

THE IMMOBILITY OF THE LOW-SKILLED AND UNEMPLOYED
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

by
Robert Thomas Kitching

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ABSTRACT

As the economy of the United Kingdom has improved in the latter half of the 1980s, the distribution of new employment opportunities remains poorly matched to the distribution of the unemployed. With the decline in regional policy in recent years, much government rhetoric has been directed towards encouraging the unemployed and others to move from one part of the country to another in response to job opportunities. Yet the unemployed and the low-skilled continue to exhibit lower rates of mobility than the population as a whole, and there is evidence of socio-economic polarisation in migration.

The thesis argues that for many low-skilled, low-paid and unemployed people in the United Kingdom immobility is a rational response to their labour market situation, even when conditions might suggest otherwise. It studies the decision to migrate at the level of the household, set within the interacting spheres of opportunity, aspiration and constraint.

The methods of research allow comparisons of manual and non-manual workers, and of two contrasting labour and housing areas, Liverpool and Reading. Quantitative and qualitative methodologies are combined. Interview survey and group discussion techniques are combined to examine the relations between social class and immobility, and the influence of local labour and housing markets and community affiliations upon individual and household migration decisions.

The survey results demonstrate that migration actions and aspirations are related to position within the local housing and labour market, to housing and employment histories and to stages in household development. The need to look at the household as a dynamic unit is shown, since its needs and those of its members will change over time. The analysis concludes by demonstrating that households balance aspirations, opportunities and constraints, creating a series of 'windows' when migration is preferred though not always a possible option. Whether or not a household will respond by migration depends upon how it balances the elements in decision, particularly those in housing, employment and attitude towards the local community. It concludes that for most low-skilled and unemployed households the most rational course of action is to stay put, despite labour market theories and government exhortations to the contrary.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION AND THESIS OUTLINE

1.1 Themes of division and polarisation: the UK in the 1980s

'Two nations' and the 'north-south divide' have become keywords of many academic and popular studies of economic, social and political changes in the UK during the 1980s (Osmond, 1988; Chesshyre 1988; Lewis and Townsend, 1989). Evidence of growing divisions between social classes and between different locations has been accumulating in studies of employment and unemployment differentials, house prices and housing market trends, health provision, and social life and attitudes.

There are two key divisions at issue: the first is a social division between socio-economic groups, between the employed and the unemployed, between rich and poor. The second is a spatial division which exists on a variety of scales, but perhaps most markedly in regional differentials which suggest a distinct gap between 'the north' and 'the south' along "a rough line from the Severn to the Wash" (Royce, 1985). Although spatial divisions are frequently a manifestation of social divisions to which they are inextricably connected, there are geographical divisions which exist over and above these (Green, 1988), reflecting environmental factors, inherited advantages and disadvantages, and cultural differences.

These themes of division have been taken up in public demonstrations and popular culture. They have found expression through events such as the fiftieth anniversary re-enactment of the historic march of the unemployed from Jarrow to Westminster, and the 'Hands Across Britain' campaign in 1986, which attempted to form a human chain linking Liverpool and London through some of the highest areas of urban unemployment. Both events were organised to draw attention to the stark contrast between the conditions which prevailed in the northern parts of the country, and those associated with the new prosperity of the south. The results of the 1987 general election provided the most striking manifestation of these divisions, as the country appeared to be split more clearly than ever before between a Labour north and a Conservative south (Johnston, Pattie and Allsop, 1988) (figure 1.1). The image of a depressed North and an affluent South moving ever further away from each other was popular among press cartoons in the aftermath of the election (figure 1.2).

Successive volumes of Social Trends show how the distribution of wealth had become more uneven between social groups (Census and Statistics Office, 1985; 1986; 1987). Moreover, this social polarisation had a spatial manifestation, since the south had a disproportionately high share of the rich, whilst the north had a disproportionately high share of the poor (Royce, 1985; Henncke, 1985; Veitch, 1987). The New Earnings Survey 1987 provided further evidence of this uneven distribution of wealth, as did Regional Trends (Central Statistical Office, 1987) which highlighted the north-south dimension

to a range of factors including health, education, crime and lifestyle (Mitchison, 1987).

Perhaps the most profound and enduring of these geographical differences are those in the rates of employment and unemployment. Between June 1979 and June 1987 there was a net decline of 364,000 jobs in Great Britain (tables 1.2 and 1.2). The north lost over a million while the south gained 669,000, clearly demonstrating the two-nation split (Department of Employment, 1987; Goddard, 1987). One of the main forces behind this was a shift of employment from manufacturing to services, as the north had a disproportionate share of those manufacturing industries in decline (Green and Owen, 1984) (figure 1.4).

The consequence of this sectoral shift is that many of the jobs created have been quite different from those lost. As the economy improved in the latter half of the 1980s, the distribution of new employment opportunities remained poorly matched with the distribution of the unemployed (MacInnes, 1988; Lewis and Townsend, 1989) (figure 1.5). Furthermore, in every region manual workers are much more likely to be unemployed than non-manual workers (table 1.3).

These social and spatial divisions in the labour market are equally evident in the housing market. Although historical regional house price gradients have been cyclical in nature (Hamnett, 1983), the extent of the recent divide is closely linked to that in economic prosperity. It is frequently argued that this divide is detrimental to

the economy as a whole, as it becomes increasingly difficult to enter the housing markets of those areas associated with the greatest labour demands. At the same time, as home-ownership is extended to more and more people who have been hitherto excluded, there is evidence that the public rented housing sector is becoming more closely aligned with the low-skilled and most disadvantaged groups in society as it becomes 'residualised' (Forrest and Murie, 1983; Hamnett, 1984).

However, studies of regional differentials suggest that a variety of lifestyle differences exist, which cannot be explained by social class factors alone. Such differences encompass various aspects of social life, including education, sports participation, and smoking, drinking and eating habits (Mitchison, 1987).

Government ministers have attempted to dismiss the north-south divide, and other commentators have attempted to play it down by drawing attention to parallel disparities at different spatial scales (Rogaly, 1987; Coleman, 1987; Martin, 1987). Some authors have identified an east-west divide (White, 1985; Harris, 1987), and even within the South-East, pockets of deprivation can be identified which rival the worst blackspots of the North (SEEDS, 1987). Yet the existence of a North-South divide remains an indisputable fact of life to many. In a comprehensive review of the evidence, Green (1988) argues that "the concept of a north-south divide in Britain is valid, despite the existence of local variations, because of the concentration and more entrenched nature of deprivation in the north than in the

south and evidence that persons with otherwise similar characteristics fare better in the south than in the north" (page 179).

