household migration histories prior to purchase of the resold local authority dwellings currently under study.

	Households comprised of partners originating from different areas		Households comprised of partners originating from the same area	
Route into Resold Dwelling	Households with one partner originating from Northamptonshire (20.1%) of OMP Households	Households with both partners originating from different areas outside Northamptonshire (5.85% - of OMP households).	Households with both partners originating outside Northamptonshire or an adjoining county (33% of OMP households).	Households with both partners originating Northamptonshire (12.2% of OMP households).
Geographical Origins	Inter-regional moves predominated in respect of household formation. The majority (66%) consisted of 1 partner from Northamptonshire and the other from outside the region. The remainder had 1 partner from outside Northamptonshire and the other from an adjoining county.	Both inter- and intra-regional moves characterised household formation in respect of this group	Both inter- and intra-regional moves characterised household formation in respect of 13 of the 63 households comprising this group.	The majority had at least one partner from South Northamptonshire (61%). 48% had both partners from South Northamptonshire. Half of these households were first time buyers 73% of first time buyers had at least one partner South Northamptonshire.
Last home location prior to moving the resold local authority dwelling	Intra-regional moves predominated, 72% moved into the resold dwelling from within Northamptonshire	Intra-regional moves predominated. 55% moved from an adjoining county to Northamptonshire and 45% from the county itself.	More evenly spread relocation patterns into resold dwellings 39% from within Northants 32% from an adjoining county and 29% from further afield	11 of the 12 established households in this group relocated from within the county, one moved from an adjoining county.

Table 6.12., Household Migration Histories: Routes into Resold Dwellings.

6.32 Household Migration Histories

Table 6.12. summarises the path taken by the four types of established two-adult purchaser household as classified by the geographical origins of each adult and the distance of move made into the resold dwelling. The arrangement of the data in this way highlights the complex combination of inter- and intra- regional moves, ultimately leading to the purchase of former local authority dwellings in the District.

Two other household types are also deserving of attention, single adult households, and first-time buyer households.

(i). Single adult households (with and without children).

Geographical origins. Intra-regional moves into resales were also characteristic of this group. Of the 22 single adult households purchasing resold dwellings (11.7 percent of OMPs), five households were first time buyers, three of whom originated in the immediate Northants region, the remaining two originated from further afield.

The majority of established single adult households originated outside the region (10 households, 59 percent of single adult households)

Last-home location. The majority of single adult households moved into resold dwellings from within the region (81.8 percent). All four households moving into resold dwellings directly from outside the Northants region did so in connection with their employment.

(ii). First-time buyer households⁶

Only a minority of OMP households purchased former local authority dwellings as first-time buyers (16 percent). Resales provided a housing opportunity to local people buying their first home in only a minority of cases; of the 30 first-time buyer households, 87 percent had at least one partner moving from a previous home located within the Northants region (table 6.13.).

Last home location - First time buyers *	No. of households
Both partners moving from within Northamptonshire	10
Both partners moving from an adjoining county to Northamptonshire	3
Both partners moving from beyond the above categories	4
One partner moving from within Northamptonshire, the other from an adjoining county	4
One partner moving from within Northamptonshire, the other from beyond an adjoining county	9

* Based on 30 households (59% of first time buyers) where information held on previous home location of both partners.

Table 6.13., Last home location of first-time buyer couples.

One third of first-time buyer households comprised households where both partners were moving from within Northamptonshire, and the majority of these were moving from homes located within South Northamptonshire (6 households).

⁶ Households purchasing a dwelling for the first time as a household unit, may include divorcees and those separated who previously resided in former, different households.

As with previously established households (table 6.13), reference to the origins of adult household members as well as their subsequent household moves reveals the role of household formation in diversifying the migration origins of the resident population. Just under a half of these first-time buyer households (43 percent) were formed by one partner from Northamptonshire and one from further afield.

6.33 Household Migration Histories

Most OMP households comprised adults originating from outside the Northants region (57 percent). The foregoing analysis has shown that the majority of purchasing households moved into resold dwellings from within the Northants region. The migration patterns surrounding the purchase of these dwellings are therefore characterised by household moves of decreasing distance: typically of inter-regional moves followed by intra-regional relocation into the dwellings under study (table 6.14.).

Household formation, an important process mostly ignored by existing studies, was shown to complicate the migration patterns studied and itself add to population diversity and social change arising from resale.

The geographical categories used in the foregoing analysis conceal the significance of a number of individual settlements within each category, though mapping of each household move overcomes this problem and reveals some interesting patterns.



Figure 6.04., Previous Home Location (England) of all Open Market Purchaser Households Moving into Resold Dwellings from outside the Northants Region.

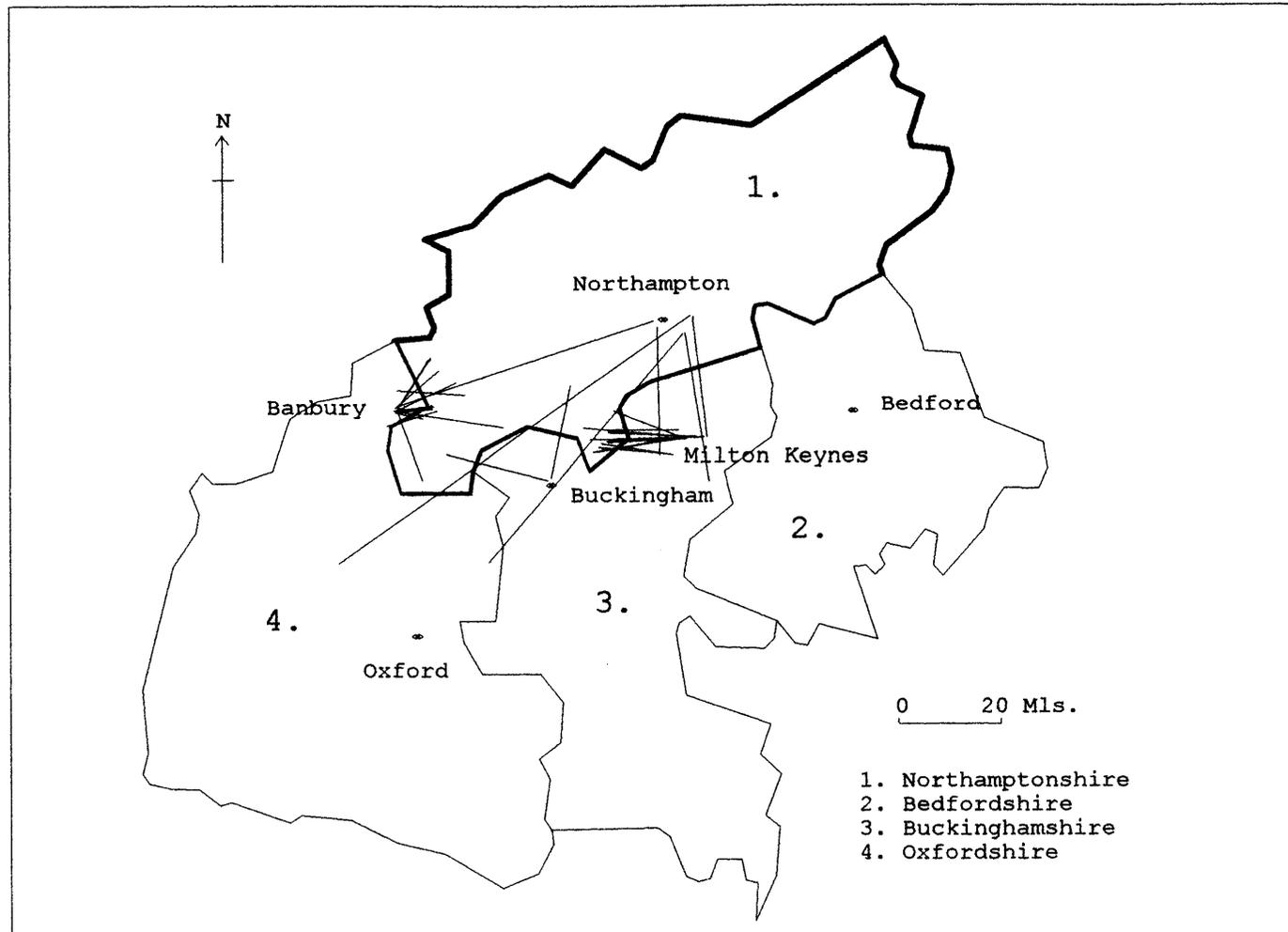


Figure 6.05., Household moves into resold dwellings from adjoining counties.

Location of last home: Established households	Percentage of all previously established household *	Percentage of all resales
Within South Northamptonshire	28	20.2
In another district of Northamptonshire	24	17.6
In an adjoining county to Northamptonshire	29	21.3
Beyond the above categories	18	13.1
Totals	100	73

* Based on 187 households (73% of OMP households interviewed). In addition to the majority of moves from a previous home in England, 2 moves were from Scotland and one from Wales.

Table 6.14, Location of previous home: Established households.

First, in respect of the minority of moves, predominantly made because of employment factors, involving direct relocation from outside the Northants region into the District, just over a half (56 percent) were from the South East (SERPLAN) region (fig 6.04). Such patterns are consistent with the strong patterns of inter-regional moves into and from this 'escalator region' (Fielding, 1991). Fielding suggests that the South East region,

"attracts young educated people from elsewhere ... [promotes them socially through service class employment opportunities]... and then sends them off again to other areas"

(Fielding, 1991:14).

Approximately two-thirds of these migrants were in service class employment, aged 25-44 years and originated from outside the South East region.

The majority of moves into resold dwellings from adjoining counties were 'cross-boundary hops' from Banbury and Milton Keynes (fig 6.05). Most of these moves (approximately 80

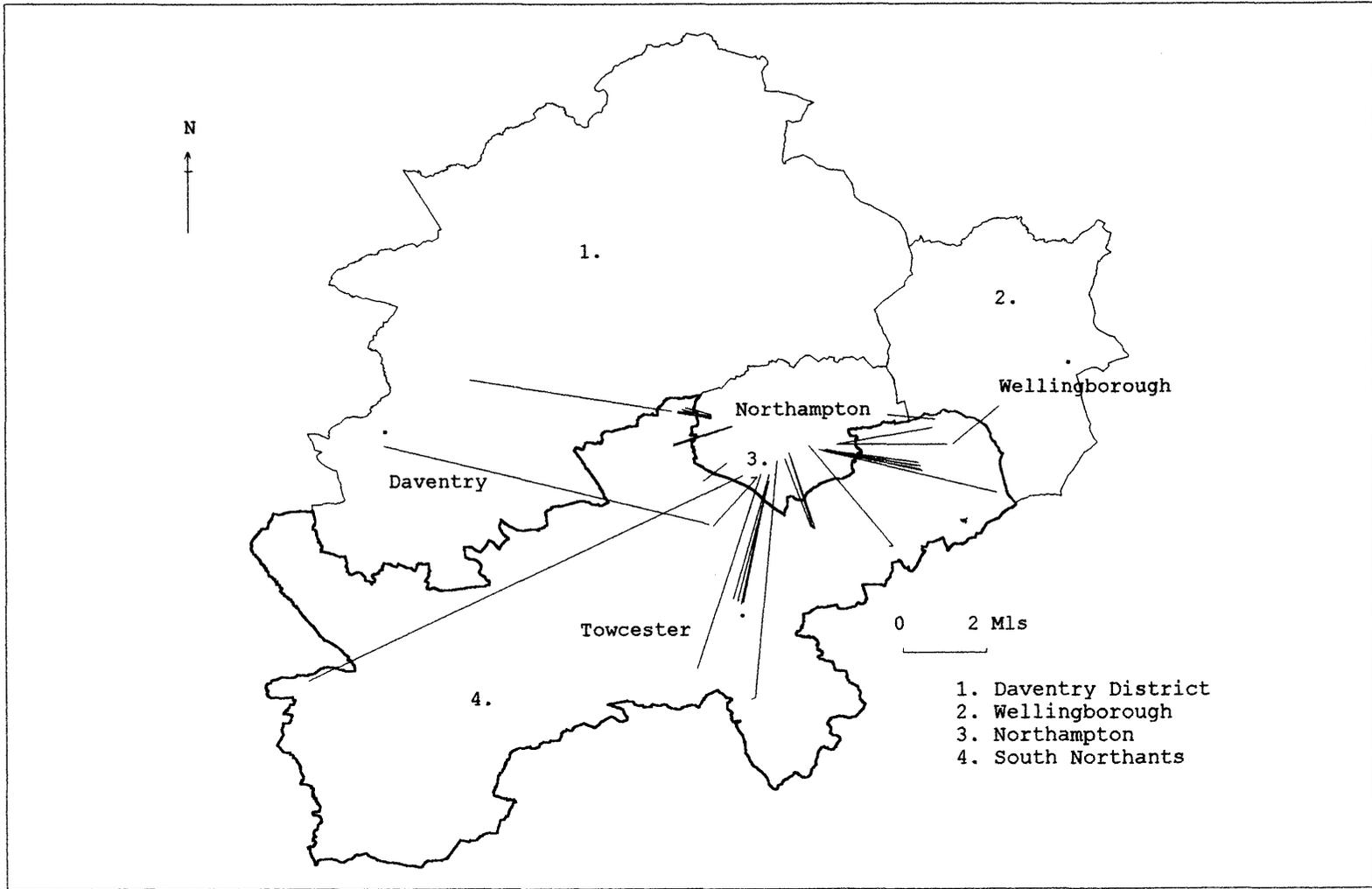


Figure 6.06., All moves into resold dwellings from another district of Northamptonshire.

percent), were into resold dwellings located no further than three parishes from the county boundary. Such patterns reflect the 'local' marketing approach employed by estate agents as discussed in chapter five. Furthermore, the short distance nature of these moves is directly related to the workplace location of these purchasing households with just over three-quarters of households having at least one adult working in either Banbury or Milton Keynes.

Moves from the county town accounted for the majority (87.5 percent) of moves into resold dwellings from another district of Northamptonshire (fig 6.06). Once again the majority of moves were short distance 'boundary hops' into the parishes surrounding Northampton. As with moves from an adjoining county, localised marketing of resold dwellings and workplace location helps explain such patterns; over two-thirds (67 percent) of these households had at least one adult employed in Northampton.

Table 6.15., summarises the percentage of OMPs relocating from key settlements in the Northants region.

Location of previous home - established households	No. of households	Percentage of all established households	Percentage of all 188 O.M.P households
Northampton	23	17	12.23
Milton Keynes	7	5	3.72
Banbury	14	10	7.44
Brackley	4	3	2.12
Towcester	1	0.72	0.53

Table 6.15., Previous home location of established households: Settlement.

Almost a quarter (23.39 percent) of OMP households were migrating from the three main towns adjacent to the district under study (table 6.15).

The 23 households relocating from Northampton were the greatest number of households moving from an individual settlement into resold dwellings in the District. Two settlements in adjoining counties to Northampton together accounted for 11 percent of all households relocating into resold dwellings, with 3.7 percent of OMP households moving from Milton Keynes and 7.4 percent from Banbury. Only 3 percent of all OMPs moved into resold dwellings from the two market towns in the district under study (Towcester and Brackley).

When further details of these 'counterurbanizing' moves into resold dwellings from the surrounding towns are examined (table 6.16.), it appears that the relatively low price of these dwellings is providing a route into the highly priced housing market in the countryside of South Northamptonshire for those households wishing to move to the countryside for 'lifestyle' reasons (ie. a stated preference for a 'rural' way of life, a particular aspect of 'rural life', or citing environmental factors).

LAST HOME LOCATION	NO. ALL DATA HELD ^{1.}	RESOLD DWELLING SELECTED ON PRICE	LAST HOME LEFT FOR HOUSING REASONS ^{2.}	MOVED TO RURAL AREA FOR LIFESTYLE REASONS	BACK TO RURAL 'ROOTS'	ONE OR BOTH ADULTS WITH URBAN BACKGROUNDS
Banbury	9	6	7	9	4	6
Milton Keynes	7	5	5	5	0	2
Northampton	21	6	7	14	6	13
All	37	17	19	28	10	21
All (%)	(100)	(46)	(51)	(76)	(27)	(57)

(1). No. of households where full migration data held. (2). ie. 'left last home to have a more suitable accommodation to bring-up children', or 'to secure a better/ more comfortable home'. (3). As defined by interviewee.

Table 6.16., Details of counterurbanizing household moves into resales from local towns.

Almost a half of these households selected resold dwellings for their relatively lower price (46 percent). Such factors were more prevalent in the case of households moving from Milton Keynes and Banbury (averaging 69 percent of property selection motives) compared to those moving from Northampton (29 percent).

6.4 Migration Into the Countryside: Background Perceptions of Household Members

Examination of the way in which OMP household moves relate to urban and rural areas reveals the unique role of former council dwellings as agents of social change in the countryside. Relying on interviewees' own perceptions as to whether they were from a rural or urban background enabled the present research to avoid the 'imposed' classification inherent in some earlier studies and to tap into a quasi-cultural definition of the background of the migrants under study in line with recent calls for a more subjectivist approach to housing related work (Franklin, 1990).

A small majority (54 percent) of adults in OMP households perceived themselves as being from a rural background (Table 6.17.).

Adults - perceived background	No.	Percent
Rural	153	54
Urban	132	46
Total	285	100

Table 6.17., Perceived Background of Adult purchasers of Resold Dwellings.

When related to the household unit, 64 percent had at least one adult member who perceived themselves as coming from a rural background, compared to 56 percent with at least one member perceiving themselves to be from an urban background (table 6.18).

Perceived background of household members*	No. of households	Percent
At least one adult with rural background	105	64
Both adults with a rural background	48	29
At least one adult with an urban background	92	56
Both adults with urban backgrounds	40	25
One adult with rural background and one with urban background	36	22
TOTAL	163	100

* Based on 163 households

Table 6.18., Background Perceptions Open Market Purchaser Households.

More households were composed of two adults both from a rural background (29 percent), compared to the quarter of households in which both partners were from an urban background. As with the earlier analysis of migration histories, the existence of over a fifth of households composed of partners of different backgrounds highlights the role of household formation in promoting rural social change.

It is when the last-home location of OMP adults is analysed that the exceptional nature of household moves into resold dwellings becomes apparent (Table 6.19.)

Last home location*	No. of households	Percentage
Urban	86	63
Rural	50	37
TOTAL	136	100

* Excludes first-time-buyer households

Table 6.19., Last Home Location Open Market Purchasers, Urban or Rural?

Approximately two-thirds of households (63 percent) are moving into resold dwellings from urban locations. Such proportions are much higher than those identified in much recent rural migration research in the East and South Midlands (for example, Lewis and Sherwood, 1991; Spencer, 1995) and point to the function of this 'special' sector of the housing market in facilitating urban-to-rural migration.

The nature of this migration process is further revealed by matching the background perceptions of OMP households with their subsequent household moves (table 6.20.).

Background perception of adult household members	Last home location	No. households	Percentage
At least one adult with a rural background	Rural	27	16.6
	Urban	44	27.0
	Not Known	34	21
Both adults with rural background	Rural	13	8.0
	Urban	19	11.7
	Not Known	16	9.8
At least one adult with an urban background	Rural	20	12.3
	Urban	45	27.6
	Not Known	27	16.6
Both adults with an urban background	Rural	10	6.1
	Urban	21	12.9
	Not Known	9	5.5
One adult with a rural background & one with urban background	Rural	6	3.7
	Urban	15	9.2
	Not Known	15	9.2

* Based on 163 households.

Table 6.20., Background Perception and Last Home Location of Open Market Purchaser Households.

The largest migrant grouping was of households with one or both adults from urban backgrounds moving into resold dwellings via a last home located in an urban area, with such a configuration accounting for 40.5 percent of households. The second largest grouping (37.8 percent) comprised households with one or both adults from rural backgrounds moving into resold dwellings via a last home located in an urban area.

This latter grouping marks an interesting case, which would not have been distinguished had sole reliance been placed on examination of the last household move. Thus, resold dwellings would appear to be providing a housing opportunity to urbanites moving into the countryside and, interestingly, providing an opportunity for households with rural origins to return to the countryside.

The relationship between the distance of the household member's home area(s) from South Northamptonshire with the background perceptions of the household members in OMP households further defines the migration processes operating in this sector of the market.

Three-quarters of adults with urban backgrounds originated from outside the Northants region compared to under a half of adults with a rural background (47 percent, table 6.21).

Adults with a 'rural' background, originating from...			Adults with an 'urban' background		
Outside region	Adjoining county	Within Northants	Outside region	Adjoining county	Within Northants
47	14	39	75	8	17

Table 6.21., Background Perception and Geographical Origins of Open Market Purchaser Adults: Geographical Origins of Adults with Rural/ Urban Backgrounds, (Rural = 100%, Urban = 100%).

Of all adults originating outside the region, 58 percent were from an urban background, compared to just 29 percent of those originating from within the county.

Table 6.22 reveals the proportion of all purchasing adults matching two variables: the geographical location of the family home at time of birth ('geographical origins') and the type of purchaser household such adults subsequently belonged to in 1994, as defined by the background perceptions of its adult members ('rural or urban').

Geographical origins of purchasing adults	Background perception of adult household members*				
	1 urban adult	2 urban adults	1 rural adult	2 rural adults	1 urban, 1 rural
adult(s) originating from within Northants	2.0	4.8	2.8	12.6	7.3
adult(s) originating from adjoining county	0.7	1.4	2.0	3.5	4.5
adult(s) originating from outside region	5.5	19.8	4.2	15	13.9

* discrete categories. Total of 289 adults in 163 households where data held both on background perceptions and geographical origins.

Table 6.22., Percentage of all Adults Moving into Resold Dwellings by Home Area and Household Type (as defined by background perceptions of household member(s)), (All adults = 100%).

From such analysis it appears that the largest group of adults were those originating outside the Northants region subsequently forming purchasing households of either one (5.5 percent), or two adults from an urban background (19.8 percent), together totalling just over a quarter of all adults (25.3 percent).

6.5 A Classification of Household Moves Into Former Local Authority Dwellings

Analysis of the migration history of both established (ie. established as a household unit at another address before moving into the resold dwelling) and first-time buyer households purchasing resold dwellings reveals the same trend in both cases, viz. a two-stage, or step-wise migration process in respect of the majority of open market purchaser households.

(a). Stage 1. This involves inter-regional moves as those originating outside the Northants region (the majority of adults) relocate into it. This move is undertaken either as a household unit, or as independent agents prior to household formation.

(b). Stage 2. in the migration process consists of households subsequently moving from a home within the Northants region into resold dwellings within the district under study.

These patterns of migration observed in respect of household-level data correspond with those observed in respect of recent aggregate-level studies (for example, Boyle, 1995; Boyle and Halfacree, 1995) which reveal that "counterurbanizing flows were primarily intra-regional" (Boyle, 1995:3). However the present findings detail the nature of the processes operating and these are mostly absent in the latter macro-level studies.

This two stage relocation into resold dwellings is confirmed by analysis of the location of the previous-to-last-home in respect of established households (table 6.23.). Each OMP household surveyed was asked to detail all household moves over the ten years prior to the time of interview (c.1994). Just over a third (35 percent) of all OMP households had resided in an earlier ('previous-to-last') home within the previous decade.

Prior-to-last home location	Last home location	No.	%
Within Northamptonshire	Beyond adjoining county to Northamptonshire	2	3
	Adjoining county to Northamptonshire	4	6
	Within Northamptonshire	20	30
Adjoining county to Northamptonshire	Beyond adjoining county to Northamptonshire	2	3
	Adjoining county to Northamptonshire	6	9
	Within Northamptonshire	3	5
Beyond adjoining county to Northamptonshire	Beyond adjoining county to Northamptonshire	10	16
	Adjoining county to Northamptonshire	7	11
	Within Northamptonshire	11	17
TOTALS		65	100

Table 6.23., Migration routes into resold dwellings: Established households previous, and prior-to-last home location.

Analysis of the location of earlier ('previous-to-last') homes shows that the majority were located within the same geographical area as the last home (36 cases) or further away from South Northamptonshire than the last home (21 cases), involving 87.5 percent of households. Thus the overall trend is of successive household (and or individual) moves from geographical origins outside the Northants region (in the majority of cases), into homes with increasing proximity to the district under study.

Four of those households which had resided in two homes in the period 1984 to 1994 (ie. had 'previous-to-last' homes, table 6.23) actually moved into the Northants region ('previous-to-last' home), before moving out of the region (last home), subsequently to move back into the Northants region again in order to purchase a resold dwelling in the

District. Whilst these latter cases would appear to be a minority, they raise an important point in respect of the migration of all established OMP households prior to purchasing resold dwellings. In the absence of a full history of all individual and household moves it is conceivable that other established households moved into, and subsequently out of, the Northants region in the intervening period between leaving the family home and 1984. However, regardless of such intervening household moves the overall trend in respect of the majority of OMPs is of a two-stage migration process: inter-regional moves followed by intra-regional relocation into former local authority dwellings.

Overall, the migration histories of OMP households (and the individuals later to comprise these households) have highlighted the importance of the adjoining South East (SERPLAN) region to population change in the District. This region's importance was evident in respect of their geographical origins (fig 6.03) and in the location of their previous homes (fig 6.04). Such trends may be related to the wider patterns of industrial and population change affecting the South East and adjoining regions. The flow of migrants from the South East to Northamptonshire - both before and after the 1980 Housing Act - is revealed by the National Health Service Central Register (NHSCR) which contains data on population movements over the period, as Jenkins (1992) notes,

"in the mid-1970s, Northamptonshire gained heavily from Greater London, reflecting the planned migration associated with Northampton new town. By the early 1980s, this origin had become of less importance for the county, and the second half of the 1980s saw a definite shift towards the Outer South East as the main area of origin."

(Jenkins, 1992:164)

Reference to both NHS and Labour Force Survey data shows the exact nature of population change affecting this source region,

"the South East, the largest single region, had positive net migration rates during the first half of the 1980s, but significant net outflows since 1987"

(Department of Employment, 1995:61).

These changing migratory flows between the South East and adjoining regions can be directly linked the housing market,

"between around 1981 and 1986, the house price differential between London and the East Midlands steadily widened to levels on a par with the early 1970s. At the same time wage differentials remained relatively stable. Factors such as the 'big bang' [late '80s house price inflation] drove income/price ratios to unsustainable levels in the capital. This coincided with, and appears partly to explain, the period of rapid migration into the East Midlands region ..."

(Jenkins, 1992:167)

The decentralisation of industry from London and the Outer Metropolitan Area to the Outer South East (and beyond) over recent years has also effected a new spatial division of labour which is reflected in the employment characteristics of OMP households. As Boyle and Halfacree (1995) note (consistent with Fielding's (1995) 'escalator region' thesis),

"East Anglia, the East Midlands, the Outer South East and the South West all received more male service class migrants from Greater London than they lost to Greater London"

(Boyle and Halfacree, 1995:54)

Approximately a third of OMP adults worked in such decentralised industries in the South East - industries which had previously relocated out to towns such as Milton Keynes and Oxford.

Against such a background the emerging pattern of migration into resold local authority dwellings is one in which

almost a half of migrants came from an urban background (47 percent). Furthermore, a half of households (49.7 percent) had at least one adult member with an urban background, and had moved into a resold dwellings from a previous home located in an urban area. Moreover, the largest grouping amongst purchaser adults, accounting for one in five adults (19.8 percent), was composed of those with urban backgrounds migrating from an original home area outside the Northants region subsequently forming households in which both members had urban backgrounds.

The picture of household migration into resold dwellings as defined both by the geographical origins and the background perceptions of adult household members is complicated as a result of household formation occurring at some time during the interval between adults leaving the family home and households moving into resold dwellings. Consequently, household migration histories are influenced by the migration patterns of respective adult members before as well as after household formation.

The foregoing analysis shows that resold dwellings in the district under study were facilitating the in-migration of significant numbers of urban migrants. However, analysis of the migration histories of individual households revealed the patterns of population change to be much more complex than indicated in many earlier studies of rural population change. In particular it was shown that the notions of 'locals' and 'incomers' abounding in the migration literature tended to over-simplify the process of rural population change. Reference to the backgrounds of migrants, together with details of their home area and recent household moves, revealed that resold dwellings are facilitating both the in-migration of urbanites and the return of former rural residents. In addition to the patterns of change based on the movement of established households, the process of household formation was also identified as a major source of rural social change. Analysis of OMP households revealed the existence of

significant numbers of 'mixed' households, viz. households composed of partners of contrasting migratory backgrounds. Thus, a quarter of all adults (25.7 percent) subsequently formed purchasing households composed of one adult from an urban background and the other from a rural background, and 38 percent of households comprised partners originating from different geographical regions.

The classification of household moves into (former) local authority dwellings has made it possible to compare the patterns of household migration before and after resale. It emerges that the resale of these dwellings has introduced new patterns of migration affecting this sector of the rural housing market. Reference to earlier migration patterns in respect of the district under study clearly illustrate the major changes introduced by the resales process.

Throughout, the purpose of local authority housing has been to meet local housing needs. Successive re-organization of local government in the District and elsewhere has led to local councils becoming increasingly centralised and, as a result, they have gained responsibility for administering increasingly larger areas. Thus, with each re-organization the definition of 'local' has also broadened to include more parishes and a greater population.

The number of rural district councils administering South Northamptonshire decreased from six (1888 - 1935), to three (1935 - 1974) and finally to one (1974 - present). The effect of the 1974 changes impacted on the distance of household moves into the local authority sector. The pattern of household moves within parishes, or between neighbouring parishes, which arose from the smaller pre-1974 councils implementing 'local' management of their respective stock of dwellings (predominantly focused on the parish as the basic administrative unit), was steadily replaced by longer distance migration (table 6.24).

Year	Same parish	Across 3 parishes or fewer	Across >3 parishes	From outside district	Total moves
1974/5	82.08	7.53	4.30	6.09	279
1975/6	60.06	16.81	9.91	13.21	333
1976/7	61.21	17.38	13.85	7.56	397
1977/8	54.60	25.28	9.49	10.63	348
1978/9	51.87	21.97	7.91	18.24	455
1979/80	51.00	23.11	12.44	13.45	394
Tenant purchasers	n/a	n/a	n/a	24.00	137
O.M.P.s 1980-94	8.51	1.59	10.9	79.00	188

Source: Data for each of the 6 years 1974-80 - house letting sub-committee, SNC April 1974 - March 1980, cited in Sherwood, 1984:316. (n/a - Data unavailable).

Table 6.24., Patterns of household moves into (former) local authority dwellings 1974 - 1994, (Percentage of total moves).

The in-migration of tenant-purchaser households to the dwellings they subsequently purchased revealed that just over three-quarters (76 percent) were moving from within the District. On resale the number of households moving from within the district fell dramatically to a fifth of households (21 percent).

Following local government reorganization in 1974, the effect of the resale process has been to effect a tenfold cut in the number of intra-parish moves into the (former) local authority dwellings under study - falling from 82.08 percent of moves in 1974/5, to 8.51 percent amongst OMP households interviewed who had moved between 1980 and 1994.

The resale of local authority dwellings has effected a radical increase in the historical trend towards the greater prevalence of longer distance moves into (former) local authority dwellings. A stepwise pattern of increase is evident when the distance of moves is considered (table

6.25); greatest increases were in intra-county moves (+19 percent), followed by intra-regional moves (+16 percent) and inter-regional moves (+12 percent). Interestingly, an 'asymmetrical' pattern emerges when the movement of households both into and from these dwellings is considered: longer-distance moves by OMP households into the resold dwellings and short-distance moves by tenant-purchaser households on leaving such properties (section 6.22). Furthermore, the majority of tenant-purchaser households made rural-to-rural moves on resale, typical of current trends affecting the owner-occupied sector. By contrast the majority of OMP households made urban-to-rural moves more typical of earlier 'counterurbanizing' flows into the countryside. From this perspective the RTB/resales served the two groups in distinct ways: tenant-purchasers were able to enjoy the advantages of owner-occupation in a high demand/high price rural housing market - thereby joining the privileged ranks of owner-occupiers in South Northants who had been enjoying the kudos and financial rewards of their situation in the face of increasing 'counterurbanizing' pressure over the last two to three decades. By contrast, OMPs used these events to make a move to the countryside more typical of 'classical-counterurbanization' prevalent during the 1970s and early 1980s.

Location of previous household home * discrete categories	Tenant-purchasers		Open market purchasers	
	% All	% P.E*	% All	% P.E*
Percentage previously established as a household unit (in state-sector housing in the case of tenant-purchasers) before moving into resold dwelling	42	-	73	-
Within South Northamptonshire District	31	76	21	29
Another district of Northamptonshire	2	5	17	24
Adjoining county to Northamptonshire	3	8	18	24
Further afield	5	11	17	23
(Households with qualifying periods of military service)	1	3	-	-

* Based on percentages of all 'P.E.'s - All Previously established households - totalling: 252 mover and 137 OMP households respectively.

Table 6.25., Previous Home Location: Tenant-purchasers and Open Market Purchasers Compared.

Despite the increasing centralization of local government between 1935 and the present, local authorities continue to serve local housing needs. Recent work by Forrest and Murie (1992) referred to this function as 'paternalistic' (Forrest and Murie (1992:62). Thus, they noted:

"... the management and allocation of council dwellings in Fairton [the village studied] conforms to the image of a paternalistic local authority. Officers had a degree of personal knowledge of individual and family circumstances and were likely to be born and brought up in the area themselves ... [the prevailing situation] forces managers and allocators into close personal contact with local applicants. There are striking illustrations of this contact in personal letters stressing family links with the area... the overall impression is of a housing department coping sensitively with often difficult demands..."

(Forrest and Murie (1992:62)).

It is this concern with local housing needs, evident whilst dwellings remain in state-ownership, which has been

eliminated by re-allocation by market forces, thereby radically increasing "consequent population diversification" (Monro, 1992:50) at a local level. It is the underlying decision-making leading the household moves causing such population diversification that discussion now turns.

6.6 Migration Motives

The foregoing analysis has outlined the paths into resold dwellings taken by OMPs. What is less clear, however, is the role of the housing market, and in particular the housing opportunity presented by former local authority dwellings, in influencing the decision to relocate and to purchase. Consideration of these issues will reveal to what extent housing market factors are influential in shaping the migration patterns associated with the households under study, that is whether they comprise a major part of the initial decision to move, or whether they act as constraints shaping the path of migration arising from other causes.

6.61 Open Market Purchaser Households: Cited Reasons for Leaving the Last Home

In contrast to many earlier studies, housing-related motives comprised the majority (52 percent) when OMP households were questioned about the motives that led them to leave their previous home prior to moving into a resold dwelling (table 6.26.).

Reason for leaving last home	Percentage of households
To have more suitable accommodation to bring up children	18
To move to your retirement home	3
Old home repossessed	5
To secure a better/ more comfortable home	23
To make an investment	3
Dissatisfaction with old neighbourhood	9
To be near employment	23
To be near other family members	8
Divorce / separation	6
Miscellaneous	2
TOTAL	100

* Based on responses from 111 established households.

Table 6.26. Open Market Purchaser Households: Cited Reason for Leaving Last Home Prior to Moving into Resold Dwelling - percentage of established households.

Such motives fall into two groups:

(a). those based on the unsuitability of the old home

- to have more suitable accommodation to bring-up children
- to move to the retirement home
- to secure a more comfortable home
- old home repossessed

(b). aspirational motives

- to secure a better home
- to make an investment

Four main motives account for the remainder of household moves: dissatisfaction with the old neighbourhood, employment factors, the need to be near other family members, and divorce/separation. Employment-led migration was the greatest of this last grouping of ('non-housing') motives involving twenty-five households (23 percent). On average the remaining three motives affected 7 percent of households.

When the distance of the household move is matched to the underlying motive for moving, the patterns of migration associated with resales broadly conform to the findings of previous migration research; two groupings can be identified (table 6.27.).

- Moves into resold dwellings made within the Northamptonshire region - characterised by the heterogeneity of responses.
- Longer distance migration from outside the Northants region into resold dwellings - such moves were mostly connected with the employment of household members (89 percent cited such factors).

Amongst those households relocating within the Northants region, employment factors average only 7.6 percent of responses. Comparison of the proportion of employment-related moves from within the county, the region and from further afield reveals a pattern of a higher incidence of employment-related moves with increasing distance (table 6.27). From these patterns the employment related links with the adjoining South East region can be seen to be

important in two ways: first, a significant fraction of OMP adults commuted into this region (S.E) from a home in the District (approximately one third). Second, the majority of longer-distance household moves into the District were from a previous home in the South East (map 6.02): these were moves made to be nearer employment and involved a change of job in nearly all cases (many responses stated "following my husband's work", or "after changing job..."). Both groups reflect different 'stages' in the labour market adjustment to the changing spatial division of labour affecting the South East and adjoining regions: the latter group had changed their job and home, the majority of the former had just changed their home location (some having previously changed their job - however the move into the resold dwelling was purely a 'housing-related' move unconnected with the earlier employment-led move).

Reason for leaving last home	Location of previous home			
	within South Northants	Another district of Northants	Adjoining county to Northants	Beyond other categories
To have more suitable accommodation for children	8	26	22	2
To move to the retirement home	8	0	0	0
Old home repossessed/ could not afford last home	8	0	0	0
Dissatisfaction with old neighbourhood	6	16	8	0
To secure better/ more comfortable home	22	13	27	3
To make an investment	3	3	3	0
To be near employment	6	3	14	89
To be near other family members / friends	0	6	5	6
To set-up home with new partner	6	3	0	0
Divorce/ separation	17	0	0	0
Wanted to live in countryside	0	10	3	0
Other/ Not known	16	19	19	22

Table 6.27., Reason for leaving last home: Established households classified according to location of last home, (each area = 100%).

The migration motives of OMP households reveal that resold dwellings were extending housing choice to established households already in owner-occupied housing within the Northants region. Housing-related causes of relocation account for an average of 48 percent of moves within the Northants region - ranging from 49 percent within South

Northamptonshire, 42 percent in other districts of the county, to 52 percent of moves from adjoining counties. In contrast, housing-related motives account for just 5 percent of moves from further afield. Amongst those households moving within the three areas closest to, and including, the district under study, the desire to secure a better/more comfortable home is the most often-cited single motive for leaving the previous home in order to move into the resold dwelling (averaging one in five responses).

Consistent with the earlier pioneering urban-based work by Rossi (1955), life cycle factors linked to housing needs also emerge as a major cause of relocation, with the second most frequently cited individual motive being the need to 'have more suitable accommodation to bring-up children', averaging 19 percent of responses. Such findings highlight the importance of the life cycle, long-established in urban-based work (for example, Davies and Pickles, 1991; Clark *et al.*, 1994), to understanding household moves into this sector of the rural housing market.

Given that two-thirds of OMP households were moving from urban areas into resold dwellings, the reasons for deciding to move countryside are central to the patterns of rural social change under study.

6.62 Open Market Purchaser Households: Cited Reasons for Searching for A Home in the Countryside

The aesthetic and environmental qualities of the countryside were the most frequently cited responses explaining why OMP households had searched for a home in the countryside, totalling over a third of all cited responses (37 percent- table 6.28.). Similarly, 7 percent of households moved to the countryside because they felt it was a better environment in which to raise children.

Cited reason for household selecting home in the countryside	Percentage of responses
To be near other family members	7
Aesthetic and environmental qualities	37
To be near work	9
Felt it would be a better environment to bring-up children	7
Countryside is home/ roots	13
Other	27

* Based on the responses from 167 households

Table 6.28., Open Market Purchaser Households: cited reason for selecting a home in the countryside, (percentage of purchasing households).

Those returning to, or remaining in, the countryside because it was, and is, their home environment (often phrased as being their 'roots') accounted for the second largest group (13 percent of responses). This group marks an interesting component of the counterurbanizing flow into resold dwellings identified previously in respect of household migration histories, and indicates that resales are providing a housing opportunity for 'rural returnees'. Those within this group already resident in the countryside were relying on their 'location specific capital' to select a better local housing opportunity. The vast majority of 'returnee' households (82 percent) were returning to their 'home' countryside where one or both partners were brought-up, as opposed to the minority of such households who were raised in a different rural area, but were keen to return any rural environment.

Moving into the countryside in connection with the employment of household members was the third most cited response accounting for 9 percent of the total. Only a small minority (7 percent) moved into the countryside to be near other family members, thereby illustrating the limited social/kinship networks connecting OMPs to the local area.

The remainder of responses, accounting for just over a quarter of households (27 percent), defied classification being a diverse mixture of idiosyncratic motives (examples include "better for my horse", "to be near Silverstone [motor racing] circuit", "led by my faith").

It emerges from such an array of motives that movement to the countryside was one of choice rather than necessity in the majority of cases. Just under one in ten households (9 percent) were moving into the rural District in connection with the employment of household members, and 7 percent of households were moving into the District in order to be nearer other family members. Movement into the countryside of the study area may have been a matter of necessity in respect of households in the latter two groups.

With housing-related factors behind the decision of a majority of households to move, and environmental factors leading these households to search for a new home in the countryside, it is necessary to examine the motives which led households to individual villages in the District.

6.63 Open Market Purchaser Households: Village Selection

Just under a quarter (23 percent) of purchasing households selected a given village in South Northamptonshire on the basis of appearance, nature and the facilities available (table 6.29). Those moving to be near family or friends accounted for 13 percent of moves. The need to be close to the place of employment led to selection of a village by 11 percent of households.

Cited reason for selecting village	Percentage
To be near other family members	13
Liked appearance, nature and facilities of village	23
To be close to work	11
Selected for the property ultimately purchased	18
Selected because of price asked for property purchased	16
To be near child's/ children's school	2
Other	17

* Based on the responses of 166 households

Table 6.29., Cited Village Selection Motives: Open Market Purchaser Households.

The most cited reasons for village selection were not connected with the overall qualities of the village itself, but rather the property selected in the village. Such responses were given under the "other please specify" option of the list of suggested responses, and in anticipating a subsequent, more specific question aimed at property selection motives, indicate the powerful influence of housing factors on the household moves under study. Thus, over a third (34 percent) of households selected their village on the merits of the resold dwelling purchased. Households were drawn both by the price of the resold dwelling (16 percent of households), and the qualities of the dwelling (size, appearance, layout etc., 18 percent of households).

6.7 The Decision-making Underpinning Moves Into Resold Dwellings: Summary

Three main stages have been identified in respect of the decision-making process: the move from the previous home, the move to the countryside and the selection of a suitable settlement (table 6.30).

Principal Factors	Reason for leaving last home ^{1.}	Reason for move to the countryside ^{2.}	Reason for selecting village ^{3.}
Housing factors	52	-	24
Environmental factors	9	44	23
Work factors	23	9	11
Links with Family /friends	8	7	23

* Based on: (1). 111 established households, (2). 167 households, (3). 166 households.

Table 6.30., Principal factors in the relocation of OMP households into resold dwellings.

As Harper (1991) notes in respect of household moves in rural areas,

"... it is clear that each decision process is multi-faceted, comprising a complex pattern of reasons..." (Harper, 1991:27),

" the emphasis placed upon each component will vary between decisions" (Ibid:28).

For this reason it is necessary to cross-refer the household migration motives in an attempt to determine the combination of motives which resulted in moves into resold dwellings.

Accordingly, household motives for moving into the countryside were taken as the principal variable (table 6.31, column 1.); the figures in the other columns detail the percentage of households matching the principal variable. This 'clustering' of variables provides a further insight into the links between the decision to move to the rural district under study and the purchase of former local authority dwellings.

Those moving in response to a preference for the qualities of the rural environment (peace, natural beauty, etc.)

Motive for moving to the countryside	No. of households	No. 1st homes	Last home in Northants	Last home in adjoining county	Last home beyond region	Household background Perceptions			last home urban area	last home rural area	Reason for selecting village						Reason for leaving last home								
						Rural only	Urban only	Mixed			1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.	i.
Environmental - factors	51	16	18	10	7	15	20	12	26	11	3	20	3	8	0	4	6	0	0	3	7	4	1	2	2
To be near family	9	2	5	0	2	4	1	2	6	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1
Employment	12	4	3	2	3	1	6	3	3	4	0	0	6	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	5	0	0
Better for raising children	10	0	7	2	2	4	4	0	7	2	2	3	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	1
countryside is household's 'roots'	18	6	7	4	1	11	0	4	4	7	8	0	1	2	0	1	2	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	0
Totals	100	28	41	17	15	35	31	21	47	25	19	24	10	11	0	7	13	1	1	5	11	7	7	5	3

Reasons for selecting village

1. To be near family members
2. Nature of the village, appearance, facilities etc.
3. Employment factors
4. Selected because liked specific resold dwelling in village
5. Selected for price of resold dwelling purchased
6. Miscellaneous

Reasons for leaving last home

- a. To have more suitable accommodation to raise children
- b. To move to your retirement home
- c. Old home repossessed
- d. Dissatisfaction with old neighbourhood
- e. To secure a better/ more comfortable home
- f. To make an investment
- g. Employment factors
- h. To be near other family members
- i. Divorce/ separation

Table 6.31. Cross-matched Migration Motives OMP Households: Percentage of Households*.

* Percentage figures based on a total of 122 households. Excludes 'other' motives for moving to the countryside and those where motive not known.

comprise the largest group of 62 households (51 percent). Matching variables show that: approximately a third of these households were first-time buyers (31 percent), were moving from within Northamptonshire (36 percent), were households with both partners from urban backgrounds (40 percent), were households moving from a last home situated in an urban area (52 percent), were those relocating principally in order to secure a better home (15 percent), and were households selecting a village for its overall nature (appearance, facilities - 40 percent).

The second largest group of 22 households were those either returning to, or continuing to reside in, the countryside which they see as their 'roots', or home area (18 percent). Of these households: two-thirds were established households (68 percent), relocating from within the county (41 percent), with household members only from a rural background (64 percent), were moving from a previous home in a rural area (36 percent), were subsequently selecting a village in order to be near family members (45 percent), and had left the last home to have more suitable accommodation to raise children (14 percent).

Those moving into the countryside for reasons of employment totalled fifteen households. Two-thirds were established households, had relocated from outside the Northants region (27 percent), were from urban backgrounds (47 percent), were from a last home location in an urban area (33 percent), and both the reason for leaving the last home (47 percent) and selection of the new village were connected with employment factors (44 percent).

One in ten households moved into the countryside because they felt it was a better environment in which to bring-up their children. This was also the most often cited reason for leaving the last home. Three-quarters of this group were relocating from a last home located in the county; a similar fraction were moving from a previous home located in an urban location. A third of households had selected

the village they were subsequently to reside in, primarily for its aesthetic and environmental qualities - together with its facilities (33 percent).

The last household grouping is that of the eleven households moving to the countryside in order to be near other family members. Just over a quarter of these households were first-time buyers (27 percent). Over a half were moving from within Northamptonshire, the largest proportion of whom came from a rural background (45 percent). The majority were moving from a last home located in an urban area (83 percent). All of these households chose the village they were to reside in so that they could be near family members.

These combinations of motives reveal that the majority of former local authority dwellings are facilitating the in-migration of households from urban areas. However, this broad trend is founded on a multiplicity of diverse motives based on the circumstances of individual households. Varying combinations of housing-related motives together with environmental preferences, social ties and employment factors shaped each household move and serve to underline the complexity of the decision-making involved. Furthermore they point to the inadequacy of earlier studies of counterurbanization which have attempted to explain the macro-level population movements they quantified without examining the migration decision-making process itself. It is suggested here that each household move is unique, triggered by the contingent effects of time and location. The majority of household moves are not logically conceived processes conducted in a set sequence, but rather involve a complex series of trade-offs based on individual circumstances.

6.8 Summary

From the foregoing it is apparent that distinctive patterns of migration are associated with (former) local authority dwellings on resale. Traditionally these dwellings have served the housing needs of the local population but reallocation by market forces has resulted in the majority of purchasers originating from beyond the immediate region. Examination of the migration patterns has shown that resale has led to population change in the rural district under study both by the direct in-migration of households from outside the local area, and by households which had previously moved into the region subsequently making short-distance moves into these dwellings. The patterns of migration were shown to be more complex than those analysed in many existing studies of rural population change. Reference to the migration histories of OMPs has revealed that the process of household formation was an important additional cause of population diversification. One of the most striking aspects of the observed processes was the prevalence of urban-to-rural moves into these dwellings, accounting for two-thirds of all households and highlighting the function of this sector of the market in fuelling counterurbanizing population trends.

The decision-making underpinning the moves into resold dwellings comprised a complex combination of factors based on the relative attractiveness of the housing opportunity presented by former local authority dwellings, the desire to move to the countryside, together with social and employment ties.

The cited motives for purchasing these dwellings revealed that the purchase of resales was a selective process since dwellings of different types were purchased by different types of purchaser household. The following chapter now examines the social characteristics of these households in order to understand further the patterns of social change attached to resales.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HOUSEHOLD TURNOVER AND THE RECOMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN THE RESOLD SECTOR

7.0 Introduction

This chapter considers links between the social and demographic components of the former council sector, the restructuring of the former local authority housing sector and wider processes of change in the countryside.

The following sections outline the main socio-economic characteristics which define residents within former local authority dwellings. A comparison will be made between those resident before and after resale in order to gain an insight into the nature of social change arising from the resale of these dwellings.

In the course of the chapter the connections will be explored between social change in the resold council dwelling stock and contemporary debates focusing upon social change in the countryside and on the nature and extent of the process of social 'residualization' following the (1980) Housing Act.

The contrasting characteristics defining each group will reveal the social selectivity of the successive migrant groups and offer a new insight into the recomposition of the population in this particular sector of the rural housing market.



Figure 7.01., Age of Movers and Stayers Compared.

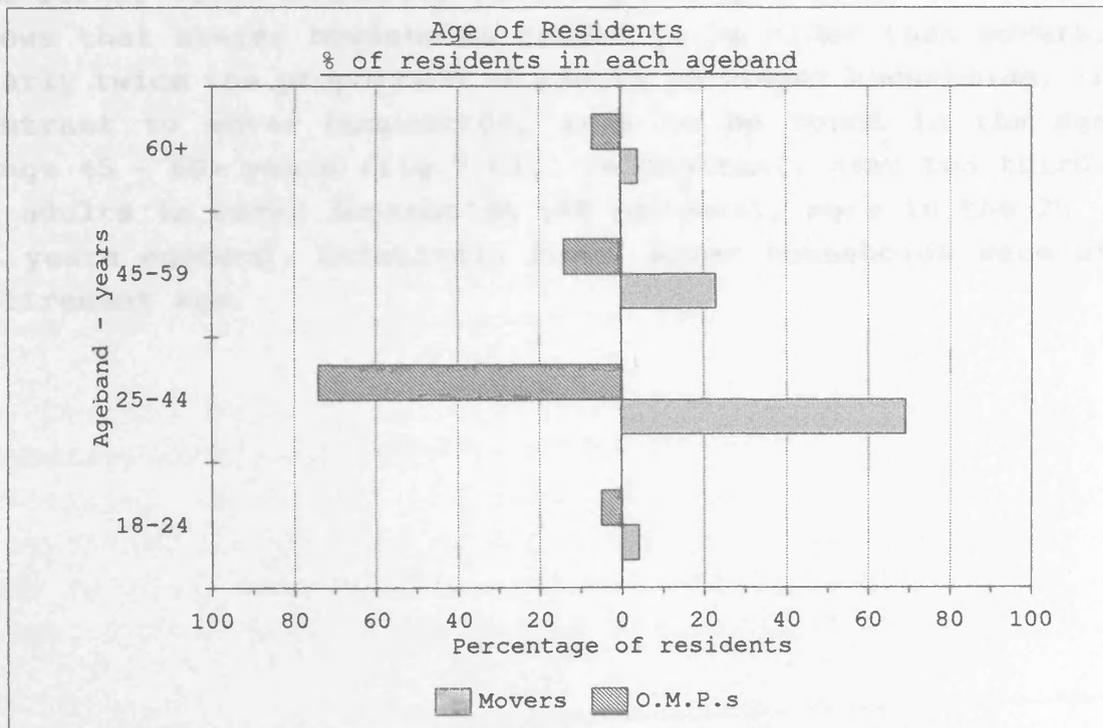


Figure 7.02., Age of Movers and O.M.P.s Compared.

In the following sections of this chapter households in each of the three 'housing groups'- namely 'movers', 'stayers' and open market purchasers - will be compared by type, size, and previous residential history. Household members will be compared by age, economic activity and social class. The comparison between tenant-purchasers and subsequent open market purchasers will provide a starting point to developing a fuller profile of the latter group.

Finally, findings from examination of the most recent occupiers of resold dwellings will be related to the concept of the life cycle, since this provides a key link between the changing social characteristics of the various migratory groups and the resale of former council dwellings.

7.1 Household Structure

7.11 Adult Age

For the purposes of the following comparison between each of the groups under study, age is taken to be that at the time the former local authority dwelling was purchased. Table 7.01 shows that stayer households tended to be older than movers. Nearly twice the proportion of adults in stayer households, in contrast to mover households, were to be found in the age range 45 - 60+ years (fig 7.01). In contrast, over two-thirds of adults in mover households (68 percent), were in the 25 - 44 years ageband. Relatively fewer mover households were of retirement age.

Ageband (years)	Stayers	Movers	Open market purchasers
18 - 24	3	4	5
25 - 44	48	69	74
45 - 59	41	23	14
60+	8	4	7

* Percentages of 182 stayer, 155 mover and 186 OMP households.

Table 7.01., Age Structure of Each Group.

A much younger age profile exists amongst residents following resale, with over three-quarters (79 percent) of adults aged under forty-four years of age (fig 7.02).

These findings suggest that the migration of tenant-purchasers was strongly connected to age: the younger the household, the more likely they were to move. Such findings add to existing work which has examined the process of age-residualization in the state-rented sector of the housing market following the introduction of the RTB (Forrest and Murie, 1983, 1988, 1990; Hamnett, 1984; Murie, 1983; Williams et al., 1986; Kerr/DoE, 1988), and indicates that such a process also extends to the former local authority sector of the market. Residualization is a process that has been defined by Malpass and Murie (1994) as the changing role of a given sector of the housing market which becomes increasingly associated with a narrower section of society, noticeably along lines of "... poverty, age or infirmity" (Malpass and Murie, 1982:174). At the same time resales can be seen to accelerate residualization amongst those remaining in local authority housing.

In respect of 'stayer' households in the former local authority sector, the process of age-residualization is likely to deepen, with an increasingly aged population being disinclined to move and loosen the social ties surrounding a home in which they have resided for a major portion of their lives. Such a view is consistent with a substantial body of

research that has investigated the links between migration and age (for example Lee and Barber, 1966; Devis, 1983; Warnes, 1986). Recent analysis of the relationship between age and migration for the population as a whole during the first year following the (1980) Housing Act (Owen and Green, 1992) revealed a peak in adult mobility around the age of thirty; migration patterns in the resold sector are therefore consistent with these trends.

7.12 Household type

	Stayers	Movers	open market purchasers
Couples	89	78	82
Single	11	22	18
No. households with children	73	70	62
Mean no. household members	3.46	3.33	3.10

* Limited data availability with regard to no. of tenant-purchaser households with children figures relate to 1980-81.

Table 7.02., percentage of Households in Each Group of Given Household Type, Plus Mean Household Size.

Data on household type reflects the age differences of adult members and shows that stayer households were more 'established' (ie. had progressed further in the life cycle¹) than mover households: they were generally larger and more likely to include children and two resident adult members (table 7.02.). By contrast, twice the proportion of mover households had one adult member in comparison to stayer households. On the other hand, fewer OMP households had resident children, resulting in a lower mean household size following resale.

¹ Discussed below, section 7.40

One person households	Male	3
	Female	6
Lone parent families	Male	1
	Female	8
Couples	with children	53
	without children	29

* Based on interviews with 188 OMP households.

Table 7.03., Open Market Purchasers, Percentage of Households of Each Type.

Half of all single adult households amongst OMPs comprised lone parent families, the majority of which had a female head of household (table 7.03).

The proportion of households of each type (table 7.03.) represent a 'snapshot' of open market purchasers at the time of interview in 1994. As table 7.04 reveals, household composition, and therefore household type, varies greatly with the passage of time.

Change in no. of household members post - resale	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
% households	1	1	7	58	26	6	1

* Based on 175 OMP households, details n/k in respect of 13 households.

Table 7.04., Change in Household Size Following Resale, Open Market Purchaser Households.

Forty-two percent of OMPs interviewed had experienced a change in the number of household members following purchase attributable to one of the reasons shown in table 7.05.

Gain/loss	Reason for change in household size	% of OMP households experiencing a change in no. of members	% of all Open Market Purchaser Households
-	death	6	2.7
	divorce/ separation	13	5.3
	child left home	7	3.2
+	birth	67	28.2
	new partner	3	1.0
	lodger	4	1.6

* Based on 79 OMP households, the 42% of those interviewed which had experienced a change in household size following resale.

Table 7.05., Reasons for Changing Household Size Following Purchase of Resold Dwelling.

The younger age structure of OMPs, compared to tenant-purchasers, has resulted in child birth accounting for 67 percent of all changes in household size following resale.

Divorce and separation emerged as the most important factor in causing a reduction in the household size following resale. These findings are consistent with high national levels of divorce over recent years. Work by Haskey (1989) suggests that if current duration-specific divorce rates continue, approximately a quarter of couples married in 1987 will divorce by 1997 and one-third by 2007. In addition, further household break-up arises as a result of separation by un-married partners.

The scale of the influence of divorce and separation trends on household formation and migration patterns is revealed in recent work by Holmans (1990), suggesting that up to one-fifth of the annual increase in the numbers of households in England and Wales during the mid-1980s was due to the net effect of divorce (compared to six percent two decades earlier). Furthermore, recent projections

indicate that of all English regions the East Midlands will experience one of the greatest increases in the total number of households by 2011 (+21 percent). The greatest increases are projected for lone parent households (+30 percent) and one person households (+58 percent), whilst by far the smallest increase by household type is that of 'married or co-habiting couple households' (+3 percent) (DoE, 1995a).

Despite recent work examining the effect of higher divorce rates leading to increased rates of household formation and migration (for example, Ermisch, 1989; Sullivan, 1986) the number of households in resold dwellings affected by this trend is, perhaps, surprisingly large. Such an observation is based on the short duration of residence within resold dwellings for all OMP households (mean value 5 years). These findings suggest that divorce/separation will have an increasingly strong influence on the rate of household formation and attendant migration both into and from resold former council dwellings, thereby fuelling population diversification and social change in the dwellings under study.

The finding that seven percent of all households had lost members as a result of separation in such a brief period of time reveal this to be a powerful cause of population change. Overall, its effects (following purchase of such dwellings) may extend to about one in ten of all resold former council properties surveyed, given that almost 2 percent of households gained new members as the result of a new partner moving-in.

So far, a partial picture has been presented based on divorce/separation related changes in household membership following purchase of the dwellings under examination. It is also necessary to look at the effects of divorce/separation in understanding the movement of households into resold dwellings in the first place. These aspects will be presented over the following sections.

7.13 Household size

The variety of causes resulting in changing household membership following the purchase of resold dwellings (table 7.05.) created the household configurations summarized below (table 7.06).

These findings highlight the relatively young age of OMP households, for the commonest household size was two members, with the majority of such households comprising childless couples. Households with four members, the majority being couples with two children, were the second commonest household type.

a	% households with no. children in column a.	% households with no. adult members given in column a.	% households with total no. of members given in column a.
0	38	-	-
1	15	18	9
2	35	80	30
3	9	2	20
4	2	0	29
5	1	0	9
6	0	0	2
7	0	0	1

Table 7.06 , Household Size and Composition, Open Market Purchasers At Time of Interview. Figures in Percentages of Total Number of Households.

Couples with one child were the third most common household size of three members. Households with more than two adult members were comparatively rare (2 percent), revealing a general absence of lodgers and extended families within these dwellings.

Ageband of resident children	Percentage of all resident children
0 - 4	29
5 - 9	30
10 - 14	24
15	4
16 - 17	5
18 - 19	5
20 - 24	3

Table 7.07., Ageband of Resident Children, Open Market Purchaser Households, Interviewed 1994.

The comparatively young age structure of OMPs (when compared to tenant purchasers) is evident in the age of resident children, with almost two-thirds (59 percent) under nine years of age (table 7.07). Following resale, children were born in almost one in five former council dwellings with adults aged under 44 years (19 percent). The size and age characteristics of these households suggest that the majority of resold dwellings were purchased by households that had either started a family just before, or just following, purchase.

7.2 Economic and Social Characteristics

The comparison of economic activity, income levels and occupational social class amongst members of each group is consistent with recent work outlining the need for a behavioural approach to understanding rural migration that adopts a constraints framework. Thus, Lewis and Sherwood (1991:32) note,

"these constraints reflect the structured nature of society and manifest themselves locally in terms of differential access to employment and housing"

Lewis and Sherwood (1991:32).

Economic factors are foremost amongst the constraints impinging on migrating households. Despite recent research identifying the need to adopt a behavioural approach to migration which acknowledges the impact of wider structural constraints (for example, Fischer, 1984 ; Lewis and Sherwood, 1991) few studies have made such a connection. These factors will be addressed in the following analysis.

7.21 Tenant-purchaser Income Levels

The relatively low household income levels of tenant-purchasers is revealed in the local authority mortgage applications completed prior to the purchase of former council dwellings under the Right To Buy.

Mean household income at the time of purchase of former council dwelling 1980 - 1989.		
	Stayers	Movers
Total income - all households	69	73

* Average earnings index constructed by Hamnett *et al.* (1991). Table 7.08 calculated as follows: The mean household income for tenant-purchaser households, as declared on the local authority mortgage application form, at the time of applying to purchase under (1980) Housing Act was calculated for each year 1980 - 1989. The annual mean earnings figures for tenant purchaser groups was then expressed as a percentage of the average annual income figure for each year as given by the index.

Table 7.08., Mean Level of Tenant-purchaser Incomes 1980 - 1989 Expressed As A Percentage of the National Average Earnings Index.

Table 7.08 presents the mean level of total household earnings amongst all tenant-purchaser households (where data held) at the time of applying to purchase their home from the local authority. The national average earnings index constructed by Hamnett *et al.* (1991) is used here as a benchmark representing the average contemporary income levels across the population as a whole. By comparing the mean income levels of both mover and stayer households (1980 - 1989) to national average earnings over the same

period, it becomes clear that tenant-purchaser income levels were under three-quarters of the average level for the population at large.

The modest difference in mean household income levels between mover and stayer households is highly significant, helping to explain the different mobility patterns distinguishing the groups. Reference to the occupational social class of the two groups further helps in an understanding the different social and economic characteristics of the two tenant-purchaser groups and the way in which they contrast with the most recent occupants of former council dwellings.

7.22 Social Recomposition in Former Local Authority Dwellings

In examining the differences in employment status between successive occupiers of former council dwellings, this study joins a growing body of work which has examined the changing social class structure of the rural population. A number of writers have drawn attention to the 'colonization' of areas of the countryside by a new 'service class' (eg. Cloke and Thrift, 1987). This is but one aspect of a wider trend involving the in-migration of middle class households to rural areas which in turn has been linked to wider structural change involving employment and demographic trends (Beauregard, 1986) and changing lifestyles and the pursuit of a 'rural idyll' (Thrift, 1989). More recent work has re-examined the process of gentrification within a rural context (Phillips, 1993). A key area of advancement in the debate concerned with the recomposition of the rural population is the recognition that class relations attaching to migrant groups are not simple (Savage et al., 1992). Specifically, it has been argued that there has been an over-eagerness to represent population recomposition in terms of the antagonistic relationship between homogenous groups delineated by class (eg. Phillips and Williams, 1984). Contrary to this

position Cloke and Thrift (1987) assert,

"what has been lacking previously is an understanding of the impact that different middle-class fractions have in all aspects of rural life. Intra-class conflict has become a factor of major importance in the study of contemporary rural change ..."

(Cloke and Thrift, 1990:166, original emphasis).

Such importance reflects the way in which class relations underpin an understanding of "economic, political and cultural activity" in rural areas and beyond (Cloke and Thrift, 1990). Work on rural social change has tended to focus on the, "... selective partnership between the colonizing classes and housebuilders" (Cloke et al., 1991:39) (for example, Barlow and Savage, 1986), and the facilitating role often played by the state at all levels (Cloke et al., 1991). Contrary to such approaches focusing on the conventional production of owner-occupied housing, the following analysis will look at the contribution to the process presented by the tenure transfer of local authority dwelling stock.

As noted earlier, previous studies which have looked at social change connected to local authority dwelling stock have identified a growing process of residualization amongst public sector tenants both before and after the 1980 Housing Act.

Work by Hamnett (1984), on the period prior to the main impact of the 1980 Housing Act, has revealed the changing employment status of those residing in public sector housing (1961 - 1981); his findings are summarised in table 7.09. Such trends reveal the increasing proportions of tenants who were economically inactive or located in the lower socio-economic groups. Membership of such groups had dramatically increased by almost a third (32 percent) between 1961-1981.

Socio-economic group	Percentage change TENANTS in each S.E.G in public sector housing 1961-81	Percentage of household heads in each S.E.G COUNCIL-TENANTS		Socio-economic group of household head, TENANT-PURCHASERS
		1985/6	1993/4	1985/6
Professionals, employers and managers	-0.3	5.0	7	11.0
Intermediate and junior non-manual	-0.2	15.0	18	11.0
Skilled manual and own-account professionals	+2.0	43.0	37	55.0
Semi-skilled manual and personal service	+9.6	25.0	25	18.0
Unskilled manual	+17.0	8.0	13	3.0
Economically inactive/ [unclassified]	+5.2	[4.0]	[n/k]	[2.0]

Sources: Hamnett, 1984; DoE, 1988, 1994.

Table 7.09., Occupational Status and Residualization in the State-rented Sector 1961 - 1994.

The Department of the Environment studies conducted in 1985/6 and 1993/4 reveal the trends affecting local authority housing following the 1980 Housing Act. Strong evidence was found of the continuation of a residualization process. Central to such a finding was the difference, identified in the 1985/6 study, between the employment status of those remaining public-sector tenants and tenant-purchasers. Over double the proportion of service class workers was found amongst tenant-purchasers compared to tenants. Furthermore, under half of the proportion of unskilled-manual workers were found amongst tenant-purchasers. Such differences in the employment status of

tenants and tenant-purchasers are consistent with the earlier findings of the Labour Force Survey and the General Household Survey of 1983/4. The proportions of households in each class actively considering/ not considering whether to purchase their home under the RTB provided further evidence of the link between employment status and social residualization (table 7.10).

Percentage heads of households S.E.G *				
Socio-economic group	ALL TENANTS 1983/4	TENANT-PURCHASERS 1983/4	TENANTS who had considered buying in the last two years	TENANTS who had NOT considered buying in the last two years
Professionals, employers and managers	6	13	7	5
Intermediate and junior non-manual	13	14	12	12
Skilled manual and own-account non-professionals	43	51	50	40
Semi-skilled/unskilled manual	38	21	31	42

Sources: OPCS, 1984, 1986; Forrest and Murie, 1991.

Table 7.10., Employment Status and Residualization: Tenant-purchasers, Potential Purchasers and Unlikely Purchasers and All Tenants.

Throughout the present analysis the social class classification developed by Goldthorpe (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974; Goldthorpe et al., 1980) will be adopted. This (neo-Weberian) classification assesses social class on the basis of the individual's position in the labour market.

In assessing such patterns of social change based on employment status the selection of a social class schema is of key importance. This point was highlighted by Marshall et al. (1988), who noted that the researcher's choice of

schema may well affect the overall conclusions made on the social processes under examination. The validity of this an assertion has recently been tested by Phillips (1992, 1993) within the context of contemporary rural social change. An advantage of the Goldthorpe classification is its attempt to incorporate a measure of the degree of autonomy workers have in the course of their employment, and the control individuals exert over others in the workplace. The greater number of 'classes' within the Goldthorpe classification enables a more detailed exploration of class patterns (compared to the Registrar General's classification, for example). As Saunders (1990) notes,

"the great advantage of using the Goldthorpe schema is that its categories are in some sense operationalizations of the categories found in theories of social stratification"

(Saunders, 1990:373).

Saunders' mode of employing Goldthorpe's classification in exploring social change and the housing market (Saunders, 1990) will be adopted here. Thus, a social class classification will be given to each adult household member (rather than to the 'head of the household'), whilst those adult members not currently employed (both retired and unemployed) will be classified according to their last main job.

Finally, Goldthorpe's broad class groups (or 'compressed' classes) will be used in outlining the principal social trends, whilst the specific class groups (eleven in total) will be used to explore the components of the observed change.

Differences in worker's employment status in each group under study will therefore assist in investigating the changing social characteristics of residents in former council dwellings both pre- and post- resale. In addition, given the recent research on social change and rural migration noted above, as well as recent studies of social

change connected to social housing, the following findings will provide a starting-point to understanding the contribution of the on-going resales process to those of residualization and gentrification.

7.23 Occupational Social Class: Goldthorpe's Broad Class Groupings

A greater proportion of the working population was engaged in higher status occupations amongst OMP households when compared to previous occupants (table 7.11.). A similar, if less pronounced difference existed between stayer and mover households. These patterns reveal a clear association between employment status and the propensity to migrate; with greater numbers of adults engaged in 'working class'² occupations amongst those tenant-purchasers continuing to reside in former local authority dwellings.

In respect of the tenants-purchasers covered by the present study, the majority of adults were engaged in working class occupations (57 percent), with a small minority holding service class posts (7.5 percent). The predominance of working class occupations amongst tenant-purchasers, together with the general absence of service class employment, corresponds to the findings of the DoE studies for 1985/6 and 1993/4 (table 7.09)³ and shows that changes in this district were consistent with wider trends.

² The use of the term 'working class' follows that of Saunders (1990) in 'compressing' the 11 Goldthorpe classes into three broad groupings. It is therefore used to denote classes VI, VIIa and VIIb in that classification.

³ Use of the DoE studies provides a broad comparison only. The DoE studies use a different occupational class classification and are based on the status of the head of the household.

Percentage of workers in each social class. Each group sub-divided, all male workers (M), all female workers (F), and all workers in group (All).									
Goldthorpe's broad class groups	STAYERS			MOVERS			OPEN MARKET PURCHASERS		
	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
Service (classes I and II)	1	10	5	10	4	8	28	31	29
Intermediate (classes IIIa, IIIb, IVa, IVb, IVc and V)	35	35	35	31	50	38	39	45	41
Working (Classes VI, VIIa, VIIb)	64	55	60	59	46	54	34	24	30

* Based on 184 OMP individuals in stayer households, 221 individuals in mover households and 297 individuals in OMP households.

Table 7.11. Proportion of Households in Goldthorpe's Broad Social Class Groups; Movers, Stayers and Open Market Purchasers Compared.

Just under two-thirds (62 percent) of the overall difference in class structure between the two tenant purchaser groups arises from the contrasting employment status of women. The overall difference in the status of workers of both sexes in the two tenant-purchaser groups amounts to a six percent shift from working class employment. This shift is evenly split into a three percent gain in both the proportion of workers engaged in intermediate and service class employment.

Within the context of these previous studies of the changing employment status of tenants and ex-tenants in local authority housing, the initial findings presented above (table 7.11) confirm that the resale of council dwellings is adding a new dimension to the process of social residualization (in terms of resident age and employment status) associated with changes in this tenure. Furthermore, such findings suggest that the re-selling of such properties actively leads to accelerated social change in the countryside. These processes arising from resales

can be placed in a sequence which begins with residualization amongst public sector tenants. Following the 1980 Housing Act this process has both accelerated and expanded (Forrest and Murie, 1990) and, as the above findings reveal, created a new dimension with social residualization within the former local authority dwelling stock. Thus, those with the highest employment status initially purchase their council homes, and in turn a similar fraction of higher status tenant purchasers sell-up and move on. Those incoming purchasers of resold properties may be broadly characterised as possessing higher employment status than the residents they replace. This generalised picture can now be broken-down into intra-class changes in order to gain a fuller understanding of the processes operating.

7.24 Occupational Social Class: Goldthorpe's Specific Class Groupings

Table 7.12 reveals that service class employment across the three groups under study comprised lower-grade professional work in the vast majority of cases.

Amongst workers engaged in intermediate class occupations key differences emerge in respect of the levels of self-employment between the groups. The proportion of small proprietors without employees (Class IIIa) doubles from 2 percent (in respect of both tenant-purchaser groups) to 4 percent of workers on resale. The reverse trend applies in respect of class IIIb, small proprietors with employees, where there would appear to be a stronger entrepreneurial element amongst tenant-purchasers. Trades within this class consist of (building) construction and transportation.

Percentage of workers in each social class. Each group sub-divided, all male workers (M), all female workers (F), and all workers in group (All).									
Goldthorpe's specific class groups	STAYERS			MOVERS			OPEN MARKET PURCHASERS		
	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
I. Higher grade professionals	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
II. Lower grade professionals	1	10	5	10	4	8	27	30	28
IIIa. Routine non-manual employees	7	18	13	16	38	24	13	29	20
IIIb. Personal service workers	4	9	7	1	4	2	2	6	4
IVa. Small proprietors without employees	2	0	1	2	1	2	5	2	4
IVb. Small proprietors with employees	7	1	4	9	0	6	4	1	2
IVc. Farmers and small holders	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
V. Lower grade technicians	15	7	11	3	7	5	15	7	11
VI. Skilled manual workers	22	9	15	21	3	15	20	9	15
VIIa. Semi - and unskilled workers	42	46	44	34	43	38	13	14	13
VIIb. Agricultural workers	0	1	1	3	0	2	0	1	1

Table 7.12., Proportion of Households in Goldthorpe's Specific Social Class Groups; Movers, Stayers and Open Market Purchasers Compared.

A far greater proportion of the intermediate class occupations amongst stayer households comprises lower-grade technical workers (+15 percent) when compared to mover households. In contrast, a greater proportion of mover households were engaged in routine non-manual work (+11 percent). These differences reflect the greater proportion of non-manual occupations amongst mover households, together with higher overall employment status and likely levels of income.

In respect of working class occupations, similar proportions of each group, before and after resale, were engaged in skilled-manual work (15 percent), whilst the key area of difference on resale relates to the decrease in the proportion of unskilled-manual workers. Following resale the proportion of workers engaged in semi-skilled and unskilled manual work falls to under a third of the pre-existing levels (to 13 percent of workers).

Between the sexes, a clear difference in roles is detectable in respect of working class occupations, with the majority of unskilled work undertaken by women. Men, by contrast, are employed in the majority of skilled manual jobs. This relationship extends across all groups, although there is a large decrease in the proportion of women engaged in semi-skilled and unskilled manual employment following resale.

Further difference between the sexes relates to the proportions of workers engaged in routine non-manual work and personal service work. In respect of both occupational classes, a clear majority of women in each group are so employed. Overall, the changing role of female employment on resale centres on service class and unskilled working class employment. In the former case, considerably greater proportions of OMP women had lower-grade professional careers compared to the pre-existing situation. Together changes in unskilled-manual working class employment and lower-grade professional service class employment account

for 87 percent of the component of change in women's employment status (across all classes) on resale (53 and 34 percent respectively).

It is largely the numbers and status of working women which account for major differences in the income levels between the different groups. Such patterns reveal that gender divisions in the labour market lie at the heart of social change attaching to the resales process. However, such processes have remained relatively unexplored within the context of rural housing. As Somerville notes,

"... in the field of housing perhaps more than other fields, the question of gender has received significant attention, but writers have tended to concentrate on the issue of differential access of housing for men and women rather than on the issue of the relations between men and women in a housing context..."

(Somerville, 1994:329)

Together these factors are central to understanding the different mobility patterns of each group under study and will be analysed in greater detail below.

7.25 Dual-earner Households

Recent work has begun to identify the links between labour market status and different types of migration (eg. Savage and Fielding, 1989). Within this body of work particular focus has been placed on dual-earner households viz.,

"... those households containing two or more adults living as a couple, with, or without other household members, where partners are in paid employment"

(Green, 1995:1).

As Hardill et al. (1996) state, these households are deserving of attention since,

"... in socio-economic terms, dual-career households form a privileged group, better able to compete economically, and exercise their influence in achieving priorities, than many other population groups"

(Hardill et al., 1996:11).

Savage et al. (1992), in exploring the connection between property assets and the spatial and social mobility which led to the rise of the 'middle classes' conclude,

"... it is clear that household type is of major importance in determining that household's general prosperity. The rise of the 'dual career' household is of major significance here..."

(Savage et al., 1992:158).

For this reason examination of dual income households in each of the groups under study may provide further insight into the contrasting migration tendencies of each group, together with the general process of social change attaching to resales.

Data on the employment status of adults in each household reveals that a greater proportion of stayer households had incomes from two working adults when compared to mover households (table 7.13).

	Stayers	Movers	Open market purchasers
% of couples which have both partners in employment	33	26	75

* Of 301 mover households, 247 were couples, of which 26% received two incomes, similarly of 286 stayer households 33%, and of 188 OMP households 75%.

Table 7.13., Proportion of Dual Earner Households; Movers, Stayers and Open Market Purchasers Compared.

Overall, the proportion of dual-earner households amongst the tenant-purchaser households under study is relatively

high, with a more typical value of 14 percent being applicable in respect of council tenants generally (Newton and C.H.A.S., 1990). Similarly, the proportion of dual earner households amongst OMPs is again relatively high with an average national proportion of 50 percent typical amongst house-buyers purchasing with a mortgage.

Contrary to such findings, it might be expected that the group with highest levels of household income would be more inclined to relocate. However, as Green (1995) has noted, the greater complexity attached to the migration of dual career households, particularly in respect of the "complex trade-offs" which take place in,

"household location and mobility strategies in order to maximise the benefits (as far as possible) for both individuals and the household"

(Green, 1995:10),

may explain the patterns revealed above. A further consideration is that the difference in the proportion of dual income households between the two tenant purchaser groups is a function of the extent of the data available from local authority housing records⁴. The following analysis, in moving beyond the proportion of dual income households in each group revealed by the data gathered by the present study, may provide further evidence of the contrasting social structure of both the mover and stayer groups. In contrast to the employment status of tenant purchasers, broadly twice as many OMP couples derived an income from the employment of both partners.

⁴ Employment data on tenant purchasers is derived from applications for local authority mortgages. In cases where tenants obtained a mortgage in the private sector no such data is available. A far greater proportion of applicants applied for a local authority mortgage in the first years following the (1980) Housing Act when compared to later years. More of the stayer households purchased their dwellings in the years immediately following 1980, accordingly more information is available in respect of these households compared to mover households.

Analysis of all dual earner households is therefore necessary in order to develop the links between employment status, income and the movement of each group under study through former council dwelling stock. Such a view contrasts with the view of Hardill et al. (1996), quoted above, which asserts that dual career households alone are deserving of study.

The difference between the two terms hinges on the term 'career', which, as Green (1995) notes,

"... implies some long term progression within an occupation, or through a series of occupations involving increasing levels of responsibility at each stage"

(Green, 1995:7).

It is the increased ability to overcome economic constraints, particularly those of the housing market, which distinguish dual earner households from other groups. Accordingly dual earner households will be divided into two groups. The first is those households comprising one adult member in full-time employment and another engaged in part-time work. The often temporary nature of part-time posts together with the absence of a defined career progression would exclude such households from Hardill et al.'s definition of dual career households. Nevertheless, the higher level of income gained by such households may contribute to the different migrant patterns of the groups under examination here. Second, examination will also be made of dual career households in each of the groups under study. This latter group consists exclusively of households with both partners in full-time employment.

In order to determine whether the prevalence of dual earner households marks a key difference in the social structure of each purchaser group it is necessary to define both the number and the characteristics of such households.

The number of dual-career households in each group (table 7.14) reveals a potential link between migration tendency and household income levels. The proportion of dual career households amongst dual earner households increases from stayer through to open market purchaser households.

Breakdown of dual-earner households in each group by type.				
Type of dual-earner household		STAYERS	MOVERS	OPEN MARKET PURCHASERS
Dual earner households - with one part-time worker	No.	48	27	38
	% of dual earner households	57	43	34
Dual career households - both full-time workers	No.	36	36	74
	% of dual earner households	43	57	66

Table 7.14., Dual Career and Dual Earner Households in Former Council Dwellings.

Further evidence of this difference between the groups is revealed in the class structure and income levels of both types of dual earner household in each group.

Percentage of workers in each class - each group sub-divided by sex, (columns to be read vertically).									
Class	Stayers			Movers			Open market purchasers		
	FEMALE	MALE	ALL	FEMALE	MALE	ALL	FEMALE	MALE	ALL
Service	3	3	3	4	7	6	24	29	26
Inter - mediate	17	31	24	33	37	35	55	26	41
Working	80	66	73	63	56	59	21	45	33

* Based on 48 stayer, 27 mover and 38 OMP households

Table 7.15., Class Structure of Dual Earner Households Containing One Part-time Worker.

The class structure of dual earner households with one part-time worker (table 7.15) reveals that mover households are more likely to have a higher household income in comparison to stayer households given the greater proportion of higher status jobs held by the former group. This difference between such tenant purchaser households was mainly due to the higher occupational status of female workers in mover households. The predominant type of part-time employment undertaken by women in such dual earner tenant purchaser households is cleaning, kitchen or bar work. In contrast, a major shift from working to intermediate and service class occupations is evident on resale. Part-time work undertaken by OMPs was predominantly non-manual and clerical in nature. The nature of the part-time jobs held by dual earner households of this type in each group suggests these posts are used to supplement the principal household income, which was solely derived from the male partner in the case of all tenant purchasers. The short duration of time that part-time posts were held by tenant-purchasers when applying to purchase their dwelling from the local authority may reflect the transient nature of such work. However, such work may have been taken in order to enable or assist in house purchase under the Right To Buy.

In contrast full-time employment was held by both partners in dual career households as summarized in table 7.16.

Percentage of workers in each class - each group sub-divided by sex, (columns to be read vertically).									
Class	Stayers			Movers			Open market purchasers		
	FEMALE	MALE	ALL	FEMALE	MALE	ALL	FEMALE	MALE	ALL
Service	17	2	9	3	14	9	32	27	30
Inter - mediate	46	40	43	52	31	40	45	38	41
Working	37	58	48	45	55	51	23	35	29

Table 7.16., The Class Structure of Dual Career Households.

Greater uniformity is evident in the class structure of the two tenant purchaser groups when compared to the previous type of dual earner household. Stayer households held a marginally higher proportion of higher status jobs. However, as table 7.16 reveals, the social class structure of stayer households with dual careers does not translate into higher mean income levels.

Mean household income at the time of purchase of former council dwelling - expressed as a percentage of the average earnings index		
Household type	STAYER	MOVER
Dual earner households with one part-time worker	98	97
Dual career households - both in full-time employment	111	115

* Average earnings index constructed by Hamnett, Harmer and Williams (1991), Table 2.1. Average earnings index gives the average household income for each year 1956 - 1989.

Table 7.17., Income Levels of Dual Earner Households Compared to the Average Earnings Index.

Comparison of the income levels of dual earner households in both groups when compared to the income of single-earner households (the vast majority in both groups) substantiates Hardill et al.'s assertion (quoted above) that such households constitute a "privileged group" deserving of attention.

Effectively no difference exists between the income of mover and stayer dual-earner households where one partner is engaged in part-time employment (table 7.17). However, it is interesting to observe that the function of part-time employment in such tenant-purchaser households is to offset the relatively poor income levels evident in respect of tenant-purchasers as a whole (table 7.08.) and bring them in line with the national average household income level.

Significantly, the foregoing tables reveal that in the case of dual-earner tenant-purchaser households, a higher proportion of mover households are dual-career households with (marginally) higher mean income levels. In addition, a greater proportion of dual-earner stayer households are not dual-career households but are composed of one partner engaged in low status part-time employment. Amongst these tenant-purchaser households with one partner in part-time employment, mover households hold higher status part-time posts (table 7.15). The occupational status of dual-career stayer households reveals a greater proportion of higher status employment when compared to similar mover households. This may be a key area of difference between the groups with direct relation to the likelihood of the household relocating. Such reasoning follows work by Savage (1988) and Green (1995), linking career structures to spatial mobility. As Green (1995) asserts in the case of dual career households, the decision to relocate is potentially more complicated with one partner having to lead and the other follow. This begs the question,

"does one partner have to compromise more than the other, and if so, which and why?"

(Green, 1995:2).

In the case of stayer households, both the greater overall proportion of dual-earner households, together with the higher employment status of dual-career households (when compared to mover households), may be factors in explaining the failure of these households to relocate.

The findings presented in the last two sections suggest that, when comparing the employment status and household income of each group, differences exist between both tenant purchasers groups. These differences stem from the different social characteristics of movers and stayers. The differences in employment status and income levels between those tenant purchasers which have relocated and those which have yet to make such a move offer an insight into

the links between social characteristics and migration propensities. The subtleness of the differences between the tenant purchaser groupings is, perhaps, not surprising given the short duration of time which has elapsed since most properties were purchased under the Right To Buy.

In contrast, the magnitude of change on resale has been revealed. Open market purchasers, when taken as a whole, have markedly different social class characteristics based on employment status. Furthermore, a different household structure is evident with the vast majority of OMP households being dual career households.

Examination of dual earner households in each group, both before and after resale, has enabled a fuller understanding of the process of population turnover through the former council dwelling stock. Economic considerations facing each household rank as one of the foremost constraints on household relocation. Accordingly, analysis of dual earner households is useful in exploring the differences in the tenant groups masked by a straightforward comparison of the employment status and income levels characteristics of each group as a whole. Furthermore, in respect of OMPs, examination of these households was essential in attempting to assess household income levels in the absence of direct data (direct questions relating to income were avoided as being likely to prejudice completion of the interviews).

Sole reliance on differences in the occupational class of adults in each group is unsatisfactory in that such an approach fails to reveal the type of employment held by member households. An indication of the nature of work undertaken by workers in each group is provided by table 7.18 which summarizes the varying proportions of workers engaged in some of the most common types of occupation.

Percentage of workers in each occupation.			
Occupation	Stayers	Movers	open market purchasers
Administrative clerk	12	8	6
Manual production line worker	24	22	4
Building/construction worker	11	6	5
Driver	15	10	4
Shop workers	5	3	2
Packers	11	3	0
Cleaners	14	2	0
Supervisors and managers	2	4	14
Sales representatives	1	0	3
Police/teachers/nurses	2	0	8
Secretarial	1	0.5	4

* Percentages based on the following numbers of workers in each group where full job title known: Stayers 184, Movers 226, and Open Market Purchasers 297. Table shows only selected occupations therefore percentages do not total 100%.

Table 7.18., Proportion of Workers in Selected Occupations.

The breakdown of employment type reveals higher overall proportions of stayer households to be engaged in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, eg. cleaning work and packing (together 25 percent of all employment) when compared to the other groups. Indeed, reference to the first-listed occupations (table 7.18) reveals a general 'filtering-out' of these occupations as one moves from stayers to movers, and on to OMPs.

Amongst tenant-purchaser households as a whole, production-line work, manual building and construction jobs, and work as a drivers account for just under a half of all employment (48 percent).

A clear pattern which emerges across the groups is increasing heterogeneity of job types as one moves from the

stayer households through to mover households and on to OMPs.

7.26 Workplace Location

Bradley and Lowe are two of a number of writers highlighting the impact on, and options facing, the rural areas of Britain in the face of recent economic change and the creation of new spatial divisions of labour. The writers observe, that,

"massive upheavals in the national and international political economy are creating major changes in the economic systems, social relations and political balance of rural areas of Britain. Counterurbanization, the decentralisation of certain forms of economic activity and infrastructure ... are powerful forces effecting rural social change"

(Bradley and Lowe, 1984:1).

Central to the rural restructuring debate is the role of the state at all levels. Marsden et al.(1993) focus on an important area of state activity with the potential to transform rural areas:

"the planning system is seen to act as a key arena of struggle between competing interests, and its significance to the uneven emergence of a post-productivist countryside has been emphasized by indecision in central government over how far deregulation, as an ideological goal, should be pursued within the rural domain"

(Marsden et al.,1993:40).

Tensions between local and central government on the subject of rural employment have been evident for a number of years. The Association of District Councils, for example, in compiling its report "The Future For Rural Communities" asserted,

"... the need to create new and diversified employment and economic development opportunities is especially important..."

(A.D.C, 1991:5).

As a result of increasing debate over the future of the rural economy, one policy response at a variety of geographical scales has been to promote sustainable development, which has been defined as,

"development that the meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"

(W.C.E.D, 1987:46).

This notion is founded on the twin concerns of developing the rural economy and safeguarding the local environment (table 7.19). Such a goal is achievable because, central government policymakers assert,

" ... business location is increasingly a matter of choice rather than necessity..."

(DoE/MAFF,1995:11).

Spatial resolution	Outline policy on the rural economy
National (England)	<u>Sustainable development</u> , a call for economic development which involves ... "managing the countryside in ways that meet current needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet theirs..." this includes, "improving the viability of existing villages and market towns by promoting opportunities for both housing and employment, thereby discouraging increased commuting by car to urban centres". (DoE/MAFF,1995:9-10).
Regional (East Midlands)	"Growth consistent with objectives of <u>sustainable development</u> ", to be achieved by... "re-use of derelict land", "concentration of development in and around urban areas to reduce the need for greenfield sites", "a better relationship between home and workplace with improved public transport", "diversification of the rural economy". (DoE, 1994 - emphasis added).
Local (South Northamptonshire)	Main objective[s] ... "to ensure that development and growth are <u>sustainable</u> ...", "achieve an acceptable balance between the level and rate of development and the need to protect the natural and built environment and conserve the particular character of the District...", "provide a range of employment opportunities and enhance the prosperity of the local economy...", "ensure that all development is socially, environmentally and aesthetically acceptable...", "provide for the long term social and economic vitality of local communities ...". (South Northamptonshire Council, 1993, para 1.5, proposals: iii, v, vi, vii, ix).

Table 7.19., Policy Responses Promoting 'Sustainable Development' in the Countryside.

However, given the (geographically) disparate nature of the East Midlands region, the influence of adjoining regions is a powerful influence on the employment patterns of the district under study. A great deal of uncertainty still exists over the links between in-migration into rural areas and rural employment. In the course of analysing the changing the work patterns of residents in former local authority dwellings it should be possible to determine whether sustainable development is a reality or whether

resales are supporting the rise of commuterdom.

Percentage of working adults in each group*				
Location of workplace *	Stayers	Movers	All tenant-purchasers	Open market purchasers
Local villages	38	31	35	31
Adjoining town	51	59	54	51
Beyond	11	10	11	18

* Based on 232, 115 and 258 individuals in mover, stayer and OMP households respectively.

* Workplace location categories: Local Village - all villages within South Northamptonshire or within ten miles of the resold dwelling. Adjoining Town - in one of the towns adjoining the district; Northampton, Banbury, Milton Keynes, Towcester, Brackley and Buckingham. Further Afield - beyond the foregoing categories.

Table 7.20., Workplace Location.

Overall, the majority of tenant-purchasers, whether movers or stayers, worked in the towns surrounding the rural parishes under study (table 7.20.). Just over a third worked in the local villages of the District, with a minority of approximately 10 percent commuting beyond the foregoing locations.

The main difference between the two tenant-purchaser groups lies in the increased proportion of adults in mover households working in the towns adjoining the District. Nearly all of the shift between workplace categories occurs as a result of a decrease in the proportion of those working in local villages.

On resale, the greatest proportional change over the pre-existing situation is the increase in those working farthest from home. The majority of this shift (57 percent) results from a decrease in employment in the local villages, although a significant decrease in employment in local towns is also evident.

Workplace location: Percentage all adults in employment working at each location. (Non-discrete categories)			
Location	Stayers	Movers	Open Market Purchasers
Banbury	7	10	11
Brackley	1	3	2
Buckingham	0	1	2
Daventry	2	2	1
London	1	0	5
Milton Keynes	2	3	10
Northampton	24	32	27
Road	9	6	2
Towcester	6	9	2
Wolverton	5	6	1
South-East England *	12.9	18.3	32.6
Working From Home	n/k	n/k	4
Mobile	n/k	n/k	14
Same Village	13	10	4
Adjoining Parish	2	8	4

* Based on 258, 287 and 115 adults in OMP, stayer and mover households respectively. * Standard Economic Planning Region

Table 7.21., A Detailed Breakdown of the Workplace Location of each Purchaser Group.

The importance of certain settlements to the employment of each group is revealed in table 7.21. Amongst both groups of tenant-purchasers the relatively high proportion of workers based in the villages of Road and Wolverton results from one large employer in each settlement (Piano Forte Manufacturing Co Ltd. and British Rail Maintenance Depot, respectively).

A greater proportion of tenant-purchasers were employed in the small market town of Towcester in the heart of the rural district compared to OMPs. Weaker employment connections are evident between the majority of local settlements on resale. Northampton is the exception to this rule with between a quarter and one-third of workers in

each group working in the county town, both before and after resale.

Another principal change in employment patterns following resale is the increase in the proportion of workers commuting to Milton Keynes. Such an increase may reflect the predominance of non-manual service sector jobs in this New Town. The number of workers employed in their home village, post-resale, is under half of previous levels. The significant proportion of mobile workers (those in occupations mainly concerned with travelling to different premises to conduct their business, rather than working at a fixed base, for example sales representatives) following resale is likely to mark another discontinuity with previous trends, though the nature of the data available in respect of tenant-purchasers prevents a direct comparison.

The proportion of each resident group working in the adjoining South East England (SERPLAN) region reveals an interesting pattern. Fewer stayer households (12.9 percent) were employed in this region compared to movers (18.3 percent). However, it is on resale that the major change occurs, with a near doubling of the proportion of those working in the South East region - totalling almost a third of employed OMP adults (32.6 percent).

Data from the Special Workplace Statistics (OPCS, 1995) relating to the 1991 Census support the notion of a trend of industrial decentralization with a consequent impact on the patterns of commuting when the South East Region is compared to other regions of Britain.

"Distinguishing the county data sets by metropolitan status shows that apart from London, the metropolitan counties are associated with lower average distance travelled and a lower change over 1981-91 than for GB as a whole. This supports an employment counterurbanization explanation for commuting changes. As employment has shifted from the conurbations to the smaller free-standing towns of the UK, households have relocated to new residences on the outskirts of such areas and utilised car-borne transport to work. This movement has therefore been associated in recent

times with commuting distance increases linked indirectly to employment relocation from urban areas, rather than in direct suburbanisation of the residential base with stable workplaces"

(Cambridge Econometrics, 1995:43).

The relatively high proportion of workers in OMP households commuting to a workplace outside the District, particularly to a workplace located in the South East, would appear to be part of this shift in commuting patterns linked to evolving spatial divisions of labour. Resales can be seen as having contributed to the changing patterns affecting Northamptonshire as a whole (table 7.22).

County	Males				Females			
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.
	'91 >20 km	'91 >30 km	'91 mean (km)	'81- '91 change (km)	'91 >20 km	'91 >30 km	'91 mean (km)	'81 - '91 change (km)
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	13.2	7.7	9.5	+2.1	4.7	2.0	5.6	+0.4
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	10.2	5.2	8.8	+1.2	4.7	2.0	5.9	+0.4
DERBYSHIRE	9.2	4.8	8.3	+1.3	3.8	1.5	5.2	+0.5
LEICESTERSHIRE	11.6	6.4	9.0	+1.5	5.3	2.7	6.0	+0.5
LINCOLNSHIRE	12.3	6.4	8.5	+1.2	6.1	2.7	6.1	+0.4

Source: OPCS, 1991.