With the demise of regional policy under the Conservatives little attempt is now (1989) made by the government to direct the location of further growth (Townsend, 1980; Martin, 1985). Instead, a laissez-faire attitude, coupled with closer economic integration with the rest of Europe, is likely to perpetuate, if not exacerbate, the current mismatch between the location of the unemployed and the location of new employment opportunities. Recent forecasts suggest these regional disparities are likely to continue, and may even worsen over the forthcoming decade (Regional Economic Prospects, 1987; Mintel, 1988).

The government's approach has been to free the mechanisms of the market. This strategy is based on classical economic labour market theory which suggests that spatial disparities will be reduced over time as falling wages in those areas with highest unemployment entice industries to locate there, and as some of those workers in such regions emigrate for work or higher wages, (Lind, 1969; Armstrong and Taylor, 1987). Hence much government rhetoric (though less action) has been directed towards encouraging the unemployed and others to move from one part of the country to another in response to job opportunities.

"Frequently investment goes where there are skilled people wanting work. But there must be some mobility of labour. If people today are not willing to move as their fathers did the economy cannot thrive....The great prosperity of this country in the last century would never have come about had people not been ready to face the upheaval of converting themselves from a mainly rural to a largely

industrial country". (Thatcher, M. 1980, quoted in Green et al, 1985).

"We cannot ignore the price that unemployment today is exacting. I know those problems. I grew up in the thirties with an unemployed father. He didn't riot. He got on his bike and looked for work and he kept looking until he found it." (Tebbit, N. 1981, from a speech made at the Conservative Party Conference, October, when Secretary of State for Employment. Quoted in Green et al, 1985).

Implicit in both these statements is the idea that labour mobility is a necessary facet of economic change, and that there are jobs available to which unemployed people in depressed regions may migrate. The bicycle has become the symbol of Conservative philosophy towards the problems of unemployment and immobility (figure 1.3). Yet the unemployed and the low-skilled continue to exhibit lower rates of mobility than the population as a whole. The reasons for this form the basis of this thesis.

1.2 Mobility and polarisation

Within the social, economic and political context outlined above, spatial and socio-economic differentials in migration rates may be regarded as yet other expressions of division. Yet propensity to migrate has always varied between groups of individuals on the basis of a variety of personal characteristics. Quite often it seems that those workers and their families with most 'need' to move for economic reasons are least likely to do so, despite traditional labour market forces. This thesis attempts to re-examine that immobility within the context of the UK in the 1980s.

Employers play an increasingly important role in courting the desired mobility of skilled workers within their own internal labour markets, by providing them with packages of relocation assistance (Atkinson, 1987; Salt, forthcoming). However, their low-skilled and unemployed counterparts are now more likely to be 'left on the shelf', since they are generally not in receipt of relocation help from employers and the government has abandoned its Employment Transfer Scheme to assist job movers. This is especially important in view of the high costs of moving, and the current house price gradient across the country. For many low paid and unemployed workers housing is an insurmountable 'barrier', which appears to trap them in locations where they have a relatively poor chance of finding work.

The nature of well-established working class communities has also been used as an explanation for the apparent unwillingness of many unemployed northerners to move to new jobs in the south. It is often argued that close family and kinship networks, and deeply entrenched working patterns and practices, engender anti-migration sentiments and a steadfast unwillingness to uproot household or family. Indeed, it appears that regional differences in attitudes towards work and migration may exist at all levels, irrespective of class.

Alongside these broad arguments about barriers to movement based on class, housing and regional identity, recent years have seen growing reports of labour shortage and recruitment and retention difficulties in many parts of the south despite a national unemployment rate of 6.1 per cent (DE count, August, 1989). There have also been a

number of surveys which imply a greater willingness to move for work among the population in general than current migration rates would suggest. Moreover, there is increasing recognition that large numbers of people commute long distances, daily or weekly, to work far away from their home areas, returning to home and family only at occasional weekends. Many such workers are in low-skilled occupations, suggesting that there is a readiness to respond to distant employment opportunities if the need arises, even though this may be accompanied by unwillingness or inability to relocate home and family permanently. There are clearly many questions which remain unanswered.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

The central thesis is that for many low-skilled, low-paid and unemployed people immobility is a rational response to their labour market situation, even when conditions might suggest otherwise. Policies which assume that such labour is mobile will therefore not work, especially in view of the paucity of information and assistance available to many of these people. The main objective of the thesis then is to determine the reasons for the geographic immobility of the low-skilled and unemployed. This will be pursued by studying the migration decision in depth at the level of the household, set within the interacting spheres of opportunity, aspiration and constraint. Attention will be focussed on these key questions: are the low-skilled and manual less responsive to regional employment differentials than others? What role does housing play in the decision whether or not to

move? How do family and kinship networks facilitate or inhibit mobility?

The methods of research employed allow comparisons of manual and non-manual workers, and of two contrasting labour and housing market areas (Liverpool in the 'north' and Reading in the 'south'). In this way the relations between social class and immobility may be examined, and the influence of local labour and housing markets and community affiliations upon individual and household migration decisions explored. The juxtaposition of the two survey areas permits investigation not only of the differential propensity to migrate, but also of the influence of place and the broader aspects of regional attitudes and community identities. The research combines quantitative and qualitative methods in order to investigate these relationships and to explore in depth the way in which the migration decisions of individual households are considered and implemented.

1.4 An outline of the thesis

Chapter two outlines contemporary patterns and trends in migration within the UK, and the associated socio-economic differences in rates of mobility. It begins by reviewing briefly the main data sources, indicating that much of the information available on migrant characteristics and motivation comes from surveys where migration is often a by-product rather than the main purpose. It goes on to review the principal geographical patterns of migration regional and inter-

urban scales, highlighting the continuing existence of a net drift south within a larger pattern of inter-regional exchange. Finally it demonstrates that in labour migration (defined as simultaneous move of job and home) migrants tend to move from positions of strength. Higher paid and non-manual workers and their families are more mobile than their lower paid and manual counterparts. The chapter concludes by pointing to the contradiction between labour market theory and government policy on the one hand which assume that the low-paid and unemployed will migrate, and the reality which is that they seldom do.