KEY: Columns a, b, e & f - Percentage of working adults, Columns c, d, g, & h - distance in km.

Table 7.22., Changing Distance to Work Patterns: Northamptonshire in a Regional Context 1981-91.

Thus, a general trend emerges from the data, that of weakening employment ties to the home area as one moves from stayer households through to movers and on to open market purchasers, a trend reflected in the wider population. A clear relationship exists between this change and the shift towards higher status employment between each group. The exact nature of this relationship is revealed in table 7.23.

Employment status of workers by workplace location.						
Percentage of all workers in category <u>a</u> , <u>b</u> or <u>c</u> in each social - class.						
	STAYERS			MOVERS		
workplace location	working	inter'	service	working	inter'	service
<u>a</u> . Local villages	71	26	3	53	42	5
<u>b</u> . Adjoining towns	55	37	8	56	41	3
<u>c</u> . Further afield	67	22	11	41	41	18

Table 7.23., Employment Status of Tenant-Purchasers: Class Structure According to Workplace Location.

For the two tenant-purchaser groups the general trend is of increasing proportions of higher status employment in the locational categories furthest from the place of residence. The main difference between the tenant groups is the larger proportional drop in working class employment with increasing distance to the workplace amongst mover households. From this evidence it may be argued that the difference in employment status and income between the two groups may be explained by mover households commuting further afield for higher status jobs not widely available in the home area.

Employment status of workers by workplace location. Percentage of all workers in category <u>a</u> , <u>b</u> or <u>c</u> in each social - class.						
workplace location	All tenant-purchasers			Open market purchasers		
	working	inter'	service	working	inter'	service
<u>a</u> . Local villages	65	31	4	34	42	23
<u>b</u> . Adjoining towns	56	38	6	28	41	31
<u>c</u> . Further afield	59	28	13	19	41	40

Table 7.24., Employment Status of Tenant-purchasers and Open Market Purchasers: Class Structure According to Workplace Location.

The aggregate data for all tenant-purchasers covered by this study show a clear pattern of increasing proportions of service class employment with distance to the workplace (table 7.24). A sizeable fall (9 percent) in the proportion of working class jobs is also evident between the two locational categories closest to the home. In contrast, the change between locational categories in respect of OMPs shows a near doubling of service class status jobs with increasing distance, and a fall of approximately one-third in working class employment.

These patterns are consistent with other recent findings covering rural districts of a similar nature to that currently under study. For example in the case of Lewis and Sherwood's research in East Northamptonshire (Lewis and Sherwood, 1992) 86 percent of respondents worked in the rural locality of their homes (42 percent) or in the neighbouring small towns and cities (44 percent), compared to 82 percent in the case of open market purchasers in the present study. However, such consistency of findings between the studies at an aggregate level masks the lower proportion of OMPs employed in the immediate rural locality

of their home (31 compared to 42 percent), and may be in part explained by the relative accessibility of South Northamptonshire.

Reference to the sectoral changes affecting the District during the period under study reveal patterns similar to those exhibited by the various purchaser groups (table 7.25).

Amongst the wider working population a clear trend is evident with greater proportions of higher status work undertaken outside the District. Such data also reveals ongoing social change during 1981-91, with an increase in the proportion of persons employed in higher status socio-economic groups.

These patterns of change are directly related to the sectoral change affecting the employment structure of the District, characterised by a decline in the local manufacturing and construction industries and large increases in those working in service industries which are predominantly located outside the District (table 7.26).

S.E.G	1981		1991		Change 1981 - 91	
	ALL - No. persons [% all persons]	% of persons in each S.E.G working outside district	ALL - No. persons [% all persons]	% of persons in each S.E.G working outside District	% all persons	% of persons in each S.E.G working outside district
1, 2	427 [14.5]	67.2	718 [20.5]	66.4	+6	-0.8
3, 4	135 [4.6]	70.4	185 [5.3]	75.6	+0.7	+5.2
5	280 [9.5]	67.5	430 [12.3]	66.7	+2.8	-0.8
6	582 [19.7]	65.1	638 [18.2]	66.0	-1.5	+0.9
8, 9, 12	697 [23.6]	51.8	749 [21.3]	45.0	-2.3	-6.8
7, 10	432 [14.6]	40.7	408 [11.6]	47.0	-3	+6.3
11	135 [4.6]	37.0	160 [4.6]	33.1	0	-3.9
13, 14, 15	153 [5.2]	9.8	128 [3.6]	41.4	-1.6	+31.6
16, 17	110 [3.7]	57.3	92 [2.6]	1.2	-1.1	-56.1
Total	2951 [100]	54.6	3508 [100]	54.7	-	+0.1

Source: OPCS, 1981, 1991.

KEY TO S.E.G.s: 1 & 2 - Employers and Managers, 3 & 4 - Professional workers, 5 - intermediate non-manual workers, 6 - Junior non-manual workers, 8, 9 & 12 - Manual workers (foremen, supervisors, skilled and own account), 7 & 10 - Personal service and semi-skilled manual workers, 11 - Unskilled manual workers, 13, 14 & 15 - Farmers and agricultural workers, 16 & 17 - Members of the armed forces/inadequately described or not stated occupations.

Table 7.25., Change in Proportion of Employed Adults Working Outside District of Residence: South Northamptonshire 1981-91 by Socio-Economic Group (S.E.G.).

Standard Industrial Classification	1981		1991		Change 1981-91 %
	No. persons	%	No. persons	%	
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	131	7.1	141	4.0	-3.1
Energy and water	22	1.2	29	0.8	-0.5
Manufacturing	613	33.4	783	22.5	-10.9
Construction	232	12.6	287	8.3	-4.3
Distribution & catering	292	15.9	689	19.9	+4.0
Transport & communication	116	6.3	191	5.5	-0.8
Other service	430	23.4	1358	39.0	+15.6
Totals	1,836	100	3,478	100	-

Source: OPCS, 1981, 1991.

Table 7.26., Sectoral Employment Change in South Northamptonshire 1981-91 by S.I.C grouping.

In summary, the different migration tendencies of the groups under study have been shown to be linked inseparably to employment status and income. The spatial variations in workplace location between the groups may be seen as a key reflection of the contrasting social characteristics of the groups. They also reflect the 'new' spatial division of labour between the South East and adjoining locations such as South Northamptonshire, involving "inter-regional migration of managers and professionals ... de-industrialization of cities [and] net migration loss in [the] South East [region]" (Fielding, 1996:89). These changing employment patterns appear to involve residents in former council dwellings immediately prior to, but principally following, resale. Larger proportions of mover and OMP households had workers travelling further afield to higher status non-manual work than was the case for stayer households. This may also be seen as the result of changing spatial division of labour affecting the East Midlands area as a whole causing a reduction in certain classes of employment opportunities closest to the District under study. The great increase in commuting following resale

marks a key difference in the character and behaviour of this migrant group. Initial evidence from these work patterns suggests that the long term impact of rural council house sales may be to undermine notions of sustainable local development.

7.27 Employment Duration

Mean duration of employment - years	Stayers	Movers	Open market purchasers
	10.06	7.37	7.18

Table 7.27., Mean Duration of Employment.

Stayer households tended to have a longer history of employment in the post held at the time of applying to purchase their home under the (1980) Housing Act when compared to mover households (table 7.27). Such a trend is consistent with the older age structure of this group. Open market purchasers have a similar mean duration value to mover households reflecting the younger age structure of these groups.

Such patterns reflect the mobility levels of each migrant group. Accordingly, the failure of stayer households to relocate can be linked to the extensive period most posts were held by workers in this group. Such long service must be related both to the age of the adults concerned, and the relatively high proportion of such jobs held in the local area. Taken together, a picture emerges in respect of these workers of a sizeable fraction in the pre-retirement ageband (49 percent of workers aged 45-64 years), employed within the rural locality of their homes (89 percent) and engaged in routine manual employment (63 percent). Given these characteristics it is likely that such stayer households are greatly constrained by their labour market position, thereby accounting for a failure to relocate.

Employer: Piano Forte Supplies Co. Ltd., Manufacturing company.
Location: Roade, South Northamptonshire.

Workplace for 27 workers, (9% all workers in 'stayer'
- households group).

13 households with one adult employed by the company.
7 households with both adults employed by the company.

Location of household homes: Ashton (2), Blisworth (1),
Hartwell (1), Roade (15), Tiffield (1).

Mean adult age: Male 44.5 years, Female 45 years.

Job Titles:

Female employees: (9 in total).

Accounts clerk (1), Factory Worker (1), Injection Moulder (2),
Training Officer (1). Three are part-time employees.

Male employees: (20 in total).

Toolmaker (3), Toolmaker chargehand (3), Toolroom hardner (1),
Injection moulder (1), Engineer (1), Construction worker (1),
Driver (1), Press operator (1), Safety Officer (1),
Saw operator (1), Production worker (1), Spotwelder (1),
Security officer (1), Administration clerk (1). All are full time
- employees.

Occupational Class	FEMALE		MALE	
	No.	%	No.	%
Service	1	11	0	4
Intermediate	2	22	5	26
Working	6	67	13	70
ALL	9	100	18	100

Mean employment duration: of all tenant-purchaser employees
listed above = 17 years.

Figure 7.03., Employment Profile: Tenant
- Purchasers - 'Stayers'.

Household Profile 1: 'Dinkies' - Dual income no children.

Location of home: Greens Norton.
Purchased resold dwelling: 1993.

Occupation Male: Area road safety manager
Social Class: 'service' (II).

Occupation Female: Office manager
Social Class: 'service' (II).

Workplace location - male: Northampton.
Workplace location - female: Blisworth.

Ageband male: 20-24 years
Ageband female: 25 - 44 years

Household Profile 2: Dual income with children.

Location of home: Middleton Cheney
Purchased resold property: 1989.

Occupation male: Manager chicken-producing company
Social Class: 'service' (II).

Occupation female: Personal assistant
Social Class: Intermediate (IIIb).

Workplace location - male: Brackley.
Workplace location - female: Brackley.

Ageband male: 25 - 44 years.
Ageband female: 25 - 44 years.
No. of children: 3
Agebands of children: 18-19 (2), 20-24 (1).

Figure 7.04., Employment Profile: Open
Market Purchasers.

Following the analysis of employment status and duration, occupation, income, and workplace location in respect of the migrant groups as a whole, these variables can be usefully combined to present a profile of 'typical' employment in respect of each group (figs 7.03 and 7.04).

7.3 Housing Histories

The term housing history refers to the path of individuals and households as they progress through the housing market (and as such must be distinguished from the approach adopted by some studies which have examined dwelling histories involving the history of occupancy of a given set of dwellings, for example Forrest and Murie, 1992). Ideally individuals' or households' housing histories include details of previous tenures, household location, and reasons for purchasing and leaving given properties. As an analytical device such a perspective is of particular use in linking social characteristics to migratory patterns, and has been used in a number of recent housing-based studies (for example, Forrest and Murie, 1987; Mooney, 1994).

In outlining the case for such an approach to understanding the movement of households through the housing market Forrest and Murie (1987) note,

"[there is] a need to move beyond the conventional approaches to housing market differentiation and develop more processual, sociologically based accounts of housing profiles..."

(Forrest and Murie, 1987:358).

Earlier research has used such a technique for assessing the movement of those on lower incomes through the private and state-rented sectors of the market (Karn et al., 1985). In contrast Forrest and Murie (1987) have explored the movement of relatively affluent households through the owner-occupied market.

The following analysis will develop a biographical approach to the path taken into the former local authority sector by OMP households. The 'path' through the housing market will be defined by tenure and trajectory; the latter refers to whether households are trading-up or down on moving to a new home and is based on the difference in price between old and new dwellings (Forrest and Murie, 1987). Housing market 'paths' will be subsequently related to a broad range of social variables corresponding to the household unit.

Local authority housing records provide details of the route into dwellings purchased under the RTB taken by both movers and stayers. From these records it is possible to estimate the proportion of households for whom the dwelling purchased under the RTB was the first home⁵, and also the proportion that had previously resided outside the state-rented sector.

⁵ Proportion of households for whom the former council dwelling was the first household home. Figures for tenant-purchasers represent estimates calculated as follows: the duration of the tenancy in the purchased property is subtracted from the age of the tenant at the time of purchase. The resulting figure gives the age at which the tenant purchaser took over the tenancy of the purchased property. Proportion of tenant-purchasers taking over tenancies aged 20 years or younger is taken as the fraction of those for whom the property is the first home. This is on the basis that they are unlikely to have previously been established as a household unit at such a young age. Alternatively, percentages for movers and stayers based on taking over tenancy at 16 years and below produces estimates 19 and 5% respectively.

7.31 Previous tenures

	Stayers	Movers	Open market purchasers
% households for whom ex-council dwelling was the first home	7	34	27
% households with previous local authority tenancies (prior to "resold" dwelling)	29	41	6

Table 7.28., Housing Histories.

Such estimates reveal that almost two-thirds of stayer households (63 percent) had previously resided in other tenures, compared to only a quarter of mover households (table 7.28). Accordingly, a higher proportion of movers held previous local authority tenancies compared to stayers (+12 percent, at 41 percent). Furthermore, the dwelling ultimately purchased under the RTB was the first-home of over a third of mover households (34 percent), compared to only seven percent of stayers.

In contrast to previous occupants of resold former council dwellings, very few OMPs had themselves resided in state-rented housing (6 percent of households), although just over a quarter of households (26 percent) had an immediate family relative who had resided in the state-rented sector at some time in their lives. Examination of the housing histories of OMPs reveals a variety of tenure backgrounds (table 7.29.).

A	B	C	D	
<u>Tenure Category</u>	Tenure of previous homes	Percentage of households established prior to living in the home described in column B (ie. those with a prior to last home).	Tenure of prior-to-last home (ie. breakdown of column C.) % households.	
			Tenure (<u>column A</u>)	%
<u>Owned outright</u> <u>a</u>	7	1	<u>a</u>	50
			<u>c</u>	50
<u>Mortgaged</u> <u>b</u>	62	11	<u>b</u>	81
			<u>c</u>	14
			<u>d</u>	5
<u>Private rented</u> <u>c</u>	25	5	<u>b</u>	20
			<u>c</u>	60
			<u>d</u>	10
			<u>e</u>	10
<u>Housing Association</u> <u>d</u>	1	0	-	-
<u>State-rented</u> <u>e</u>	5	0	-	-

All percentage values. Columns B. & C. % of all 137 previously established households interviewed. Column D. % of 33 households with prior-to-last home by tenure.

* Housing histories cover the parental home of each adult up to the time of 'leaving home', together with all household moves 1984-94.

Table 7.29., Tenure Routes Into Resold Dwellings, Tenure of Previous Homes of Open Market Purchasers of Resold Dwellings.

The transfer from the private-rented sector to owner-occupation (outright ownership or mortgaged) was the most common tenure transition evident from the housing histories of OMP households, involving just over a quarter of established OMP households (26.3 percent, - table 7.29).

The last-home-tenure (prior to purchasing the resold dwelling) of established OMP households reveals that over two-thirds (69 percent) moved from within the owner-occupied sector. A sizeable minority, comprising a quarter of established households, moved from private-rented accommodation.

7.32 Housing Market Trajectories

Analysis of previous dwelling tenure presents only a partial picture of the housing histories of established OMPs. Thus, OMP households will be split into three groups based on the sale price of their previous home and the purchase price of the resold council dwelling - viz. their housing market trajectory. This information will be used to identify those households trading-down (ie. ex-council home cheaper than last home), those trading-within-the-same-priceband (interviewees were asked to give dwelling prices by reference to pricebands ranging from £30,000 to £100,000 in £10,000 increments), and those trading-up (ie. ex-council home more expensive than last home). In addition, the position of those households for whom the resold property is the first home (as a household unit) will be considered (thus these households may contain members who had previously resided elsewhere as part of another household, for example divorcees).

Same priceband	Traders-up	Traders-down	First home
18	40	15	27

Table 7.30, Contrasting Routes Into Resold Council Housing: Percentage of Open Market Purchaser Households in Each Category.

The majority of purchasers of former council properties (40 percent) were 'trading-up' in the property market. For almost one-in-five purchaser households the resold property was approximately the same price as the preceding home. In

<p><u>A 'stayer' household resident in Silverstone.</u></p> <p>Purchased dwelling under the RTB in may 1985.</p> <p>Male age: 29 years. Female age: n/k Children: n/k.</p> <p>Previous housing details: Male had taken over tenancy from parents, 29 years of tenancy accredited to tenant. In addition his partner had 4 years of previous local authority tenancy in County Durham.</p> <p>Employment Status:</p> <p>Male: Electronics test technician, based in Towcester income £8,500 p.a.</p> <p>Female: No paid employment.</p> <p>Details of dwelling: 36% discount on dwelling given, net cost £13,600. Purchased with local authority mortgage.</p> <p>4 bedroom terraced house built in 1946.</p>	<p><u>A 'mover' household resident in Brafield-on-the-Green.</u></p> <p>Purchased dwelling under RTB in October, 1981.</p> <p>Male age: 45 years Female age: 43 years Child(ren): One child aged 15 years.</p> <p>Previous housing details: Duration of tenancy at time of purchase under RTB was 6 years. Household held a previous tenancy in South Northamptonshire for 6 years. No previous tenancies outside S. Northamptonshire.</p> <p>Employment Status:</p> <p>Male: Operative in fermenting department of local brewery in Northampton. Employed in post for 18 months, income £5,720 p.a.</p> <p>Female: Production worker in rubber factory in Great Billing (local). Full time. Employed in post for 1 year. Income £3,120 p.a.</p> <p>Details of dwelling: 3 bedroomed semi-detached house built in 1953. Net cost £5,250 - purchased with local authority mortgage.</p>
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Figure 7.05., Housing Histories of Tenant-Purchaser Households.

<p><u>A household 'trading-down' - resident in Hartwell.</u></p> <p>Purchased resold dwelling in 1987.</p> <p>Male age: 45 - 49 years. Female age: 25 - 44 years. Child(ren): None.</p> <p>Previous housing details: Male: Born in Birmingham, moved to Northampton by the time he left home. Female: Born in Wolverton, had moved to Denton (local village) by the time she left home. Household: Last home in Denton - owned outright, residence there 25 years. Left to move to their retirement home. Last home sold for between £80,000 and £89,999. Dwelling selected on quality and character of the neighbourhood.</p> <p>Employment Status: Male: Ex-master butcher, self-employed. Female: Ex-shop assistant.</p> <p>Dwelling type: Terraced House, 2 bedrooms, built 1938.</p>	<p><u>A household 'trading-up' - resident in Aynho.</u></p> <p>Purchased resold dwelling in 1991.</p> <p>Male age: 25 - 44 years Female age: 25 - 44 years. Child(ren): 1 aged 5 - 9 years, 1 aged 10 - 14 years.</p> <p>Previous housing details: Male: Born in Liverpool. Female: Born in Berkshire. No change in family home location by the time both 'left home'. Previous-to-last-home located in Barrow-in-Furness, Cumbria, - owner-occupied, resident there for 11 years 1978 - 89, left in order to have more suitable home to raise children and "to make an investment" - house 'needed work on it'. Last home sold for between £40,000 and £49,999, resale purchased for between £50,000 and £59,999.</p> <p>Employment status: Female: Teacher Male: Headteacher.</p> <p>Dwelling type: 4 bedroomed terraced house built in 1954.</p>
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Figure 7.06., Housing Histories of two OMP households: one 'trading-up' the other 'trading-down' on purchasing a resold local authority dwelling.

A household trading 'within-the-same-priceband'
resident in Roade.

Purchased resold dwelling in 1993.

Male age: 25-44 years.

Female age: 25-44 years.

Child(ren): None.

Previous Housing details:

Male: Born in Liverpool. Female: Born in Northampton. Both lived in the same locations on leaving the family home. Household: Previous-to-last home private rented in Colwyn Bay, Clwyd, Wales, resident for 9 months, moved following work. Last -home-location, Buckley, Clwyd, Wales, resident for 18 months, left following work, private-rented.

Employment status:

Male: Client Manager, British Standards Institute.

Female: Technical chemist.

Dwelling type:

4 bedroom semi-detached house built in 1938, extensively renovated 1963.

A 'first-time-buyer' household
Resident in Middleton Cheney.

Purchased resold dwelling in 1991.

Male Age: 25-44 years.

Female Age: 25-44 years.

Child(ren): 1 aged 0-4 years.

Previous housing details:

Male: Born in Salford, family moved to Malton, Yorks prior to his leaving home. Female born in Bridgewater, Somerset, no change of location prior to leaving home. Moved "following wife's job" and set-up first home together. Selected resold dwelling because it had "potential - for development and "to get on the property ladder". Other cited reason was the price of the resold dwelling (which had previously been repurchased from tenant-purchasers)

Employment Status:

Female: Teacher.

Male: Electronics teacher.

Dwelling type: 3 bedroom, semi-detached house built in 1975.

Figure 7.07., Housing histories of OMP households: 'trading-within-the-same-priceband' and purchasing the first household home.

a minority of cases (15 percent), those purchasing former council dwellings were 'trading-down' in the housing market. Despite the relative size of this latter group, the significance of those following such a trajectory through the housing market into resold properties should not be overlooked. If all established households purchasing resales are considered (ie. ignoring first-time-buyers) then those trading-down into such properties constitute one-in-five (20.4 percent) of purchasers. In revealing an alternative path into resold properties this group is particularly important in understanding the role of resold properties in the rural housing market. Lastly, those buying their first home comprised just over a quarter of purchasing households (27 percent).

7.33 Housing Histories: Case Studies

Examples of individual housing histories from each of the broad household types, as defined by their market trajectory, will now be considered. The case of tenant-purchasers - mover and stayer households (fig 7.05) reveals the strong connections between tenant-purchaser households and the local authority sector of the market. In contrast, the housing histories of OMP households show weak links with the state-rented sector (figs 7.06 and 7.07).

7.34 Housing Histories: Open Market Purchasers

Following examination of the individual housing histories, the nature of all OMP histories will now be considered.

Ageband	Same priceband	Traders-up	Traders-down	First home
16 - 24	5	4	2	5
25 - 44	75	74	76	74
45 - 59	11	14	17	12
60+	2	7	9	0
Not known	3	1	3	3

Table 7.31., Routes into Resold Council Dwellings: Age of All Adults in Each Purchaser Group.

The age structure of each group (table 7.31.) shows that a consistent majority of approximately three-quarters of each group were aged 25 - 44 years. Those trading-down were older than other purchasers and were more likely to be in (or have been in) higher status employment (table 7.32).

Class	Same priceband	Traders-up	Traders-down	First home
Service	28	30	33	31
Int'mediate	40	44	44	46
Working	32	26	22	23

Table 7.32, Routes into Resold Council Dwellings: Social Class Working Adults in Purchaser Groups.

These variables suggest a number of these households were therefore trading-down on moving to their retirement homes - as indicated both by higher employment status following career path progression, and greater age (such households were in a small minority amongst OMPs generally, section 7.10).

Same priceband	Traders-up	Traders-down	First home
82	70	61	84

Table 7.33., Routes into Resold Council Dwellings: Number of Dual Earner Households as a Percentage of All Adult Couples.

Moreover, a far lower proportion of dual-earner households were found amongst those trading-down into resold dwellings compared to other purchasers (61 percent, - table 7.33). Over three-quarters of both first-time buyer households (84 percent) and those purchasing within the same priceband (82 percent) had two earners, whereas just over a two-thirds (70 percent) of those trading-up were dual-earner households. Such patterns indicate that younger households were drawing on the employment of two members to either enter, or move horizontally in the owner-occupied market. A larger proportion of older, more established households with greater career progression were able to rely on just one income to move vertically in the market. The gains arising from house price inflation on the previous dwelling would also assist this group more than younger, newly established households, and therefore explain the lower incidence of dual-earners.

	Same priceband	Traders-up	Traders-down	First home
1 adult	15	15	32	16
2 adults	85	85	68	84

Table 7.34., Routes into Resold Council Dwellings: Number of Single Adult Households in Each Purchaser Group.

Approximately 15 percent of each group were single-adult households - with the exception of those trading-down which contained over double the mean number of single adult households (32 percent- table 7.34.). The majority of this latter group left their previous home following divorce or separation (64 percent).

No. children	Same priceband	Traders-up	Traders-down	First home
0	35	0	43	47
1	18	15	0	25
2	32	84	46	22
3+	15	1	11	6

Table 7.35., Routes into Resold Council Dwellings: Number of Children per Household in Each Purchaser Group.

Almost a half of first-time buyers households and those trading-down were childless (43 and 47 percent respectively), whereas all households trading-up had resident children.

Age of children	Same priceband	Traders-up	Traders-down	First home
0 - 4	26	25	22	53
5 - 9	30	35	27	19
10 - 14	28	30	24	6
15+	16	10	27	22

Table 7.36., Routes into Resold Council Dwellings: Age of Children per Household in Each Purchaser Group.

Double the number of children amongst first-time buyers were aged 0 - 4 years in contrast to the other purchaser groups. The presence of a considerable proportion of older children within the group of first-time buyers, with just under a third of all children within this group (28 percent) aged over ten years, suggests that a number of adults in first-time buyer households had previously been established in other household units.

Change	Same priceband	Traders-up	Traders-down	First home
-4	0	1	4	0
-3	3	0	0	2
-2	0	1	0	2
-1	7	4	22	2
0	66	58	47	57
+1	14	26	27	29
+2	7	10	0	4
+3	3	0	0	2
+4	0	0	0	0

Table 7.37., Routes into Resold Council Dwellings: Change in Household Size of Each Purchaser Group.

Following purchase, a larger proportion of those households trading-down experienced the loss of at least one member (table 7.37.) when compared to other groups. Over a quarter of such households (26 percent) experienced a reduction in membership, with death and divorce/separation being the greatest causes for such changes (table 7.38.).

Reason	Same priceband	Traders-up	Traders-down	First home
Death	0	0	29	0
Divorce/ Separation	22	8	14	14
Child left home	11	8	7	5
Birth	67	81	29	71
New partner	0	4	0	5
Lodger	0	0	14	5
Other	0	0	7	0

Table 7.38., Routes into Resold Council Dwellings: Reasons for Changing Household Size - Each Purchaser Group.

Those households trading-up, together with first-time buyers, were most likely to have experienced an increase in household size as a result of having additional children (table 7.38).

Tenure of previous home	Same priceband	Traders-up	Traders-down
(a) Owned outright	5	10	15
(b) Purchased with mortgage	95	90	85

Table 7.39., Routes into Resold Council Dwellings: Reasons for Changing Household Size - Each Purchaser Group.

Slightly higher numbers of households trading-down into resold properties had previously owned their home outright. Such a pattern raises the possibility that a number of these were retirees raising capital on the purchase of a relatively cheaper (resold) dwelling.

In sub-dividing purchaser households according to the respective routes taken into resold council properties, distinct social characteristics emerge in respect of the four groups. Such analysis serves to highlight the role of wider economic constraints in shaping the movement of households through the housing market. The foregoing summary was able to identify broad trends and identify the complex links between employment status, family wealth, age, household structure and progression through the housing market. Each served to highlight the role of a variety of factors in understanding the path taken through the housing market into resold dwellings by purchasing households.

7.4 Open Market Purchaser Households and the Life Cycle

Distinct profiles of the three principal groupings residing in former council dwellings have been defined in this chapter. Their contrasting social characteristics begin to inform an understanding of the role of former council housing in the recomposition of the rural population. Comparison of the groups has been by demographic, social, economic and household variables. As White and Woods (1982) assert,

"there is close correlation, but not a direct one, between migration and age; it may be suggested that the direct association is between migration and life cycle"

(White and Woods, 1980:14).

Accordingly, an attempt will be made to link the findings presented so far to evolving notions of migration and the life cycle, though lack of appropriate data restricts such analysis to open market purchaser households.

'Life cycle' is here used to denote the ...

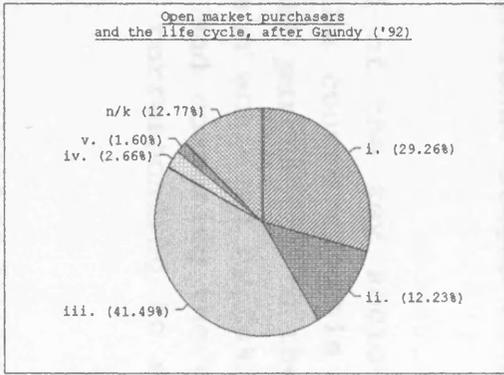
"process of growth, adulthood and old age which human beings experience, each stage being associated with various forms of social behaviour"

(Ogden, 1994:330).

The following investigation of successive migratory groups and the life cycle will involve examining the links between demographic events (such as birth, death and ageing) and household changes. This view stems from original work by Rossi (1955), re-examined by Kendig (1984), linking life cycle events with residential mobility. Household change refers to the changing composition of a household and the resultant variation in housing need. Housing need can be defined as the changing accommodation requirements of a household as it progresses in the life cycle.

Variables II - XIII as a proportion of all households in each respective ageband in column I, age of interviewed adult household member.

I Age of interviewed adult years	II No. of households in each ageband	III % first homes	IV % households with adult couples	V % households with resident children	VI Mean no. of children per household	VII Percentage of children in each ageband								VIII - XIII Percentage of households experiencing change in membership following purchase of resold dwelling for one of the listed reasons, i. - vi, below.					
						ageband (years)								(i). Any child born	(ii). First child born	(iii). Child left home	(iv). Separation / divorce	(v). New partner	(vi). Death
						0 - 4	5 - 9	10 - 14	15	16 - 17	18 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 44						
18 - 19	1	0	100	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
20 - 24	10	70	100	50	1.2	83	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	20	0	0	0	0
25 - 44	137	28	86	71	2.08	28	32	27	4	4	3	1	0	29	15	1	8	2	0
45 - 59	28	18	68	50	1.93	14	9	14	5	9	23	23	5	7	0	14	7	4	0
60 +	12	0	67	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	25



i.	Commencement - partnership/ marriage	55
ii.	Commencement - to first birth	28
iii.	Expansion phase - birth of subsequent children	88
iv.	Contraction phase - departure of adult children	5
v.	Dissolution - death of first spouse/ partner	3
vi.	Dissolution - death of final partner/ spouse	0
	Not known	9

Figure 7.08., Open Market Purchasers and the Life Cycle.

Typical of numerous life cycle models is that of Grundy, (1992). Building on earlier work by Rossi (1955) and Bongaarts (1983), Grundy (1992) describes six phases in the (family) life cycle.

- i. commencement - partnership/ marriage
- ii. commencement - to first birth
- iii. expansion phase - birth of subsequent children
- iv. contraction phase - departure of adult children
- v. dissolution - death of first spouse/partner
- vi. dissolution - death of final partner/ spouse

Life cycle stages after Grundy (1992:166).

Such a model, as the author notes, must not be seen as definitive, rigid or universal in application. Rather, such an outline represents the traditional stages in household development.

By cross-referencing a number of the key socio-economic variables considered during the course of this chapter, figure 7.08. relates open market purchasers to their stage in the life cycle. This has been achieved by taking adult age as the principal variable and comparing the number of households with a composition corresponding to each life cycle stage⁶.

⁶ Proportion in each life cycle stage calculated as follows:

(i). Commencement - partnership/marriage, calculated as all couples without children up to the age of 60 years. (Total 55 households).

(ii). Commencement - to first birth, calculated as all households with first child born in resold dwelling. (Total 23 households).

(iii). Expansion phase - birth of subsequent children, calculated as all households with more than one child and parents up to 44 years of age. (Total 78 households).

(iv). Contraction phase - departure of adult children, calculated as all households with child leaving home whilst resident in resold property. (Total 5 households).

(v). Dissolution death of the first spouse/partner. (Total 3

Such an approach reveals the vast majority of households to be in the first three stages of the life cycle (83 percent). Within these initial stages, the expansion phase, denoting the period when further children are born into the household unit, accounts for the position of the largest number of households (41 percent). Just under a third of households (29 percent) are in the first stage of the life cycle, namely the period between commencement as a couple and the birth of the first child.

The later phases of the life cycle (iv. and v.) are under-represented, comprising only 8 percent of households. It is likely that the number of households in stage iv. of the cycle - the contraction phase - departure of adult children - will expand from the existing modest proportion of 5 percent of all households, to 11 percent in the near future. Such a prediction is based on the age structure of resident children for those adults aged 25 - 59 years (figure 7.08) which reveals sixteen households have resident children aged 16+ years of age⁷.

Such use of the life cycle model is clearly restricted by the nature and availability of the data covering the households under study as can be seen by the proportion of households which, on the basis of the evidence available, did not fit into any of the life cycle stages ('not known', 13 percent). Use of the model requires the making of assumptions based on the existing composition of the household and the age of its members. The above prediction of the likely increase in the number of households entering stage iv. is a case in point. In this case one may only

households).

Not known: 24 households to not conform to one of the above criteria.

⁷ Ageband 25 - 44 years, 97 households with children, 8% of which have resident children aged 16+ years = 8 households

Ageband 45 - 59 years, 14 households with children, 60% of which have resident children aged 16+ years = 8 households.

refer to the likelihood of resident children aged 16+ years leaving home given that this is a common pattern of behaviour; however it does not take into account the continued residence of adult children in the parental home. In this respect the model is inflexible. A further example highlights the point. In respect of stage iii. - expansion phase - birth of subsequent children, for the present purposes all households with more than one child where the parents were under the age of forty-four years were the defining criteria for inclusion into this group. Firstly the upper age limit was based on notions of fecundity and constrained by the use of OPCS agebands in gathering the data. In adopting this approach households with contrasting circumstances are all placed within the same category; for example households which had two children before the parents were aged twenty and have not had any further children for over twenty years will be included with parents in their mid-thirties to early forties with very young children.

A further problem with adopting a life cycle perspective is its failure to account for all changes in household composition or 'household transitions' (Warnes, 1992). The main change affecting household composition not accounted for in the life cycle model is divorce or separation. This has affected 10 percent of all households following purchase. The majority of these have been affected by a loss of members following divorce or separation (8 percent), with 2 percent of households gaining new adult members who cited divorce or separation as the reason for leaving their last home.

Despite these limitations the merits of the model outweigh such disadvantages. Foremost of these benefits is that in attempting to reconcile movement of households through the housing market with stages in the life cycle, combined account is taken of several social characteristics, rather than sole focus on one variable such as the proportion of households with children, or adults of a given age. The

need for general refinement of the technique in understanding movement of households through the housing market is undeniable. However, its use here has assisted in highlighting the social characteristics of the most recent occupants of the former council dwellings under study.

Accordingly, the overwhelming majority of OMPs are under forty-four years of age and involved in the initial stages of household formation - partnership - or in raising a family. In contrast, very few such households are in the later stages of the life cycle concerned with the departure of adult children or the beginning of household dissolution itself.

7.5 Social Recomposition in Former Local Authority Housing

Reference to a wide variety of socio-economic indicators in the course of the foregoing analysis has shown how reallocation of former local authority dwellings by market forces has resulted in the social recomposition of this expanding sector of the housing market. In order to assess the impact of these trends on the district under study it is necessary to contextualise by relating household turnover in these dwellings to wider patterns of social change affecting the rural population as a whole. This approach will enable the resale process to be assessed in the light of recent debate on gentrification in the rural housing market.

The resale of local authority dwellings did not occur in isolation, but formed part of the widespread ongoing social change affecting the wider population of rural England and beyond in the period under study (Hamnett *et al.*, 1989). Indeed, these years were notable for the pace and extent of social change, this in turn may be linked to economic processes and government policies:

"the 1980s have been a decade of uneven developments and widening differentials in Britain ... the three terms of Conservative governments presided over by Margaret Thatcher have witnessed growing social and spatial divisions in the country. Economic restructuring and the growth of a service-based economy has led to a labour force that is increasingly divided between a core of well-paid highly qualified workers with secure employment prospects and an expanding periphery of low-paid, often part-time and casualized workers with little or no job security"

(McDowell, 1992:355).

Hutton is more forthright on the changes characterising the period:

"... fifteen years of redesigning the tax and benefit system so that it conforms to such principles [laissez-faire economics] has not borne impressive fruit. Britain has certainly become a more unequal society than it was in 1979 ... the collapse of social cohesion that comes when the market is allowed to rip through society has produced a fall in the growth rate; marginalization, deprivation and exclusion have proved economically irrational"

(Hutton, 1995:175)

Whilst rapid social change has affected the whole of the country (table 7.47), it is in the countryside that such change has been particularly evident (Cloke, 1992, 1993, Cloke et al., 1995).

Socio-economic indicator	1981	1991	change
Real household disposable income per head *	70	80	+10%
One person households under pensionable age	8	11	+3%
One person households over pensionable age	14	16	+2%
Lone parent families with dependent children	5	6	+1%
Percentage of wealth owned by the most wealthy 50% of the population *	79	83	+4%
Households receiving family credit	120,000	356,000	+236,000

Sources: C.S.O., 1996. (G.B. figures, except * U.K.).

Table 7.40., Socio-economic Change 1981 - 1991.

Reference to the rural district under study confirms this and reveals that the process of social change attached to resales occurred against a background of ongoing social change across the District as a whole (tables 7.40 & 7.41).

Socio-economic indicator	1981 (% total population)	1991 (% total population)	Change (% change '81-'91)
Population aged 25 - 44 years	19,841 (31%)	21,835 (30.9%)	+1,994 (-0.1%)
Population aged under 16 years	16,001 (25%)	15,358 (21.7%)	-643 (-3.3%)
Households with 1 or more pensioners	6,696 (29.81%)	7,789 (29.4%)	+1,093 (-0.41%)
Households with dependent children	9,511 (42.35%)	9,248 (34.94%)	-263 (-7.41%)
Economically active persons aged 16+ years	30,692 (63.9%)	37,051 (66.96%)	+6,359 (+3.06%)
Households Heads engaged in classes I and II work	630 (39%)	866 (47.6%)	+236 (+8.6%)
Households Heads engaged in class III (N) employment	226 (14%)	199 (10.9%)	-27 (-3.1%)
Household heads engaged in class III (M) employment	498 (30.8%)	478 (26.3%)	-29 (-4.5%)
Household heads engaged in class IV or V employment	263 (16.2%)	276 (15.2%)	+13 (-1%)

Source: OPCS, 1981, 1991. (Based on a 10% of census returns).

Table 7.41., Ongoing Social Change in South Northamptonshire 1981 - 91.

7.51 Rural Social Change and Resales

Thus, whilst the social change introduced by the resale of local authority dwellings was part of the continuing process of social change affecting the District, examination of the resale process links process and place in accounting for the actual patterns of social change experienced at given localities.

Such a process may be regarded as a new and significant twist in what Cloke et al. (1991) refer to as,

"... the link(s) between housing provision and the colonization of particular rural localities by specific groups of people or class 'fractions'..."

one result of which is,

" ... the village concerned becomes 'gentrified' (this may or may not involve an upgrading of the housing stock via extension or refurbishment)..."

(Clope et al., 1991:38).

The term gentrification within the context of the present findings is to be used with caution, for as Clarke (1991) notes:

"during the 1980s, gentrification was the focus of much debate and research. The wheres and whos, hows and whys of gentrification were examined and re-examined. Explanations have centred on a wide variety of aspects, from cultural belonging to shifts in the economic base of cities to the service sector. For such multi-faceted processes, no mono-causal explanation can suffice, and there seems to be a growing consensus that we need to allow room for different explanations rooted in quite different sets of concepts which in rigid abstraction do not always harmonise"

(Clarke, 1991:16).

Whether gentrification should indeed be viewed as a single but multi-faceted process (for example, Hamnett, 1991) or a term of convenience for essentially distinct processes is beyond the present purposes. What is beyond doubt is that the process involves social change inextricably linked to the home as a property asset. As Clarke bluntly states,

"gentrification is a process in the housing market ..."

(Clarke, 1991:16).

In charting the contrasting usage of the term in urban and rural studies Phillips (1993) notes,

"rather than seeing rural social change in terms of a middle class replacing a working class, as the term gentrification seems to imply, in many cases it is probably more valid to talk in terms of one middle-class fraction replacing another"

(Phillips, 1993:124).

As table 7.41 reveals the process of social change connected to the resale of local authority dwellings in South Northamptonshire does match a range of features generally acknowledged as constituting gentrification.

Although the resales process exhibits key 'gentrifying' qualities it must be seen as distinct from earlier examples of gentrification (urban or rural) in two important respects. First, with regard to the role of the state; the mass tenure transfer initiated by the 1980 Housing Act and successor legislation is unprecedented and therefore marks a new aspect of the (rural) gentrification process. Second, the household-level decision-making underpinning purchase under the RTB and subsequent resale precludes the involvement of property speculators and housing market intermediaries in promoting the gentrification of a given area for commercial gain (as revealed in some urban-based studies for example, Hamnett and Williams, 1980).

Gentrifying process	Applicability to the resale of local authority dwellings
Physical improvement of the housing stock "marginal gentrifiers" (Smith, 1987).	61.7 percent of OMPs had undertaken or intended to undertake <u>major</u> improvements to the dwelling purchased such as extensions to the dwelling, loft conversions etc. (based on 116 households).
Strategy of buying-into a perceived lifestyle (Ley, 1980; Mills, 1988).	37 percent of households cited quality of life/environmental factors behind the move to the countryside, 7 percent cited the motive as the environmental/lifestyle of the countryside was perceived as being better for raising their children (based on 167 households).
Gentrifiers as capitalists (Smith, 1979; Beauregard, 1986; Phillips, 1993)	5.3 percent of OMP households selected 'looked like a good investment property (one which would realise a good profit on resale)' as the primary motive for selecting the resold dwelling purchased. 4.78 percent selected 'property had potential for development' as the primary selection motive.
Increased symmetry in the class composition of households, increased incidence of dual-earner households (Rose, 1989).	+49% increase in the percentage of couples with both partners working following resale, to 75% of OMP 'couple' households. Key changes in the occupational status of women. +42% engaged in intermediate or service class employment on resale. +22% increase in proportion of dual-career households.
The uneven circulation of capital (Smith and Williams, 1986)	19.1% of first-cited property selection motives based on the resold dwelling being "less expensive than other, similar properties".
Replacement of 'working' class with 'middle' class households (eg. Hamnett, 1973); or one middle class fraction with another (eg. Cloke and Thrift, 1987, 1990)	Shift in occupational status on resale. +21% service class employment, +3% intermediate class employment, -24% working class. Doubling of class IIIa employment on resale. +20% of class II employment on resale.

Table 7.42., 'Gentrification' and the Resale of Local Authority Dwellings.

That the resale of local authority dwellings promotes social change is beyond doubt, but the use of the oft-employed term 'gentrification' requires careful qualification. The principal value of the term (within the context of the present study) was highlighted by Savage et al. (1992):

"the really important point, however, which arises out of a consideration of gentrification, is the importance of the household. Randolph (1990), when discussing the relationship between labour and housing market, makes the vital point that while individuals enter the labour market, the housing market is populated by households. Hence, for this reason, the growing salience of petty property assets has the effect of heightening the specific importance of different household structure on middle-class formation"

(Savage, et al. 1992:96).

Consistent with this view it is asserted that household turnover is the key element in assessing patterns of social change following resale. Spatial aggregation of such population turnover in examining patterns of social change can only indicate broad trends at the expense of a loss of detail. Thus social change following resale may only be understood fully by reference to household turnover at a given location - for without resale such patterns of social change would not have occurred in the years 1980-94.

7.6 Summary

The foregoing analysis has revealed how the contrasting social characteristics of successive households residing in former local authority dwellings before and after resale is contributing to the twin processes of residualization and gentrification in the rural housing market. Reference to a wide range of variables, including the life cycle and housing histories, has enabled households in each group to be defined.

Tenant-purchaser households may be broadly characterised as being locally employed, engaged in working class

occupations, middle-aged and having lived the majority of their lives in local authority housing. In contrast, open market purchasers had traded-up in the owner-occupied sector of the housing market (within the District, or particularly beyond), were dual-career households in the commencement phases of the life cycle, and commuted to intermediate and service class employment.

Analysis of the ongoing process of social change in the former local authority sector of the market has revealed the complexity of the processes at work; it has also revealed the pivotal role of the housing market in shaping the migration processes effecting social change in the countryside. Discussion now turns to the way the type of resold dwelling promotes patterns of social change.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE LOCAL AUTHORITY DWELLING STOCK AND OPEN MARKET PURCHASERS.

8.0 Introduction

Earlier chapters have revealed both the socially selective nature of households purchasing resold dwellings, and the spatially selective patterns of household moves into and out of these dwellings. It is the purpose of the present chapter to explore further notions of selectivity by examining both the composition of the resold dwelling stock, and the links between different parts of the stock and the characteristics of purchasing households. Specifically this approach addresses the issue as to whether the nature of the dwelling (in terms of type, size, standard and layout) is in itself an important factor in understanding the patterns of social change arising from resales. Earlier discussion revealed that the group 'OMP households', when examined, is in fact composed of a number of distinct sub-groups in terms of occupation, age, life cycle stage, household type, housing market trajectory, background perceptions and migration histories. Examination of the migration motives of moving households also revealed that housing related factors shaped the majority of moves. Such findings suggest that - given the importance of housing factors, together with the varying housing needs, aspirations and income of moving households - patterns of selectivity linking different types of household with different sections of the resold stock are features of resales. Given the uneven distribution of the housing opportunity presented by former local authority dwellings across the District, exploring such connections will be a useful advance in understanding the patterns of social change occurring in the countryside. Such an approach

builds on earlier urban-based work which has focused on the influence of dwelling type in the decision-making of moving households. Thus Michelson (1977) asked,

"do the different categories of housing type (and location) satisfy specific criteria concerning house type and location in a differential fashion?"

(Michelson, 1977:226).

Such patterns of selectivity have previously been hinted at in studies of local authority dwelling sales (Building Societies Association, 1984; Littlewood and Mason, 1984; Forrest, Lansley and Murie, 1984; DoE/Lynn, 1991). These have highlighted the selective purchase of the more desirable sections of the council stock, although investigation of a selective process of purchase has progressed little beyond suggesting that it is the more wealthy, and younger tenants who have taken advantage of the Right To Buy. An examination of selectivity in the resold sector is therefore overdue.

Initial consideration will be made of the wider resold dwelling stock, namely the entire group of properties located in rural parishes identified as resold by 1994 (353 dwellings). Subsequent analysis, in relating household characteristics to the resold dwelling stock, will focus on those resold properties surveyed by the present study (188 dwellings).

8.1 The Composition of the Resold Dwelling Stock

Earlier studies have identified a selective pattern of sales under the RTB, with for example disproportionately high sales levels in respect of three-bedroomed semi-detached houses (DoE/Kerr, 1988). Similarly, comparison of the stock bought by each purchaser group under study also reveals patterns of selectivity (table 8.01); significantly these patterns also highlight another element in the residualization of the dwelling stock. Hitherto in respect

of resales, the process was seen to operate with regard to the social characteristics of the occupants of these dwellings (chapter 7), but it is also evident in respect of the resold dwelling stock.

Property Type	Resales	Purchaser Groups under study			Wider Dwelling Stock		
	ENTIRE RESOLD STOCK C.1994	MOVERS	STAYERS	OMPS	ALL RTB SALES C.1989	1981 COUNCIL STOCK	1989 COUNCIL STOCK *
(i). Numbers of dwellings in each category							
Flats	8	5	4	1	14	228	233
Bungalows	6	6	4	4	39	759	736
Houses	328	284	278	167	1412	3477	2065
Totals	342	295	286	172	1465	4464	3034
(ii). Percentage of dwellings in each category							
Flats	2.3	2	1	1	1	5	8
Bungalows	1.7	2	1	2	3	17	24
Houses	96	96	97	97	96	78	68

* Incorporates a few additional local authority dwellings acquired or built during the 1980s, (principally sheltered housing).

Table 8.01., Composition of the Resold Dwelling Stock Compared to All Sold and Remaining Local Authority Housing.

Such a process has been a common feature of local authority dwelling sales both before and after the 1980 Housing Act (Forrest and Murie, 1983, 1988), for as Murie noted in respect of his study of earlier discretionary sales,

"... the council dwellings sold were more likely to be of higher quality than was true of the stock in general"

(Murie:1975:111).

The selectivity of those purchasing under the RTB in the District has led to an increase in the proportion of bungalows and flats amongst the remaining council stock (+3

and +7 percent 1981-89, respectively), such that they comprised a third of the council dwelling stock (32 percent) after almost a decade of RTB sales. These property types were not as popular amongst RTB purchasers, totalling over a fifth of the original council stock (22 percent in 1981) but just 4 percent of sales to tenants (and coincidentally, 4 percent of resales).

Property Type	Resold stock		Purchaser Groups					
			Movers		Stayers		OMPs	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bungalows	6	1.7	6	2	4	1	4	2
Flats	8	2.3	5	2	4	1	1	1
Semi-detached houses	200	56.6	174	59	183	66	106	61
Terraced houses	128	36.3	109	37	88	32	60	35
Detached houses	3	0.8	1	0	0	0	1	1
Not Known	8	2.3	15	-	7	-	16	-
TOTALS	353	100	310	100	286	100	188	100

Table 8.02., Comparison of Property Types Between Each Purchaser Group and the Resold Dwelling Stock.

Shaped by the composition of the initial dwelling stock, houses comprised the majority of dwellings in each purchaser group. Semi-detached houses out-numbered terraced houses by approximately two to one.

Amongst the remaining local authority housing stock 'Right To Buy' sales have increased the proportion of older houses (those built before 1945) by 5 percent, and decreased the proportion of the newer dwellings (built after 1965) by 3 percent. However, the present findings reveal a new dimension to the process, for residualization also extends to the former local authority dwelling sector. Greater proportions (+12 percent) of households purchasing under

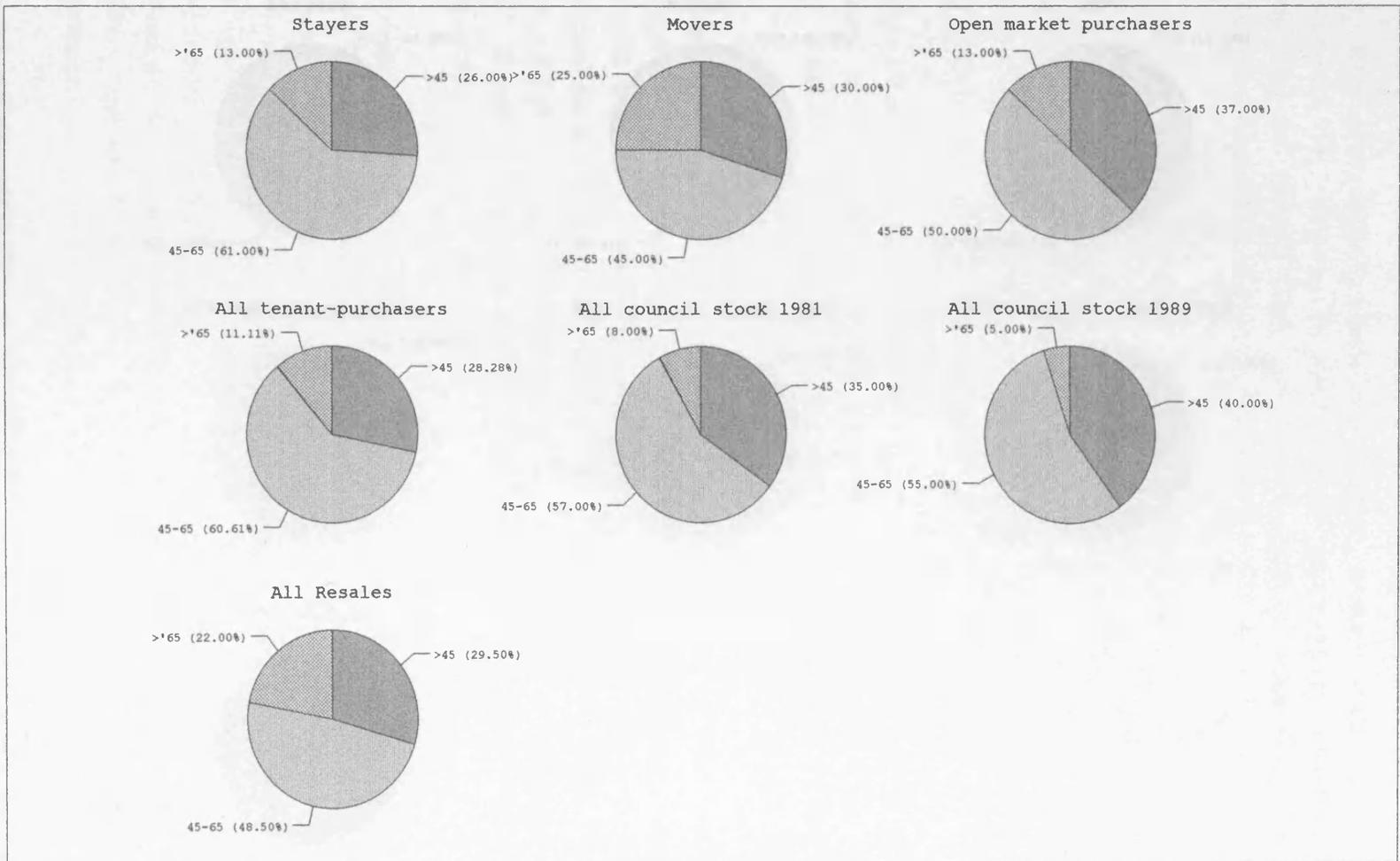


Fig 8.01., Composition of the (former) local authority dwelling stock by age. (Agebands: Built before 1945 ('>45), between 1945 to 1965 ('45 - '65), Built after 1965 (>'65)).

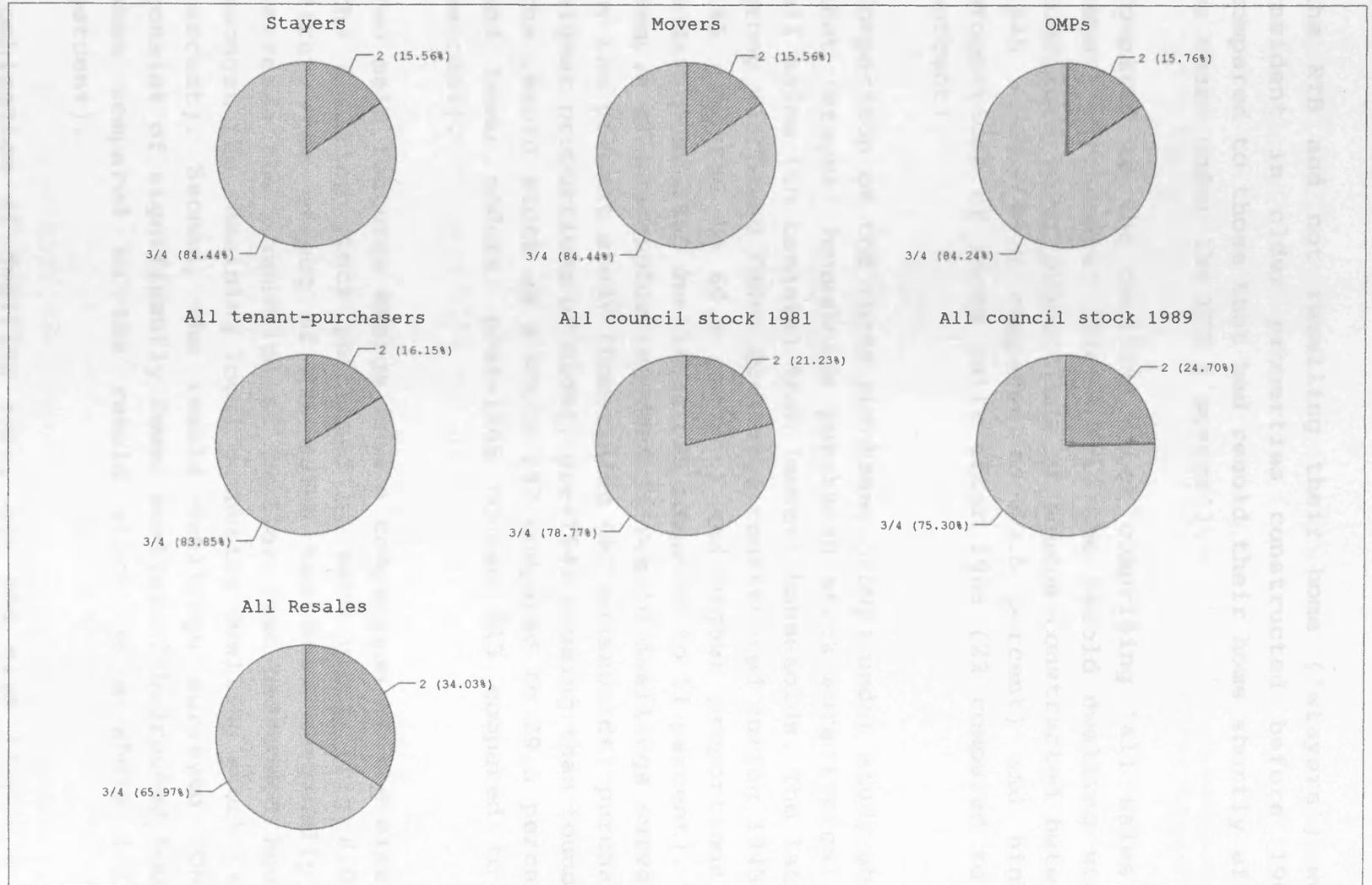


Fig., 8.02., Composition of the (former) local authority housing stock by size , (Number of bedrooms).

the RTB and not reselling their home ('stayers') were resident in older properties constructed before 1965, compared to those that had resold their home shortly after purchase under the RTB ('movers').

Compared to the dwelling stock comprising 'all sales to tenant-purchasers' (fig 8.01), the resold dwelling stock contained lower proportions of houses constructed between 1945 - 65 (48.5 compared to 60.6 percent) and higher proportions of those built after 1965 (22 compared to 11 percent).

Comparison of the three purchaser groups under study shows that 'stayer' households purchased stock more typical of all sales (to tenants) than 'mover' households. The latter group purchased fewer dwellings constructed during 1945-65 (45 compared to 60.6 percent) and higher proportions of modern post-1965 dwellings (25 compared to 11 percent). The sample of households resident in resold dwellings surveyed by the present study (comprising OMP households) purchased higher proportions of older, pre-1945 housing than found in the resold stock as a whole (37 compared to 29.5 percent) and fewer modern, post-1965 houses (13 compared to 22 percent).

Two main features emerge from a comparison of the size of the dwelling stock purchased by each group (fig 8.02). First, the effect of RTB sales has been marginally to increase the proportion of smaller, two-bedroomed houses amongst the remaining local authority dwelling stock (+3.5 percent). Second, the resold dwellings surveyed (OMPs) consist of significantly fewer smaller, 2-bedroomed houses when compared to the resold stock as a whole (-18.3 percent).

Combination of dwelling type, age and size (table 8.03) reveals that greatest divergence is evident between the OMP dwellings surveyed and the resold stock as a whole in respect of post-1965 2-bedroomed terraced houses (-14

percent), and pre-1945, 3 or 4 bedroomed semi-detached houses (+13.5 percent).

Dwelling age and size	Semi-detached Houses		Terraced Houses	
	Resales	OMPs	Resales	OMPs
Pre-1945, 2 bedrooms	2	2	6	2
Pre- 1945, 3/4 bedrooms	10.5	24	11	12
1945-1965, 2 bedrooms	7.9	7	2.4	1
1945-1965, 3/4 bedrooms	25	24	13.5	14
Post- 1965, 2 bedrooms	1.8	2	14	1
Post- 1965, 3/4 bedrooms	5	9	0.9	2

Table 8.03., Dwelling Age, Size and Type: Composition of the Entire Resold Stock and OMP Dwellings Compared (Each Group = 100%).

The uneven pattern of sales/resales revealed in respect of local authority dwellings classified by type, age and size suggests that selectivity based on dwelling type is a major aspect of household moves into these dwellings.

8.2 Property Selection Motives

Analysis of the selection of an individual dwelling within the overall decision-making connected with household moves has a long history within the context of urban migration studies (Rossi, 1955; Wolpert, 1966; Brown and Moore, 1970; Michelson, 1977) yet has remained largely unexplored within the context of rural migration. The principal property selection motives leading to the purchase of former local authority dwellings will now be considered in turn.

8.21 Dwelling Size and Layout

The size and layout of former local authority dwellings attracted OMPs to this 'special' sector of the housing market. Interview results with purchaser households (table 8.04), reveal that dwelling size and layout were the most

often cited primary reasons for purchasing resold dwellings (35 percent).

In addition, property size and layout accounted for one fifth of secondary motives; when combined, size and layout of resold dwellings emerge as the most cited response overall, totalling almost a third (31 percent) of responses.

These responses were unevenly distributed across the resold dwelling stock, thereby reflecting the varying quality and build-specifications of local authority housing over earlier decades. Properties constructed in the period 1945 to 1965 attracted the majority of such responses (50 percent, table 8.05), reflecting the generous specifications of the post-war 'Bevan' houses.

Property Selection Motive	First motive	Second motive	All cited
Property appeared to be a good investment (potential to realise a profit on selling)	6	0	5
Liked the size and layout of the property	35	20	31
Liked the appearance and aspect of property	6	14	8
Liked the character of the neighbourhood	12	27	15
Property had 'potential for development'	5	4	5
Dwelling seemed to be less expensive than other similar properties	24	27	25
Related to former occupants	1	0	1
Selected dwelling for size/nature of garden	3	9	4
Other	8	0	7

* Percentage figures: 156 interviewed households cited a principal motive for selecting the resold dwelling, of these 56 cited a second motive for selecting the dwelling purchased.

Table 8.04, Cited Property Selection Motives: All Open Market Purchaser Households.

When property type is included in the analysis, semi-detached houses constructed 1945-65 attracted the largest proportion of selection motives based on dwelling size and layout, totalling over a third of such responses (34 percent) (table 8.05), and almost double the number applying other sections of the resold dwelling stock.

Age of property	Terraced	Semi-detached
Pre-1945	18	15
1945 - 1965	16	34
Post- 1965	1	16

Table 8.05., Percentage of First Cited Property Selection Motives Based on Dwelling Size and Layout, (Total = 100% of all such motives).

Considerably fewer houses constructed after 1965 were selected on grounds of dwelling size and layout (17 percent) when compared to older properties (built 1945 - 65, 50 percent; and prior to 1945, 33 percent).

A majority of semi-detached properties were selected for such qualities, attracting approximately two-thirds of all such responses (65 percent) - double the proportion cited in respect of terraced houses.

8.22 Dwelling Price

Cited migration motives confirm that the relative cheapness of resold dwellings was the second most cited reason for households deciding to buy such properties, accounting for approximately one quarter (24 percent) of all primary responses, and a quarter of responses overall.

The proportions of households citing dwelling price as the purchase motive were more evenly split between property types than in the case of motives related to the size and layout of the dwelling. Overall, slightly higher numbers of households cited this motive in respect of semi-detached houses (58 percent, table 8.06).

Age of property	Terraced	Semi-detached
Pre-1945	15	13
1945 - 1965	21	35
Post - 1965	6	10

Table 8.06, Percentage of First Cited Property Selection Motives Based on the Dwelling Price.

Properties constructed between 1945 and 1965 accounted for over a half of such responses (56 percent). Again properties constructed after 1965 are under-represented, attracting only 16 percent of such motives. Five of the dwellings purchased by interviewees citing price as the

main selection motive were repossessed from their former tenant-purchaser occupiers. In such cases sale by auction, or the need for swift disposal of the dwelling by the mortgage lender, probably accounted for the lower (relative) price paid by purchasers. Overall, 3 percent of former local authority dwellings were known to have been repossessed from tenant purchasers.

8.23 'Other' Selection Motives

The attractive nature (in aesthetic terms) of the older properties, together with their lower build-densities - and consequently larger gardens, explains the higher proportion of 'other' property selection motives given in respect of these dwellings (table 8.07).

Property type	Terraced			Semi-detached		
	Property Selection Motive			Property Selection Motive		
	Dwelling price	Size & layout	Other	Dwelling price	Size & layout	Other
Pre-1945	6	10	11	22	37	41
1945-65	17	25	13	31	45	24
Post-1965	5	12	1	28	67	6

Table 8.07, Dwelling Type and Property Selection Motives. (Each Property Ageband = 100 percent).

The vast majority of 'other' property selection motives (70 percent) related to a liking for the character of the neighbourhood in which the resold dwelling was situated (56 percent) or a selection based on the size and quality of the garden attached to the resold property (14 percent).

8.24 Purchaser Perception Of Resales.

Purchasers' - and prospective purchasers' - perceptions of resold council dwellings are a powerful influence on the scale and nature of population turnover through this sector of the housing market. Accordingly, the notion of 'stigma' attaching to the purchase of former council houses is a potential influence on the resales process. Work by Kerr (1988) revealed that a quarter of all tenant purchasers interviewed viewed the prospect of resale "with a degree of pessimism" (Kerr, 1988: para 196), and that 5 percent of house-buyers thought that resale would be "not at all easy" (ibid: para 196). Regional variations were identified in the confidence levels of tenant-purchasers across England with 68 percent of tenant-purchasers in the East Midlands region (which includes the present study area) stating that "their property would be easy to sell" (confidence levels ranged from 42 percent in North West England to 86 percent in Greater London).

A high level of awareness as to the former public-sector status of resold dwellings was evident amongst the OMP households interviewed. During the initial stages of purchase, only 7 percent of OMP purchasers were unaware that the property subsequently purchased was a former council dwelling.

When asked whether the former council status of their home was of any importance, only 9 percent of interviewed households stated that they attached any importance to this fact. Of the minority of households who attached some importance to this matter, 12 percent felt it to be 'quite important', the remainder 'important'. The size and quality of the dwelling purchased were the reasons most often cited by the eight households which gave specific reasons for attaching importance to the former council ownership of their home (Figure 8.03.).

"because of the land with the house and because they're built better"

"because they're good buys, they're cheaper"

"better quality of building"

"we liked their quality... size, more space"

"there's a stigma attached to [former] council houses, but these ones are different... bigger rooms"

"I don't agree with the Right To Buy, they should be given to those that need them"

"better, bigger bedrooms"

"built better"

Figure 8.03., Cited Reasons For Attaching Importance To The Former Council Ownership Of Resold Dwellings- Open Market Purchaser Households.

Those households stating that the former public ownership of their home was important to them were drawn from all sections of the resold dwelling stock. Open market purchaser satisfaction with resold dwelling can be inferred from the majority (89 percent) of OMP households which stated that they would be prepared to consider purchasing another resold property in the future.

8.3 The Socially and Spatially Selective Nature of Household Moves Into Resold Dwellings

Thus far it has been revealed that the selective purchase of different sections of the (former) local authority dwelling stock as defined by dwelling type, age and size is in turn linked to the decision-making of the household unit. Analysis of property selection motives has shown that different types of households were attracted to different aspects of the dwellings. In order to gain a fuller understanding of this selectivity it is now necessary to define the various social and migratory characteristics linking respective OMP households with different sections of the resold stock.

8.31 Migrating Households and the Resold Dwelling Stock.

It was suggested earlier that those households moving into this sector of the housing market can be classified according to the type of move made into the resold dwelling (for example, inter-regional, intra-parish etc., Chapter 6). The type of household move may therefore also be linked with the different sections of the resold dwelling stock, thereby revealing the spatially selective nature of population movements into different parts of the resold dwelling stock (table 8.08).

Intra-regional migration into the older and larger semi-detached houses (constructed before 1965 with 3 or 4 bedrooms) were the most common type of move accounting for 40 percent OMP households, the majority of which were moving from within the county. Fewer in number, terraced houses displayed a more even spread of moves from within the county into all types of dwelling (as defined by age and size).

Dwelling age and size	Semi-detached Houses			Terraced Houses		
	Location of home prior to purchasing resold dwelling					
	WITHIN NORTHANTS	ADJOINING COUNTY	BEYOND	WITHIN NORTHANTS	ADJOINING COUNTY	BEYOND
Pre-1945, 2 bedrooms	0	1	1	4	1	0
Pre-1945, 3 or 4 bedrooms	14	4	5	4	3	3
1945 - 1965, 2 bedrooms	3	1	1	0	0	0
1945 - 1965, 3 or 4 bedrooms	13	9	7	8	2	3
Post 1965, 3 or 4 bedrooms	5	4	1	3	0	0

Table 8.08., Location of Previous Homes: Percentage Of All Established Purchasing Households Distributed Across Resold Dwelling Stock.

The most common configuration in respect of moves into terraced houses were those made from a previous home within the county into larger terraced houses constructed 1945-65, totalling 8 percent of all OMP moves.

Such patterns are inconclusive and broadly reflect the proportionate composition of the resold stock and the types of migration into resold dwellings. However, the distribution of moving-households across the resold stock is not solely a function of the different migration paths of purchasing households. In order to understand the changing function of different sections of the resold dwelling stock, and their overall position as agents of social change, it is necessary to relate a much wider array of social and migratory variables to the different sections of the resold dwelling stock.

8.32 Household and Dwelling Type: Social Selectivity and the Purchase of Resold Dwellings.

The diversity of the resold sector has been established both in terms of dwelling characteristics (type, age, size etc,) and quality (based on changing specifications and standards over time). The varying nature and quality of these dwellings has resulted in a variation in their market price. The level of household wealth therefore will have determined whether OMP households were able to purchase such dwellings. Thus, social selectivity was part of the process of household moves into these dwellings, for varying dwelling price (in turn linked to dwelling standards) was directly related to household wealth (in turn linked to the employment status of household members).

Earlier discussion has also shown how the physical size of (former) local authority dwellings is subject to much variation. This factor will also promote selectivity amongst purchasing households. It is unlikely for example that a household with three or more late-teenage children would purchase a small two-bedroomed dwelling. Household structure, age and the life cycle are all likely to result in some element of selectivity in the purchase of (resold) dwellings.

Accordingly, a variety of social characteristics of purchasing households will now be related to the former local authority dwelling stock in order to gain an insight into the way dwelling type may act an agent of social change.

8.33 Household Employment Status and the Dwelling Stock

Resold dwellings were hitherto allocated to tenants according to the bureaucratic procedures of the local council. Such a process was itself socially selective, based on notions of housing need, together with the established policy and practice of the local housing department. Comparison between the social characteristics of residents pre- and post- resale therefore shows the contrasting way in which market forces have (re-)allocated these dwellings - thereby revealing how social change has affected different parts of the resold dwelling stock (table 8.09).

Shifts in the employment status of residents from working to intermediate and service class employment were experienced in dwellings constructed in each period (mean \pm 29.7 percent, table 8.09), with those dwellings constructed after 1965 experiencing greatest change (\pm 35 percent).

Social Class	Tenant-purchasers			Open market purchasers			Change on resale		
	Property built			Property built			Property built		
	pre-45	'45-'65	post-'65	pre-45	'45-'65	post-'65	pre-45	'45-'65	post-'65
SERVICE	14	5	6	34	24	33	20	20	26
INTERMEDIATE	33	37	39	43	41	48	10	3	9
WORKING	53	58	55	23	35	20	-31	-23	-35

Table 8.09., Contrasting occupational social class of residents on resale: dwelling age.(Percentage class composition).

Such patterns of social change were more pronounced in the larger of the older (pre-1945) properties and the smaller of properties constructed 1945 - 65 (\pm 35 and \pm 46%, respectively, table 8.10).

Social Class	Tenant-purchasers		open market purchasers		Change on resale	
	2 bed's	3/4 bed's	2 bed's	3/4 bed's	2 beds	3/4 bed's
(i). Houses constructed prior to 1945.						
Service	13	13	27	33	+14	+20
Inter'te	27	30	36	45	+10	+15
Working	60	57	36	21	-24	-35
(ii). Houses constructed 1945 - 65.						
Service	0	6	31	29	+31	+23
Inter'te	38	39	54	45	+15	+6
Working	62	55	15	26	-46	-29

* Houses constructed pre-1945, percentage figures based on the following numbers of properties (-): 2 bedroom houses: Tenant-purchasers (15), OMPs (11). 3/4 bedroom houses: TPs (30), OMPs (42).

Houses constructed 1945 - 65, percentages based on the following number of dwellings: 2 bedroom houses: TPs (13), OMPs (13). 3/4 bedroom houses: TPs (96), OMPs (65).

Table 8.10., Contrasting Occupational Social Class of Residents on Resale: Dwelling Age and Size.

Such patterns are significant in revealing how the market re-allocation of these dwellings has produced a more even class profile across the resold sector. The polarised class composition of residents in some dwelling types prior to resale (for example, the absence of service class employment in two-bedroomed houses built 1945-65) led to larger than average shifts in the class structure following resale.

The class structure of OMPs when related to dwelling type presents a complex picture and there is no marked polarization to suggest a link between higher status employment (and therefore the likelihood of higher income) with particular dwelling types. Such a relationship (household income/dwelling price) undoubtedly shapes the market allocation of former local authority dwellings on

resale, but the absence of household income data prevents direct analysis of this process.

8.34 Household Type and the Dwelling Stock

Analysis of household size and dwelling type (table 8.11.) reveals that larger households of four or more members resident in three or four bedroom semi-detached houses constructed before 1965 was the most common configuration amongst OMPs (accounting for one in four OMP households).

Dwelling age and size	Semi-detached Houses				Terraced Houses			
	No. of household members				No. of household members			
	1.	2.	3.	4+	1.	2.	3.	4+
Pre-1945, 2 bedrooms	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
Pre-'45, 3/4 bed's	1	5	6	12	2	2	4	4
1945-65, 2 bedrooms	1	3	1	3	0	1	0	0
1945-65, 3/4 bed's	2	5	4	13	3	4	1	7
Post-'65, 2 bedrooms	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
Post-'65, 3/4 bed's	0	3	3	3	0	0	1	1

* All open market purchaser households resident in houses where relevant data held; percentages based on 175 households.

Table 8.11., Household Type by Dwelling Age, Size and Type: Percentage of All Open Market Purchaser Households.

Such patterns reveal that underoccupancy of the dwelling stock was a further feature following resale, with over a quarter (27 percent) of all OMP households consisting of one or two persons resident in a three or four bedroomed house. The majority of such households had not experienced a change in membership following purchase (80 percent), though in a fifth of cases there had been a loss of household members following purchase thereby leading to under-occupation of the dwelling stock.

Dwelling age and size	Semi-detached Houses		Terraced Houses	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Pre-1945, 2 bedrooms	1	3	2	6
Pre-'45, 3/4 bed's	4	12	3	9
1945-65, 2 bedrooms	4	12	0	0
1945-65, 3/4 bed's	10	28	5	15
Post-'65, 2 bedrooms	0	0	0	0
Post-'65, 3/4 bed's	4	12	1	3

Table 8.12., Distribution of Single Adult Households by Dwelling Age, Size and Type: Percentage of All Single Adult Households.

Examination of the dwelling type inhabited by single adult households (comprising 18 percent of all OMP households surveyed, table 8.12.) reveals that the great majority of this household type resided in three or four bedroomed houses (79 percent). The majority of this group (71 percent) were single adult households at the time of purchase: in 29 percent of cases an adult household member had left following purchase.

8.35 Housing Market Routes into Resold Dwellings

The distribution of all 'first-time buyers' across the dwelling stock (table 8.13) reveals that these households were over-represented in two-bedroomed terraced housing built 1945-65 (six times the mean for other two-bedroomed houses).

Overall, a majority of first-time buyers selected the larger, three or four bedroomed houses (68 percent). Such patterns display less evidence of the economic constraints usually associated with first-time buyers and the purchase of more modest 'starter' homes (Nationwide Building Society, 1986).

Dwelling age and size	Terraced Houses	Semi-detached Houses
Pre-1945, 2 bedrooms	2	2
Pre- 1945, 3/4 bedrooms	8	16
1945-1965, 2 bedrooms	12	2
1945-1965, 3/4 bedrooms	22	22
Post- 1965, 2 bedrooms	2	2
Post- 1965, 3/4 bedrooms	8	2

Table 8.13., Percentage of all First Homes by Dwelling Age, Type and Size.

This may be explained by the inclusion of adults who had previously been established in household units (for example, divorcees) and therefore older and wealthier than the majority of first-time buyers. Alternatively, such a pattern may be explained by the relative cheapness of the resold sector as a whole.

Type, age and size of resold dwelling	Semi	Ter	Semi	Ter	Semi	Ter	Semi	Ter
	Tenure of previous home							
	owned outright		mortgaged		private rented		public sector	
Pre-1945, 2 bedrooms	14	14	1	3	0	8	0	0
Pre- 1945, 3/4 bedrooms	0	14	16	10	26	12	0	0
1945-1965, 2 bedrooms	0	0	9	0	4	0	0	80
1945-1965, 3/4 bedrooms	44	0	35	16	19	12	0	0
Post- 1965, 2 bedrooms	14	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Post- 1965, 3/4 bedrooms	0	0	9	0	11	8	20	0

Table 8.14., Resold Dwelling Type: Percentage of all Movers in Each Previous Tenure Category.

Larger houses built between 1945-65 were the most common type of resold dwelling bought by those households moving from within the owner-occupied sector (table 8.14), suggesting that such households were the most able to select the better and more expensive elements of the resold dwelling stock. This may, in part, be connected to the capital gains made from the sale of previous dwellings, which were likely to have increased in value as a result of sustained houseprice inflation - thereby boosting household wealth. Recent analysis (eg. Saunders, 1990; Forest and Murie, 1995) has highlighted the way in which capital gains from owner-occupation have promoted social mobility; these patterns suggest such processes also apply to the resold sector of the market.

Type, age and size of resold dwelling	Semi	Ter	Semi	Ter	Semi	Ter	Semi	Ter
	Tenure of previous home							
	owned outright		mortgaged		private rented		public sector	
Pre-1945, 2 bedrooms	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	1
Pre- 1945, 3/4 bedrooms	0	1	10	7	7	3	1	1
1945-1965, 2 bedrooms	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	0
1945-1965, 3/4 bedrooms	3	0	20	10	5	3	0	1
Post- 1965, 2 bedrooms	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Post- 1965, 3/4 bedrooms	1	0	6	1	3	2	1	0

* Those households established as a household unit resident at a different address prior to moving into the resold dwelling where relevant property type details known; 107 households in total.

Table 8.15., Resold Dwelling Type: Percentage of all Established Households* Moving into Former Council Houses.

In contrast to owner-occupiers, the majority of households relocating from the state-rented sector purchased smaller modern terraced houses.

The housing market trajectory of OMP households (table 8.16) shows that a higher proportion of households trading-down in the market purchased the relatively cheaper, older two bedroomed terraced houses, compared to other groups. However, the overall patterns based on housing market trajectory can only hint at the links between household wealth and dwelling type - for the data are based on the relative value of the last home and that of the resold dwelling.

Dwelling age and size	Traders-down		Same priceband		Traders-up	
	Semi's	Terr'd	Semi's	Terr'd	Semi's	Terr'd
Pre-1945, 2 bedrooms	0	8	3	7	1	3
Pre-'45, 3/4 bed's	12	4	16	16	23	18
1945-65, 2 bedrooms	8	0	0	0	5	0
1945-65, 3/4 bed's	40	16	23	13	26	12
Post-'65, 2 bedrooms	0	0	7	0	0	0
Post-'65, 3/4 bed's	4	8	13	3	12	0

Table 8.16., Routes Into Resold Dwellings - Traders-down, Those Purchasing Within the Same Priceband, and Traders-up: Dwelling-type As A Percentage of Each Purchaser Category.

8.36 Resold Dwelling Type and the Life cycle

Selectivity in the type of resold house purchased is evident in respect of households in the expansion phase of the life cycle. These households purchased a higher proportion of larger semi-detached houses built between 1945-65 and lower proportions of 'modern' (post-1965) dwellings, in comparison to households in the commencement

Dwelling Age and Size: Date built, no. bedrooms		Commencement 1.		Commencement 2.		Expansion		Contraction		Dissolution	
		Semi's	Terr'd	Semi's	Terr'd	Semi's	Terr'd	Semi's	Terr'd	Semi's	Terr'd
Pre- 1945	2 bedrooms	2	8	5	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
	3/4 bedrooms	12	16	20	20	17	9	20	20	66	0
1945 - 1964	2 bedrooms	10	2	10	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
	3/4 bedrooms	19	19	15	15	35	20	20	0	0	33
Post - 1965	2 bedrooms	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3/4 bedrooms	10	0	15	0	7	0	40	0	0	0

* Percentages in each Life Cycle Stage total 100.

Table 8.17., Dwelling Type and the Life Cycle: Breakdown of Resold Dwelling Type by Household Life Cycle Stage.

Dwelling Age and Size: Date built, no. bedrooms		Commencement 1.		Commencement 2.		Expansion		Contraction		Dissolution	
		Semi's	Terr'd	Semi's	Terr'd	Semi's	Terr'd	Semi's	Terr'd	Semi's	Terr'd
Pre- 1945	2 bedrooms	0.7	2.6	0.7	0	0	2.1	0	0	0	0
	3/4 bedrooms	4	5.3	2.7	2.7	8.6	3.6	0.7	0.7	1.4	0
1945 - 1964	2 bedrooms	3.3	0.7	1.4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
	3/4 bedrooms	6.6	5.6	2.1	2.1	16.9	8.9	0.7	0	0	0.7
Post - 1965	2 bedrooms	0	0.7	0	0	3.4	0	0	0	0	0
	3/4 bedrooms	3.4	0	2.1	0	0.7	0	1.4	0	0	0

Table 8.18., Household Life Cycle Stage and Dwelling Type: Percentage of Open Market Purchaser Households.

phases of the life cycle¹ (table 8.17).

The most recently formed households at the time of purchase bought higher proportions of the, generally cheaper, terraced houses compared to those in the later, commencement phase two (-11 percent) and expansion (-14 percent) phases of the life cycle. These patterns point to the link between life cycle stage and household income variability based on career advancement.

The main connections between dwelling type and household life cycle stage may be observed in respect of the first three phases of the model, for, as table 8.18 reveals, few households were in the latter two phases at the time of purchase. This comparison of the life cycle stage of all OMP households with the different parts of the resold stock shows that households in the expansion phase moving into three or four bedroom semi-detached houses built between 1945 and 1965 were the single largest grouping (28 percent of all established OMP households).

Further evidence of the social selectivity of purchasing households may be gained by combining household life cycle details with indicators of household wealth such as housing market trajectory and employment status. In the absence of household income data, such measures, when combined with life cycle details, may provide evidence of the way life cycle factors and economic constraints shaped the household moves into the resold sector of the market.

The proportion of households 'trading-up' was highest in respect of those households in the expansion phase of the life cycle (50 percent compared to 25 percent in respect of both commencement phases, table 8.19)

¹ Expansion phase households purchased +36% and +29% of houses built 1945-65, and -5% and -8% of pre-1965 houses in comparison to households in commencement phases 1. and 2., respectively.

Housing market path	Commencement phases	Expansion phase
Trading-down	25	25
Trading within same priceband	50	25
Trading-up	25	50

*Percentages based on 33 purchasing households in the commencement phase of the life cycle and 57 households in the expansion phase

Table 8.19., Housing Market Paths: Households in the Commencement and Expansion Phases of the Life cycle Compared.

When occupational social class is considered, fewer households in the expansion phase of the life cycle were engaged in working class employment (table 8.20).

Social Class	Commencement phases	Expansion phase
Service	29	28
Intermediate	39	48
Working	32	24
% of couples dual-earners	75	70

*Percentage of dual earners based on 67 expansion phase households, and 64 commencement phase households.

Table 8.20., Social Class and Dual Earners: Households in the Commencement and Expansion Phases of the Life cycle Compared, Percentage of all Working adults in each Group.

Marginally higher proportions of households in the commencement phases of the life cycle were dual-earners (+ 5 percent, at 75 percent) compared to those in the expansion phase (table 8.20). This, combined with the higher proportion of working class employment amongst commencement-phase households, reflects the prevalence of dual-earner households (as distinct from dual-career households) in these phases. In such households one partner was often engaged in lower status, non-career type employment - taken in the first years following household formation to supplement the main income.

Percentage of households in column 1. matching variables ii. to ix.

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix
Household life cycle stage SEMI-DETACHED HOUSES, by age and size	Number of Households	No. dual earner households	Both partners engaged in service or intermediate employment	Last home located within Northants	Last home in county adjoining Northants	Last home in county outside region	Both partners born outside region	No. households trading-up/ same priceband on buying resale	No. households trading- down on buying resold dwelling
HOUSES, built before 1945, 2 bedrooms.									
All households matched to life cycle	2	100	100	0	50	0	100	50	0
No. households in commencement phase one	1	100	100	0	100	0	100	100	0
No. households in commencement phase two	1	100	100	0	0	0	100	0	0
life cycle phase unmatched	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HOUSES, built before 1945, 3 or 4 bedrooms									
All households matched to life cycle	24	63	29	50	13	17	29	50	13
No. households in commencement phase one	6	83	50	33	17	50	50	50	0
No. households in commencement phase two	4	75	25	50	0	0	25	50	0
No. households in expansion phase	11	55	27	55	9	9	27	55	9
No. households in dissolution phase one	1	100	0	0	100	0	0	100	0
No. households in dissolution phase two	2	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	100
life cycle phase unmatched	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HOUSES, built 1945 - 65, 2 bedrooms									
All households matched to life cycle	12	50	33	42	0	0	0	0	17
No. households in commencement phase one	5	80	40	20	0	0	0	0	20
No. households in commencement phase two	1	0	100	100	0	0	0	0	0
No. households in expansion phase	4	50	25	75	0	0	0	25	25
life cycle phase unmatched	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HOUSES, built 1945 - 65, 3 or 4 bedrooms.									
All households matched to life cycle	40	60	18	35	0	18	0	43	25
No. households in commencement phase one	10	50	10	30	0	30	20	20	20
No. households in commencement phase two	3	67	0	67	0	0	0	33	33
No. households in expansion phase	27	63	22	33	37	15	33	52	26
life cycle phase unmatched	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HOUSES, after 1965 2 bedrooms.									
All households matched to life cycle	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
life cycle phase unmatched	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HOUSES, after 1965, 3 or 4 bedrooms.									
All households matched to life cycle	14	93	50	50	36	36	36	57	7
No. households in commencement phase one	4	75	25	50	25	25	25	50	0
No. households in commencement phase two	3	100	33	33	33	33	33	67	0
No. households in expansion phase	6	100	67	50	50	33	33	67	0
No. households in dissolution phase one	1	100	100	100	0	100	100	0	0

Table 8.21., Key social, migration and life cycle variables related to resold dwelling type.

Percentage of households in column i. matching variables ii. to ix.

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix
Household life cycle stage TERRACED HOUSES, by age and size.	Number of Households	No. dual earner households	Both partners engaged in service or intermediate employment	Last home located within Northants	Last home in county adjoining Northants	Last home in county outside region	Both partners born outside region	No. households trading-up/ same priceband on buying resale	No. households trading- down on buying resold dwelling
HOUSES, built before 1945, 2 bedrooms.									
All households matched to life cycle	7	71	14	71	14	0	43	57	29
No. households in commencement phase one	4	100	25	100	0	0	50	50	25
No. households in expansion phase	3	33	0	33	33	0	33	67	33
HOUSES, built before 1945, 3 or 4 bedrooms									
All households matched to life cycle	21	71	43	14	19	19	24	48	5
No. households in commencement phase one	6	67	50	0	17	17	33	50	0
No. households in commencement phase two	4	100	50	25	0	25	0	50	0
No. households in expansion phase	6	67	67	33	50	17	50	67	17
No. households in dissolution phase one	1	100	0	0	0	100	0	100	0
life cycle phase unmatched	4								
HOUSES, built 1945 - 65, 2 bedrooms									
All households matched to life cycle	1								
No. households in commencement phase one	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HOUSES, built 1945 - 65, 3 or 4 bedrooms.									
All households matched to life cycle	24	50	29	38	8	13	0	33	13
No. households in commencement phase one	10	50	10	30	0	10	0	20	10
No. households in commencement phase two	3	33	0	0	0	33	0	0	0
No. households in expansion phase	9	67	67	56	22	11	0	67	11
No. households in dissolution phase two	1	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	100
life cycle phase unmatched	1								
HOUSES, after 1965 2 bedrooms.									
All households matched to lifecycle	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
life cycle phase unmatched	1								
HOUSES, after 1965, 3 or 4 bedrooms.									
All households matched to life cycle	3	67	67	67	0	0	33	0	67
No. households in expansion phase	2	100	100	100	0	0	50	0	100
life cycle phase unmatched	1								

Table 8.22., Key social, migration and life cycle variables related to resold dwelling type.

The matching of factors indicating household income and life cycle stage to the nature of the resold dwelling purchased, reveals that economic factors may be combined usefully with the life cycle model in understanding the complex movement of households through the dwelling stock. The foregoing analysis was limited by the absence of any direct income data in respect of purchasing households. Nevertheless, the differing patterns which emerged from the data available suggest that factors of career advancement and housing market trajectory must be considered alongside the life cycle in order to understand the socially selective patterns of household movement into different parts of the dwelling stock.

8.37 Resold Dwelling Type: Social and Migratory Characteristics of Purchasing Households.

The social selectivity attached to the purchase of these dwellings is further defined when additional key social and migratory variables are added to this analytical framework (tables 8.21 and 8.22). Such an approach produces 'bundles' of social and migratory characteristics linked to different parts of the resold dwelling stock.

(a). Two-thirds of the households purchasing the most common type of resold dwelling - ie. **three or four bedroom semi-detached houses built 1945-65** (42 dwellings) - were in the expansion phase of the life cycle. This group represents the largest purchaser group as defined by household type and life cycle stage amongst the OMP households surveyed. Reference to the wider selection of variables (tables 8.21 and 8.22) presents a fuller profile of this group. Accordingly, the majority were dual-earner households (63 percent), over a fifth had both partners engaged in intermediate or service class employment (22 percent), over two-thirds were moving into the resold dwelling from a last home located within the Northants region (67 percent), a third of these households comprised both partners originating outside the Northants region, and

the majority were trading-up in the housing market on purchasing a former local authority dwelling (52 percent).

(b). **Three or four bedroom semi-detached houses constructed before 1945** comprised a fifth of the dwellings purchased by the households surveyed. The majority of such households were in the expansion phase of the life cycle (46 percent)². The majority of these were dual-earner households (55 percent), just over a quarter had both partners engaged in either service or intermediate class occupations (27 percent), again in just over a quarter of households both partners originated from outside the immediate region (27 percent), and the majority were trading-up in the housing market on purchasing a resold dwelling (55 percent).

(c). With regard to **terraced houses**, the greatest number of households were resident in the **larger houses (3 or 4 bedrooms)**, with 13 percent of households surveyed resident in the oldest properties of this type (ie. built before 1945), and 15 percent resident in those constructed between 1945 and 1965. Of this latter group the largest number (43 percent) were in the commencement phase of the life cycle (phase one). A half of these households were dual-earners, only 10 percent had both partners engaged in service or intermediate class employment, the greatest number were moving from a last home within the county, none of these households consisted of both partners originating from outside the region.

(d). Equal numbers of households in the commencement and expansion phases of the life cycle were resident in **terraced houses built pre-1945**, together totalling 6 percent of all households surveyed. Of those households in the commencement phases two-thirds were dual-earners, a half consisted adults engaged in either intermediate or service class employment, households were evenly split

² Of the 42 households resident in such properties, 24 were matched to their respective stage in the life cycle.

between those relocating from within and without the Northants region, and a half of households were trading-up on purchasing former local authority dwellings. Two-thirds of those households in the expansion phase of the life cycle were dual-earner households engaged in either service or intermediate class occupations, over three-quarters of such households were relocating from a previous home located in the Northants region (83 percent), such a move represented a move up the property ladder (purchasing a new home of greater value than the sale price of the previous home) for two-thirds of households, and a half of such households consisted of both partners originating outside the region.

(e). Of the larger **semi-detached houses constructed after 1965**, the majority of households were in the expansion phase of the life cycle (38 percent) together accounting for 8 percent of all households surveyed. Of this latter group all were dual-earner households, two-thirds were composed solely of those engaged in intermediate or service class employment, a similar proportion were moving from a last home located in Northamptonshire, a third were composed of both partners born outside the region.

(f). The largest household grouping resident in smaller dwellings were those residing in **two-bedroom semi-detached houses built between 1945 and 1965**, totalling 7 percent of all households interviewed. Of these households the greatest number were in the commencement phase of the life cycle (phase one, 42 percent). The majority of such households (80 percent) were dual-earners, 40 percent were engaged solely in intermediate or service class employment.

8.4 Summary

The foregoing analysis has established that the nature of the resold dwelling (as defined by property age, type and size) was a major influence on the migration process under study. Such influence, in part, derived from the fact that the majority of household motives for leaving the last home were based on housing factors (for example, the desire for a more comfortable home, or a more suitable home for raising children). The decision to purchase a former local authority dwelling centred on issues of dwelling quality (ie. size, layout, appearance, aspect, potential for development) and dwelling price. Analysis of this selectivity is central to an understanding to the pattern of household migration into the resold sector, for the choice of a property in turn affected the settlement selected for the new home. In the majority of cases the decision to move to a given village in the study area was made because of the selection of an individual (resold) dwelling. Analysis of the social characteristics of purchasing households, especially the employment status of household members, revealed a selectivity ultimately based on household income, such that the more desirable sections of the resold dwelling stock were purchased by those households likely to have the highest income levels. This latter factor may be seen as an example of the operation of housing market constraints on the migration process as manifested in house prices. The suitability of different sections of the resold dwelling stock to households at different stages in the life cycle further revealed the socially selective nature of migration into resold dwellings.

The foregoing analysis which has combined dwelling type with the social and migratory characteristics of households, underlines the complexity of the relationship between household type and dwelling type. Accordingly, attempts to classify the rural housing stock (including resales) solely according to their tenure or price, or a

range of other individual characteristics is to oversimplify the situation. Rather, the dwelling stock influences the migration process at a variety of stages and levels, and one of the main factors in influencing the process is the nature of the dwelling itself. In highlighting this relationship on the basis of the present research, claims of a positivistic nature, drawing for example on the links between households of a certain type with dwellings of a certain type, should be avoided. The present work shows that the nature of the dwelling stock influences the pattern of migration by the interplay of the social and life cycle characteristics of the household concerned, and through the economic constraints reflected in the dwelling price. Such a relationship has been seen to operate in the case of the former local authority sector of the housing market, but will also extend to other sectors of the rural housing market.

The resale of local authority dwellings (of any type) within the constrained housing market of the study area represents a major influence on contemporary rural migration patterns. However, the nature of the resold dwelling stock varies greatly from parish to parish across the District, thus further exerting an influence on the migration process. Thus far, the changing role of former local authority dwellings has been examined without reference to the geography of the district under study.