Chapter three takes up the policy theme, focussing on the most tangible government attempts to encourage labour mobility: the set of transfer schemes which operated from the 1920s to the 1980s. The chapter begins by reviewing these schemes in historical context, identifying the main phases of their operation. It then evaluates critically the main labour market scheme in operation during the 1980s, and discusses the consequences of its demise in 1986 for the low-skilled and unemployed. Finally it reviews the National Mobility Scheme, now the only official long-distance mobility scheme, and geared more to housing than labour market issues. The chapter concludes by pointing to a series of conflicts between government mobility policies and government policies operating in other economic and social spheres.

Chapter four reviews the main bodies of theory which relate to the differential mobility of socio-economic groups. It identifies a number of weakness inherent in the theories, including their generally static frameworks, simple dichotomies, and focus on individuals rather than

households. It goes on to discuss the significance of institutional frameworks, especially those of housing and employment, which guide and constrain household decision-making. Finally it discusses the relationship at the household level between the decision to move - or not - and the formation of a satisfying strategy involving all household members. It concludes that it is essential to explore the decision-making process at the level of the household, and to examine how it responds to the different opportunities and constraints presented by different geographical locales.

In chapter five the methodological approach adopted is outlined. The fieldwork undertaken combines individual and group methodologies in two contrasting labour and housing markets through a household interview survey and small group discussions. The survey concentrates on the low-skilled and unemployed in each area and departs from the traditional approach to the study of migration by including people who do not move as well as those who do. The adoption of comparative area studies allows the incorporation of actual, frustrated and intended geographical mobility to be related to social class, housing and other variables. The use of two different local labour and housing markets also permits issues of local and regional identity to be introduced into the decision-making process.

The use of small group discussions is covered in some detail, since the technique has been little used in geographical research and, to the author's knowledge, not before in migration study in the UK. The Jobclub context is elaborated, followed by a discussion of the extent

to which the Jobclub groups used conform to the general practice of small group research. The manner in which these group discussions were set up and carried out is described in detail, since these features have a bearing on the results obtained, and the way in which these may be interpreted.

A picture of the areas in which the survey and the discussions were conducted is presented in chapter six in order to provide the context for the survey results and conclusions. The two local labour and housing markets are compared, using a variety of published and unpublished sources. The chapter continues by describing the survey areas selected, and presents a profile of the households interviewed as a precursor to the more detailed analysis in succeeding chapters. Finally the chapter reviews the nature and scale of local job opportunities in Liverpool and Reading based on job vacancy information, then broadens this theme to include a discussion of the nature of job search, since this often precedes consideration of a move to another area.

The analysis of the survey results in chapters seven to nine attempts to relate preparedness to move and mobility experience to factors such as occupational class, location, social networks, housing tenure and previous migration experience. In chapter seven, differences between manual and non-manual workers in each area are compared with differences between areas. The survey results are used to establish a series of quantitative relationships between those variables traditionally associated with migration propensity and both attitudes

to migration and actual migration behaviour. Particular importance is attached to positions in labour and housing markets, linked to household development.

These themes are taken up in chapter eight. It begins by reviewing the links between occupational mobility and migration, and follows with a discussion of the association of unemployment and the process of job search. It then discusses the links between residential mobility, housing search and household movement. It concludes that these associations need to be viewed with reference to household types, but that household types are related to phases in household development. Hence there is a need to study the interaction of labour and housing markets within the context of the household life cycle.

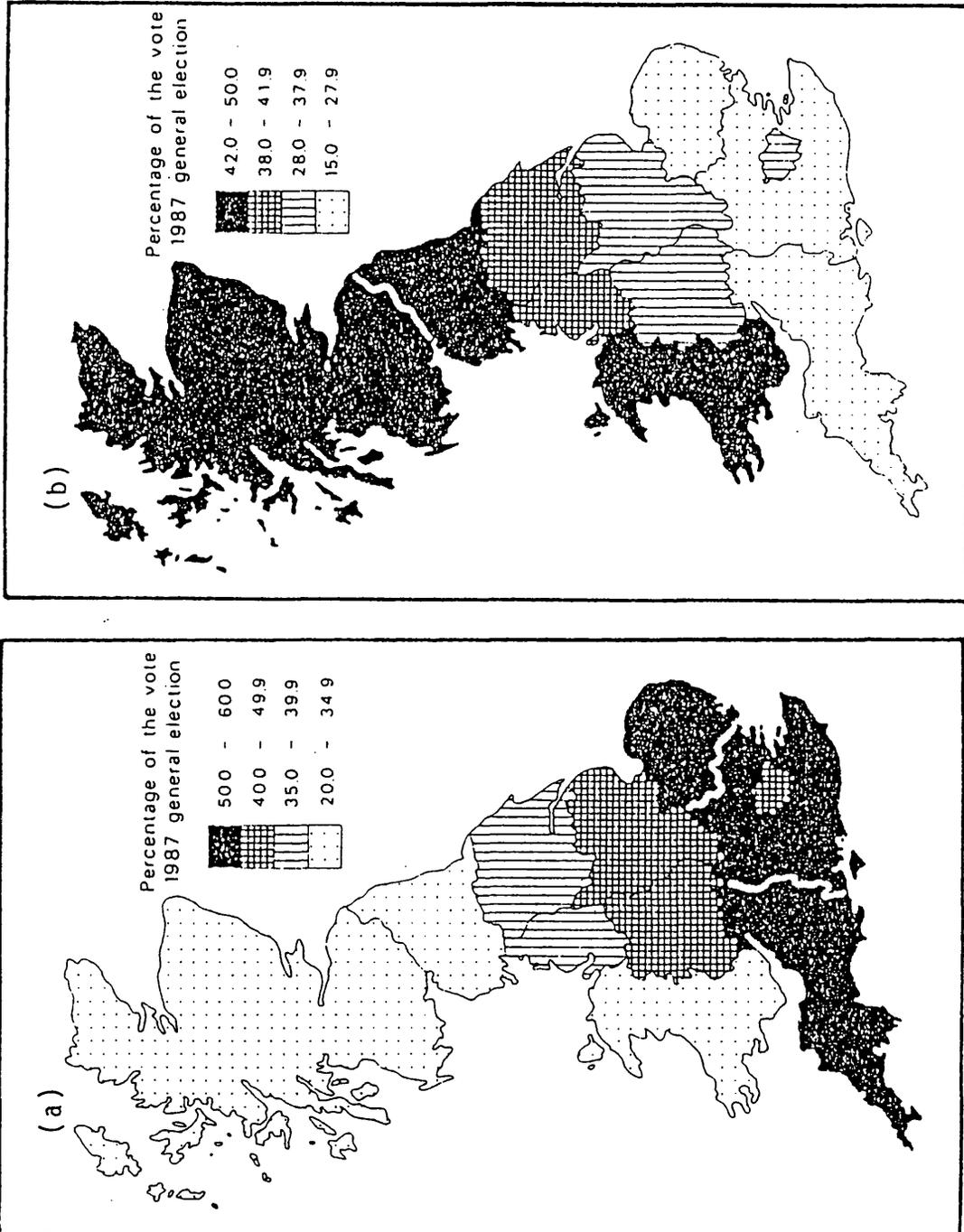
In chapter nine the longitudinal nature of the relationships is taken up in detail. Using qualitative data from the survey, it is suggested that for many households, for much of the time, and particularly for the low-skilled, immobility is the appropriate response to their situations. The chapter concludes with three case studies where a movement strategy was adopted. These demonstrate the forces which combine to engender the decision to move, and the factors which occupy the interface between aspiration and action. These provide an entree into the penultimate chapter in which the relationships between the opportunities presented to households, the constraints experienced and changing aspirations are elaborated.