It is the purpose of the following analysis (chapter 9) to examine the geography of the resales process across South Northamptonshire, by analysing the role of space and geographical location in shaping the processes under study. Clearly the nature of the resold dwelling stock (actual or potential) in each parish will be a major influence on the migration occurring in each village and, therefore, on the nature and pace of social change arising from such migration.

CHAPTER NINE

PATTERNS OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE RESOLD LOCAL AUTHORITY STOCK

9.0 Introduction

In examining the spatial dimension to the patterns of migration led social change within the District, this chapter forms part of a long tradition of geographical enquiry which has analysed the tripartite relationship between migration, social change and geographical location.

The key role of geographical location and the importance of the spatial dimension to migration and social change was initially emphasized in studies which generally focused on migratory flows in relation to population concentrations (for example, Ravenstein, 1885; Zipf, 1946). The principal themes of such earlier work have a strong resonance in the contemporary patterns arising from resales. Throughout the earlier phases of housing and population change in South Northamptonshire, the processes and patterns operating at a given location could be usefully contextualised by reference to the relative position of the principal population concentrations surrounding the District (and to a lesser extent the main communication routes). Such a spatial relationship has been summarised in the work of Lewis and Maund (1976), with their time-space order of urbanisation (fig 2.01), which conceptualised successive phases in which simultaneous population flows effected rural social change. Proximity to population centres and the varying proportions of different types of migratory flow were identified as the twin factors shaping the nature of social change at a given location.

Wider economic factors, particularly changing spatial divisions of labour, have been instrumental in shaping

migratory flows affecting the countryside and, as Marsden et al. (1990) note:

"... such economic forces are uneven and condition the 'time-space' structuring of regions and localities. The historical condition of localities, including their particular economic and social legacies and cultural conditioning factors, affect new 'waves' of development..."

(Marsden et al., 1990:10, original emphasis).

The importance of geographical location, as shaped by economic and social restructuring, to the understanding the patterns of social change under study stems from the present use of realism as a theoretical framework. As Sayer (1985) notes,

"... in the sphere of concrete studies, both the difficulty of such research and its poor record in developing explanations owes a great deal to the failure to consider the spatial form"

(Sayer, 1985:65).

Accordingly, the following analysis will examine the spatial patterns of change within the District caused by recent events in the state-rented sector of the housing market. Throughout this analysis, consistent with such a theoretical position, the way such change has affected different localities will in turn be analysed with a sensitivity both to the historical processes which have shaped each locality, and the contingent way in which location itself has subsequently triggered the processes under study.

The present chapter falls into two main areas:

- Resales and the spatial pattern of housing and population change 1980 - 1994
- Resales and patterns of social change

Initially the interrelated patterns of housing market restructuring and population change following the 1980 Housing Act are analysed. Subsequent discussion examines the contribution of the resales process to these observed patterns of change. Focus is then placed upon the patterns of social change arising from resales. Contrast is made between the characteristics of OMP households and the wider population of the District. A four stage approach considering the patterns of social change following resale is then adopted, with each stage conducted at a different scale of resolution - from district-wide analysis, comparison of 'hinterland' and 'remoter' parishes, a fourfold classification of villages based on population size, to examination of individual settlements.

9.1 Resales and the Spatial Pattern of Housing and Population Change 1980 - 1994.

In order to determine whether the District's housing and population exhibited any marked spatial patterns prior to the period of resales currently under study a number of housing and population variables relating to the situation before the 1980 Housing Act will be examined. It is against such a background that subsequent changes in the spatial configuration of housing and population structures may be assessed, together with the relationship of the resales process to such change.

Throughout the following analysis the parish will be used as the basic areal unit of analysis. Parish level analysis enables comparison with existing secondary data sources such as the decennial census and is at a sufficiently high level of resolution to enable study of the resales process on the settlements in the District under study.

Seven variables were selected to reflect the housing and population structure of the District prior to 1980, for as Spencer (1995) notes in respect of earlier studies of rural population change,

[sole reference to] "demographic change can give a misleading impression of how urbanised free-standing settlements are becoming unless the scale and pace of residential development is also appreciated"

(Spencer, 1995:171).

Thus, the distribution of the District's population will be examined by reference to (i). the size of the parish population at the outset of the RTB and linked to the housing stock by reference to (ii). the number of households per parish. Reference will also be made to the tenure composition of the market in (iii). the number of local authority dwellings per parish. It is likely, based on the population concentrations in the parishes closest to the surrounding towns noted in the discussion of the provision of local authority housing in earlier decades, that those parishes with higher levels of these variables will be located in the hinterlands of Banbury, Northampton and Milton Keynes. The inclusion of a number of 'historical' variables will reflect this phased-development of the housing market prior to the introduction of the RTB. Accordingly, (iv). population turnover rate through the housing stock 1973-80, (v). levels of interwar local authority housebuilding, (vi). levels of private sector housebuilding 1961-71, will also be considered. Although it is expected that above average values of variables i. - vi. will identify parishes in the hinterlands of the District, such patterns may have been substantially modified by the implementation of planning policy, therefore an additional variable is included to explore this influence: (vii). designated planning category of parishes in the 1972 Development Plan.

Reference to the arithmetic mean in respect of each variable enables parishes to be allocated to one of two spatial categories (table 9.01) depending on whether they were above or below the mean variable value (calculations are presented in Appendices 9A and 9B). A plot of rural parishes following this classification (fig 9.01) reveals

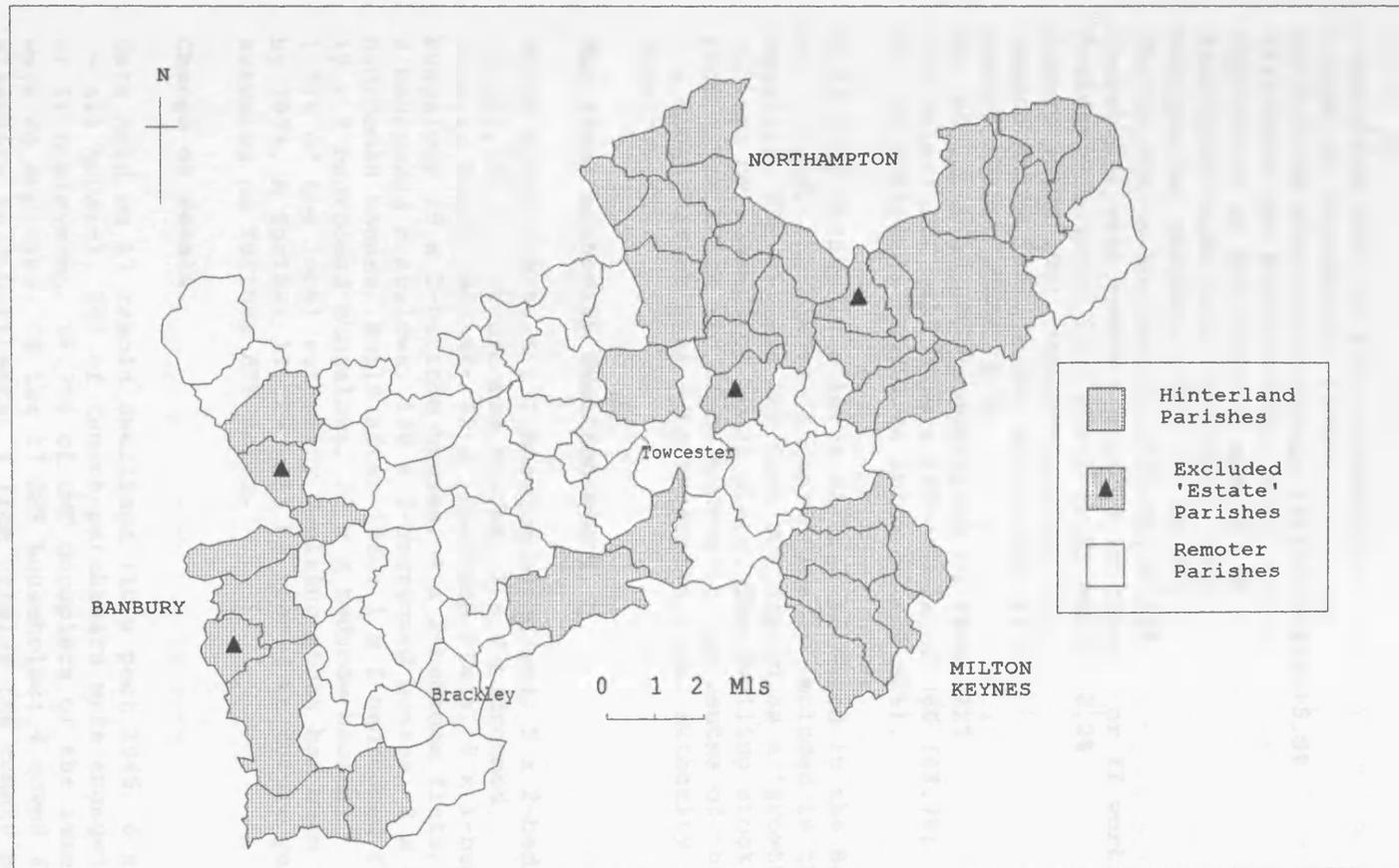


Figure 9.01., The Location of the Hinterland Parishes in South Northamptonshire.

Parish Profile

Population 1991: 3,488 residents
Number of households: 1,335
Percentage population change 1981 - 1991: +5.9%
Residents per Hectare 1991: 3.8
Population of pensionable age: 17.8%
Population aged under 16 years: 23%
Residential turnover 1990-91: 23.34%
Wholly moving Households 1990-91: 6.24%
Households with members engaged in class I or II work: 40.2%
Residents engaged in class I or II work: 42.2%
Tenure share 1991, Owner-occupied: 68%
Tenure share 1991, local authority: 23.8%
Tenure share, other: 8.2%
No. of local authority dwellings in 1994: 227
RTB sales: 160 sold from a 1980 stock of 366 (43.7%)
No. of dwellings resold to 1994: 17 (10.62%).

Middleton Cheney is a large village situated in the Banbury hinterland, the hamlet of Overthorpe is included in the parish boundary. The village has been designated as a 'growth' village by successive local plans. The dwelling stock ranges from older brick and stone houses in the centre of the village - a conservation area - to extensive local authority 'estate' developments.

The local authority dwelling stock.

Built before 1945: 8 x 1-bedroom bungalows, 9 x 2-bedroomed houses, 37 x 3-bedroomed houses, 2 x 4-bedroomed houses. Built 1945-64: 12 x 1-bedroom flats, 8 x 1-bedroom bungalows 19 x 2-bedroom houses, 4 x 2-bedroom flats, 27 x 2 bedroomed bungalows, 104 x 3-bedroomed houses, 3 x 4 bedroomed houses. Built after 1965: 1 x 2 bedroomed flats, 19 x 2 bedroomed bungalows, 30 x 3 bedroom houses. 1.27% of the local authority dwelling stock had been resold by 1994. A further 11.98% will be resold in future years - assuming no further RTB sales.

Change on resale.

Data held on 17 resold dwellings (10 x post 1965, 6 x 1945-65 - all houses). 36% of tenant-purchasers were engaged in class I or II employment, 68.75% of OMP occupiers of the same dwellings were so employed. Of the 17 OMP households: 4 moved from elsewhere in S.Northants, 4 from outside the county but within the region and 2 relocated from outside the region. 7 were first time buyers.

Fig. 9.02., Middleton Cheney - an example of a 'hinterland' parish.

Parish Profile

Population 1991: 172 residents
Number of households: 66
Percentage population change 1981 - 1991: No change
Residents per Hectare 1991: 0.3
Population of pensionable age: 16.9%
Households with only pensioner members: 22.7%
Population aged under 16 years: 23%
Residential turnover 1990-91: 23.88%
Wholly moving Households 1990-91: 6.06%
Households with members engaged in class I or II work: 20%
Residents engaged in class I or II work: 23%
Tenure share 1991, Owner-occupied: 62.1%
Tenure share 1991, local authority: 21.2%
Tenure share, other: 16.7%
No. of local authority dwellings in 1994: 13
RTB sales: 4 sold from a 1980 stock of 17, 23.5%
No. of dwellings resold to 1994: 1 (5.9%).

Woodend is a small attractive village located in the heart of the District to the N.W. of Towcester. The parish incorporates the hamlet of Plumpton. It is surrounded by agricultural land and consisted of housing developed along the main street until a stand of local authority dwelling was built on the outskirts of the village. The remaining properties consist of brick and ironstone cottages and a limited number of post-war dwellings.

The local authority dwelling stock:

Four 2-bedroom houses constructed pre-1945, one 3-bedroom pre-1945 house, four 2-bedroom houses built 1945-64, six 3-bedroom houses built 1945-64. Eleven houses in a stand on the outskirts of the village with the remainder infilling pre-existing dwellings.

Change on resale:

Data held in respect of household turnover in one 2-bedroom house (built in 1957) purchased under the RTB in December 1989. The dwelling overlooks open fields "... this property has been the subject of considerable updating in recent years" (Scrivener and Co. Ltd., Banbury). The tenant-purchasers had not held a previous local authority tenancy. Subsequent occupiers were first time buyers (in 1991), aged 25-44 years with no children. One partner was born in Bakewell, Derbyshire, the other in Croughton, S. Northants. A dual-earner household; one partner a travelling communications engineer - (class IIIM), the other a stables groom based locally.

Sources: OPCS, 1991; SNC.

Fig. 9.03., Woodend - an example of a 'remoter'
- parish.

a clear division of District between 38 'hinterland' parishes (those closest to the three towns adjoining the District), and 32 'remoter' parishes. Examples of each type of parish are detailed in Figures 9.02 and 9.03. Two parishes, Silverstone and Syresham, are the exception to this pattern; both are located in the centre of the District to the south of Towcester. These may be seen as an extension of the Northampton hinterland and exhibit 'hinterland characteristics' as a result of their proximity to the main communication route passing through the District (A43 trunk road) and the effect of earlier planning policy.

REMOTER PARISHES	HINTERLAND PARISHES
(i). Lower-than-average resident population 1981 (< 806 persons)	Higher-than-average resident population 1981 (> 659 persons)
(ii). Smaller number of resident households 1981 (mean 136 households, < 305)	Greater number of resident households (mean 411 households, > 228)
(iii). Below mean number of local authority dwellings per parish 1980, (mean 7.5, < 82 dwellings)	Above mean number of local authority dwellings per parish 1980, (mean 34.2, > 54 dwellings)
(iv). Lower residential turnover immediately preceding 1980 Housing Act (1973-80), (Mean 39.1% households, < 49.44 %)	Higher levels of residential turnover 1973 -80 (Mean 42.9, > 32.96 %)
(v). Generally below average levels of interwar local authority housebuilding (< 15 dwellings per parish)	Generally above average levels of interwar local authority housebuilding (> 15 dwellings per parish)
(vi). Lower-than-average levels of private sector housebuilding 1961-1971 (< 40 dwellings).	Higher-than-average levels of private sector housebuilding 1961 - 1971 (> 40 dwellings).
(vii). Parishes designated as 'growth' settlements, category A, B or C in the 1972 Development Plan.	Parishes designated 'non-growth' settlements category C, D or E in the 1972 Development Plan.

* Standard deviation of percentage 'scores' (ie. the percentage of the 7 variables matched by each parish). Hinterland parishes = 18.06, Remoter parishes = 13.386

Table 9.01., Characteristics of Hinterland and Remoter Parishes.

The combination of a number of housing and population variables in the method employed compensates for the inevitable generalisation involved in any such classification. However, it is acknowledged that the inclusion of certain parishes in either category may be contested (other variables of lesser importance may well have involved the switching of a small number of parishes with lower overall variable 'scores'). Furthermore, although the categories were 'imposed' by the present research, the overall utility of the framework far exceeds any such shortcomings. Such a classification is consistent with recent research into processes of social change which has highlighted the importance of geographic location - particularly the distance from urban centres - as one element shaping the patterns of change in the countryside (eg. Harper, 1987). Importantly, Harper notes in respect of more accessible rural areas,

"... rather than assessing independent settlements in isolation this rural zone should be perceived as an intact zone, the 'rural hinterland' possessing a 'hinterland population'. This is a collection of people, possessing various socio-economic characteristics, who are attracted to remain within the rural hinterland for a variety of reasons, typically aligned to factors of housing, employment or social motives ..."

(Harper, 1987:301).

The practice of differentiating the most accessible rural areas for the purposes of analysing social change is long-established (eg. Wehrwein, 1942., Pahl, 1965., Cloke, 1977, Sherwood, 1986). In attempting to distinguish between different rural localities on the basis of their relative position to urban centres, a number of authors have pointed to the complexity of making such a distinction, for as Bunce (1982) notes,

"... one (final) problem with the concept of urban-rural fringe ... is the view that residential expansion declines

linearly with distance from the city. In most general senses this is true, yet three recent trends have seriously complicated this model... dispersal of industrial activities ... increases in commuting distances and work habits ... and intensification of planning legislation ..."

(Bunce, 1982:155).

In the case of South Northamptonshire a further exception was presented by the case of certain 'estate' parishes in the District (Couteenhall, Easton Neston, Edgcote and Warkworth). Relics from an earlier period, these were dominated by a single landed estate or proprietor and were excluded from the foregoing classification by virtue of their atypical housing and population structures.

The spatial pattern exhibited by the housing and population structures in the District at the outset of the Right To Buy shows a clear relationship between population concentration and housing provision on one hand, and proximity to the urban population concentrations surrounding the District on the other. This classification of rural parishes will now be employed as a spatial framework in analysing the patterns of housing and population change during the period under study.

9.2 The Spatial Pattern of Housing and Population Change, 1980-1994.

1980 - 1994 witnessed rapid and pronounced changes in the population and housing of South Northamptonshire. These wider processes of change and housing market restructuring will now be examined in turn (Sections 9.21 and 9.22) in order to contextualise later discussion of the spatial impact of the resales process (Section 9.3).

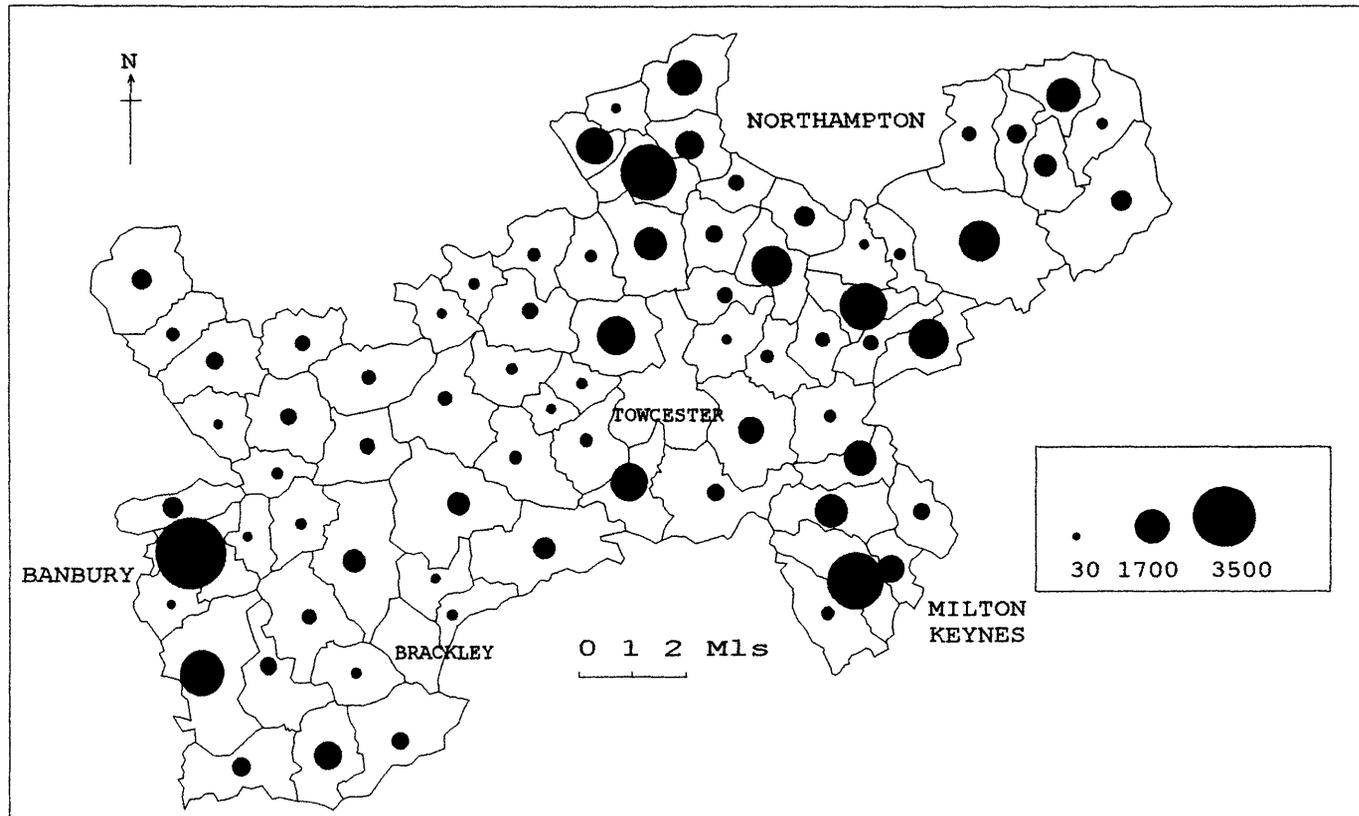


Fig. 9.04., Number and Distribution of Residents. Rural Parishes, South Northamptonshire in 1991, (Source: OPCS).

Research by Spencer (1991) in South Oxfordshire has identified 107 out of 140 parishes which are predicted to experience population growth. The predicted increase in population for the period 1981-91 is 10.7 per cent. The predicted increase in population for the period 1991-2001 is 10.7 per cent. The predicted increase in population for the period 2001-10 is 10.7 per cent. The predicted increase in population for the period 2010-20 is 10.7 per cent. The predicted increase in population for the period 2020-30 is 10.7 per cent. The predicted increase in population for the period 2030-40 is 10.7 per cent. The predicted increase in population for the period 2040-50 is 10.7 per cent. The predicted increase in population for the period 2050-60 is 10.7 per cent. The predicted increase in population for the period 2060-70 is 10.7 per cent. The predicted increase in population for the period 2070-80 is 10.7 per cent. The predicted increase in population for the period 2080-90 is 10.7 per cent. The predicted increase in population for the period 2090-100 is 10.7 per cent.

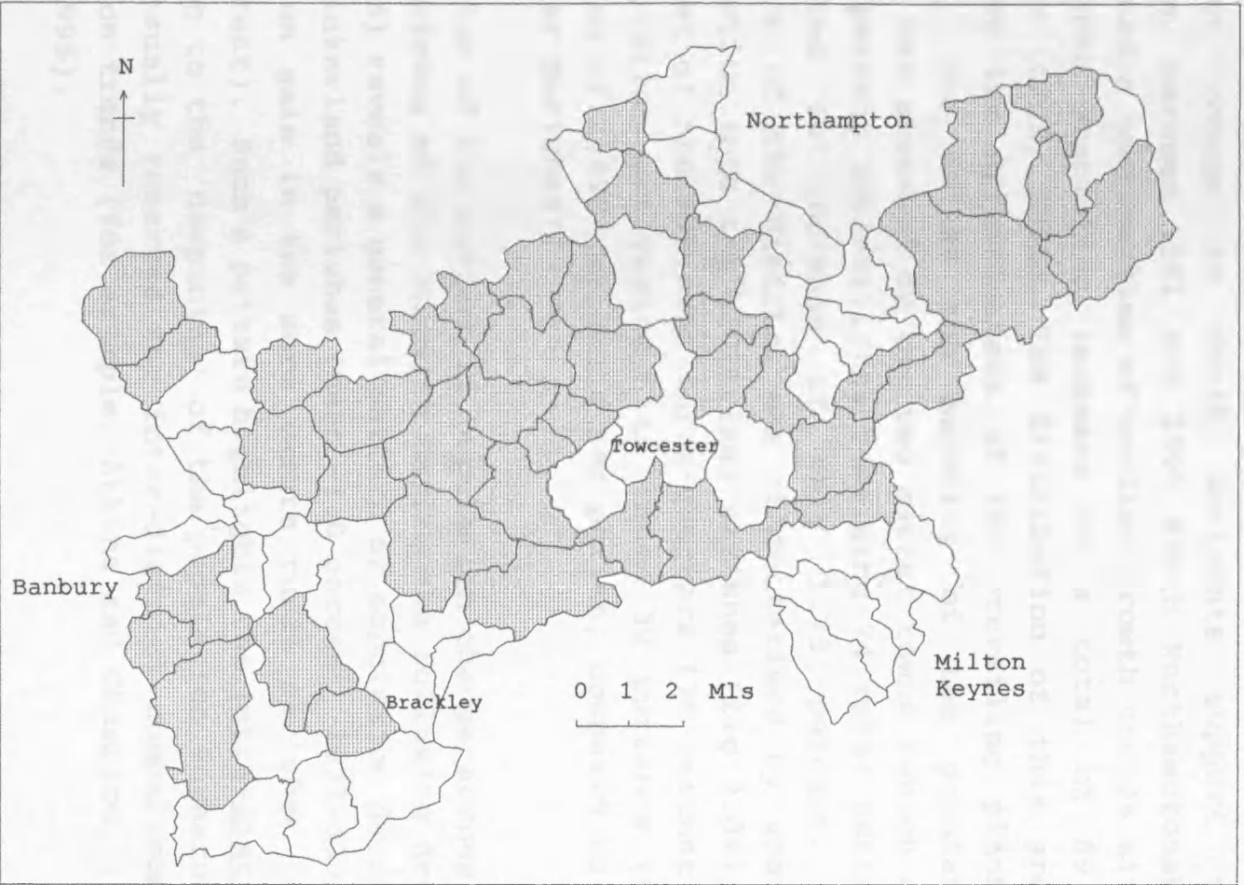


Fig 9.05 Parishes experiencing population gain 1981-91 - shaded.

9.21 Population change

Research by Spencer (1995) in South Oxfordshire has highlighted the need for rural population studies to examine "both the spatial and hierarchical components of change" (Spencer, 1995:153, emphasis added) and recent population change in South Northants support this assertion. Between 1981 and 1991 South Northamptonshire experienced a continuation of earlier growth trends with a 8.9 percent population increase to a total of 69,171 residents (OPCS, 1991). The distribution of this growth underlines the effectiveness of the prevailing planning policies, for whilst the majority of the population increase was absorbed by the two market towns (which grew by 36.6 percent 1981-91), the remaining 74 rural parishes experienced an increase of only 1.73 percent. The population of the District was characterised by spatial concentration into the hinterland parishes (fig 9.04); at the outset of the RTB over three-quarters (78 percent) of the population was resident in these 39 parishes (mean population of 1,078 residents per parish, compared to 341 in remoter parishes).

Examination of the pattern of population change across the rural parishes of the District during the following decade (fig 9.05) reveals a general pattern of population decrease in the hinterland parishes (mean -1.0 percent, 1981-91) and population gain in the more remote rural parishes (mean +5.3 percent). Such a pattern highlights the intra-district dimension to the 'deepening' of the population turnaround, a term usually reserved for inter-district comparison of population trends (for example, Atkins and Champion, 1995; Boyle, 1995).

When the changing number of residents is related to the number of households a striking pattern emerges which underlines the key role of the housing stock in mediating population change. Household growth for the rural parishes, at 9 percent during 1981-91, was more than four times that

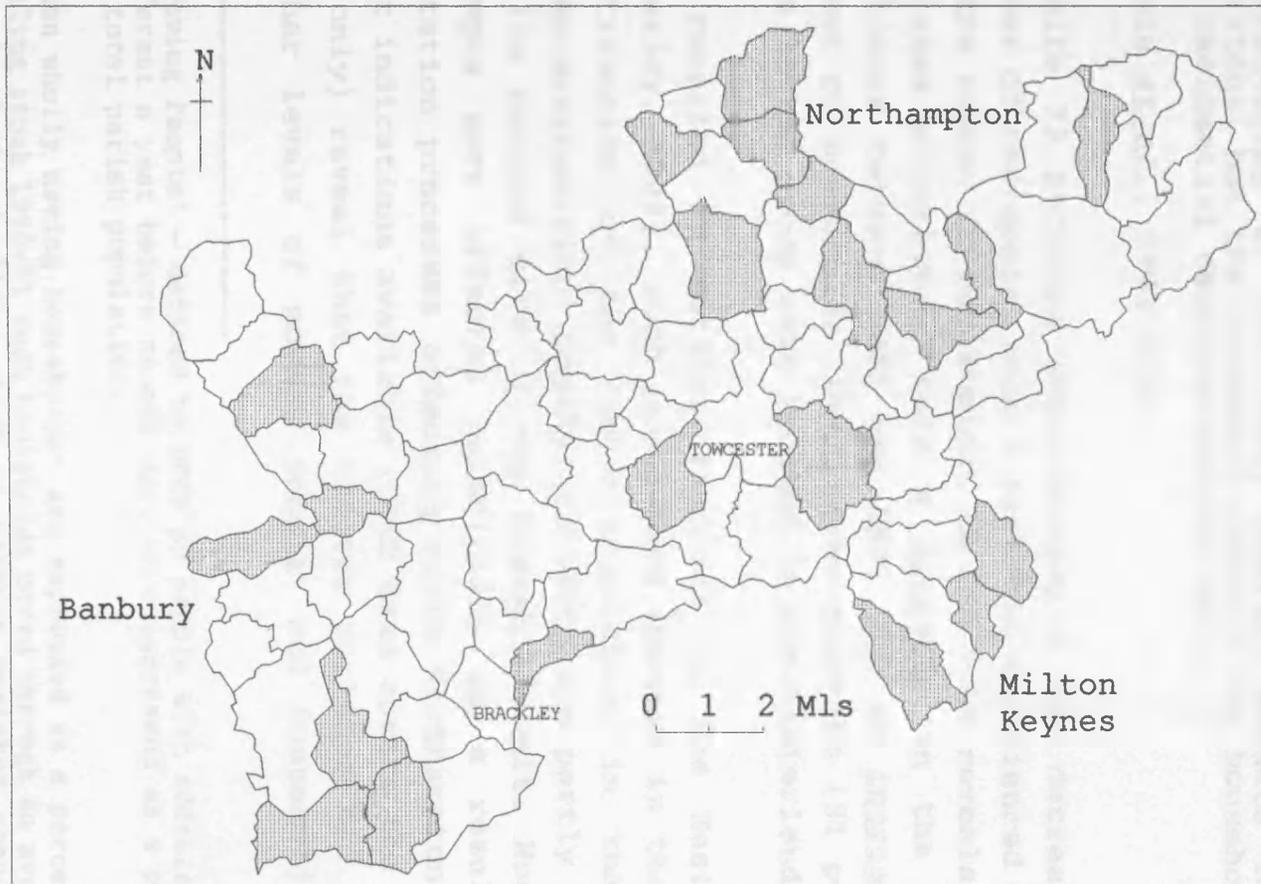


Fig. 9.06., Parishes experiencing a decrease in no. of residents and increase in no. of households 1981 - 91. - shaded. (Source: OPCS).

of the increase in the number of residents. These patterns are consistent with the findings of Lewis et al. (1991) in respect of the adjoining District of East Northamptonshire,

"... There is growing evidence to suggest that the vital component in the recomposition of rural populations and the restructuring of the rural housing markets is not the individual but the household since it is the household that is the residential decision-making unit..."

(Lewis et al., 1991:310).

Despite 33 parishes experiencing a net decrease in the number of residents, only 8 parishes experienced a decrease in the number of households. As fig 9.06 reveals, 21 rural parishes experienced both a decrease in the number of residents between 1981 and 1991 and an increase in the number of households. Over three-quarters (81 percent) of this latter group were located in the hinterland parishes.

As revealed in earlier research in the East Midlands (Weekley, 1988), such pronounced changes in the size and distribution of the rural population in the wake of 'counterurbanising' population flows are partly the result of the reduced size of the household unit. However such changes were effected principally as a result of the migration processes affecting South Northamptonshire. The best indications available (OPCS data covers the year 1990-91 only) reveal that the remoter parishes had marginally higher levels of moving people¹ and household turnover²

¹ 'Moving People' - defined by OPCS as people with addresses that were different a year before census day, here expressed as a percentage of the total parish population.

² When wholly moving households* are expressed as a percentage of the dwelling stock 1990-91 such households moved through an average of 23.2 percent of the dwelling stock in remoter parishes compared to 22.6 percent of the stock in hinterland parishes. 59.37 % of remoter parishes (19/32) had above average (for all rural parishes) levels of W.M.H's compared to hinterland parishes (46.15%, or 18/38). The number of moving persons was also marginally higher in remoter parishes (9.4% compared to 8.9% in hinterland parishes) - OPCS, 1991.

* defined as "a household all of whose usually resident members aged 1

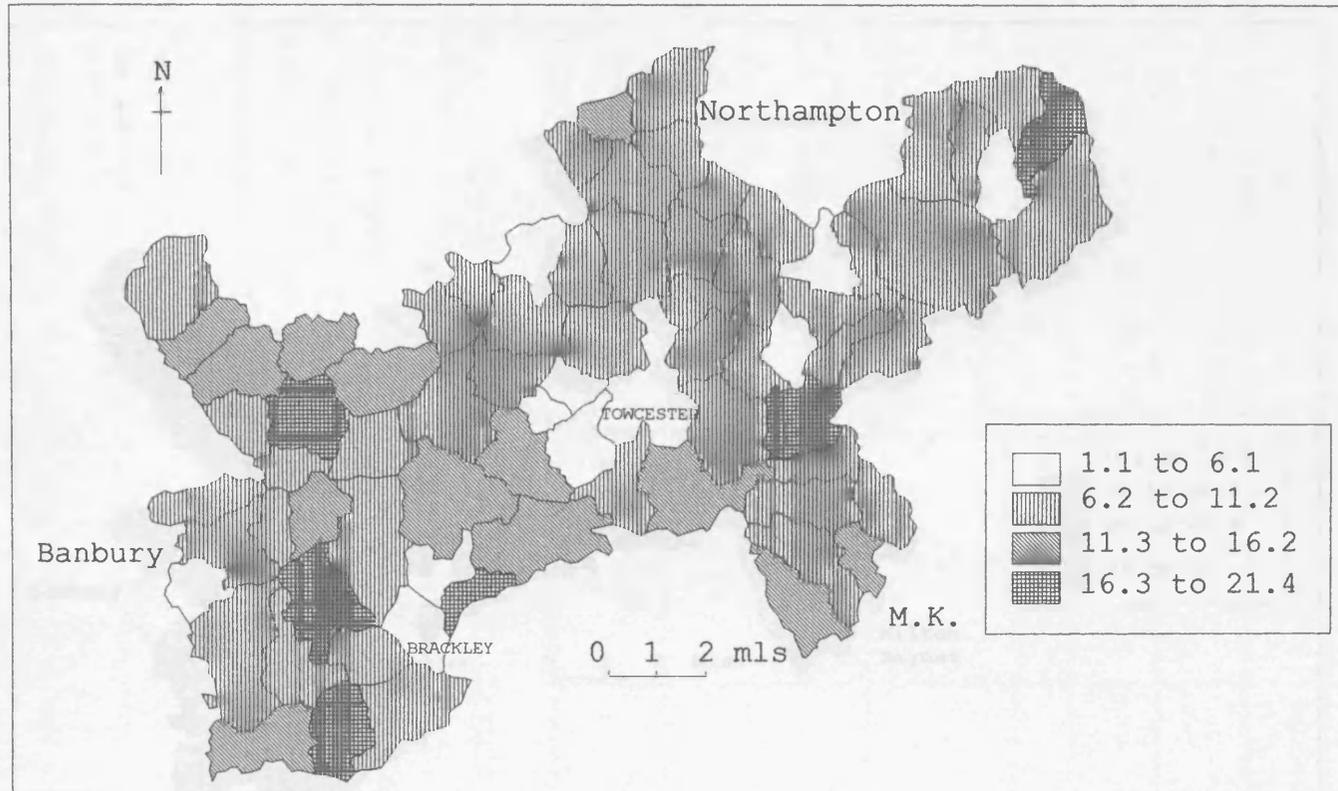


Fig. 9.07., Percentage of moving people, rural parishes S.Northants 1990 - 1991. (Source: OPCS).

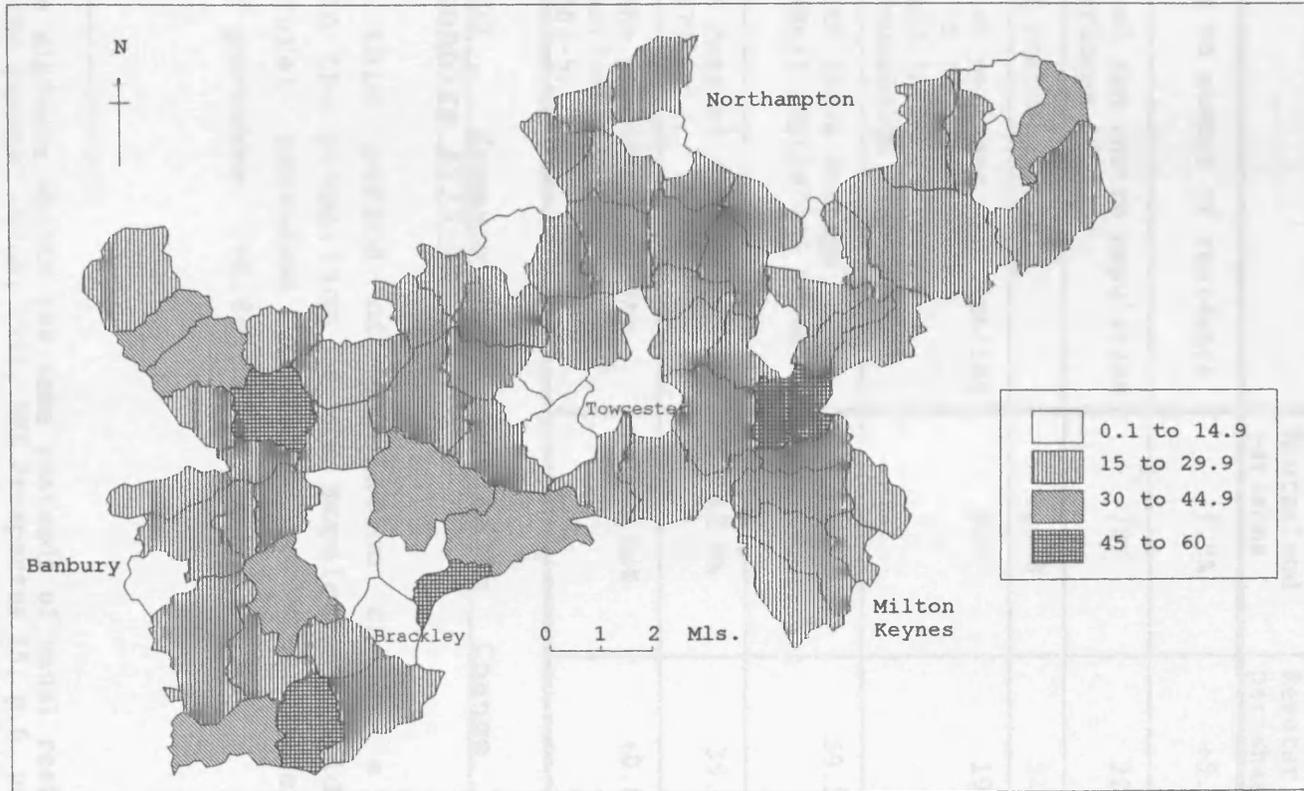


Fig. 9.08., Residential Turnover 1990 - 91 Rural Parishes of S. Northamptonshire. Percentage of Households. (Source: OPCS).

(Fig. 9.07 and 9.08). Such a pattern is in contrast to the more extensive data covering the period preceding the period under study (1973-1980), when turnover rates were on average 2.8 percent higher in individual parishes.

(figs 9.07 and 9.08). Such a pattern is in contrast to the more extensive data covering the period preceding the period under study (1973-1980), when turnover rates were on average 3.8 percent higher in hinterland parishes³.

Variable	Hinterland parishes	Remoter parishes
Mean change in number of residents 1981-91	-1.0%	+5.3%
Proportion of the entire population of rural parishes 1991	78%	22%
Mean no. of residents 1991	1,078	341
Proportion of parishes experiencing a decrease in the number of residents and increase in the number of households 1981-91.	81%	19%
Parishes with above average (all rural parishes) population turnover 1981-91.	46.15%	59.37%
Mean annual rate of population turnover 1973-80.	42.9%	39.1%
Change in the proportion of the total population of all rural parishes 1981-91.	-0.66%	+0.66%

Table 9.02., Summary of Population Change in S. Northamptonshire 1973-91.

Following this period of population change a slight increase in the proportion of the population resident the remoter rural parishes occurred at the expense of hinterland parishes (+0.66 percent).

and over are migrants within the same postcode of usual resident one year before the census" (OPCS, 1991, SMS Prospectus 35, p.6, para 16.).

³ Mean turnover rate in hinterland parishes 1973-80 was 42.9% compared to 39.1% for remoter parishes. 56.4% (22/38) of hinterland parishes had mean turnover rates higher than the average for all rural parishes - in contrast to 40.62% (13/32) of remoter parishes, - Sherwood, 1984.

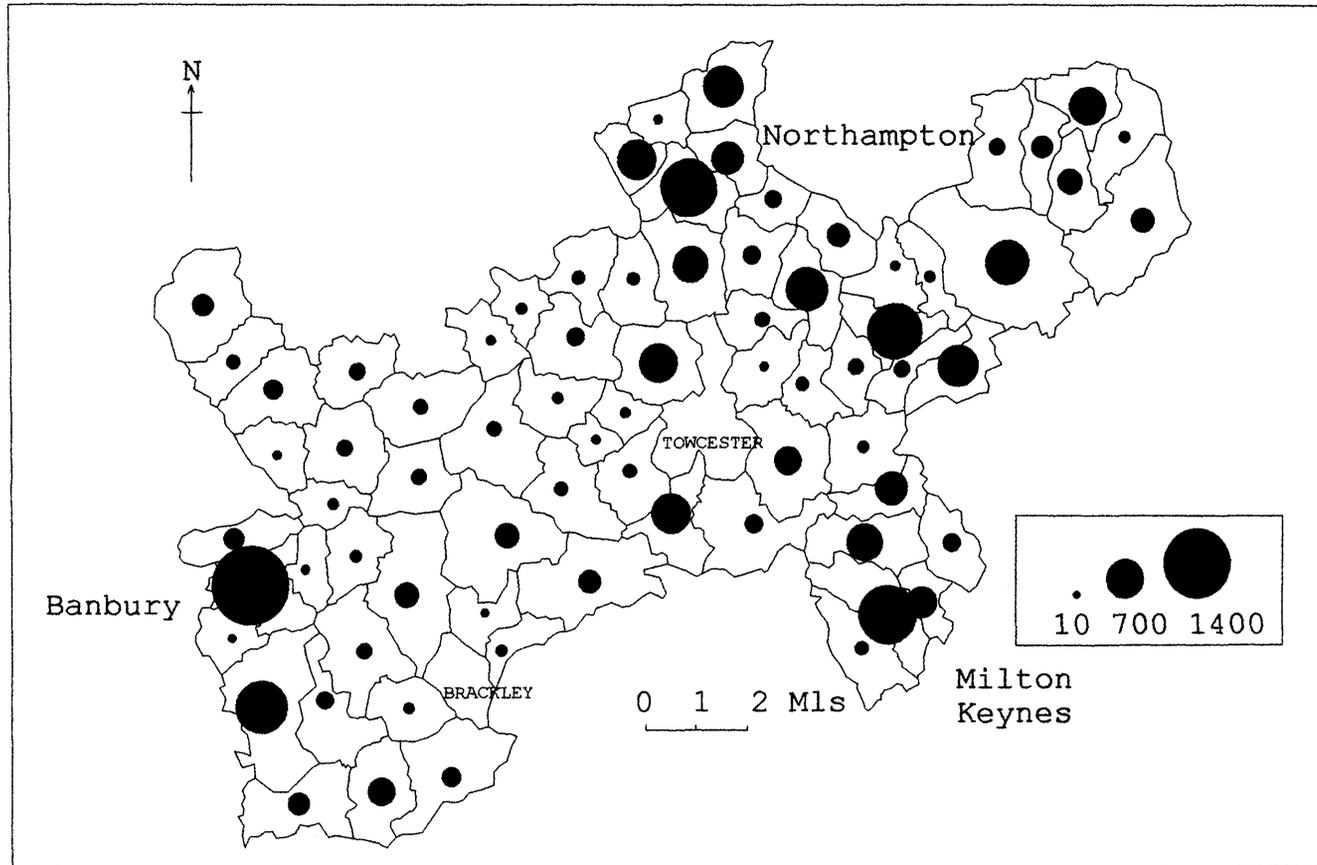


Fig. 9.09., No. of Dwellings Comprising the Effective Housing Stock, Rural Parishes of S. Northants, (Source: OPCS).

9.22 Housing Market Restructuring

Inextricably linked to the population distribution in the District, the housing market exhibited marked variation between hinterland and remoter parishes during 1981 - 1991. The size of the dwelling stock ('effective dwelling stock' - in line with OPCS data collection) in the rural parishes of South Northamptonshire in 1991 varied considerably from 12 (Warkworth) to 1,372 dwellings (Middleton Cheney) and averaged 286 dwellings (fig 9.09). Over three-quarters of the dwelling stock was located in hinterland parishes (78.3 percent), totalling 16,524 dwellings compared to just 4,570 in the 32 remoter parishes. On average those in the hinterland parishes contained 424 dwellings compared to just 143 in remoter parishes.

The post-1980 tenurial restructuring had a varying impact across all rural parishes reflecting both the spatial distribution of dwellings and households (table 9.03).

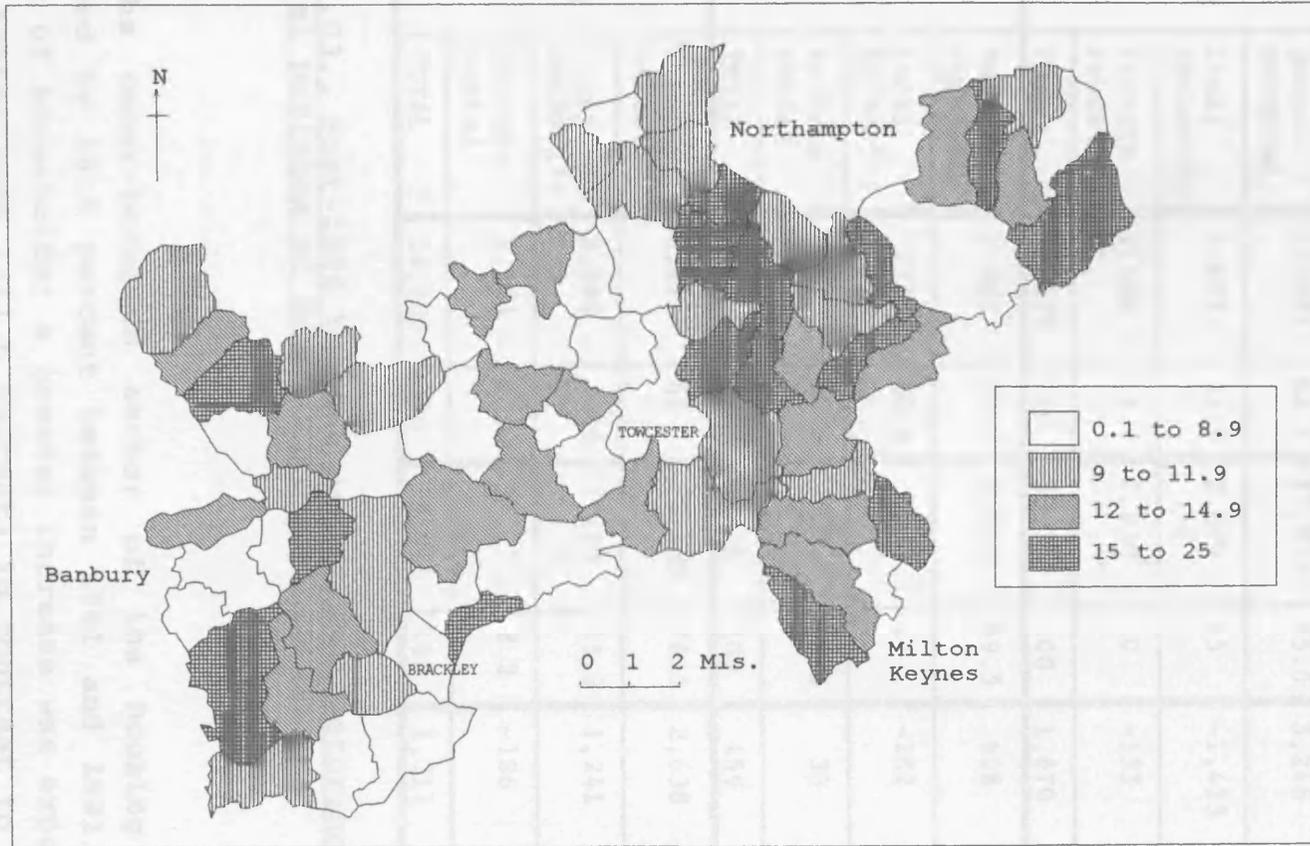


Fig. 9.10., Percentage increase in the no. of households in the owner-occupied sector, rural parishes of South Northamptonshire. (Source: OPCS).

Area	Tenure	1981		1991		Change	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ALL RURAL PARISHES	Owner-occupied	12,024	64.4	15,270	75.0	3,246	+10.6
	Local Authority	4,472	23.9	3,049	15	-1,423	-8.9
	Private rented	2,183	11.7	2,030	10	-153	-1.7
	TOTAL	18,679	100	20,349	100	1,670	-
REMOTER RURAL PARISHES	Owner-occupied	2,407	62.0	3,015	69.5	608	+7.5
	Local Authority	792	20.5	610	14	-182	-6.5
	Private rented	680	17.5	713	16.5	33	-1.0
	TOTAL	3,879	100	4,338	100	459	-
HINTER- LAND PARISHES	Owner-occupied	9,617	65	12,255	76.5	2,638	+11.5
	Local authority	3,680	24.9	2,439	15.2	1,241	-9.7
	Private rented	1,503	10.1	1,317	8.3	-186	-1.8
	TOTAL	14,800	100	16,011	100	1,211	-

Table 9.03., Post-1980 housing market restructuring across the rural parishes of South Northamptonshire.

Thus the owner-occupied sector of the housing market increased by 10.6 percent between 1981 and 1991, to 75 percent of households; a greater increase was experienced in the hinterlands (+11.5 percent) in contrast to remoter parishes (+7.5 percent) (fig 9.10). Although modest changes (0.8 percent) in the private-rented sector contributed to this increase, such a spatial pattern reflects the greater

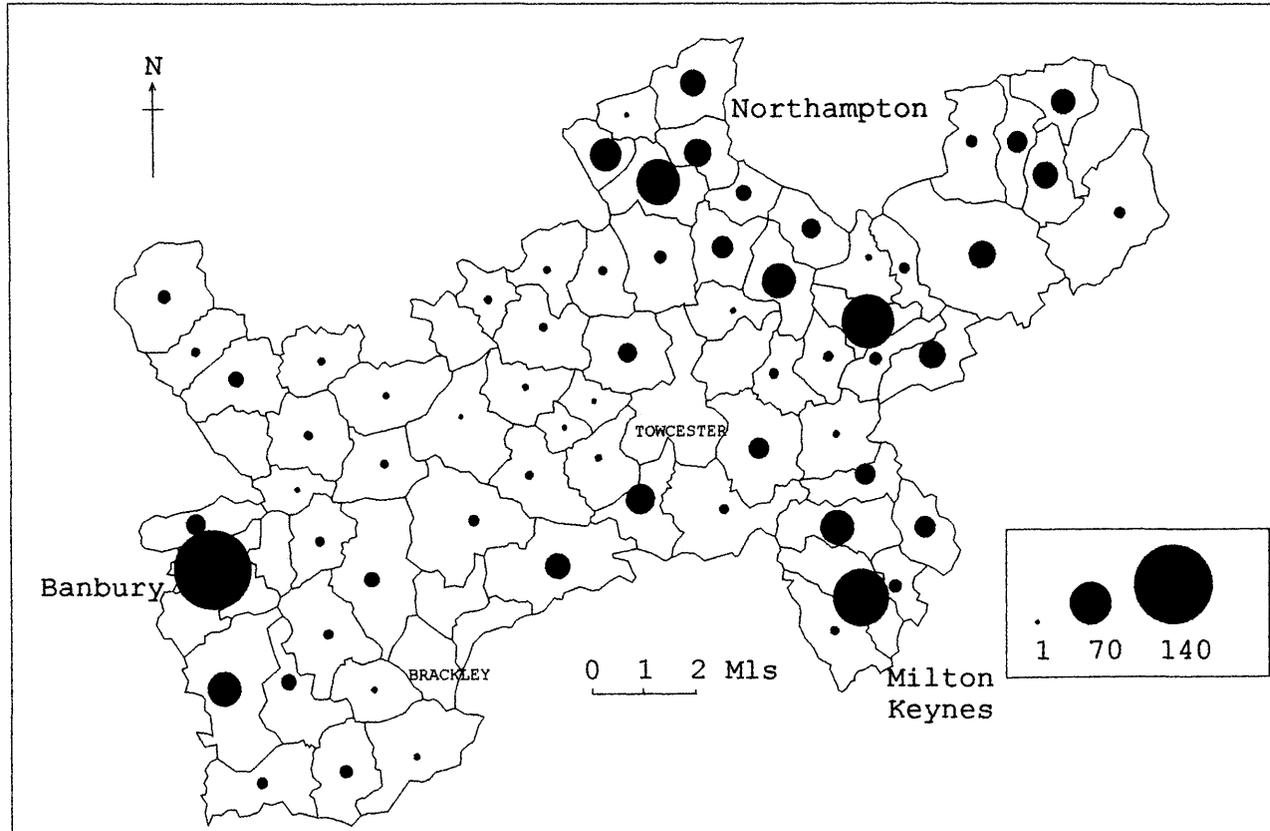


Fig. 9.11., No. of RTB Sales 1980 - 1990, Rural Parishes of South Northamptonshire. (Source: SNC).

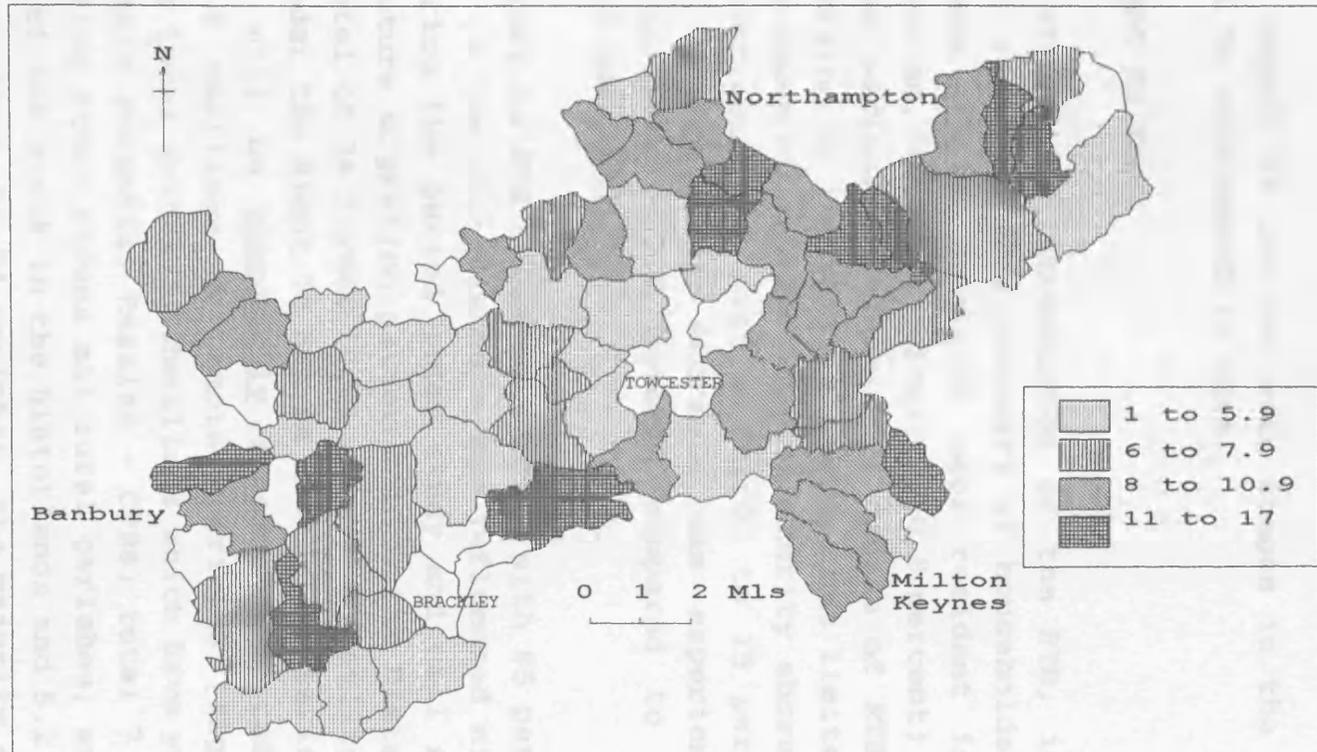


Fig. 9.12, RTB Sales as a Percentage of the Housing Stock in the Rural Parishes of S. Northamptonshire in 1991. (Source: OPCS, SNC).

level of RTB sales in hinterland parishes.

9.3 The Spatial Impact of the 'Resales Process'

The spatial impact of the two main stages in the resales process will be considered in turn.

9.31 The Right To Buy

Six months after the introduction of the RTB, in April 1981, almost a quarter (24 percent) of households in the rural parishes of the District were resident in local authority housing, with the majority (60.8 percent) located in hinterland parishes. Following a decade of RTB sales, new housebuilding in the private sector, but limited local authority housebuilding, the local authority share of the market had decreased by over a third, to 15 percent of households. The greatest decrease was experienced in hinterland parishes (-9.7 percent compared to remoter parishes -6.5 percent).

Such a contrast in RTB sales patterns - with 85 percent of total sales in the hinterlands - has influenced migration patterns during the period under study and will strongly influence future migration patterns into the District. On average a total of 34 former local authority dwellings have been sold under the Right To Buy in hinterland parishes and accordingly will be eventually resold, compared to an average of 8 dwellings in remoter parishes (fig 9.11). These former local authority dwellings which have yet to be resold (Certain Potential Resales - CPRs) total 7 percent of the dwelling stock across all rural parishes, averaging 8.0 percent of the stock in the hinterlands and 5.2 percent in remoter parishes. In 24 parishes, the majority of which are located in the hinterlands, CPRs already comprise a

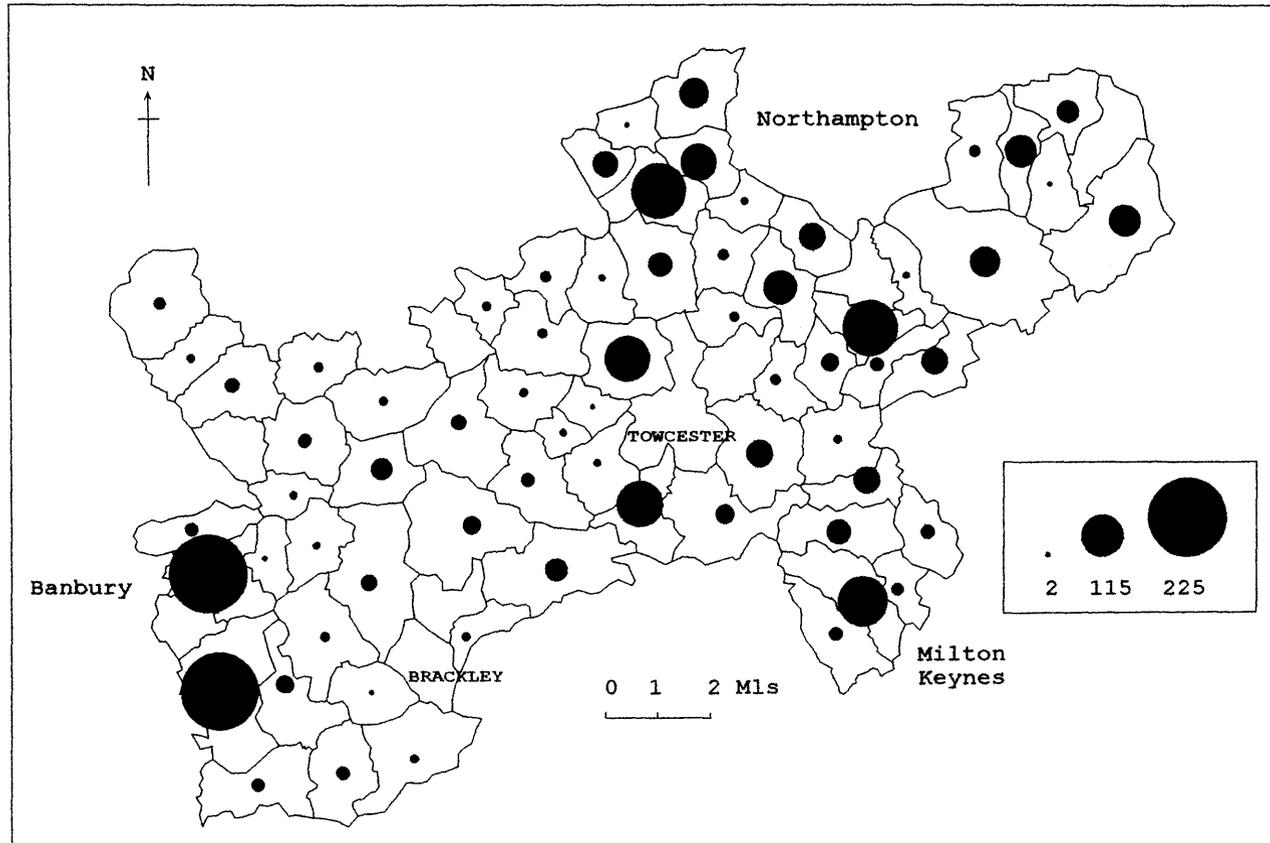


Fig., 9.13, No. of Households Residing in Local authority Dwellings in 1991 (NCFRs), (Source: OPCS).

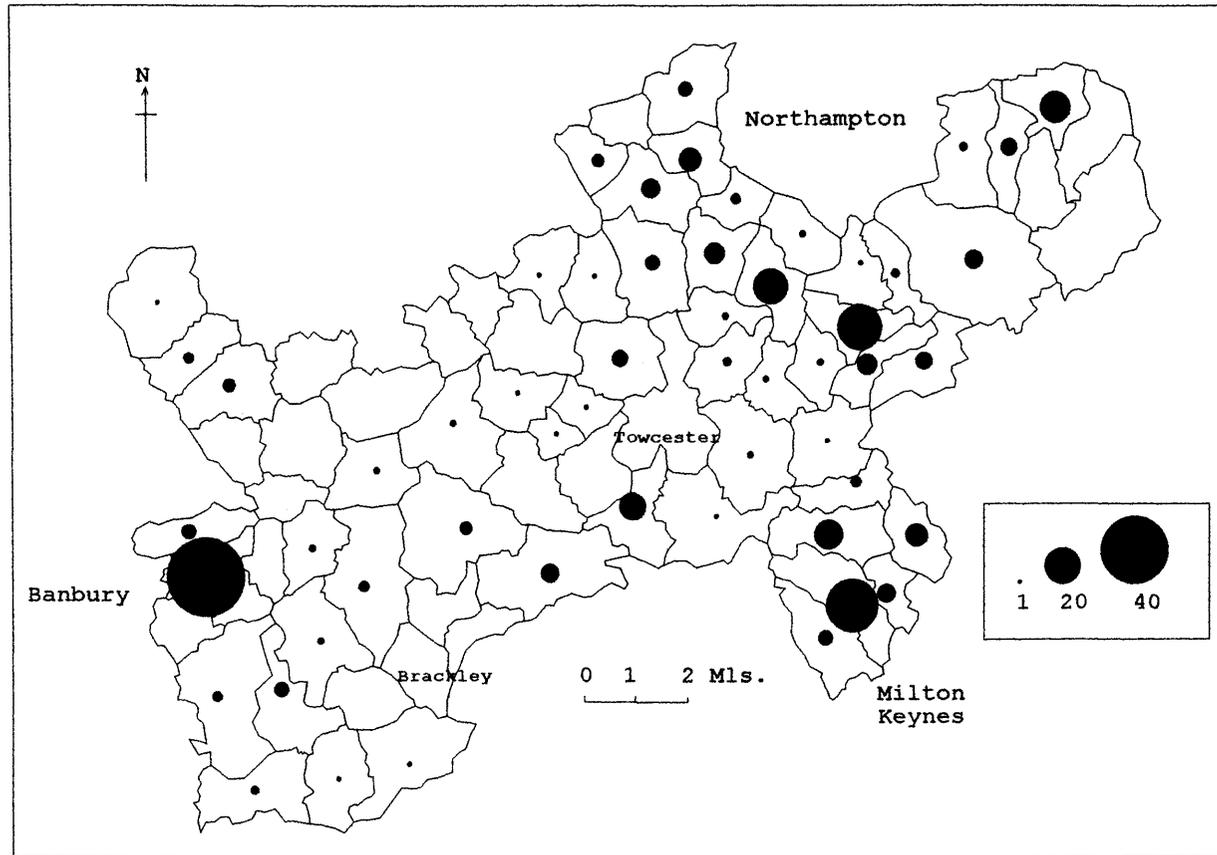


Fig. 9.14., No. of Resold Local Authority Dwellings 1980-94 Rural Parishes of South Northamptonshire.

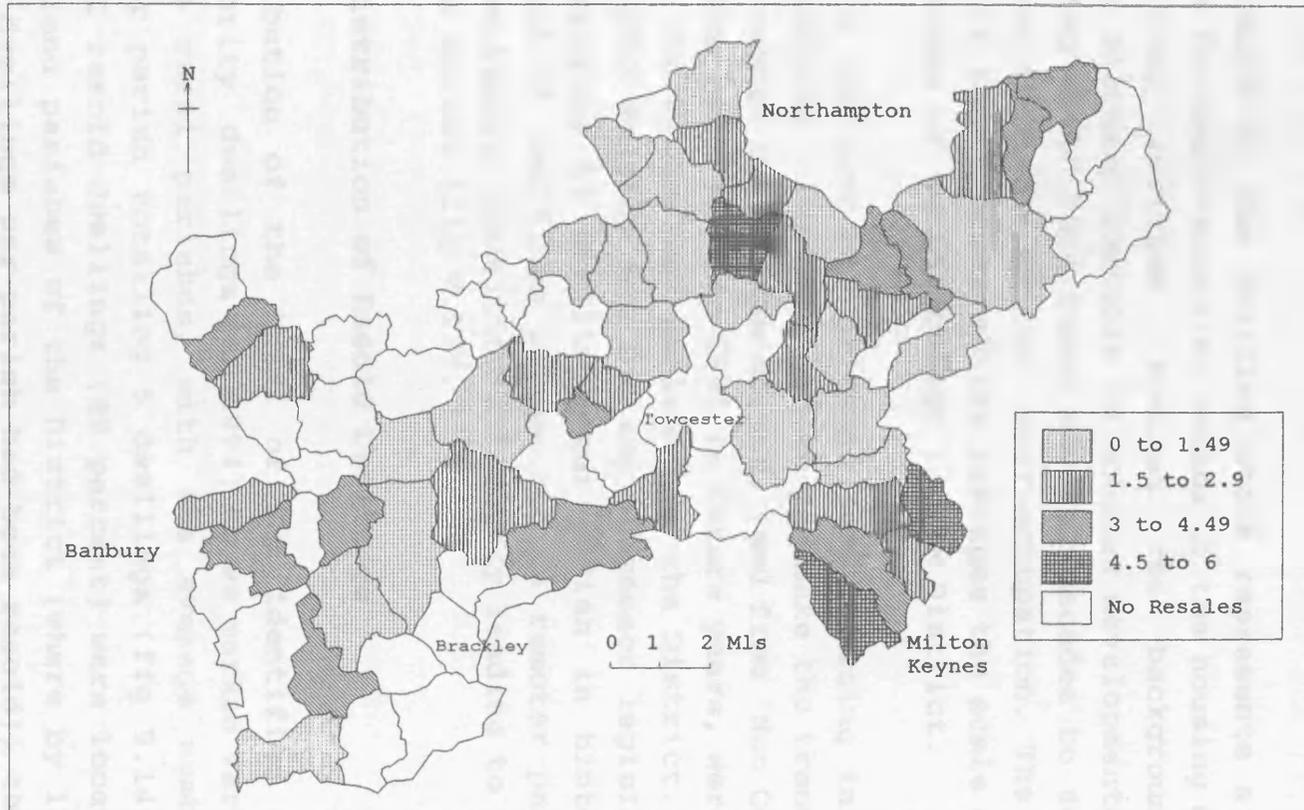


Fig. 9.15., Resold Local Authority Dwellings as a Percentage of the Housing Stock, Rural Parishes of S. Northants in 1994.

substantial share of the dwelling stock (between 9 and 17 percent) thereby underlining the rapid and extensive nature of tenurial restructuring in the wake of the 1980 Act (fig 9.12).

The CPRs' share of the dwelling stock represents a great increase in the owner-occupied sector of the housing market in the rural parishes. Against the background of restrictive planning controls on housing developments, new housebuilding would have taken several decades to achieve a comparable increase in the owner-occupation. The speed and extent of these tenure shifts presages the scale of the ongoing process of social change in the District.

The majority (80 percent) of dwellings remaining in local authority control - dwellings which may make the transition from state-sector to private-sector, (and from 'Non Certain Potential Resale' - NCPR to CPR) in future years, were also located in the hinterland parishes of the District. Thus, under the 1980 Housing Act and any successor legislation, a pool averaging 63 dwellings per parish in hinterland parishes and 22 dwellings per parish in remoter parishes may make the tenure transition ultimately leading to resale on the open market (fig 9.13).

9.32 The Distribution of Resold Dwellings

The distribution of the total of 336 identified resold local authority dwellings (in 1994) shows marked variation across the rural parishes, with the average number of resales per parish totalling 5 dwellings (fig 9.14). The majority of resold dwellings (89 percent) were located in the hinterland parishes of the District (where by 1994 as many as 38 dwellings per parish had been resold); the mean number of resold dwellings in hinterland parishes was 7.6 in contrast to 1.1 in remoter areas.

The proportion of resold dwellings varied between 1 and 6.1 percent of the total housing stock in each parish, averaging 1 percent across all rural parishes in 1994 (resales to 1994 against the 1991 housing stock figure) (fig 9.15). Resold dwellings constituted a higher proportion of the dwelling stock in hinterland parishes, averaging 2 percent of the dwelling stock in 1994, compared to 1 percent in the remoter parishes. Such totals are modest when compared to the entire dwelling stock, but their significance should not be underestimated. It must be remembered that the first resales only began to appear on the market in 1985 and that the total number of resales to 1994 was achieved against the background of one of the 'deepest' housing market slumps of the postwar era. Since the majority of RTB sales have yet to be resold, a fairer indication of the scale of change introduced by resales is to be gained by combining the total of CPRs and actual resales: by 1994 8 percent of the rural housing stock had been resold - or will be resold in following years.

The uneven development of local authority housing at both a national and local level over the decades preceding the 1980 Housing Act accounts for its varied provision across the District both in terms of the numbers and types of dwellings constructed. Reference to the hinterland/remoter-parish framework reveals the way in which the dwellings resold by 1994 were spatially concentrated when classified by dwelling type, age and size (table 9.04, and 9.05).

Parish location	Semi-detached houses by age			Terraced houses by age		
	<1945	45-65	>1965	<1965	45-65	>1965
Hinterland	13.63	31.17	10.38	17.53	14.29	2.60
Remoter	4.54	5.19	0	0	0.42	3.02

Table 9.04., Distribution of the resold dwelling stock by

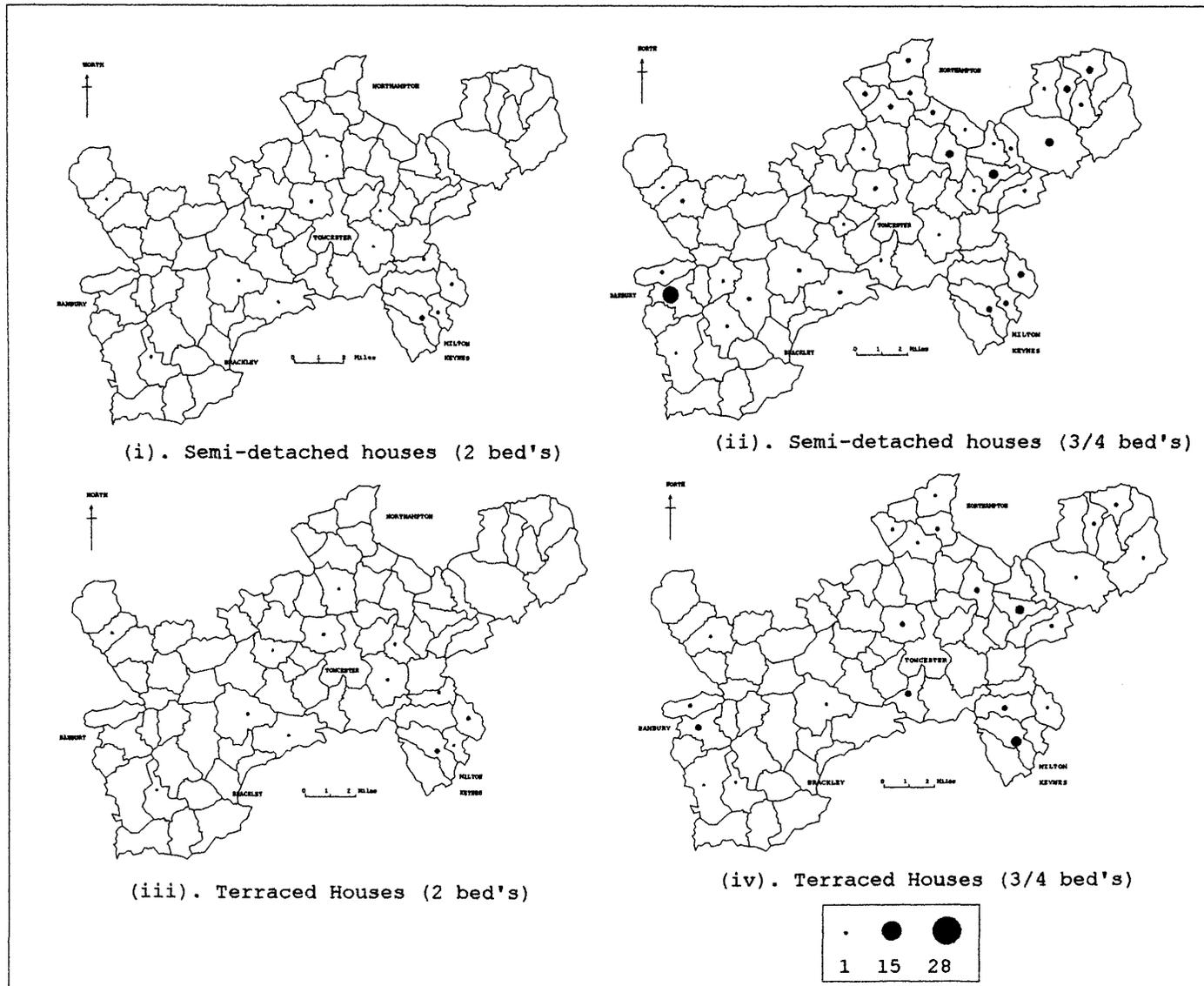


Fig. 9.16., The distribution of resold dwellings by property type and size, rural parishes S. Northants in 1994.

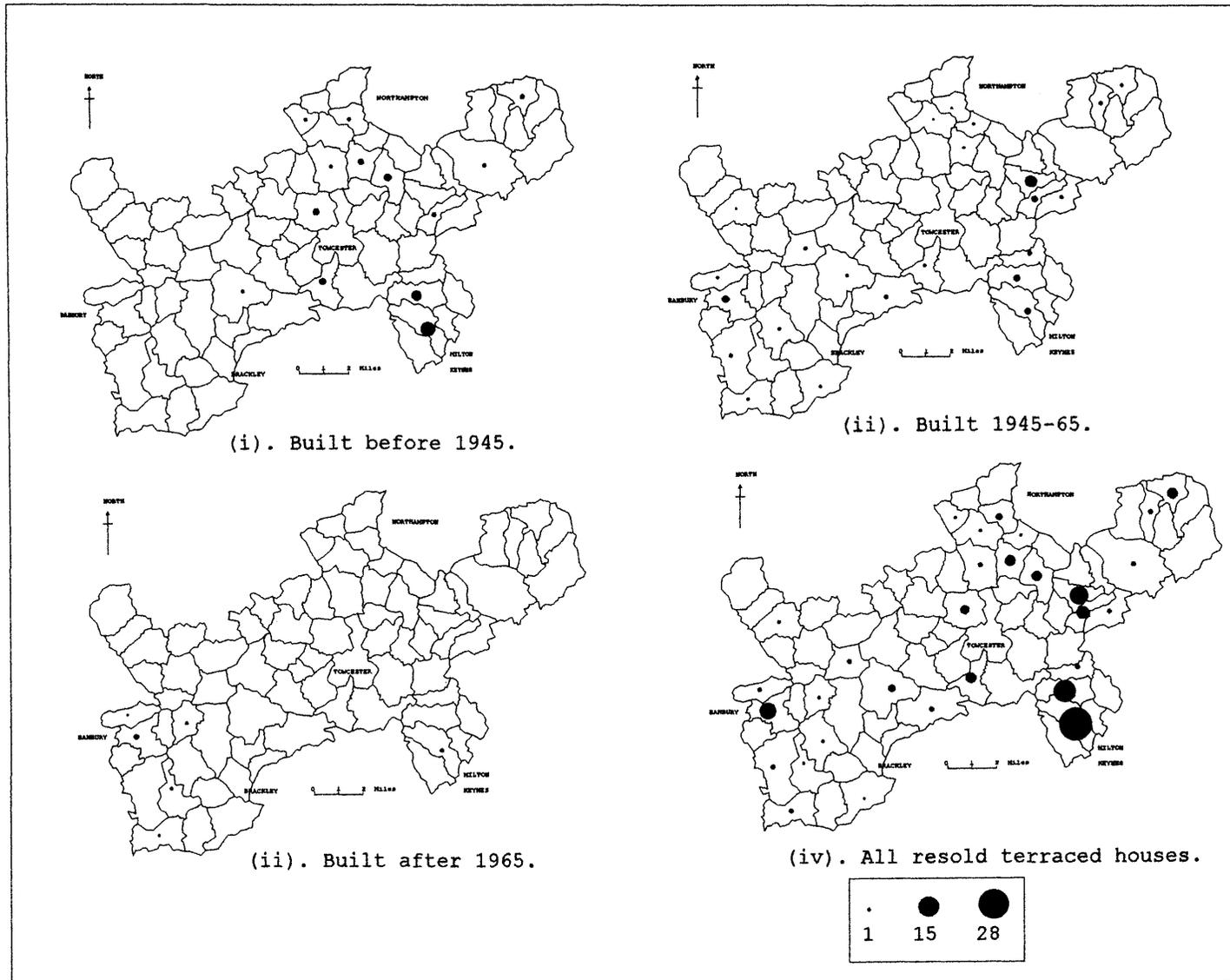


Fig 9.17., Distribution of resold terraced houses classified by age, S. Northants 1994.

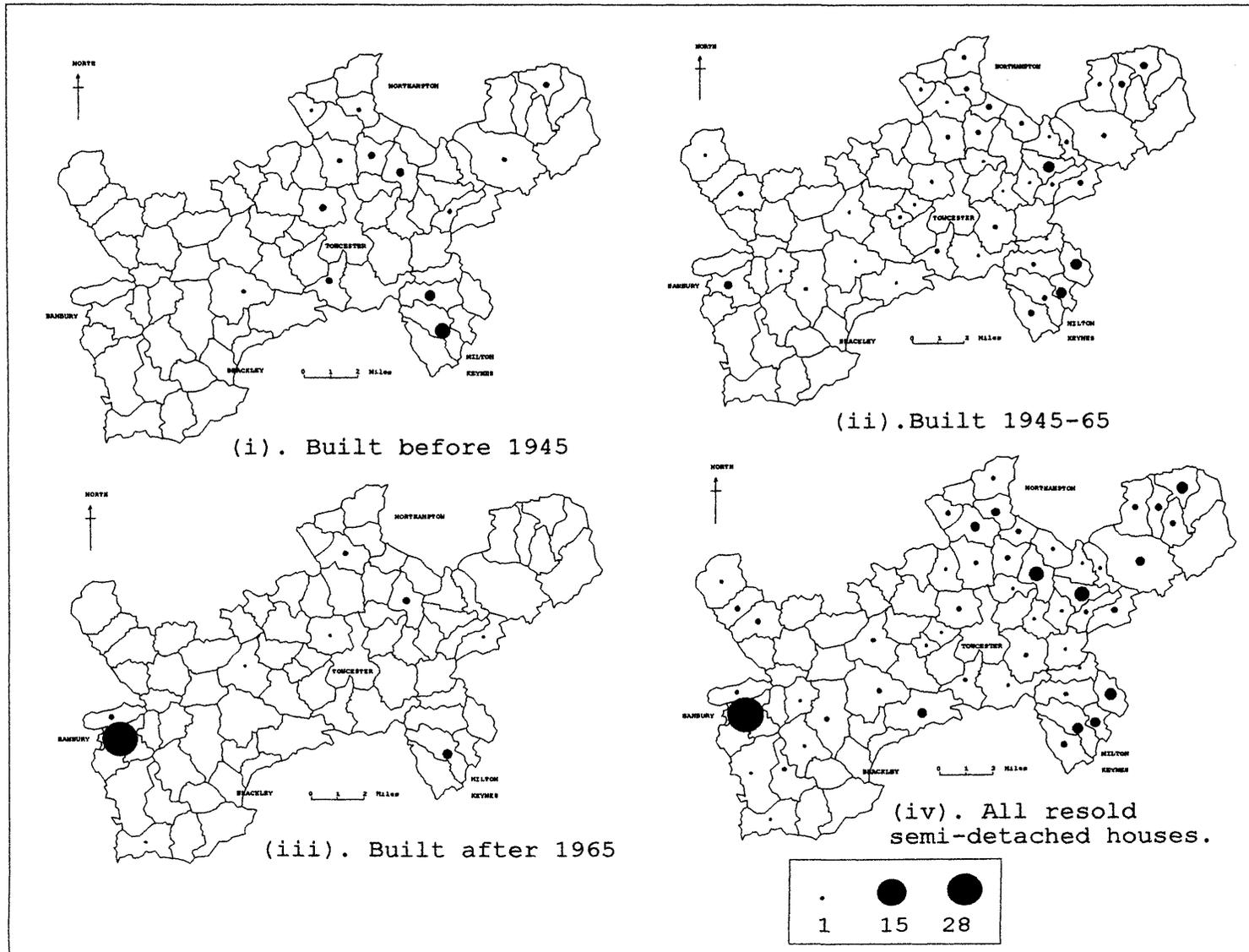


Fig 9.18. Distribution of resold semi-detached houses by age, S. Northants 1994.

house type and age (Total = 100% of each dwelling type).

Such a framework of analysis, although highlighting the varied distribution of resold dwellings as defined by different dwelling characteristics, is too coarse to reveal fully the spatial dimension to the housing opportunity that resold dwelling presented to moving households in 1980-94.

Parish location	Semi-detached houses		Terraced houses	
	2 bedrooms	3 or 4 bedrooms	2 bedrooms	3 or 4 bedrooms
Hinterland	7.95	45.70	4.64	30.46
Remoter	3.31	6.62	0.66	0.66

Table 9.05., Distribution of resold housing stock by dwelling type and size (Total = 100%).

A plot of the dwellings resold up to 1994 provides a better indication of the spatial dimension to the resale of local authority dwellings in the District (figs 9.16 - 9.18), and reveals how the housing opportunity presented by these dwellings differed greatly from parish to parish.

9.4 Housing and Population Change 1980 - 1994: Summary

Examination of a range of housing and population variables relating to the outset of this period has revealed spatial concentration of population and housing provision in the hinterland parishes of the District. This suggested a two-fold classification of rural parishes which has facilitated analysis of the patterns of change operating during the years under study (table 9.06)

The key findings from the foregoing analysis can now be summarized. Patterns were identified of population loss in hinterland parishes, and population gain in remoter parishes. Across the District there had been an overall

increase in the number of households. The changing size and distribution of population arose mainly from migratory flows. As the contrasting patterns of household and population increase reveal, the housing market had a key role in mediating such change over the period. Reference to housing market restructuring over the period revealed patterns of tenurial change; such changes were principally caused by sales under the 'Right To Buy', and had the effect of widening the differences between the tenurial structure of hinterland and remoter parishes. The number of RTB sales - and subsequent resales - were greatest in the hinterland parishes.

Housing market characteristic	Hinterland parishes	Remoter parishes
Percentage change in L.A share of the housing market 1981-91	-9.7	-6.5
Mean number of RTB sales per parish 1980-94	7.6	1.1
CPRs as a % of the dwelling stock - mean	7.9	5.2
Mean number of dwellings remaining in local authority control 1991 (NCPRs)	63	22
Resold dwellings to 1994 as a percentage of the 1991 dwelling stock - mean	2.0	0.9
Average total resales per parish (actual resales + CPRs) as a percentage of the parish dwelling stock.	8.9	7.2
Number of parishes with higher than average levels of resales (actual resales + CPRs)	23 (59%)	12 (37.%)
Max. no. of actual resales + CPRs in any parish as % of 1991 dwelling stock	22.5	13.9

Table 9.06., The Varying Impact Of The Resales Process On Housing Market 1980-94: Hinterland And Remoter Parishes Compared.

Both the numbers and type of resold dwellings exhibited an uneven distribution across the rural parishes of the District. In 1981, 3 percent less of the dwelling stock in remoter parishes was allocated by market forces compared to hinterland parishes; by 1991 this difference had more than doubled to 7 percent. In addition to tenurial change, the frequency with which dwellings appeared for sale in the market also influenced the patterns of population change. In this respect further differences were evident between hinterland and remoter parishes. Higher rates of dwelling sales (when expressed as a percentage of the parish dwelling stock) occurred in remoter parishes during the period under study. Such a pattern was revealed by the OPCS measure of 'wholly moving households', for in contrast to data covering moving persons, a wholly moving household usually implies the sale of a dwelling. By contrast, greater numbers of housing market transactions occurred in hinterland parishes reflecting the larger size of the dwelling stock. Thus across all rural parishes, 4,659 household moves were recorded between 1990 and 1991 of these 3,583 (79.9%) were into hinterland parishes (OPCS, 1991).

The resales process therefore affected housing and population change in different ways in both (locational) categories of parish, with greater numbers of sales, and associated household turnover, in hinterland parishes. However, the particular characteristics of remoter parishes mean that although the number of dwellings involved in resales was much smaller, the impact of the process was no less significant. This assertion stems from the highly constrained nature of the housing market in these parishes, involving a much smaller stock of dwellings, more stringent planning controls limiting new housebuilding, and a lower proportion of the dwelling stock open for purchase by moving households. Such factors combine to make the impact

of resales in these parishes equally, if not more significant to the processes of housing market restructuring and migration-led social change.

Resales have therefore exerted an important influence on the patterns of population change in the District following the 1980 Housing act by effecting tenurial restructuring and facilitating the in-migration of (owner-occupier) households into a hitherto inaccessible sector of the housing market. The contrasting social and migratory characteristics of these households when compared to those they replace is a powerful source of social change. It is to the spatial patterns of social change that discussion now turns.

9.5 The Pattern of Social Change on Resale: Social Characteristics of Open Market Purchasers Compared to the District Population

The proximity of the study period (from RTB in 1980 to 1994) to the censuses of 1981 and 1991 does provide the opportunity of examining the composition and characteristics of the OMPs against the District as a whole. Of course there is the problem of double-counting (since OMPs would have constituted part of the 1991 census) but, given the small number of OMPs in the total population (1 percent in 1991), such an effect will be negligible and can be safely discounted for the purposes of this exercise.

As far as the District as a whole is concerned some insights into its socio-economic composition can be obtained by the use of the Jarman Index (originally used as a means measuring deprivation, see Appendix 9C) and by matching the District's performance in respect of selected variables to the 365 other English districts. The Jarman Index of deprivation gives South Northamptonshire a relatively low score of -23.7 compared to a county average

of -5.53, (the county town scored +9.6, N.C.C., 1995), and the high proportion of wealthy households ranks the District 34th 'wealthiest' of all 366 English districts. Furthermore, extremely low levels of 'men on the scrap-heap' (5.7%, - defined as men aged 55 - 65 years unemployed but not retired, N.C.C, 1991) places the District at 361/366 English districts for this variable. At the other end of the age-range, the District scores the same national ranking on the basis of its extremely low levels of young unemployed people.

Overall, South Northants had "moderately high levels" (N.C.C., 1995:17) of 'middle class' employment (classes I, II, III, following the Registrar General's Classification) totalling 38 percent of all economically active adult residents in 1991, resulting in a ranking of 90/366 English districts. By contrast other districts of the county had much lower levels (Corby 366th, Wellingborough 301st), Northampton 277th, Kettering 258th, East Northamptonshire 231st, Daventry 108th). Conversely, the levels of those engaged in what might broadly be termed 'working class' occupations (classes IV and V) averaged 14 percent of the District population, placing South Northamptonshire in the lowest third of English districts.

The need to place the socio-economic and housing characteristics of the area(s) under study into a wider context has been ignored in a large number of earlier studies of rural social change (for example, Cloke and Little, 1987; Bolton and Chalkley, 1990; Shucksmith, 1991). Such contextualizing is important, for whilst the replacement of the pre-existing population with those of contrasting social characteristics constitutes social change, the nature of such change cannot fully be understood without reference to the wider (national rural) population.

The data available highlights the relative affluence of South Northamptonshire. The Wealth Z-Score (see Appendix 9C) places the study area in the top 10 percent of English districts and a full range of socio-economic indicators confirm this placing. A four stage analysis of the patterns of social change arising from resale will now be undertaken. In the first stage the spatial framework developed earlier will be used to contrast the characteristics of the District population with those moving into former local authority dwellings.

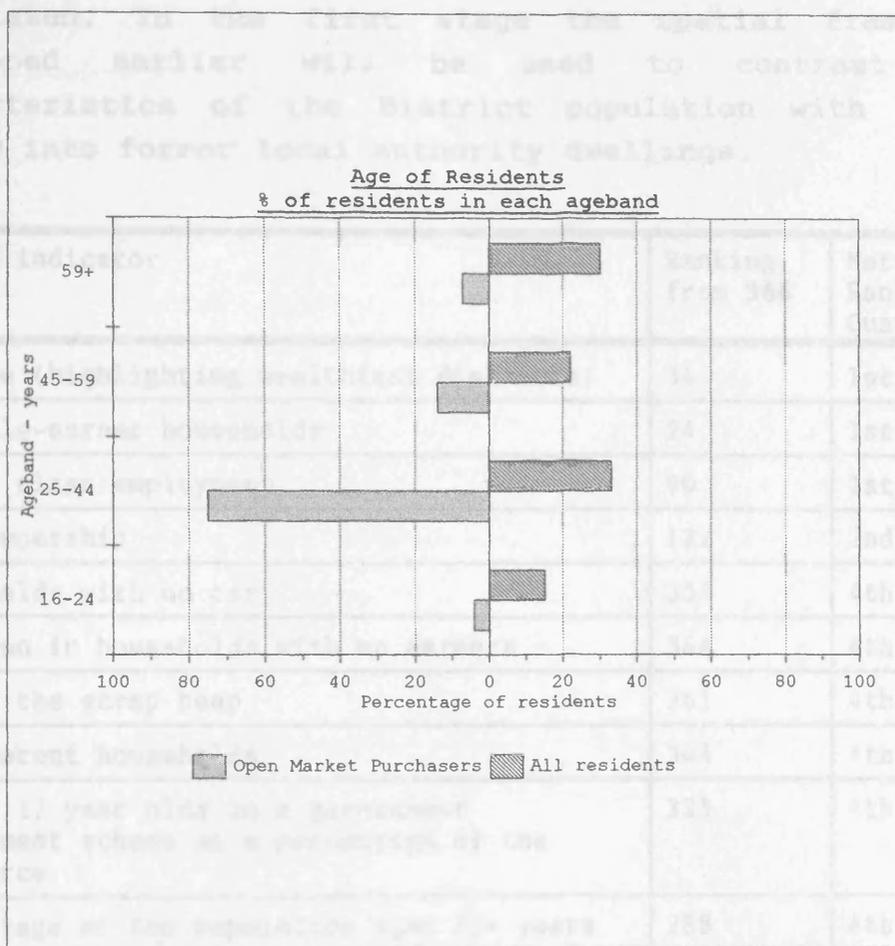


Fig. 9.19., Age of Residents: Open Market Purchasers and Wider Population compared, rural parishes S. Northants.

The data available highlights the relative affluence of South Northamptonshire. The Wealth Z-Score (see Appendix 9C) places the study area in the top 10 percent of English districts and a full range of socio-economic indicators confirm this placing. A four stage analysis of the patterns of social change arising from resale will now be undertaken. In the first stage the spatial framework developed earlier will be used to contrast the characteristics of the District population with those moving into former local authority dwellings.

Social indicator	Ranking from 366	National Ranking Quartile
Z-score (highlighting wealthiest districts)	34	1st
Multiple-earner households	24	1st
Middle class employment	90	1st
Home ownership	122	2nd
Households with no car	355	4th
Children in households with no earners	364	4th
Men on the scrap heap	361	4th
Lone-parent households	344	4th
16 and 17 year olds on a government employment scheme as a percentage of the workforce	325	4th
Percentage of the population aged 75+ years	288	4th
Working class employment	268	3rd
Households with at least one pensioner and no access to a car	256	3rd
Households resident in local authority housing	226	3rd
Young unemployed	221	3rd

Table 9.07., South Northamptonshire - An Affluent Rural District: The District's National Ranking (From a Total of 366 English Districts c.1991) According to a Range of Social and Housing Variables.