Chapter ten uses the results of group discussions with unemployed job seekers in Liverpool and Reading. First it illuminates the complexities of the process of searching for both employment and housing locally and further afield. It suggests why the low-skilled and the unemployed in particular are at a relative disadvantage in operating beyond the local area. It explores the ways in which attitudes towards place and community may inform decision-making and result in people in similar positions in different places behaving differently. It concludes by demonstrating the different ways in which households order their priorities, and how the balance of these priorities - between employment, housing, social networks and the local community - may shift through time, and according to circumstances.

Chapter eleven presents the main conclusions.

Figure 1.1
Mapping the Political Divide

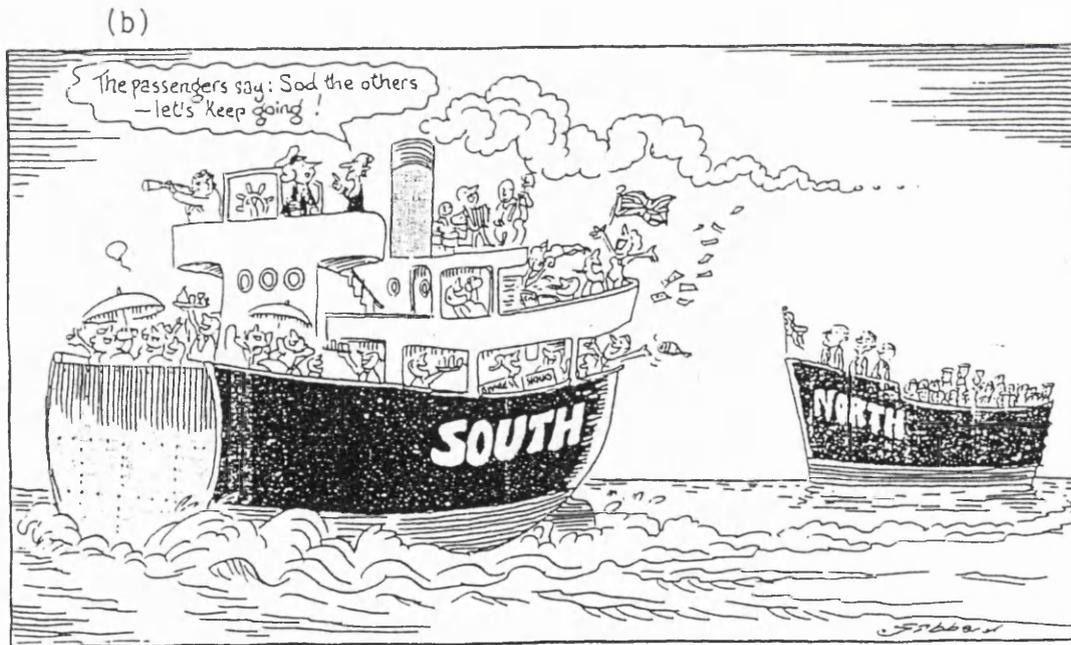
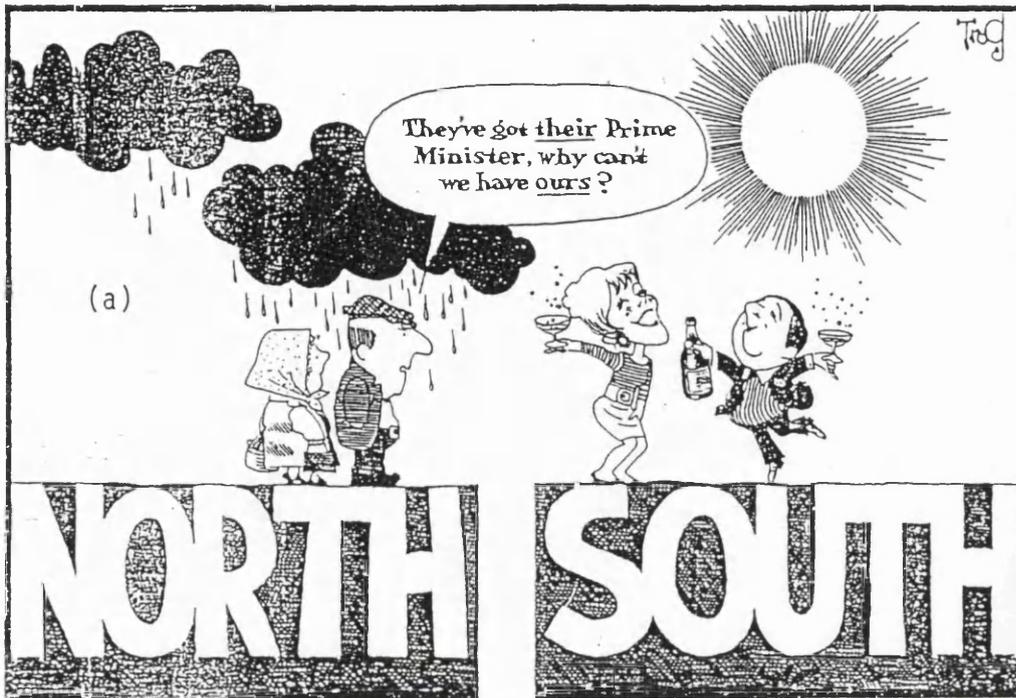
(a) Conservative Party; (b) Labour Party



Source: Martin, R. (1989), figure 2.10

Figure 1.2

Images of the north-south divide in the aftermath of the 1987 general election



Source: (a) (upper) The Observer, 14 June 1987

(b) (lower) The Guardian, 13 June 1987

(c) (following page) The London Standard, 15 June 1987

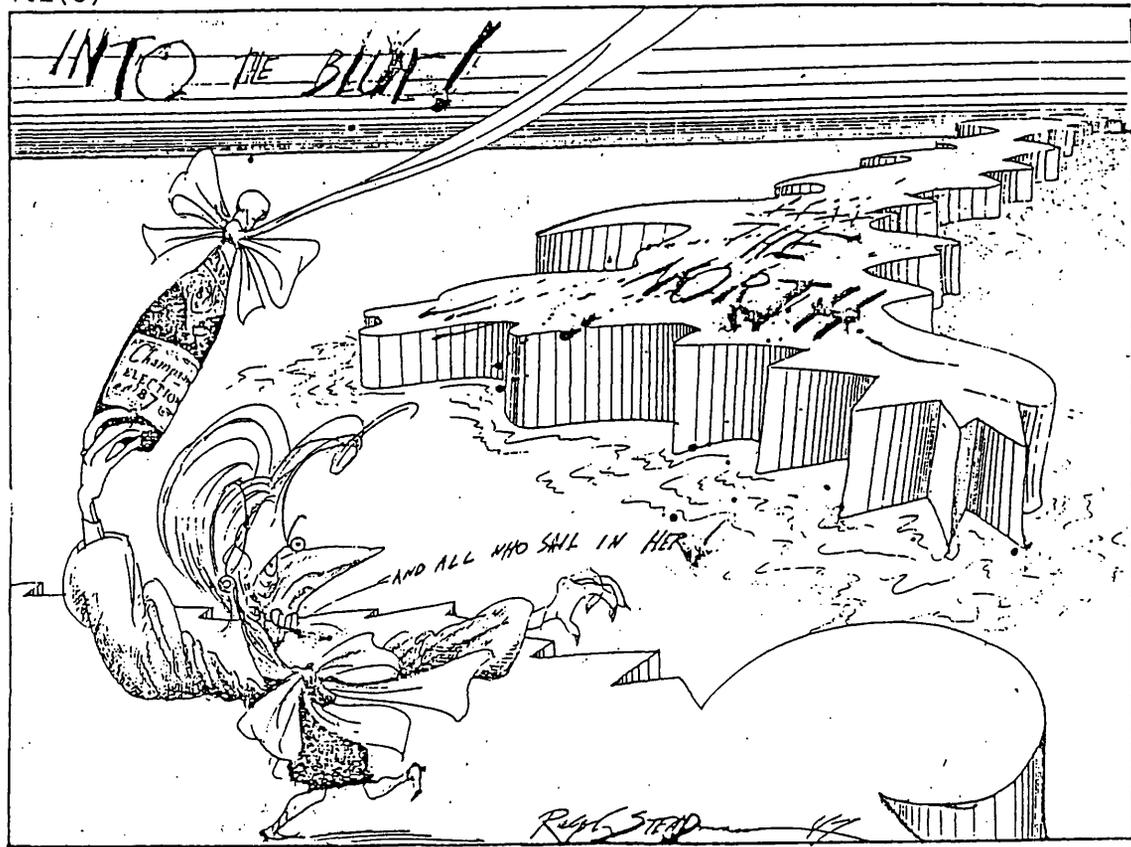
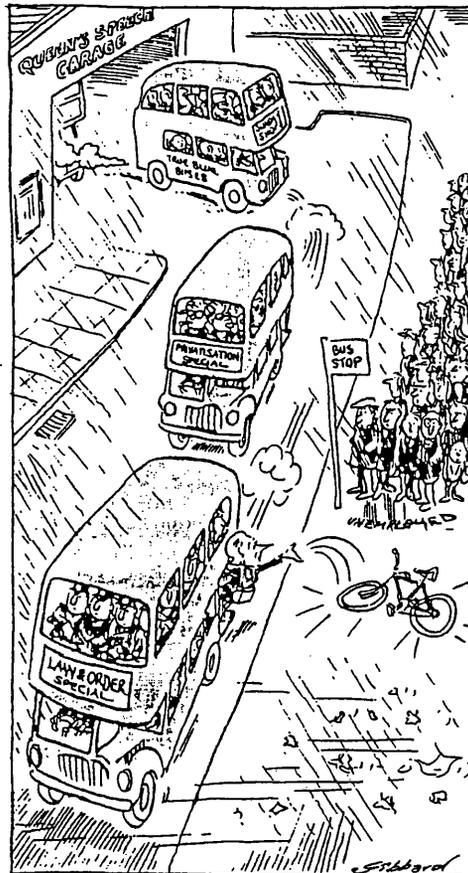
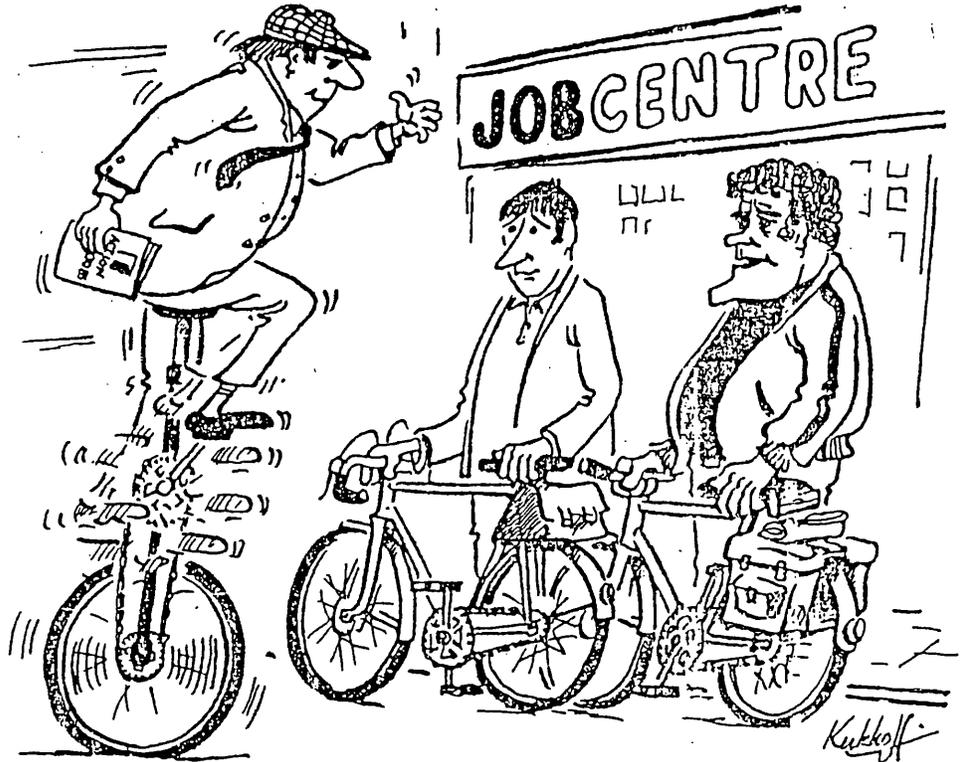