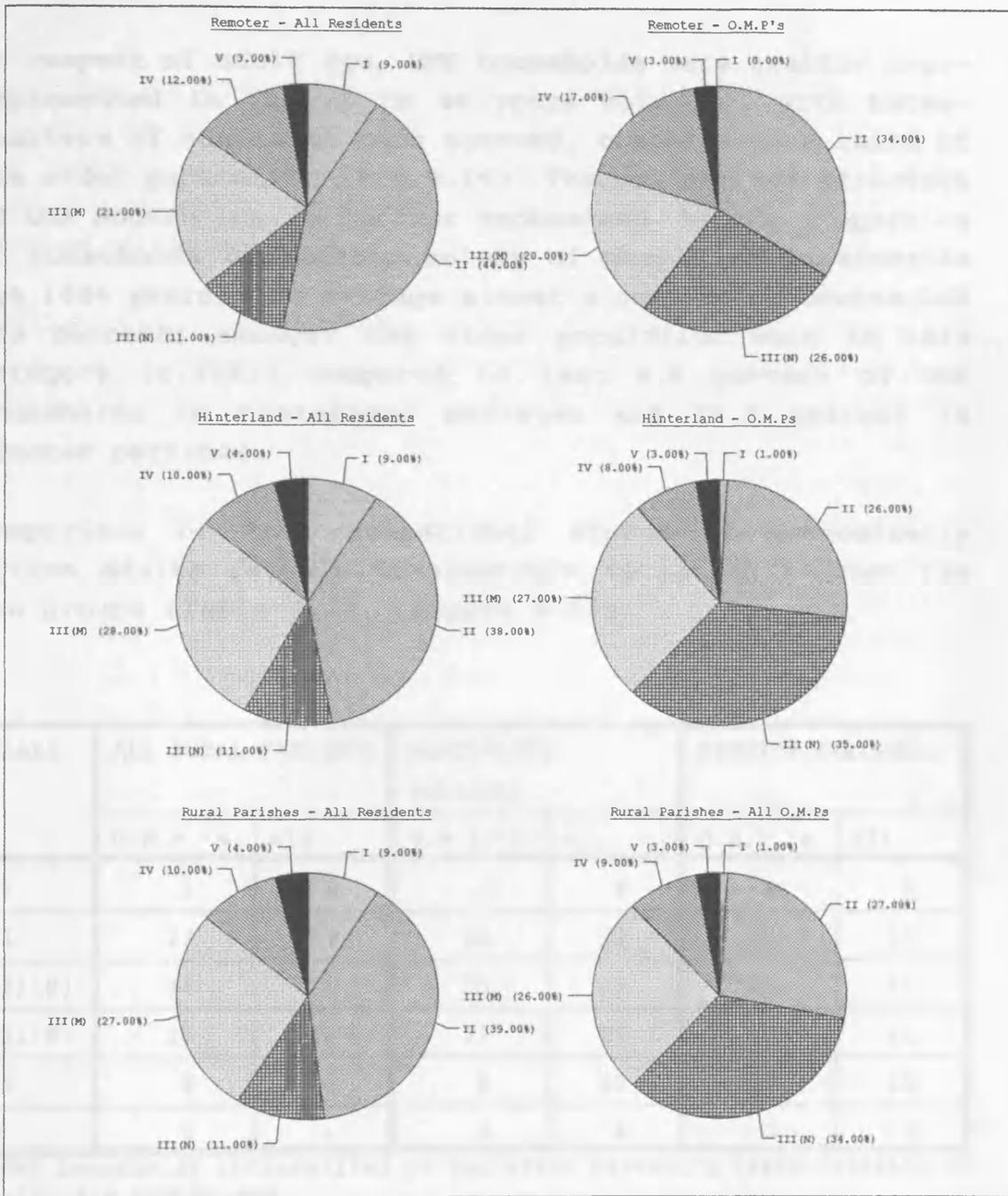


FIGURE 9.20., Social Class: O.M.P.s and All Residents Compared.

9.6 Spatial Patterns of Social Change: Hinterland and Remoter Parishes

In respect of adult age, OMP households were greatly over-represented in the 25 to 44 years category, with three-quarters of adults in this ageband, compared to a third of the wider population (Fig 9.19). The younger age structure of OMP households is further emphasised by the proportion of households consisting solely of people of pensionable age (60+ years); on average almost a quarter of households (23 percent) amongst the wider population were in this category (c.1991) compared to just 4.6 percent of OMP households in hinterland parishes and 10.5 percent in remoter parishes.

Comparison of the occupational status of economically active adults reveals considerable variation between the two groups (Table 9.08., Figure 9.20).

Class	ALL RURAL PARISHES		HINTERLAND PARISHES		REMOTER PARISHES	
	O.M.P.'s	All	O.M.P.'s	All	O.M.P.'s	All
I	1	9	1	9	0	9
II	27	39	26	38	34	44
III(N)	34	11	35	11	26	11
III(M)	26	27	27	28	20	21
IV	9	10	8	10	17	12
V	3	4	3	4	3	3

* OMP households reclassified to Registrar General's Classification to facilitate comparison.

Table 9.08., Social Class: Open Market Purchasers and All Residents Compared.

Social classes I and II are under-represented amongst economically active adults in OMP households (29 compared

to 48 percent), whereas greater numbers of OMPs were engaged in class III(M) occupations (34 compared to 11 percent).

Different class profiles were evident between those resident in hinterland and remoter parishes of the District in respect of both groups, for in each case higher proportions of class I and II employment were recorded in remoter parishes.

Further differences were evident in respect of household structure. One-fifth of households in the population as a whole were single adult households compared to 17 percent of OMP households. A minority of these single adult households included children, averaging 1.69 percent of households amongst the wider population and 7.35 percent of OMP households. The proportion of multiple-earner households within the District (59.3 percent of households) was above the (English) national average (54.1 percent), and similar to levels recorded in respect of OMP households (59.6 percent). However, variation existed between the two groups in respect of the proportion of such households with two incomes and no children ('dinky' households), averaging a quarter of all resident households compared to just over a fifth of OMP households.

CHARACTERISTIC	OPEN MARKET PURCHASERS	RESIDENT POPULATION AS A WHOLE
Age	Under-representation of 60+ age groups (7% adults)	Just under a third of adults aged 60+, (30%)
	Predominantly aged 25-44 years (75%)	More even age structure Third of adults aged 25-44 years
spatial patterns	Hinterland parishes +2% aged 20-45 years	Remoter parishes +2.14% aged 20-45 years.
AGE AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE. No. of pensioner only households	Lower proportions (Av. 5.85%)	Almost fifth households only pensioners (18.5%)
spatial patterns	Mean - hinterlands 4.21%, remoter 19%	Mean - hinterlands 18.43%, remoter 19.04%
SOCIAL CLASS	Higher proportion engaged in class III(N) employment (+23%)	High proportion engaged in class I and II employment (+20%)
Spatial patterns	Higher proportion of class II employment (+8%) and lower prop. of class III emp. (N & M) (-16%) - in remoter parishes	Higher proportion of higher status occupations in remoter parishes (+6%)
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE. Single adult households	Lower proportion of single adult households (-3%)	Fifth of households consisted of single adults c.1991
Spatial patterns	Higher proportion (+14.7%) in remoter parishes	Slightly higher proportion (+1.57%) in hinterland areas
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE Single adult households with children	Higher levels than population as a whole (+7.35%)	Low levels, mean 1.69% of households
Spatial patterns	No significant variation	No significant variation
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS 'Dinky' households	Slightly lower proportion than pop. as a whole (-4%)	High proportions in national context (av. 25% of households)
Spatial patterns	Slightly higher proportions in remoter parishes (+2.8%)	Slightly higher proportions in hinterland parishes (+1%)

Table 9.09., Social Characteristics of O.M.P Households compared to Resident Population as a Whole (with reference to spatial patterns).

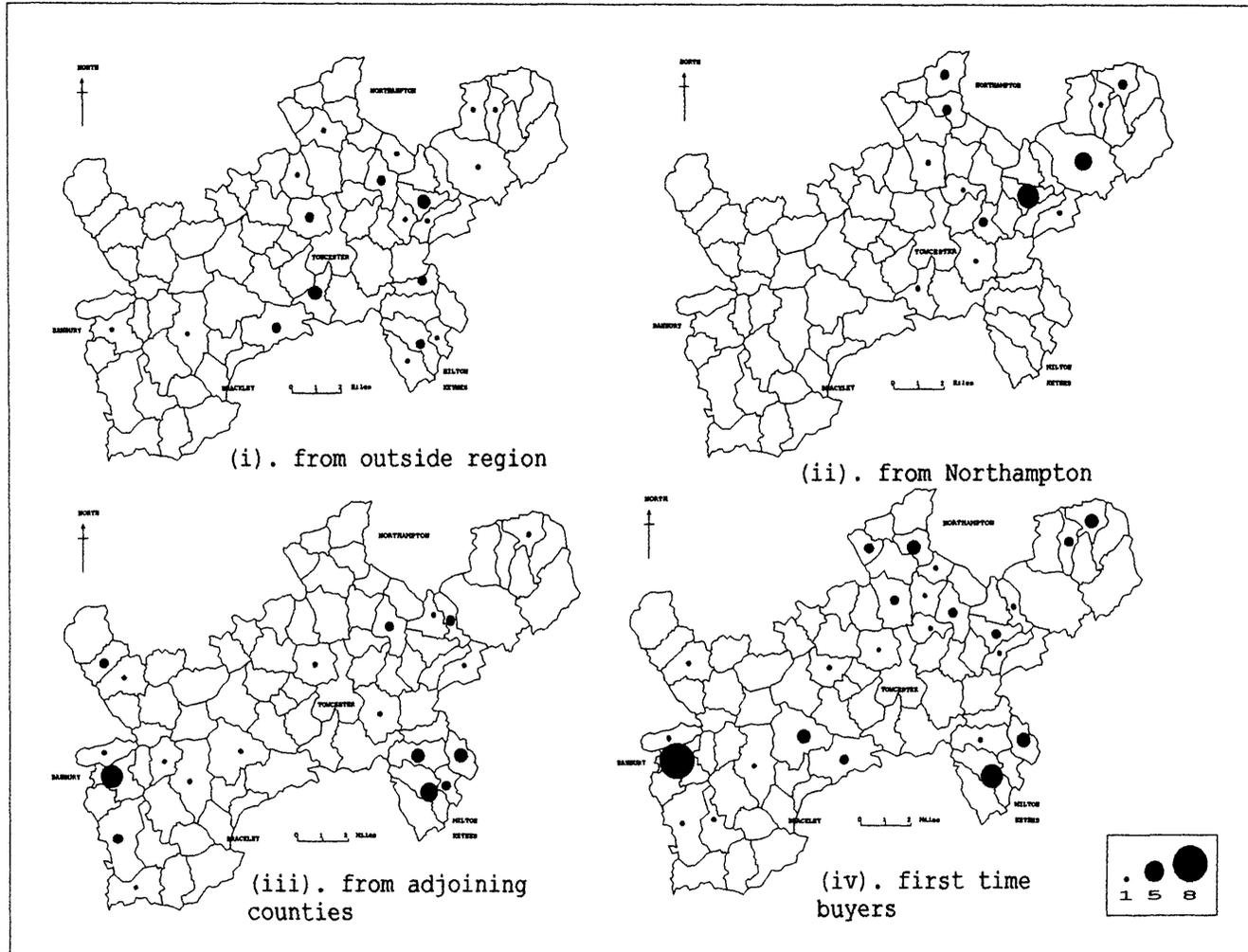


Fig. 9.21., No. and distribution of OMP households by type of move into resold dwellings, S. Northants in 1994.

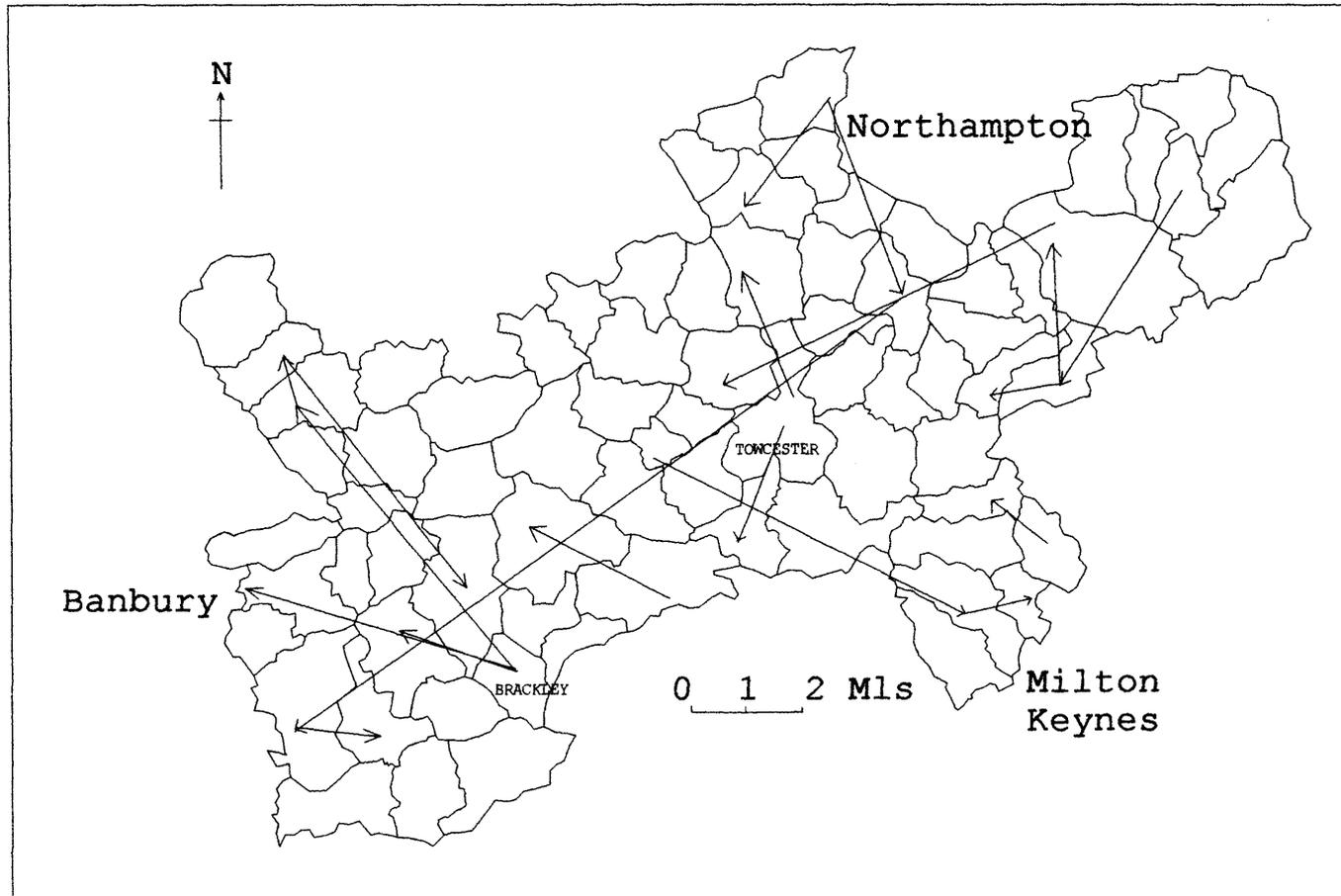


Fig. 9.22., Household Moves into resold dwellings:
households moving from another parish in S. Northants.

Further spatial variation is evident in the type of household moves into resold dwellings, with contrasting patterns between hinterland and remoter parishes (table 9.10).

Resold dwelling location		First homes	Established households *				
			Relocating from ...				
			1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Hinterland parishes	No.	47	33	28	19	30	27
	%	87	85	85	83	88	96
Remoter parishes	No.	7	6	5	4	4	1
	%	13	15	15	17	12	4

* Based on 137 established households

Key: 1. within S.Northants, 2. Another Northants district, 3. Northampton Town, 4. An adjoining county, 5. Beyond. (Discrete categories except 2. & 3.).

Table 9.10., Household Movement into Resold Dwellings: Spatial Relocation Patterns Affecting the District.

Hinterland parishes were the destination of the majority of all categories of move (table 9.10, figure 9.21). The proportion of moves into remoter parishes was inversely related to the distance of the move, with fewer households moving from outside the Northants region or from an adjoining county. The majority of households relocating from Northampton moved to a new home within the hinterland of the county town. Short-distance moves characterised intra-district household moves into resold dwellings, with just over a third of such moves made from within the same parish and almost a half (47 percent) from a neighbouring parish (figure 9.22).

Location	S.Northants	Another Northants district	Adjoining county	Beyond
Hinterland Parishes	25	21	22	20
Remoter Parishes	4	4	3	1

Table 9.11., Percentage of all Established Households Moving into Resold Dwellings, Categorised by Location of Last Home and Resold Dwelling. (Discrete categories).

In respect of the migration data derived from the census two main limitations apply with regard to the present purposes: first, it is not possible to disaggregate OMP households, and second, the data covers but one of the fourteen years under study.

	WITHIN DISTRICT	BETWEEN DISTRICTS WITHIN COUNTY	BETWEEN COUNTIES BUT WITHIN REGION	BETWEEN REGIONS	FROM OUTSIDE GREAT BRITAIN	BETWEEN ADJOINING DISTRICTS	BETWEEN ADJOINING COUNTIES
a	18.9	11.35	1.61	38.28	13.02	25.16	20.05
b	21	17	-	17	-	-	18
c	31	2	-	5	-	-	3

Source: OPCS, 1991. * Non-discrete categories, Census data includes the two market towns.

Table 9.12., Percentage of all migrants into S. Northamptonshire 1990-91 by area of origin (row a.) compared to moves into resold dwellings by O.M.P. households (row b.), and Tenant-purchaser households (row c).

Despite such shortcomings, comparison with census data (Table 9.12) reveals that migration into resold dwellings was characterised by a higher proportion of shorter distance, intra-district moves (21 compared to 18.9 percent) and moves within the county (17 compared to 11.3 percent). The proportion of moves from an adjoining county was slightly lower in respect of OMP households (18 compared to 20.0 percent). However, the proportion of

inter-regional moves amongst OMP households was much lower than for the population as a whole (17 compared to 38.3 percent).

These social and migratory characteristics have revealed the socially selective nature of those purchasing former local authority dwellings. OMP households, in contrast to the resident population as a whole, were found to be younger, had broadly the same overall proportions of class I, II and III(N) occupations (62 compared to 59 percent) - but less class I and II employment (31.2 compared to 49 percent), and had lower proportions of single adult, retired, and 'dinky' households. These newcomers were therefore socially distinct when compared to the wider population. In broad terms they did not have the affluence or the social status of the existing population though in turn they were more affluent and displayed higher occupational status than the tenant-purchasers they replaced. In social terms OMPs were much more homogenous or narrowly defined compared to the society that they moved into. When a spatial dimension was introduced into this comparison it was evident that the social characteristics of both groups varied across the rural parishes of the District (table 9.09). The hinterland and remoter parishes framework showed that the characteristics of the OMP households varied to a much greater extent than the wider population. This is significant and suggests a strong spatial dimension to patterns of social change within the District.

The foregoing analysis has revealed that the impact of the resales process on the rural district under study has not been a uniform one. Most previous attempts to classify the rural environment by reference to population and housing variables have used the district unit of local government administration as the basic spatial unit of analysis (principal examples of such studies include: Cloke, 1977;

Cloke and Edwards, 1986; Dunn et al., 1981; Shucksmith et al., 1995). Not only has study of the changes affecting the District of South Northamptonshire following the 1980 Housing Act shown that the patterns of social change varied significantly within the District but that analyses at a district level which have linked patterns of change to neighbouring towns are equally applicable at the intra-district level.

9.7 A Revised Spatial Classification Based on Parish Population Size

Examination of intra-district variations in housing and population change, when combined with trends at a district-level and above, can add significantly to the level of understanding of the processes of social change at work in the countryside. The scale at which events are analysed is therefore of key importance. The spatial framework previously adopted (hinterland/remoter parishes) arose from the need to achieve manageable and comprehensible analysis of the patterns and processes under study, and was suggested by the housing market and population structures of the two categories of parish. However, within the two spatial categories adopted, the degree of social change arising from resale was also subject to variation. Examination of the patterns of household turnover through the resold sector at an even higher level of spatial resolution may provide a fuller understanding of the processes of social change.

In the next stage in the present analysis a simple quartile classification has therefore been used to divide parishes according to population size (table 9.13, Appendix 9D.). One advantage of this approach is that population size is broadly related to the status accorded to different parishes in an array of planning policies which have operated across the District over the past 30 years. The

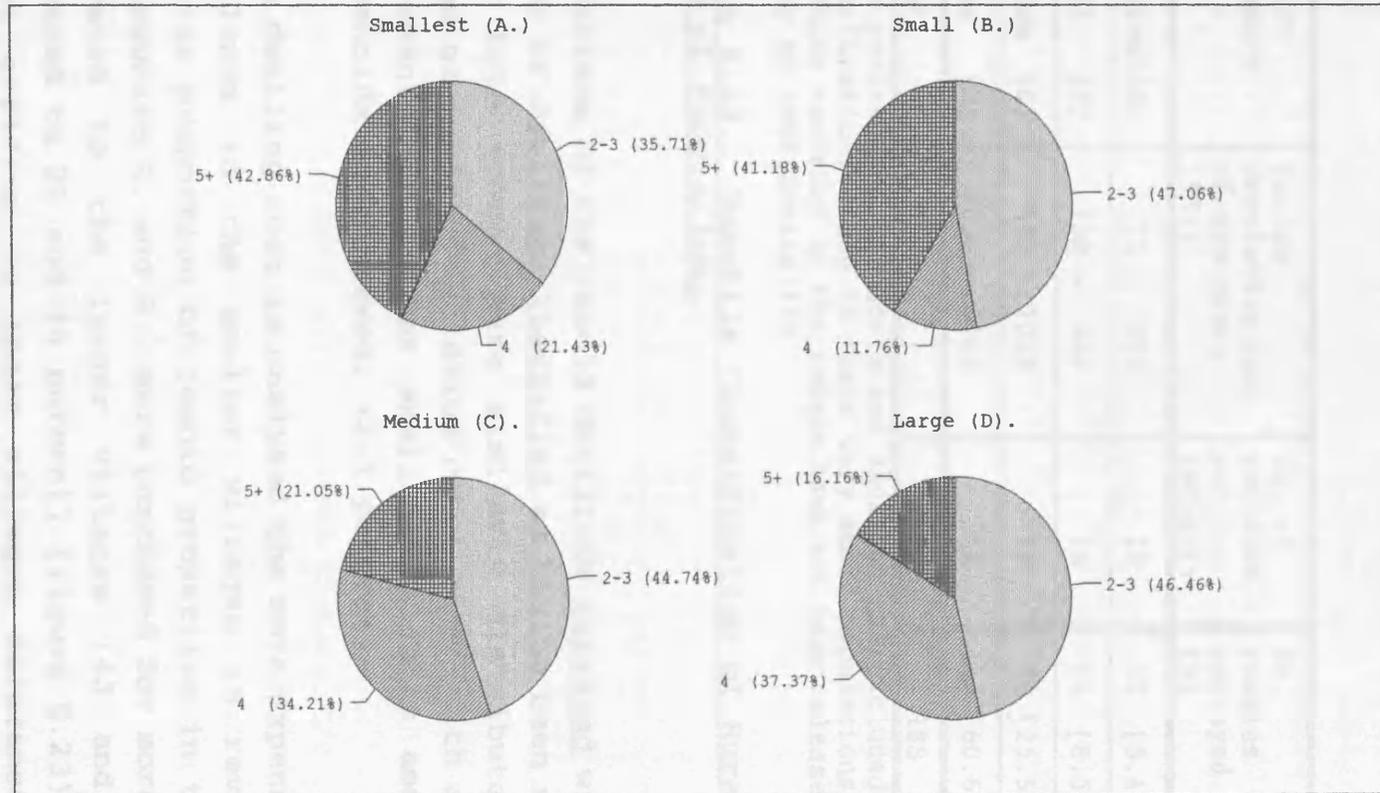
effect of this has been that the larger villages tend to have a greater range of housing opportunities whether in the size, type or price of the dwelling, whilst the smallest villages attract limited in-fill development at most, typically of substantial and expensive executive housing on large plots. Larger villages will also have more service facilities, whether shops, schools, meeting places or a doctors' surgery, whereas in the smaller villages the closure of such facilities has been a recurrent theme over past decades, as noted by the local council,

"the major effect of these changes [increased car ownership, growth of supermarket shopping] is in the rural areas [of the District] where there has been an increased threat to the viability of village shops and post offices. Whilst accurate statistics are not available there have been a number of closures of post offices and village shops in South Northamptonshire in recent years"

(S.N.C, 1993:57)

The effects of these processes, which have been noted elsewhere in the Midlands (Herington and Evans, 1979, Parsons, undated c.1982), have been to produce a fuller dimension to the social differentiation of households in the countryside such that the higher status groups have tended to seek the smaller villages where the allocation of non-growth under planning strategies has helped to guarantee the security of their investment in an expensive property.

Thus, as highlighted in a limited number of earlier studies (Lewis, 1967; Harper, 1987; Harper and Donnelly, 1987) village population size is a useful classificatory tool in understanding patterns of social change in the countryside. Although a defining variable in the earlier (hinterland/remoter) classification, when taken as the primary variable village population size will account for the more complex spatial pattern of settlements across the District.



Key to pricebands: 2. - 3. , £30,000 to £49,999
 4. £50,000 to £59,999, 5+. £60,000+.

Figure 9.23., Resold Dwelling Prices By Village Size.

Although the data revealed, the larger villages are generally situated in the hinterlands of the surrounding zone of smaller villages are interdispersed within the hinterlands - the dispersal of this revealed that the larger villages are situated in the hinterlands of smaller villages.

Although as fig. 9.04 revealed, the larger villages are generally situated in the hinterlands of the surrounding towns, a number of smaller villages are inter-dispersed within the hinterlands - the flexibility of this revised classification may therefore reveal patterns of social change more clearly.

Parish Category	Parish population (no. of residents 1991)	No. of parishes per category	No. resales surveyed [%]	No. resales identified [%]
Smallest(A)	12 - 229	18	10 [5.4]	11 [3.3]
Small (B)	230 - 446	18	16 [8.5]	39 [11.6]
Medium (C)	447 - 1029	18	48 [25.5]	81 [24.1]
Large (D)	1030 - 3488	18	114 [60.6]	205 [61.0]
Total	-	72	188	336

* The parishes of Warkworth and Radstone are excluded from this classification: owing to their very small populations key social variables recorded in the census have not been released following OPCS policy on confidentiality

Table 9.13., Quartile Classification of Rural Parishes by Size of Population.

Comparison of the resold dwellings surveyed with the entire group of dwellings identified as having been resold reveals that both groups were similarly distributed across the range of parish population categories (with a slight over-representation of the smallest villages amongst the OMP households interviewed, +2.1 percent).

When dwelling cost is analysed the more expensive nature of dwellings in the smaller villages is revealed, for a greater proportion of resold properties in these villages (categories A. and B.) were purchased for more than £60,000 compared to the larger villages (43 and 41 percent, compared to 21 and 16 percent) (figure 9.23). In terms of those residing in these villages reference to the age

structure of the wider population over the four parish categories reveals little variation (standard deviation values between 0.77 and 2.78)⁴. By contrast OMP households displayed much greater variability between categories (standard deviation values between 5.27 and 7.61), with adults of retirement age over-represented in the smaller villages of the district (20.8 and 13.3 percent of adults aged 60+ in the smallest and small villages respectively, compared to a mean of 5.5 percent for medium and large villages). These patterns suggesting selective retirement migration into the remoter villages are particularly significant given the small number of households of retirement age amongst OMPs; thus nearly all (79 percent) of this ageband moved into the smaller villages (categories A. and B.) (table 9.14).

Parish category	25 - 44 years		45 - 59 years		60 + years	
	A L L	O M P s	A L L	O M P s	A L L	O M P s
Smallest (A)	34	75	22.6	4.2	28	20.8
Small (B)	31.1	70	22.2	16.7	33.5	13.3
Medium (C)	30.8	80.5	23	11.5	32.5	8
Large (D)	34.9	81.3	21.2	15.7	28.5	3
STANDARD DEVIATION	2.06	5.27	0.77	5.68	2.78	7.61

Table 9.14., Age of Resident Adults: OMPs and the Wider Population Compared.

Little variation between parish categories was evident in respect of the structure and employment status of households in the wider population (standard deviation values between 0.5 and 1.75, table 9.15). The characteristics of OMP households, in contrast, showed

⁴ Standard deviation values are calculated in respect of the value of each variable across the four categories of parish.

marked variability (standard deviation values between 2.17 and 38.5), with greater proportions of dual-income childless households ('dinkies') and retirement age households resident in the smaller villages (categories A. and B.). This is explained both by the higher resold dwelling prices in the smaller (and generally more remote) villages (hence the greater potential need for two incomes) and the migration motives of purchasing households. Reference to the latter reveals that the smaller villages are being selectively sought for similar reasons by OMPs at either end of the age range: 25 percent of OMPs that selected the smaller villages did so because of a stated preference for 'the attractive/ peaceful environment and/ or the character of the village'; by contrast only 8 percent of those moving to the larger villages cited such motives.

Parish Category	% dinky households		Households consisting of retired members only		% of single person households		% of single adult households with children	
	ALL	OMP	ALL	OMP	ALL	OMP	ALL	OMP
Smallest (A)	26.1	100	21.3	20	20.4	0	2.4	0
Small (B)	24.6	31.3	25.2	12.5	21.8	6.3	2.0	6.3
Medium (C)	24.2	16.7	22.7	8.3	20.6	14.6	1.2	10.4
Large (D)	25.6	23.7	21.7	1.8	18.9	21.1	1.8	9.6
STANDARD DEVIATION	0.88	38.5	1.75	7.63	1.18	7.41	0.5	2.17

Table 9.15., Contrasting Household Characteristics, OMPs and the Wider Population by Parish Category.

Higher proportions of single person and single adult households with children were located in the larger

villages in the District. These patterns show a spatial selectivity largely absent from the data covering the wider population, and they may be related to the wider choice of dwelling types in the larger villages and the availability of cheaper (resold) dwellings. Further factors may include greater job opportunities, and the presence of primary schools and a greater array of services.

	I.		II.		III(N).		III(M).		IV.		V.	
	ALL	OMP	ALL	OMP	ALL	OMP	ALL	OMP	ALL	OMP	ALL	OMP
Smallest (A)	13	0	34	19	13	19	23	38	16	19	3	6
Small (B)	8	0	48	14	11	54	20	25	11	7	2	0
Medium (C)	10	3	43	31	9	31	23	21	9	15	5	0
Large (D)	9	0	37	29	12	33	29	26	10	7	4	4
STANDARD DEVIATION	2	3	6	8	2	15	4	7	3	4	1	1

Table 9.16., Contrasting Class Profiles: OMPs and the Wider Population by Parish Category.

The occupational social class characteristics of OMP households shows greater variation across the four categories of parish compared to the wider population. This is revealed by the proportion employed in 'middle-class' occupations (classes I, II, III(N)), (standard deviation values: OMPs 3.0 to 14.5, wider population 1.7 to 6.2). Those purchasing resold dwellings in the smallest villages (category A.) had lower levels of 'middle-class' employment (38 percent compared to 68, 65, and 62 percent in the remainder of parishes).

Parish Category	First Homes	Moving from Northampton	Moving adjoining county	Moving from outside region
Smallest (A)	20	0	40	10
Small (B)	18.8	18.8	12.5	25
Medium (C)	31.3	4.2	22.9	12.5
Large (D)	26.3	15.8	16.7	14.9

Table 9.17., Household Moves into Resold Dwellings by Parish Category.

In contrast to the situation in the larger villages, OMP household moves into the smaller villages (A. and B.) were characterised by a lower proportion of first-time buyers (mean 19.4 compared to 28.8 percent), and higher proportions of longer-distance employment-related moves (17.5 compared to 13.7 percent).

Use of village population size as a primary variable has revealed patterns of selectivity linking households of various social and migratory characteristics with villages of certain sizes - in turn reflecting the nature of the rural settlement, its location in the District and the housing opportunities present. The available data suggest these patterns are largely absent, or not as pronounced, in respect of the wider population. Thus, space - as manifested in the geographical location of former local authority dwellings - has had a major role in mediating the patterns of social change arising from household turnover in the resold sector. This has been shown to be the case in respect of the more sparsely populated parishes of the District where resold dwellings were selectively purchased by disproportionately high numbers of retired, and

multiple-income households, and those moving over longer distances. By contrast, the larger villages attracted disproportionately high numbers of first-time buyer households, and single person, single parent, and younger households. Thus within the District patterns of selectivity have connected certain middle-class fractions with different parts of the resold dwelling stock in different localities.

9.8 Resales and Changing Residential Patterns At A Village Level

This stage in the present analysis will involve examination of the patterns of social change at a village level, for within parishes of each population size category (categories A. - D., above) the nature of social change has been further shaped by the morphology of the villages, and in particular the siting of (former) local authority dwellings. In this respect there are clear contrasts between villages of different sizes. Thus as one moves from the smaller (categories A. and B.) through to the larger villages (categories C. and D.) local authority housing developments change from being isolated stands of a few council houses constructed on the outskirts of a village (or exceptionally, in situ replacement of pre-existing dwellings conducted during slum clearance programmes), to higher density 'estates'. The significance of these differences lies in the degree of social segregation arising from the physical separation of local authority dwellings from the remainder of the housing stock, and in the size, composition and layout of these developments.

As Forrest and Murie note,

"council house sales can be seen as an increasingly important element in the transformation of the social

structure of neighbourhoods and broad patterns of residential differentiation"

(Forrest and Murie, 1990:107, emphasis added).

Analyses of rural settlement morphology (Sharp, 1946; Bonham-Carter, 1952; Roberts, 1982, 1987) and patterns of rural community change (Arensburg and Kimball, 1940; Ambrose, 1974; Bell and Newby, 1971; Thorns, 1968) have pointed to the complex links between the spatial segregation of the dwelling stock and patterns of social change. Research by Lewis and Strachan (1974) highlighted the example of two Northamptonshire villages (Rockingham and Gretton):

"there is a tendency towards a social and spatial segregation of the population... Characteristically, it [the village] is made up of three units: an old village core, the local authority housing estates, and private housing estates built specifically for the commuter. The effect of these systems is to create a dual local system, often referred to as the 'established and newcomer' system"

(Lewis, 1979:188).

The effect of resales has been to diminish or remove the contrast in social characteristics evident between those resident in local authority housing and those living in remainder of the dwelling stock in rural villages for the first time since the beginnings of the tenure in 1919. Hitherto, certain areas of villages and hamlets were effectively 'out-of-bounds' to those households moving in the owner-occupied sector; this, together with the stated purpose of council dwellings - viz. to house (local) 'working class' people - has led to distinctive socio-spatial groupings in rural settlements. The characteristics of those residing in local authority dwellings have changed over the decades: originally from the same or adjoining parishes, tenants have been drawn from an increasingly wide area following changes in local government administration.

This divide has sharpened over the past three decades with the documented social residualization of those resident in local authority housing (Hamnett, 1984) and the immigration of more affluent non-local households into the remainder of the dwelling stock (Harper, 1987).

The speed and extent to which these former (socio-spatial) divisions are being erased by the resale process is directly related both to the scale and to the pattern of the local authority housing developments. In this respect, clear contrasts emerge between villages of different sizes. The size and layout of the dwelling stock in smaller villages, together with the preference of some OMP households for homes in these parishes, has led to high levels of sales and, in some cases, to the resale of the entire local authority dwelling stock (eg. Courteenhall), or to situations where just one or two dwellings await sale under the RTB (eg. Quinton). Such patterns serve to refute Forrest and Murie's (1990) generalisation with regard to the impact of RTB sales on social change,

"apart from some rapidly gentrifying enclaves of, for example, inner London, there is unlikely to be a dramatic or immediate transformation in the social role and composition of council estates. Generally we are looking ahead at least twenty or thirty years"

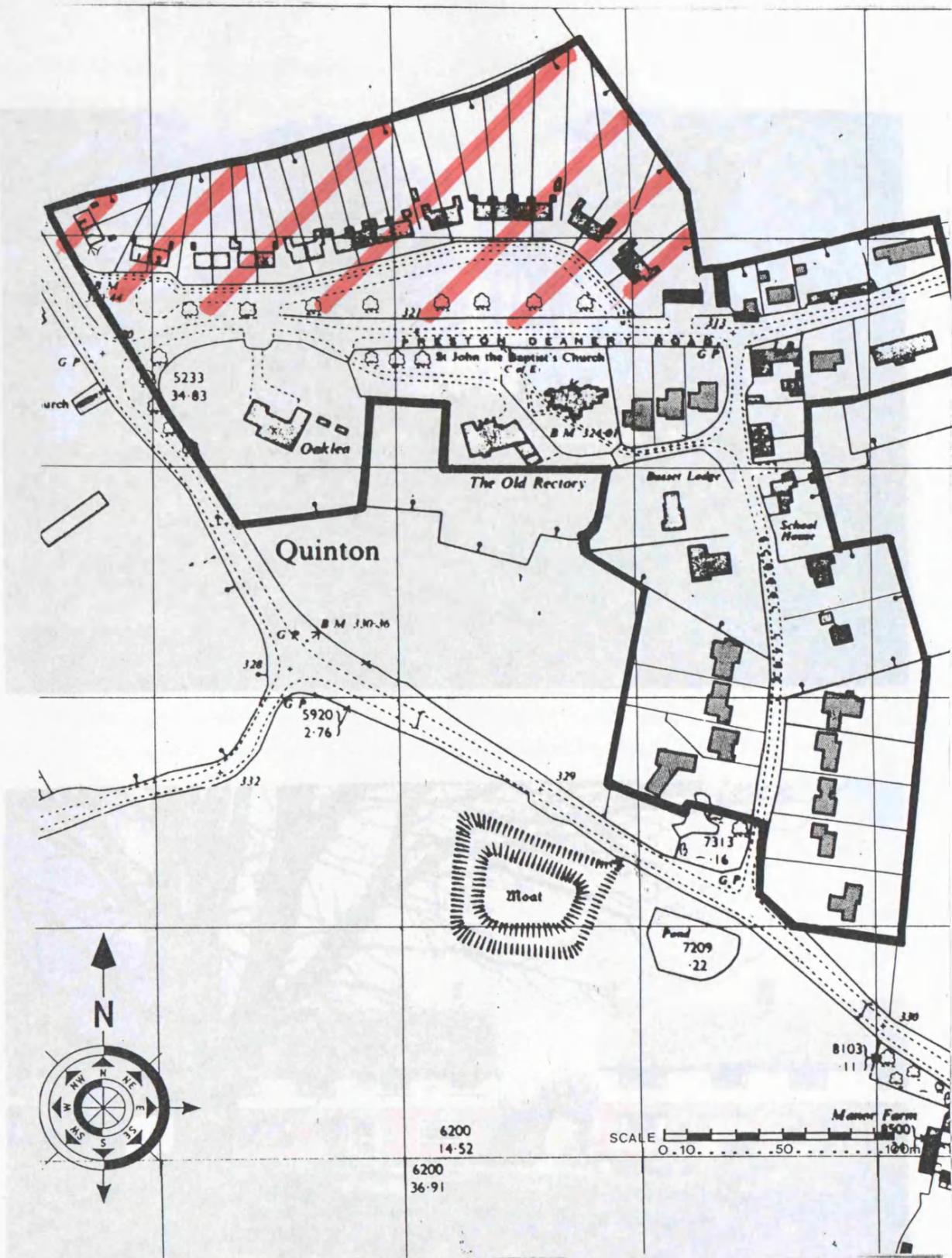
(Forrest and Murie, 1990:110).

Contrary to such an assertion, the present findings have shown that, in the case of local authority housing developments in South Northamptonshire, in under a decade from the first resales in the mid-1980s, resale has led to the passing of all or most connections with both the local authority housing department and the former tenant-purchasers in many villages. Although generalisation on the basis of the present findings has no theoretical weight (given a realist perspective), there is no reason to

suggest that such a rapid transformation will not also occur across other rural areas of the country, with consequent implications for the patterns of social segregation and household turnover in thousands of villages.

These spatial patterns of social change following resale can be seen as the direct impact of both state and capital on patterns of social and residential segregation. Such processes have attracted a substantial literature within an urban context (for example, in respect state involvement - Lawless, 1979, 1981, 1986: the role of capital - Harvey, 1989; Cox, 1981; Cox and McCarthy, 1982), yet remain relatively unexplored within a rural context. The resulting diversification of the local population as a result of 1980 Housing Act and successor legislation was identified by policymakers as a benefit to local communities in breaking up the old patterns of residential differentiation based on class and tenure (Monro, 1992:50), and can be linked to the ideology of the Conservative Party in government and its use of housing legislation to dismantle the state dominance of rented housing and its associated socio-spatial concentrations. From a neo-Marxian perspective the changing patterns of residential segregation in the countryside can be viewed as a redrawing of class boundaries following housing market reforms such that capital has replaced state bureaucracy as the prime allocator of former local authority dwellings.

Thus far, discussion of the spatial patterns of social change following the resale of local authority dwellings has shown that aggregation of household turnover patterns - whether following a broad hinterland/ remoter parishes classification, or a four-fold framework based on parish population size - enables a clearer insight into the process operating across the entire District. However, these trends are ultimately based on turnover at an



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Figure 9.24., Patterns of Residential Differentiation in Quinton - the (Former) Local Authority Sector Highlighted.

Figure 9.23., Local Authority and Former Local Authority Dwellings in Quinton.



Figure 9.25., Local Authority and Former Local Authority Dwellings in Quinton. 468

individual, household-level. Earlier analysis in the present study has revealed how these selective patterns of migration are founded on the links between household wealth and life cycle, together with various motives for migrating; all are mediated by a housing market unevenly distributed across the countryside as a result of its phased historical development. The patterns of selectivity and social change revealed thus far, at successively higher levels of spatial resolution, are nevertheless aggregations of household moves. It follows, therefore, that further insight into the patterns of social change arising from household turnover may be gained by analysis at even higher resolution.

Accordingly, attention will now be focused on the housing market configuration and household turnover a given location in order to understand the prevailing patterns of social and migratory change. Thus, within either spatial category some parishes (and villages within the parishes, or even streets within these settlements) will present all, some, or none of the housing opportunities presented by the resales process as defined by dwelling type. This assertion is consistent with that of Champion (1992), when reviewing the prospects for the study of migration and social change:

"... this line of enquiry [the intersection of migration with economic restructuring, local culture and social change] relates directly to the rediscovery of the importance of 'place' and 'locality' in social science and to the recognition of the strength of bonds between people and place..."

(Champion, 1992:220).

This can be illustrated with reference to the case of Quinton (Cathcart, 1995) - one of the smallest villages (population of 190 residents in 1991) located in the Northampton hinterland. At the outset of the Right To Buy the village had 20 local authority dwellings (28 percent of

the parish dwelling stock), and the majority of these were clustered together along one street facing the parish church (Fig 9.24). Local authority housing records show that the tenants were local people⁵ mainly engaged in unskilled manual employment⁶. Built between 1948 and 1952, these dwellings were set apart from the remainder of the dwelling stock and the occupying households were separated from the ongoing processes of household turnover in the owner-occupied and private-rented sectors covering the remainder of the parish population. Such a situation continued for almost three decades until the passing of the 1980 Housing Act, since when all but four council houses have been sold to tenants. No longer is this 'quarter' of the village removed from the general turnover of households and the attendant patterns of social change as dwellings are re-allocated according to market forces; by 1994 five of these 16 dwellings had been resold. Of the three open market purchaser households interviewed, four of the six resident adults originated from outside the region, the remaining two came from Northampton. Two of the OMP households were relocating from a last home within the region⁷ and the other household were first-time buyers. Adults in these households were engaged in higher status occupations⁸ than the tenant-purchasers they replaced, their social class being more similar to that of the village

⁵ Details held on three tenant (- purchaser) households. All of the adults in the three dwellings had not previously resided outside state-sector housing in South Northamptonshire.

⁶ Eg. Power-press operator at a manufacturing company in Northampton, or a machine operative at a cosmetics company, also based in the county town.

⁷ One moving from a previous home in Blackthorne, near Bicester, Oxfordshire, - the other from Bletchley in Buckinghamshire.

⁸ One person was a senior manager with an automotive engineering company, another a supervisor (clerical) with a building supplies company, and the other a senior insurance consultant; all were based in Northampton.

population as a whole⁹. The effect of the resales process has been to absorb this group of former council dwellings into the remainder of the village - both socially and spatially. Given average household turnover rates¹⁰ it is safe to assume that it will not be long before all connections between this group of 20 former local authority dwellings and all former council tenants are broken. Social networks are clearly important in shaping both the pace and extent of sales (and thus resales) and the resulting spatial patterns of social change within rural settlements. This is illustrated by the pattern of RTB sales in Quinton where a 'domino' effect can be observed whereby one neighbour influences others in deciding to purchase their home. Reference to local authority records of all applications received to purchase under the RTB (3,300 by February 1990)¹¹ reveals that applications were submitted by neighbours either at the same time, or days apart. These patterns pervade the set of applications for the whole District, and given a total of over 3,000 applications spaced over more than a decade they are unlikely to be the result of coincidence (table 9.18).

On another level, the example of Quinton also reveals how resales promote varying spatial patterns of social change in a different way, for each of the three OMP households interviewed selected Quinton because of the characteristics of the dwelling ultimately purchased.

⁹ Amongst the remaining 52 households in the village, 50 percent had at least one adult engaged in class I or II employment.

¹⁰ The turnover rate recorded by the census for the year 1990-91 in respect of Quinton was 16.67 percent of persons, and 4.11 percent of households.

¹¹ Not all applications proceeded through to purchase

Address of dwelling	Date Application Form Received by Local Authority	Local Authority Application Number*
5 Preston Deanery Road	23.03.1981	823
6 Preston Deanery Road	23.03.1981	828
22 Preston Deanery Road	25.11.1986	2279
3 Preston Deanery Road	26.11.1986	2280
21 Preston Deanery Road	24.04.1987	2394
2 Preston Deanery Road	19.05.1987	2429
2 Wootton Road	26.01.1988	2681
4 Preston Deanery Road	27.01.1988	2684

* Each RTB application was issued a number in receipt order for administrative purposes.

Table 9.18., Clusters of RTB Sales Within Rural Villages: Quinton.

Thus these households were looking for larger three-bedroomed houses. It was the presence of dwellings of this type in the village that ultimately led to the in-migration of these OMP households. Within these migration patterns the uneven distribution of resold dwellings across the District was therefore of central importance.

According to this view, the contingent effects of time are also critical, for at any given time during the period under study only a fraction of the total resold dwelling stock sold over the period (1980-94) appeared as a housing opportunity on the open market. The patterns revealed by the foregoing analysis therefore present a summary of the processes which had occurred by 1994. However, because the resales process is ongoing, the final spatial impact of the resales process across the district under study, by virtue of the fact that the majority of resales have yet to occur,

may ultimately differ from revealed thus far.

9.9 Summary

Earlier analysis in the present chapter outlined the links between the patterns of housing market and population change in South Northamptonshire after 1980. Examination of a variety of housing and population variables revealed that the District was broadly divided between hinterland and remoter parishes. Such a distinction was consistent with earlier work by Lewis and Maund (1979) which conceptualised migratory flows in relation to urban centres; however the present findings added consideration of the housing market as an additional important factor in shaping the key relationship between migration, location and social change.

The 1980 Housing Act and the ensuing sale and resale of local authority dwellings was identified as the principal cause of the tenurial restructuring in the period under study. Its effects have been to widen the difference between the tenurial structure of remoter and hinterland parishes, and to provide a unique housing opportunity to those households moving into the District.

Subsequently, a variety of spatial scales were used to examine the patterns of social change connected to the resale of local authority dwellings. Analysis moved from a comparison of OMP households with the wider population at a district-level, to use of the hinterlands/ remoter parishes framework, a fourfold classification of parishes according to population size, and finally to patterns of change at a parish-level ultimately examining household turnover in individual dwellings.

From this analysis it was seen that social change was operating on at least two levels - each with a key spatial component:

- (a). In respect of the contrasting characteristics of OMPs compared to the wider population; patterns were observed to vary between settlement sizes and locations
- (b). Resales were seen to be breaking down the residential and social segregation within villages - this was in turn linked to the size and morphological structure of villages, and was therefore subject to spatial variation across the District.

Open market purchaser households, in contrast to the tenant-purchasers they replaced, exhibited greater household wealth, were generally younger and 'non-local'. In addition these newcomers were in turn different from the wider population of the District. This can be seen as part of a social transition affecting the rural parishes, for though resale and the re-allocation of local authority dwellings has introduced a new element into the population of each parish, these in-migrants are not on a par with the majority of the wider population in socio-economic terms.

The spatial impact of this transition has been great: in diminishing the socio-spatial polarisation of villages contrasts emerge across the District. The rate at which this transition takes place can be related to two main factors: the number of local authority dwellings, and their situation in the village. The smaller villages have fewer such dwellings and are therefore more advanced in this transition compared to the larger villages where pre-existing residential patterns will take longer to erode. In some villages the situation is more complicated for, in contrast to the earlier example of Quinton, two or more local authority developments may be located in the same village (eg. Greens Norton).

Spatial and social selectivity was also observed to link certain middle-class fractions of OMPs with certain sections of the resold dwellings stock, particularly in the case of those searching-out resold dwellings in the smaller, and generally more remote villages. Overall the effect of these processes has been to contribute to the ongoing change in the socio-economic characteristics of the entire District. However, social change arising from resale is a new departure, - it has involved a sector of the housing market (and population) which, by virtue of state ownership and administration, was hitherto largely removed from the general (market-related) patterns of social change. As such it parallels a process which has been operating in the private rented sector over a much longer period as workers' cottages in the former landed estates have been sold off and absorbed into the owner-occupied sector.

The effect of resales has been to increase the proportion of the 'middle-class' residents in the District. This has occurred in two ways: first, by the in-migration of middle-class open market purchasers replacing tenant-purchaser households holding generally lower social class positions; and second, by changing the social class position of some tenant-purchasers - the majority of whom relocated locally. This was revealed by reference to the capital gains made by tenant-purchasers on selling the former council home (chapter 5). Consistent with research by Savage et al. (1992) in respect of the owner-occupied sector, these findings have shown that petty property assets, in this case former local authority dwellings, have promoted the formation of new middle-class fractions in the countryside.

CHAPTER TEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

10.0 Introduction

In Chapter One it was stated that this research project had two principal aims: to examine the impact of resales in rural areas by reference to the experience of South Northamptonshire and to present a theoretically informed study which outlines the linkages between migration, the housing market, and social change. This chapter will draw together the findings of this work, outline the key conclusions, evaluate the methods employed and discuss the implications for future research into processes of housing market restructuring, migration and social change in the countryside. It will be divided into two sections:

- **Summary of Findings**

- **Implications of Findings**

10.1 Summary of Findings

Examination of the development of local authority housing provision both nationally and in the study area revealed how the stock of dwellings comprising this tenure at the outset of the Right To Buy was amassed in response to a variety of social, economic and political factors over the preceding six decades. It was demonstrated that housing provision by rural local authorities was inseparably linked to population changes in the countryside and that examination of either component was incomplete without consideration of the other.

At a national level structural differences in urban and rural housing markets were outlined. The 'population turnaround' experienced over recent decades as households have sought homes in the countryside has given key importance to the contrasting structure of rural housing markets. Government policy has resulted in strict limits being imposed on housebuilding in the countryside and in the limited availability of rented accommodation - particularly in the public sector: together these factors give added significance to the continuing transfer of approximately 400,000 dwellings between state renting and private ownership. The resale of dwellings was identified as an ongoing process with major ramifications for future housing provision and social change in rural areas of England - particularly those most accessible rural areas where the process thus far has had the greatest impact.

Successive local authorities in one such district, South Northamptonshire, had been particularly active in the provision of dwellings and a sizeable stock of 4,500 dwellings was available for sale and resale when the 1980 Housing Act was passed. This stock served the housing needs of a population drawn from an increasingly wide area within the District in the decades preceding 1980.

The characteristics of the local housing market in the period under study - strong demand, limited supply of new owner-occupied dwellings, high prices, and declining public and private rented sectors - meant that resales were a major housing opportunity for households migrating into the District. The high levels of in-migration experienced by the District over recent decades had contributed to this housing market configuration. Continuing in-migration meant that resales were of key importance to the pattern and extent of social change in the local villages.

Sales levels under the Right To Buy, involving over a third of the local authority dwelling stock, were amongst the highest in the country, but it was not until the mid-1980s that appreciable numbers of dwellings were resold. Following this date the numbers of resales, whilst increasing, was also subject to major fluctuations, in part explained by the turbulent changes affecting the property market in the late-1980s and early 1990s. By 1994 resold dwellings constituted 1.5 percent of the dwelling stock in rural parishes, a modest proportion by any standard. However, sole reliance on this measure distorts the true impact of the changes taking place, and when the number of potential resales is added then over eight percent of the total dwelling stock eventually will be resold. This mean figure conceals variations between different parts of the District, for in some hinterland parishes almost one in five dwellings will be affected. The extent of these changes is considerable given both the slow rate at which the owner-occupied sector was expanding prior to 1980, and the timescale of less than a decade. These figures are a 'snapshot' of the situation up to 1994, and further RTB sales and an increased pool of potential resales cannot be ruled out.

Comparison of resold dwelling prices with a range of indices served to highlight the relative cheapness of these dwellings in a market characterised by exceptionally high property prices. These dwellings were originally

established to meet the needs of 'local' working class people, but in the face of increased competition from immigrants it was not known whether the market would reallocate these properties to households with either of these characteristics.

Consistent with the notion of a resale 'process', patterns of social residualisation were identified in respect of tenant-purchasers in the District. Those choosing to remain in their former local authority dwelling - 'stayers' - were generally older (45-60 years), and engaged in local 'working class' employment. In contrast 'movers' - those reselling their former local authority dwelling on the open market - were on the whole younger and more likely to have been engaged in higher status occupations in the adjoining towns. Both groups however displayed strong connections to the local area and to state sector housing. By contrast, open market purchasers of local authority dwellings displayed few connections with the state rented sector; the majority of these households were already established owner occupiers/buyers. Their employment status was predominantly 'middle class', whilst closer examination revealed a number of 'middle class' fractions as defined by, for example, higher proportions of personal service workers or small proprietors. Key differences on resale were also identified in respect of the role of women. Hitherto they were engaged in lower status part-time work in tenant purchaser households, but by contrast the majority of OMPs resided in dual-career households where both partners were engaged in middle-class occupations based in the adjoining towns or beyond. The vast majority of adults were aged between 25 and 44 years and in the commencement or expansion phases of the life cycle. Examination of OMP housing histories revealed that the majority were trading-up on purchasing a former local authority dwelling. An interesting exception was presented by the minority of older households who had traded-down into resold dwellings in order to realise a cash sum for their retirement.

Attention was drawn to the fact that the patterns of social change attached to resales, although a new departure afforded by the 1980 Housing Act, were still part of the wider patterns of social change affecting the District and beyond. Consideration of the social change attaching to resales within the context of research on gentrification and social change in the countryside concluded that resales did indeed exhibit many of the key features associated with 'gentrification', though the singular nature of changes connected with the former local authority sector meant that the term should be used in a qualified sense.

Examination of the migratory patterns of households moving into the dwellings under study before and after resale confirmed the discontinuity with past practices. Tenants in the local authority sector were predominantly 'local' people with family and kinship ties to the villages of South Northamptonshire, and these connections were further evident in the relocation patterns of 'mover' households on leaving the home purchased under the RTB - almost a half remained in the District and two-thirds within the county. By contrast only a minority of OPMs were from a similar background and the overwhelming majority originated from outside the region. Most of these households had not relocated directly into resold dwellings; rather a stepwise pattern of increasingly shorter distance household moves was observed, whereby OMP households had previously relocated into the Northants region and had then used their knowledge of the local housing market to make a shorter distance move into resold dwellings in the District. Such a summary necessarily over-simplifies the migration patterns examined which were greatly complicated by the process of household formation involving partners of contrasting geographical origins. This contrast extended both to the actual locations of previous homes and in interviewees' perceptions as to whether they were from a 'rural' or 'urban' background. Two-thirds of OMP households were found to be moving from a previous home located in an urban area, patterns reminiscent of an earlier, 'classic'

phase of counterurbanization.

The close relationship between South Northamptonshire and the adjoining South East region was repeatedly emphasized by the patterns of household moves associated with OMP households. This was in turn linked to differentials in the housing markets between the two regions and the economic processes which have effected a new spatial division of labour as industry has decentralised over the past fifteen years in particular. Such conclusions are supported by the motives cited by OMP households in respect of the reasons for leaving their last home; the majority were housing related and therefore voluntarist, although employment related moves had characterised the earlier relocation into the region. Broadly, the reasons for OMPs leaving their last home can be split between life cycle needs for a bigger home and aspirational motives connected with the search for a 'better' home, one 'with potential'. The majority of OMP households it seems, targeted the broad geographical area where they would like to move and then selected individual villages on the merits of the resold dwelling ultimately purchased.

Reference to the varying standards of local authority dwellings dating from different periods highlighted the diversity of the housing opportunity labelled with deceptive simplicity 'former local authority dwelling'. The high proportion of properties built to the more generous specifications of the 1920s and immediate post-war period in the District account for the majority of OMP households selecting resold dwellings for their size and layout. The relative cheapness of these dwellings attracted a quarter of all purchasing households. Both the purchasers and vendors interviewed denied that the former local authority status of these dwellings was a 'problem' in any way. Estate agents adopted the same sales approach as applied to other sectors of the market, whilst the minority of OMPs who attached importance to previous state ownership did so because they felt it was benefit in a number of respects.

A combination of social and migratory variables were related to the different sections of the resold dwelling stock (as defined by dwelling age, type and standard): such an approach produced 'clusters' of social characteristics emphasising the way in which the nature of resold dwelling was a further factor in explaining the patterns of social change on resale. In simple terms such selectivity was founded on levels of household income and housing need related to the life cycle.

Spatial analysis of resales at a variety of geographical scales revealed the varying impact of resales within the District. Two spatial groupings were evident in the housing and population structure of the District at the outset of the RTB: those parishes in the hinterlands of the adjoining towns, and the remoter parishes of the District. These contrasted inter alia in terms of the size of the resident population and the extent of local authority housing provision. The effect of the RTB was to widen the differences in the tenurial structures between the two categories. Reference to census data facilitated comparison between the characteristics of OMP in-migrants and the wider population of the District. A variety of socio-economic indicators highlighted the relative affluence of the District and revealed how OMPs were part of a social transition: though wealthier and holding higher occupational status than tenant-purchasers, they were nevertheless not on a par with the majority of the District's population.

Division of the villages in the District by population size revealed patterns of spatial selectivity which linked OMP households with higher occupational status and income to more expensive resold dwellings in the smaller, generally more remote villages which were sought for their distinctive character. At a village level the 'social assimilation' of resold dwellings into the remainder of the population was observed to have a strong spatial dimension as sectors of villages hitherto outside the patterns of

household turnover in the owner-occupied sector were drawn into general patterns of turnover and social change. It was noted that the rate of this process will vary between villages of different sizes; the modest stands of dwellings in small villages will generally break all ties with both the local authority housing department and former local authority tenants at a greater rate than the larger villages containing sizeable 'estates' of local authority dwellings.

The analysis has also shown that OMP households generally are not as wealthy as the remainder of the owner occupied sector and resales are permitting the in-migration of social fractions that would otherwise be unable to compete in a housing market characterised by exceptionally high dwelling prices. The nature of the last household move into resold dwellings - two-thirds being from urban areas - shows this 'special' sector of the market is enabling lower income middle class fractions to realise a desire to move to the countryside based on lifestyle considerations, a pattern long established in respect of wealthier middle class groups. Resales are not being reallocated to social fractions similar to the tenants of earlier decades, and therefore they are not continuing to serve 'local', lower income households. Instead they represent a discontinuity with the past by offering a new type of housing opportunity to socially distinct in-migrants. Resales represent a double blow to the provision of affordable housing to local people for not only have RTB sales severely reduced the local authority dwelling stock, but the reallocation of these dwellings by the market has perpetuated the established trend of in-migration by those most able to compete in the housing market. In future years it is likely that more affluent households will purchase these dwellings as the former council properties are caught up in the general turnover in the owner-occupied sector - households with affluence on a par with other owner-occupiers in the District. This conjecture is based on the likelihood that the price of former local authority dwellings will rise

significantly over future years owing to the general failure of the market to meet increasing demand, and the extensive modifications and improvements undertaken by OMP households which has added to the capital value of these dwellings.

10.2 Implication of Findings

10.21 Implications For Rural Communities

Despite a 'broadening' of the social fractions housed by local authorities (following the Housing Act, 1949), and the increasingly wide area from which tenants were drawn, analysis of tenant purchasers revealed that these were essentially local, working or lower middle class people. The strong ties between these households and the local area was supported by a range of evidence: housing histories revealed that few had lived outside the local area or the state rented sector, a third worked in the local villages and a half in the adjoining towns; when combined two-thirds of tenant purchaser moves into and from local authority dwellings were within the District, and a half of tenant purchasers relocated within the District on reselling. Examination of settlement morphology in the District revealed socio-spatial patterns delineated by tenure which in turn shaped the nature and functioning of the local communities. The operation of social networks amongst households within this tenure was clearly evident in respect of the patterns of RTB applications, with many neighbours submitting their applications simultaneously.

The long-term relationship between families and local authority housing provision in the District was evident from records of earlier household moves disclosed on RTB application forms. Many had previously resided in local authority dwellings in adjoining parishes and importantly a sizeable fraction had taken over tenancies from their parents - either in respect of previous homes or those purchased under the RTB. Thus in many instances the

relationship between families and the local authority housing department extended over more than one generation.

Resales have not reallocated local authority dwellings to the same social group: this has major implications for the social composition of local communities, for state rented accommodation - the principal source of affordable local housing - has been withdrawn or greatly depleted in the villages of the District. This raises the question as to what happens to those households who would previously have been accommodated by the local authority? Reliance on the relocation patterns of tenant purchaser households who have moved on does not provide a fair indication, for these are 'special' households, most having made substantial capital gains on reselling, gains which have enabled them to compete locally in the property market, something which previously would not have been possible. It is likely that resales will result in an increase in the number of 'hidden' households in the District, as siblings, friends and relatives co-habit, whereas they would otherwise reside as separate households. It is also likely that the loss of local authority dwellings (and the absence of suitable alternatives) will force local people on lower incomes away from their home area, particularly in the case of younger people who wish to leave the parental home. Such households are likely to search out the cheaper owner-occupied and rented accommodation available in the neighbouring towns. Future research may usefully examine these 'less visible' aspects of the sale and resale of local authority dwellings and their impact on rural communities.

10.22 Implications for Housing Policy

The changes which have affected the state rented housing sector over recent decades have in large measure been a direct response to changing housing policy, whilst their increasing impact on rural communities is in turn producing new if somewhat contradictory policy initiatives. The RTB programme marked a progression in Conservative Party policy which had always been either openly hostile or markedly sceptical towards state provision of housing in rural areas. The 1965 statement by the Labour Party in office (Great Britain, 1965, op cit, section 4.3) is also of key importance in signalling that it also saw a more limited role for state housing. The absence of any substantial growth in the local authority sector since the early 1950s (under both Conservative and Labour Parties) reflects the political response to the changing relationship between capital, the state and different social groupings. Such changes have seen a fall in state spending on housing from 2.6 percent of GDP in 1978/9 to 1.0 percent in 1994/5, a fall of £11 billion (C.S.O, 1994).

Changing housing policy over the past few decades has produced a shortage of affordable housing in rural areas, and this has been highlighted repeatedly in the period under study with estimates of the shortfall varying greatly (between 60,000 - 189,000 dwellings). The building of local needs housing on 'exception sites' ('PPG 3') was an initiative designed to address this problem; its role has recently been reaffirmed:

" so-called rural exception sites can provide a small but important additional source of affordable housing in rural areas..."

(DoE, 1996:5, para 14.).

However, as both the foregoing statement, and research in Northamptonshire have shown, the total number of dwellings

built under this initiative is dwarfed by the scale of the problem. Furthermore recent estimates of future household growth have claimed a need for 4.4 million additional homes in England alone over the next 20 years (DoE, 1995). The Government response is outlined in a recent 'Green Paper' (DoE, 1996):

"current policies ... seek to invigorate urban areas while limiting sprawl into the open countryside, encouraging in particular the redevelopment and regeneration of previously used ('brownfield') land in towns and cities. The overall aim is to provide for future housing demand in a manner which promotes more sustainable patterns of urban development"

(DoE, 1996:18, para 4.2).

However, there is acknowledgement from official quarters that despite all efforts to channel future household growth into urban areas, these changes will inevitably impact on rural housing markets:

"the Department [DoE] has a number of studies underway or nearing completion which are investigating how further urban [residential] development can be facilitated ... similarly, the UK Round Table on Sustainable Development has been investigating the scope for increasing to 75% the Government's target of 50% of all new residential development to be built on previously-used land. The Government is interested in people's views on the value of an aspirational target of 60%"

(DoE, 1996:40, para 7.9).

The official view that rural areas will receive just 40% of the projected growth was immediately dismissed as unrealistic by planning professionals:

"Mr Gummer [the Secretary of State] is looking at this issue through electioneering spectacles. We believe that 30% [urban development] is a much more likely figure, unless there are some very real changes in public policy and attitudes"

(Tim Cordy, Director of the Town and Country Planning Association, 25.11.1996., Millar, 1996:4).

The Government has stated that extensions to 'key' settlements, new towns and new villages are the main options being considered to facilitate this growth in the rural housing market (DoE, 1996). However the Environment Secretary also stated,

" ... what we need is a set of alternatives... to suit local needs and circumstances ... [meeting housing demand by building on greenfield sites was] ... wholly unacceptable in terms of environmental damage, land use and loss of amenity..."

John Selwyn Gummer M.P., 25.11.1996, (Millar, 1996:4).

Even if the Government's 40% estimate is used, these policies and projections have great implications for the rural housing market, with the annual requirement for new homes in the English countryside totalling almost 94,000 homes over the next twenty years.

Meanwhile, the Government has noted its intention in recent policy statements (DoE,1995a) ...

"...to ensure that local people are not priced out of the market"

(DoE, 1995:67).

The main policy initiative in this respect has been the allocation of grants to housing associations to provide affordable rented accommodation. However the numbers of new homes built in the countryside thus far have been modest totalling just 10,800 between 1988 and 1995 (DoE, 1995a:68), whereas the Government itself has estimated that throughout Britain there is an annual need for 60,000 'new lettings' of social housing (DoE, 1996:xvi). However, the Parliamentary Environment Committee on Housing Need concluded:

"as we have seen, many witnesses were worried that the targets for social housing have been set too low. An additional anxiety is that it is possible that not even these targets will be met"

(Environment Committee on Housing Need, 1996:xxiv, para 97).

Government policy on rural housing is seemingly contradictory: on the day after the Secretary of State Gummer's comments (cited above) on the need for a sensitivity to "local needs and circumstances" in considering the implications of future household projections and housing demand in rural areas, his colleague the Chancellor of the Exchequer reduced the Central Government grant to housing associations by £250 million (Schoon, 1996:16). Not surprisingly,

"... housing groups and the Housing Corporation were united in saying even the Government's lower target [of 60,000 social lettings a year, cited above] would be seriously undershot"

(Schoon, 1996:16).

Since 1980, Government policy has seriously undermined the provision of local authority housing in rural areas and this has compounded an already difficult situation in which local people were finding it increasingly difficult to compete in a housing market where prices had been inflated by increased demand from generally more affluent in-migrants and the limited provision of new housing. The present findings have shown that resales are adding a new dimension to these long-established trends and exacerbating further the problems faced by those looking for affordable housing in their home area. As a review of existing policies has revealed, little is being done to make good the growing shortfall. The present policy response is clearly inadequate and if the prevailing situation is left unchecked a radical policy response will be necessary in the future if rural housing markets are not to become the exclusive preserve of those most able to afford the

escalating property prices. In the meantime the implications of recent policies are slowly gaining recognition even in Government circles:

"there may, for instance, be tension between incomers and the established population. Each group may have different social priorities ..."

(DoE, 1996:37, para 6.15).

Evidence from South Northamptonshire has highlighted the selectivity with which different sections of the population have purchased resold dwellings as determined both by the type of dwelling and its location in the countryside. Such patterns make conflicting demands on policymakers for this research has shown that the stock of local authority dwellings is lower in the smaller, generally more remote villages and that when such dwellings are resold they command higher prices. These dwellings were sought by disproportionately high numbers of elderly and retired households with the implication that the future provision of affordable housing should be in these villages if they are not to become the exclusive preserve of the elderly and the affluent. However this study also revealed that younger households with children and lower income levels sought resold dwellings in the more accessible villages in the hinterlands of the District in preference to the smaller, remoter villages and hamlets. Planners are therefore faced with a dilemma - whether to attempt to 'replace' affordable housing 'removed' from the smaller, remoter villages by the (re-)sale of council housing, or whether to target such housing provision in the larger more accessible villages where there is evident demand for such provision. Recent planning guidance issued to update the 'PPG3-exceptions' policy (DoE, 1996) effectively imposes the latter option:

"in practice the policy should only be applied to suitable sites ... settlements with a population of 3,000 or fewer to developments of 25 or more dwellings ..."

(DoE, 1996:3).

Clearly the cost and scale of a new development involving a minimum of 25 dwellings effectively limits the siting of such schemes to larger villages. The implication of this policy is to effectively 'abandon' social housing provision in the smaller villages which will become the exclusive preserve of those able and willing to pay the inflated houseprices. Indeed the evidence from Northamptonshire confirms this for the majority of the 'PPG3 - exceptions' schemes (built prior to the updated guidance) have been located in the larger villages (such as Nether Heyford and Potterspury) to the neglect of smaller settlements.

Resale can therefore be seen as a process central to contemporary debates about the access of different social groups to a 'post-productivist' countryside. The prevailing policy response has been to make the market the chief arbitrator in these matters. As with the setting up of local authority housing in earlier decades, further state intervention in the housing market will be necessary if the future interests of local people on lower incomes are to be safeguarded in rural areas and elsewhere. In accordance with Section 106 agreements under the PPG3 policy and Section 19 agreements under the 1980 Housing Act, restrictive covenants are legally enforceable requiring that such 'social' housing be reserved for future generations of local people. These legal measures reveal an awareness amongst policymakers of the problems of securing affordable local housing provision in rural areas; however these policy responses are inadequate given the scale of the existing problem. A change in policy will be necessary if affordable 'social' housing is to be safeguarded for future generations of local people in rural areas on a scale commensurate to the prevailing loss of such housing through RTB sales and changes affecting other tenures.

10.23 Implications for Theoretical Approaches

In operationalising a realist approach the present study adopted a theoretical framework which can link structure and agency in the redrawing of the relationship between the state, housing provision and capital. In a number of respects this approach marked an advance on the theoretical position of earlier studies, each will be considered in turn.

Earlier discussion emphasised that the present findings summarise household turnover through resold dwellings between 1980 and 1994. However individual household moves occurred as a result of a given structural configuration (of the housing market and local population) and the co-presence of a resold dwelling available for purchase at a given time and location. In this respect a realist approach underlined the contingent effects of both space and time.

This was evident from the way in which the local authority housing available for resale in the 1980s resulted from the complex interplay of national housing policy and local implementation in earlier years. It was shown that the phased historical development of the tenure in part explained the varied standard of the dwelling stock, the numbers of dwellings available for resale, and their distribution across the District - each of which was a key factor in understanding subsequent household turnover through this 'special' sector of the housing market. Indeed the pattern of resale was reciprocally related to the local housing and population structures for resales were shaped by these structure's existing spatial configuration. This they then modified by tenure transfer and patterns of household turnover. Thus a realist approach incorporates the contingent effects of space and time in explaining the processes analysed, in contrast to many earlier studies which have little to say on the function of space and time.

In line with Harris and Pratt's (1983) call for "a synthetic perspective to complement and refine the analytical and theoretical tools developed over the last decades" (Harris and Pratt, 1983:20), the present study has shown that realism can also successfully synthesize the role of structure and agency in the events studied, for realist theory emphasises that the occupants of wider (socio-economic) structures perform a dual and simultaneous role both in occupying these structures and reproducing them. Thus the approach was consonant both with a structuralist perspective emphasising modifying influence of rounds of capital investment, and a behaviouralist investigation of decision-making by individual household units. It is in synthesizing the function of space and time, together with the relationship between structure and agency, that realism marks an advance over earlier studies and offers greatest potential for future study of rural housing markets and attendant processes of social change.

It must be remembered however that a realist perspective underlines the specificity of the events studied - and that any attempt to generalise from the present findings from South Northamptonshire lacks theoretical validity. However this does not mean to say the present findings are without relevance to other areas of rural England, or indeed to Wales and Scotland, and in this respect Murdoch and Marsden's (1994) attempts to put their research findings from a given rural locality (Aylesbury Vale) into a wider context are germane. In developing their argument they draw on earlier work by Massey who also argued that,

"what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus ... It is indeed a meeting place. Instead then of thinking of places as areas with particular boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large proportion of these relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far wider scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be

a street, or a region or even a continent"

(Massey, 1991:220).

Murdoch and Marsden conclude,

"... the relationship between a given locality and its context is necessarily complex. Either the geographical locality is cross-cut by a whole variety of different networks of relations (locality as a 'meeting point') or local spaces and actors are incorporated within these networks"

(Murdoch and Marsden, 1994:221).

It is therefore entirely possible that the processes identified in the present study extend to other areas, but this cannot be established without further research.

10.24 Evaluating the Present Approach: Implications for Future Research

Reflection on the use of a relatively 'new' theoretical approach to the study of rural housing in this study reveals a number of weaknesses. These in turn point to future research paths which may improve further the understanding of the processes of migration and social change connected to rural housing markets.

In common with many studies, the problem of autonomy must be acknowledged. Thus decisions taken in the course of the present research by the author reflect a whole range of subjective factors (for example, value judgements and interpretation of earlier studies, or limits imposed by practical factors such as time and resources). Thus Cloke (1994) quotes Christian who argues that:

"critics need to let go of their distanced and false stance of objectivity and ... expose their own point of view - the tangle of background, influences, political perspectives, training, situations, that helped form and inform their interpretations"

(Christian, 1989:67).

Further research is therefore necessary in order to incorporate the subjective influence of the researcher on research undertaken within a realist perspective. An example is presented by that which Sayer (1984) describes as the "one-sided" aspect of realist approaches as discussed above (Sayer, 1984:80)) whereby specific aspects of abstract structures are 'isolated' by the researcher in order to access contingent relations forming the basis of 'concrete' studies. Further study of such intervention by the researcher is necessary in order to clarify and understand the decision-making leading to the isolation of parts of wider structures for the purpose of undertaking social research.

Exclusivity is a further problem that needs to be addressed by future work on rural housing markets, viz. the methods used to 'measure' the population turnover in the resold sector are not objective. Examples of such measures include social class schemata or notions of the life cycle. Key areas for future study include the way in which the choice of a given schema affects the findings relating to the social process(es) under study and furthermore the need to understand the extent to which the same schema applied to different social contexts are 'compatible'. Thus in the latter case research may address the degree to which it is valid or useful to compare research findings with those of earlier, apparently 'similar' studies.

In the course of this research the resale of former local authority dwellings was described as a 'process' encompassing the changing status of dwellings from state ownership, sale under the RTB, to resale on the open

market. In the case of South Northamptonshire fewer than one in four dwellings purchased under the RTB had been resold in the 9 years since the first resales arrived on the open market (and 14 years following the 1980 Housing Act). Further research will be necessary to examine the patterns of social change when a majority of dwellings have made the transition between tenures. The present study revealed how resales were affecting a form of social transition: OMPs were of a higher occupational status than tenant-purchasers but not on a par with the wider population, so in future years it will be useful to see if these remaining differences (based on socio-spatial residential patterns) are completely eroded as former local authority dwellings are wholly 'absorbed' into the wider social structure of rural settlements. Recent work has highlighted the in-migration patterns beginning to affect remoter rural localities of Britain, and it is in such areas that future work could be undertaken.

Short-distance moves were found to characterise the migration patterns of tenant-purchaser households. Attention was focused on the relocation of a minority of such households which had moved to a new home within South Northamptonshire on reselling their ex-council dwelling. Research revealed how these households had made substantial capital gains enabling them to compete for properties in the highly competitive local housing market. Such an approach may be extended in order to understand the social and spatial processes involving a wider range of such households (ie. those relocating beyond the immediate District) - the 'beneficiaries' of the privatisation of rural council housing. This study has provided an understanding of the movement of 'open market purchasers' into former local authority dwellings, and such a line of further research would complete an understanding of the migration processes attached to resale by showing what happened to the tenant-purchaser households on moving out of the same properties. In line with work by Savage et al. (1992) such research could examine the way in which the

capital gains made on resale helped promote not only spatial but social mobility.

In attempting to outline the impact of resales the present study necessarily followed a broadly quantitative approach in order to gain an understanding of the scale and nature of changes occurring and the way in which they fitted into overall patterns of housing market restructuring and population change. Whilst this incorporated extensive analysis of household decision-making, future work may examine the range of constraints and influencing factors at an individual household level using qualitative techniques in order to build-up individual household biographies or housing histories of the process of moving through the resold sector of the rural housing market. Such research could, with the co-operation of a limited number of households, gather a greater amount of detailed information on moving households, for example obtaining direct measures of household wealth/ income and full (ie. life time) housing and migration histories.

It was noted earlier that in several respects the changes affecting the public rented sector of the housing market over recent decades paralleled trends which have affected the private rented sector over a much longer period of time. The various techniques used in this study may therefore be applied usefully to future research into the patterns of migration and social change affecting private rented housing in the countryside including former private rented accommodation. In these various respects this research has pointed to the way in which recent housing market restructuring is linked to social change in the English countryside and how future research, in addressing issues identified in the present study, may build on the present findings and advance further understanding of these ongoing processes.

ALL ANSWERS ARE GIVEN ANONYMOUSLY.

1.a Is this your first family home together?

(Please circle) YES, Please go to Q.1.f on next page >
 NO, Please answer questions below.

1.b Where have you previously lived together as a family in since 1984?

* Enter homes in chronological order, oldest first, preceeding last.

* Insert one of the following tenure codes in respect of each home.

- (01). Owned-outright by you.
- (02). One you purchased with a mortgage.
- (03). Rented from a private landlord.
- (04). Rented from a housing assbociation.
- (05). Rented from the council.

#	Tenure	Where? (county & town/ village)	Urban or rural?	No.of years
1	CODE		Urban/ Rural	
2	CODE		Urban/ Rural	
3	CODE		Urban/ Rural	
4	CODE		Urban/ Rural	

1.c In addition to the above, have any family members ever lived in a council home or purchased a council home? Give details only when NOT already mentioned above, in question 1.b.

Relationship of adult to interviewee (insert code).	Details of ever residing in council housing, and / or, of purchasing council housing.	
	lived	purchased
CODE		
CODE		
CODE		

1.d

What was (or were), the main reasons for your family leaving this last home? Please select appropriate reasons in order of importance from the list and insert code(s); and / or , specify other reason(s).

Most important reason	2nd reason	3rd reason	4th reason
CODE	CODE	CODE	CODE

1.e

Roughly, how much did you sell this last home for ? Select band from list and insert code

Year of Sale	19	Priceband	CODE
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Now go to Question No.2 >>

If this is your first family home together please fill-in a column for each adult in your household and answer the following questions

...

Relationship of adult to interviewee(code)	01.	—.	—.
1.f Where did you live prior to living in your present home (county & town / village).			

<p>1.g What was this <u>last</u> home? (insert code) (01).Privately owned. (02).Privately rented (03).Rented from council.</p>	CODE	CODE	CODE
<p>1.h Why did you leave your <u>last</u> home? Please insert reason code or specify other, in order of importance.</p> <p>(i). The most important reason.</p>	CODE	CODE	CODE
<p>(ii). 2nd reason</p>	CODE	CODE	CODE
<p>(iii). 3rd reason</p>	CODE	CODE	CODE
<p>(iv). 4th reason</p>	CODE	CODE	CODE
<p>1.i How much did you sell your last home for? Not applicable (state reason) <u>or</u> Insert code for price band from list.</p>	CODE	CODE	CODE
<p>1.j Prior to your last home, have you <u>ever</u> lived in council housing <u>or</u> purchased a council home? <u>Please give details . . .</u></p>			

<p>2. Where was the family home when you were born? Insert county, town / village for each adult.</p>			
--	--	--	--

<p>Relation of adult to interviewee (code).</p>	01.	_____	_____
<p>3. Where did your parents live at the time you left home? Write-in County, & town / village.</p>			

<p>4. Would you say that you're from a "country" (rural) background or a "town" (urban) background? Select . . . T or C.</p>	T / C	T / C	T / C
<p>5. Why did you search for a home in the countryside? <u>Please state reason or reasons.</u></p>			
<p>6. What were the main reasons for selecting this particular village /town ?</p>			
<p>7. In what year did you move into your present home?</p>	19 ____	19 ____	19 ____
<p>8.a When you first became interested in buying your present home did you know that it had once been a council home?</p>	YES/ NO	YES/NO	YES/NO
<p>8.b If yes, was the fact ...</p> <p>(01). important to you (02). quite important. (03). not important</p> <p>Insert code, and state WHY?</p>	CODE	CODE	CODE
<p>9. What was the reason for deciding to purchase this particular property? Select appropriate code from list, and / or specify any other reasons.</p>	Reason(s)	Reason(s)	Reason(s)
<p>10. Roughly how much did you pay for this home? Select price-band code from the list and insert code.</p>	CODE	CODE	CODE

Relationship to interviewee(codes)	01.		
<p>11. Have you, or do you intend to, undertake any major home improvements? Eg. building extended, garage built, central heating etc.</p>	YES/NO	YES/NO	YES/NO
<p>12. Do you own any other domestic properties? <u>Give brief details, please state which property you regard as your MAIN (ie. the one you reside-in most and regard as your HOME.</u></p>	YES/NO Brief details	YES/NO Brief details	YES/NO Brief details
<p>13. How long do you think you will continue to live in this home? (01). < 1 year (02). 1 - 2 further years (03). 3 - 4 further years (04) 5 - 6 further years (05). 7 + further years Insert code.</p>	CODE	CODE	CODE
<p>14.a What type of home do you want to move into on moving from this home? Select code from list or specify other.</p>	CODE / OTHER	CODE / OTHER	CODE / OTHER
<p>14.b Would you consider buying an <u>ex-council house</u> in the future?</p>	YES/ NO Why?	YES /NO Why?	YES/NO Why?

15. Do you know which village the previous occupants of this home relocated to?

Write village/town & county

--	--	--	--

The next few brief questions are about household members.

<p>Relationship to interviewee insert code for all adults and children</p>	01.	_____	_____	_____	_____
<p>16. Approx. age. insert code</p> <p>(01). 0 - 4 (02). 5 - 9 (03). 10 - 14 (04). 15 (05). 16 - 17 (06). 18 - 19 (07). 20 - 24 (08). 25 - 44 (09). 45 - 59 (10). 60 - 64 (11). 65 - 69 (12). 70 - 74 (13). 75 - 79 (14). 80 - 84 (15). 85 +</p>	CODE	CODE	CODE	CODE	CODE
<p>17. Employment status. insert code from list for all 16+ years</p>	CODE	CODE	CODE	CODE	CODE

If a, b, c, or i.	answer	no.s	iii. to vii.	inclusive.
If e, or f.	answer	no.	i. only	
If g.	answer	no.s	i,ii and iv	
If h.	answer	no.s	i. and iv.	
If i.	answer	no.s	iii. - vii.	
If j.	answer	no.s	i.,ii. & iv.	
If K.	answer	no.	i.	

i). Are you looking for work? If yes, specify	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No
ii). Why do you not have a job? insert code. (01). Redundancy (02). Pregnancy (03). Bringing-up - children. (04). Prefer to look after home/family (05). ill health (06). Retired (07). Other please specify.	CODE	CODE	CODE	CODE	CODE
iii). Where do you work? state county, village or town.					
iv). What was your previous job? State title & briefly describe work.					
v). Are you self-employed?	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No
vi). What is your current job title?					

Vii). What does the job involve?

18. What educational & vocational qualifications do you have?

Please write code.
01). O / A levels
02). Degree
03). Higher - degree
04). Diploma, etc.
05). Vocational other.

CODE

CODE

CODE

CODE

CODE

19. Has the no. of members of your household changed since you moved-in?
If YES, state WHY?

Please circle

-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3

WHY ?

Interview - Responses and Codes

Questions 1.d. or 1.h,

"Why did you leave your last familyhome?"

- (01). To have more suitable accommodation to bring -up children.
 - (02). To move to your retirement home.
 - (03). Old home repossessed.
 - (04). Lease/tenancy expired.
 - (05). Dissatisfaction with old neighbourhood.
 - (06). To secure a better/more comfortable home.
 - (07). To make an investment.
 - (08). To be near employment.
 - (09). To be near other family members.
 - (10). To set-up home with your partner.
 - (11). To be near friends.
 - (12). Other please specify
-

Question 9., "Reasons for selecting your present home?"

- (01). Looked like a good investment property (one which would realise a good profit on sale).
- (02). Size and layout of the property.
- (03). Aspect and appearance of property.
- (04). The character of the neighbourhood.
- (05). Property had "potential for development".
- (06). Seemed to be less expensive than other -similar properties.
- (07). Related to former occupants.
- (08). Inherited this property.
- (09). Other, please specify.

Relationship of household members to interviewee.

- 01. interviewee
- 02. Partner - unmarried, male.
- 03. Partner - unmarried, female
- 04. Partner - married, male.
- 05. Partner - married, female.
- 06. Parent
- 07. Grandparent.
- 08. Parent-in-law
- 09. Child (ie. under 16 years.)
- 10. Non-family member of household.

Houseprice codes. Questions; 1e. and 1f. & 10.

How much did you sell your last home for?

There`s no need to reveal the exact figure, just select one of these broad bands.....

Houseprice band.	Code
Tenants/lodgers not applicable	01
£30,000 - £39,999	02
£40,000 - £49,999	03
£50,000 - £59,999	04
£60,000 - £69,999	05
£70,000 - £79,999	06
£80,000 - £89,999	07
£90,000 - £99,999	08
£100,000 +	09

Question 14.,

"what type of home do you want to move into on moving from this home?".

- (01). Purchase similar property with more bedrooms.
- (02). Purchase detached property.
- (03). Purchase a retirement home.
- (04). Purchase a more modest property in order to realise capital.
- (05). Rent a property, please specify and state why?

Employment status - Codes. Question 17.

Which of the following best represents your situation.

code	Employment status
a	In full-time employment .
b	Running, full-time, your own business.
c	In part-time paid employment.
d	In higher education and have not had previous full-time paid employment .
e	Have left higher education and have not had full-time paid employment.
f	On government training scheme and have not had previous full-time paid employment.
g	Currently looking for work and have had previous full-time paid employment.
h	Retired but not currently running a business or performing paid work.
i	Retired but still running a business or performing paid work.
j	Currently looking after the house/family and do not have full-time employment, although you previously had such employment.
k	Currently looking after the house and have not had paid employment.
l	Not covered by the above.

Appendix 3B.

RURAL HOUSING MARKET SURVEY.

PLEASE COULD YOU ANSWER THE FOLLOWING BRIEF
QUESTIONS . . . (Four in total) . . .

Question One.

What were the main reasons for leaving your last home?

Please tick any appropriate reasons below.

Reason:	(tick)
To have more suitable accommodation to bring-up children.	
To move to your retirement home.	
Old home repossessed.	
Lease/tenancy expired.	
Dissatisfaction with old neighbourhood.	
To secure a better/more comfortable home.	
To make an investment.	
To be near employment.	
To be near other family members.	
To be near friends.	
Other (please state)	

Question Two.

What were the main reasons for moving to this particular village /town ? (Please state).

.....
.....

Question Three.

What was the reason for deciding to purchase your present home? Please tick appropriate reason below.

Reason	(tick)
Looked like a good 'investment property' (one which would realise a good profit on sale).	
Liked size and layout of the property.	
Liked aspect and appearance of property	
Liked the character of the neighbourhood.	
Property had "potential for development"	
Seemed to be less expensive than other similar properties.	
Other (Please state)	

Question Four.

How would you describe your present home? Please tick appropriate box.

Possessing lower market value than previous home	
Possessing about the same market value as previous home	
Possessing slightly higher market value than previous home	
Possessing significantly higher market value than previous home	

THANK-YOU FOR YOUR HELP IN ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS.

APPENDIX 9A/i	H I N T E R L A N D P A R I S H E S .						
Defining variables . . . (digit indicates parish matches variable criterion - see key.)							
PARISH.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.
Ashton			1	1	1	1	
Aynho			1	1		1	1
Blisworth	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Brafield-on-the-Green	1	1	1		1		1
Bugbrooke	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Castle Ashby			1	1			
Chacombe			1	1	1	1	1
Chipping Warden			1	1		1	1
Cogenhoe	1	1	1	1		1	1
Cosgrove			1	1	1	1	
Croughton	1	1		1		1	
Deanshanger	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Denton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Gayton			1	1	1	1	
Greens Norton	1	1		1	1	1	1
Hackleton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Harpole	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hartwell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

APPENDIX 9B/i									
H I N T E R L A N D A N D R E M O T E R P A R I S H E S -									
D E F I N I N G V A L U E S									
		I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VIa.	VIb.
Abthorpe		106	261	18	18.1			1	
Adstone		33	77	0	32.3			1	
Ashton		127	370	44	36.4	1	1		
Aston-Le-walls		84	243	23	22.1			1	
Aynho		224	628	41	45.5	1	1	1	
Blakesley		155	426	17	48.5			1	
Blisworth		718	1636	155	52.3	1	1		
Boddington		220	619	31	46.2		1	1	
Bradden		44	138	4	37.0			1	
Brafield O.T.G.		240	658	115	29.6	1			1
Bugbrooke		851	2630	234	42.1	1	1		1
Castle Ashby		0	150	0	55.6				
Chacombe		223	678	55	48.4	1	1		1
Chipping Warden		198	537	56	27.9		1	1	
Cogenhoe		520	1331	92	42.8		1		1
Cold Higham		82	194	13	40.6			1	
Cosgrove		181	505	59	44.2	1	1		
Croughton		331	1194	47	47.0		1		
Culworth		132	325	39	35.6	1		1	
Deanshanger		938	2710	241	51.4	1	1		1
Denton		345	791	76	40.3	1	1		1
Evenley		224	582	19	50.0			1	
Eydon		143	367	22	37.0			1	
Farthinghoe		116	318	29	46.9			1	
Gayton		177	490	55	35.4	1			
Grafton Regis		73	174	15	37.1	1		1	
Greatworth		316	854	54	46.0		1		
Greens Norton		550	1489	127	53.7	1	1		1
Hackleton		621	1779	113	45.8	1	1		1

Appendix 9B/ii	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VIa.	VIb.
Harpole	549	1564	117	30.9	1	1		1
Hartwell	505	1521	112	49.5	1	1		1
Helmdon	235	693	55	37.1		1		
Hinton I.T.H.	47	120	6	51.4			1	
Kings Sutton	691	1823	288	41.5		1		1
kislingbury	432	1238	140	34.9	1	1		1
Litchborough	82	223	28	36.5	1		1	
Little Houghton	145	335	34	34.3			1	
Maidford	64	162	22	32.8			1	
Marston St.L.	80	208	18	32.2			1	
Middleton Cheney	1184	3293	366	39.3	1	1		1
Milton Malsor	282	758	95	39.9		1		1
Moreton pinkney	116	320	20	43.2			1	
Nether Heyford	545	1678	116	44.5	1	1		1
Newbottle	178	517	63	36.5	1	1		
Old Stratford	376	1096	41	36.7	1	1		
Pattishall	481	1399	76	48.4		1		1
Paulespury	352	996	94	42.3				
Potterspury	608	1410	127	48.4	1	1		1
Quinton	70	228	20	36.8	1	1		1
Radstone	0	57	0	53.3			1	
Roade	853	2353	255	43.6	1	1		1
Rothersthorpe	152	445	31	41.4	1	1		1
Shutlanger	90	256	31	25.6			1	
Silverstone	485	1365	175	42.4	1	1		1
Slapton	29	69	8	30.8			1	
Stoke Breurine	153	345	33	30.1			1	
Sulgrave	131	330	38	44.6			1	
Syresham	250	712	69	45.2	1			
Thenford	0	77	0	44.4			1	
Thorpe Mandeville	60	176	14	51.7	1	1	1	
Tiffield	74	383	7	61.4	1	1		
Upper Heyford	26	67	12	37.9	1	1		1
Wappenham	99	232	10	41.2			1	
Warkworth	0	31	0	27.3				

APPENDIX 9C - THE JARMAN 8 INDEX AND OTHER INDICATORS.

The Jarman 8 index or Under Privileged Area Score, originally used in profiling General Practitioners Areas, creates a score assessing the extent to which an area might be considered under-privileged. Although crude in its construction, it provides a useful broad measure of social deprivation. It analyses the following variables:

(i). Proportion of elderly living alone, (ii). number of children <5 years, (iii). number of those in Social Class V, (iv). levels of unemployment, (v). proportion of single parent households, (vi). proportion of single parent households, (vii). assessing high levels of migrants, (viii). proportion of the population from ethnic minorities.

A score of zero indicates average national levels of deprivation (for England), the greater the divergence from zero, the greater or lower the levels of deprivation.

Wealth Z-Score based on: (i). level of large houses (7+ bedrooms), (ii). levels of DINKY households, (iii). proportion of those in employment who full-time salary was above the higher tax rate threshold (£23,705, in April 1991.)

Measure of 'young unemployed' used by Northamptonshire County Council Statagic Planning Services.

"the whole group considered are those 16 and 17 year old declared as economically active. The number employed is calculated by subtracting those unemployed and on government schemes from the whole group which is economically active. Then the unemployed are expressed as a percentage of the employed", N.C.C, 1995. South Northamptonshire scored 10% compared to 20% for the county as a whole, a national ranking of 361/366.

Category A. Parishes

Adstone
 Bradden
 Castle Ashby
 Cold Higham
 Denton
 Grafton Regis
 Hinton-in-the-Hedges
 Maidford
 Marston St. Lawrence
 Quinton
 Slapton
 Thenford
 Thorpe Mandeville
 Upper Heyford
 Whitfield
 Woodend

Category B. Parishes

Abthorpe
 Ashton
 Aston-Le-walls
 Blakesley
 Culworth
 Eydon
 Farthinghoe
 Litchborough
 Little Houghton
 Moreton pinkney
 Rothersthorpe
 Shutlanger
 Stoke Breurne
 Sulgrave
 Tiffield
 Wappenham
 Weston & Weedon
 Wicken

Category C. Parishes

Aynho
 Boddington
 Brafield-on-the-Green
 Chacombe
 Chipping Warden
 Cosgrove
 Easton Neston
 Gayton
 Greatworth
 Helmdon
 Milton Malsor
 Newbottle
 Old Stratford
 Paulespury
 Syresham
 Whittlebury
 Yardley Hastings

Category D. Parishes

Blisworth
 Bugbrooke
 Cogenhoe
 Croughton
 Deanshanger
 Greens Norton
 Hackleton
 Harpole
 Hartwell
 Kings Sutton
 kislingbury
 Middleton Cheney
 Nether Heyford
 Pattishall
 Potterspury
 Roade
 Silverstone
 Yardley Gobion

APPENDIX 9D., A Simple Quartile Classification of Parishes by Population Size.

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