Figure 1.3
The bicycle as a
symbol of government
solutions to unemployment
and immobility

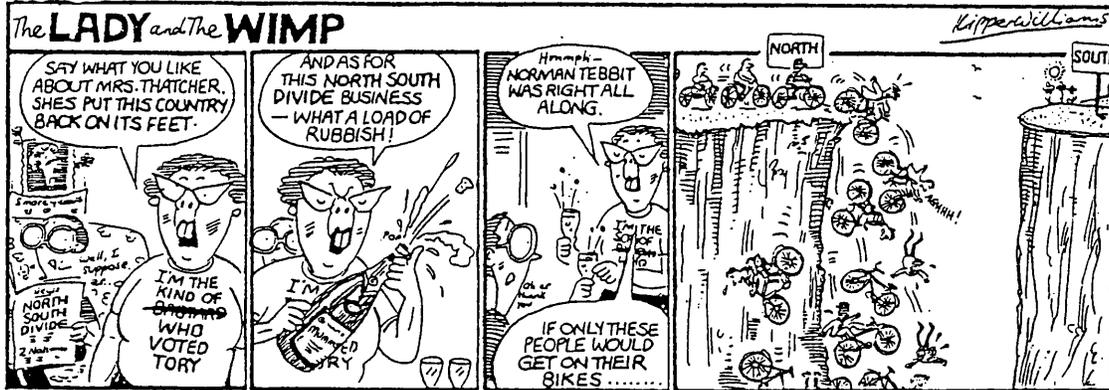


(a)

1.3(b)

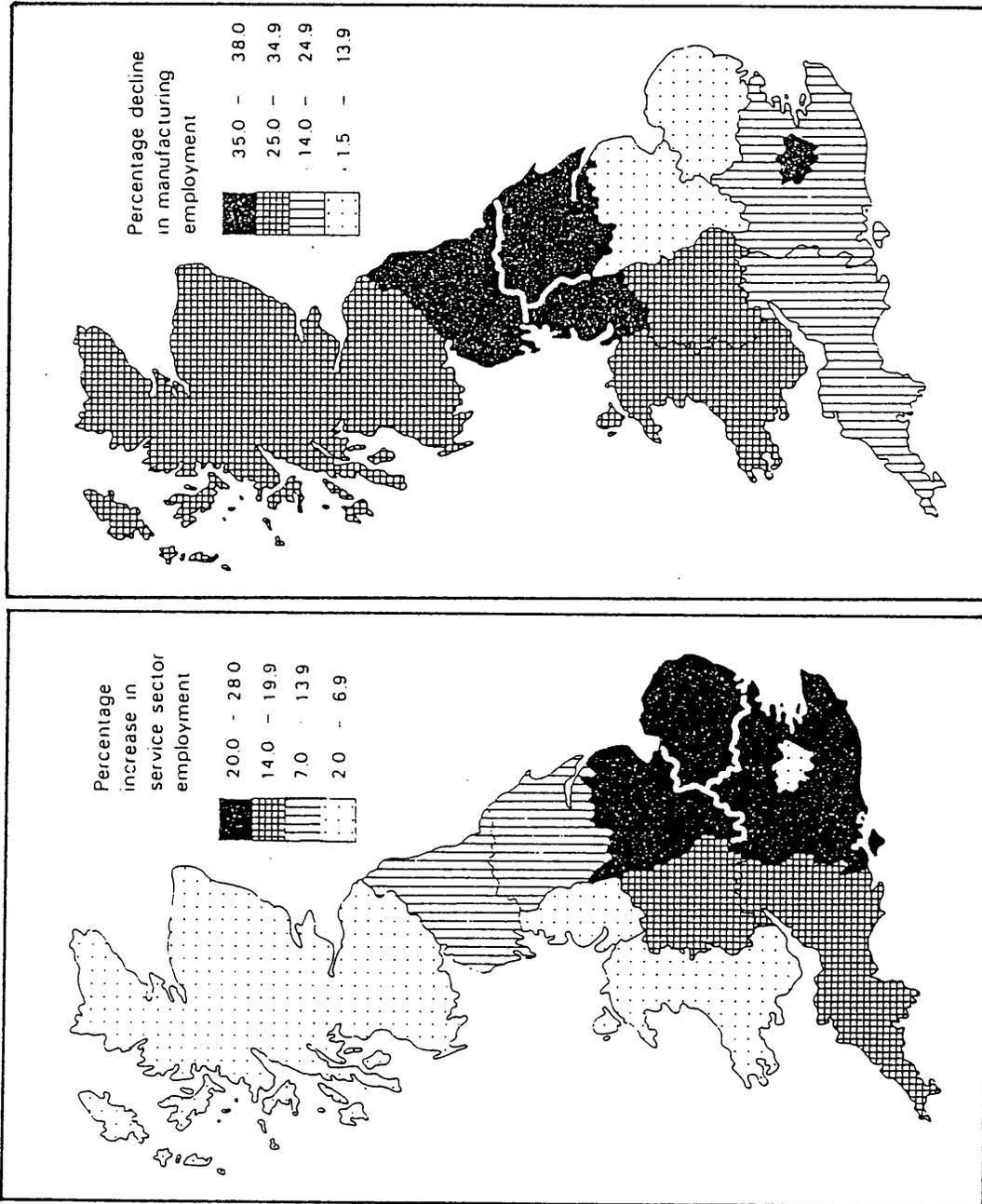


1.3(c)



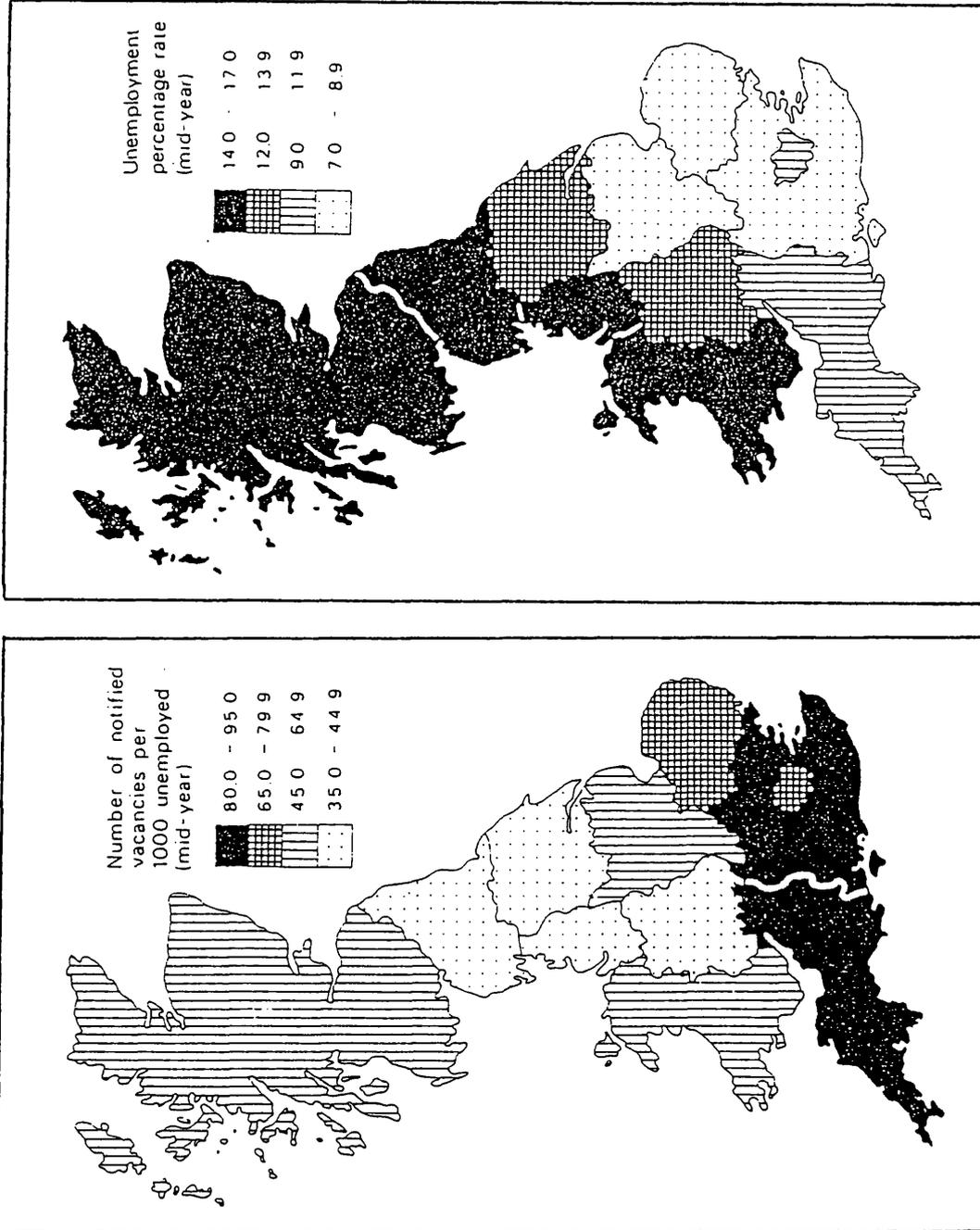
Source: (a) (previous page) The Guardian, 25 June 1987
(b) (upper) The Guardian, 7 September 1987
(c) (lower) Time Out, 17-24 June 1987

Figure 1.4
Industrial employment decline and service employment growth, 1976-86



Source: Martin, R. (1989), figure 2.3

Figure 1.5
 Mapping the Jobs divide: unemployment and job vacancies, 1986



Source: Martin, R. (1989) figure 2.5

Table 1.1

Change in total employment, 1979-87 (June)

(thousands, employees plus self-employed)

Region	1979	1987	Change No.s	1979-1987 %
South East	8 124	8 480	+356	+4.4
East Anglia	781	922	+141	+18.1
South West	1 744	1 870	+126	+7.2
East Midlands	1 671	1 717	+46	+2.8
Sub-total 'south'	12 320	12 989	+669	+5.4
West Midlands	2 382	2 260	-122	-5.1
Yorkshire and Humberside	2 145	2 038	-107	-5.0
North West	2 890	2 541	-349	-12.1
North	1 325	1 198	-127	-9.6
Wales	1 157	1 011	-146	-12.6
Scotland	2 262	2 080	-182	-8.1
Sub-total 'north'	12 161	11 128	-1 033	-8.5
Great Britain	24 482	24 117	-364	-1.5

Sources: Employment Gazette, 1988, March, p.162; May, table 1.5; historical supplement no. 1, pp.28-40, after Lewis, J. and Townsend, A. (1989), table 1.1.

Table 1.2

The north-south jobs divide, 1979-1987

Area ⁽²⁾	Absolute change (thousands) 1979-87			
	Total employees	Manufacturing employees	Service employees	Total employed in lab. force ⁽¹⁾
South ⁽²⁾	35	-698	922	669
North ⁽²⁾	-1 357	-1 374	321	-1 033
G. Britain	-1 321	-2 063	1 243	-364

Notes

1 Including self-employed

2 'South': includes South East, East Anglia, South West, East Midlands.

'North': includes West Midlands, Yorkshire and Humberside, North West, Wales and Scotland.

Sources: Employment Gazette, 1988, March p.162; May, table 1.5; historical supplement no.1, pp28-40, after Martin, R. (1989), table 2.2.

Table 1.3
Unemployment and labour force participation by region

	Unemployment rate		Regional share of household heads in labour force	
	non-manual	manual	non-manual	manual
North West	5.5	17.7	10.6	11.7
North	4.7	17.5	4.7	6.5
West Midlands	5.5	17.3	4.7	6.5
Wales	3.8	17.1	4.0	5.3
Scotland	4.1	15.1	9.1	9.6
Yorks/Humberside	5.0	14.6	8.4	10.1
North total	-	-	45.2	54.2
London	4.8	12.8	13.8	10.1
South East	3.2	9.2	22.7	15.7
South West	3.8	9.6	8.3	8.0
East Midlands	3.2	9.6	6.7	8.0
East Anglia	4.2	9.2	3.3	3.9
South total	-	-	54.8	45.8

Source: 1983 Labour Force Survey, after Champion, A. G. (1989), based on Hughes and McCormick, 1987, table 1.

Chapter Two

CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION PATTERNS AND TRENDS

2.1 Introduction

The idea of a north-south divide, and the simultaneous existence of regions of labour shortage and surplus, has called attention to the desirability and prospects for labour migration from one to the other. Migrations exist in continuums of both space and time. The 1981 census suggests that about ten per cent of the population moved in the preceding year. This was about two per cent less than a decade earlier when economic conditions were better. Most migrations are over short distances in response to changing housing and family needs, and can be termed residential moves. Likewise most job changes are associated with no relocation of home. Many, though, are simultaneous changes of job and home, and can be described as labour migration (Johnson, Salt and Wood, 1974).

The assumption in most studies of labour migration is that moves are permanent. It has become apparent in the literature of the last decade or so that this may not necessarily be the case, and that various hybrid forms of labour migration occur. Hence, for example, many corporate transferees move with the expectation of a further move at the next promotion or at the end of an assignment. A growing practice, too, is weekly commuting with a permanent home (and often a

family) in one place, and a temporary home and job elsewhere (Hogarth and Daniel, 1987, 1988).

Over recent years a number of studies have described and analysed patterns of labour migration in Britain at various levels of spatial aggregation. Regional and sub-regional patterns have been discussed by several authors (Rees, 1979; Champion, 1983; Stillwell and Boden, 1986). Migration between local labour markets has received attention from Kennett and Randolph (1978), Flowerdew and Salt (1979), Owen and Green (1979), Kennett (1983) and Champion (1989). The tendency towards counterurbanisation has also been well documented (for example Champion, 1983, 1986). Other authors have looked specifically at patterns of retirement (Law and Warnes, 1976, 1984) and student movements (Stillwell and Rees, 1987). The consequence of this effort is that we have a reasonably sound description of patterns of inter-regional and, to a lesser extent, inter-urban movement. What is lacking is much by the way of trend analysis at local labour market level, largely through the lack of data.

We also have a fair idea of the selectivity of the migration process, with analysis by age and sex from the census, NHS Central Register and Labour Force Surveys, and by socio-economic status from the census and other surveys.

The aim of this chapter is essentially descriptive. Using published sources it focusses on the aggregate geographical pattern of migration in the UK and on the parameters of selectivity which

distinguish between those people who are likely to move and those who are not. The purpose of the chapter is thus contextual. It presents the background against which the local labour markets of Liverpool and Reading can be set. Further, by indicating the selective nature of the migration process it enables the specific problems facing the low-skilled and unemployed to be seen in a broader perspective.

The first section of this chapter examines the changing patterns in inter-regional migration since the inter-war period. In particular it looks at the evidence of a 'drift to the south' which may be linked to changing economic fortunes, and migration at other scales. After a brief review of the main data sources it adopts a chronological approach before focussing in more detail on the pattern that has emerged in the 1980s.

The second section examines issues of selectivity in migration. Although the characteristics of migrants have been shown to differ from those of the population as a whole in a number of respects, and in a variety of geographical milieux, it is selectivity on the basis of socio-economic status which constitutes the key interest. Socio-economic selectivity is evident at various scales, but is arguably most pronounced among long-distance moves. The section begins by reviewing the historical pattern of selectivity in recent decades, then focusses on the patterns of the 1980s.

2.2 Data sources

Data sources which allow monitoring of the general scale and geographical pattern of internal migration have improved over the last fifteen years or so, with the availability of the NHS Central Register and the Labour Force Survey. They remain generally poor on the characteristics of migrants, worse on motivation for movement, and worst on the effects of migration on individuals and communities. Of course, migration data by definition include only those who have successfully moved. More interesting from many points of view, including this thesis, are those people who chose not to move, and those would like to but who have been unable to do so. There are few data on them, all from special surveys, and much of what we know is by inference only.

2.2.1 The Census

Only since 1961, when respondents were asked to identify their place of residence one and five years earlier (only one year earlier in 1981), has it been possible to provide a reasonably accurate geography of migration. Even so, no account is taken of intermediate moves between the two recorded addresses. The main strength of the census, however, is the possibility of combining migration data with those on other attributes of the population, particularly distance moved, socio-economic and housing status. Its periodicity unfortunately reduces its value considerably as a source of trend data. For that we have to turn to the National Health Service Central Register.

2.2.2 The National Health Service Central Register

Data from the NHS Register have been available since 1971. This data source is based on re-registration of patients moving between doctors in different Family Practitioner Committee areas. A ten per cent sample of these is used to produce a matrix of inter-regional moves, disaggregated by age and sex since 1975, and now published in the OPCS's Population Trends. Unfortunately, the data are not accurate at much below the level of standard regions, though from 1984 until abolition, information for metropolitan counties was provided. Thus for inter-urban movement the census remains the sole published source. The NHS series does fill a valuable role in indicating trends in volume and movement between regions (Ogilvy 1979, 1980, 1982; Elias and Molho 1982; Stillwell 1983; Stillwell and Boden 1986). A comparison of migration data from the NHS Register and the 1981 census shows some overrecording by the former, though it is possible to adjust for this (Devis and Mills 1986).

2.2.3 Labour Force Surveys

The LFS, biennial from 1975, annual since 1983, provides an additional source of information that allows some identification of factors associated with interregional movement. It covers the population at age 16 and over only, and the size of the sample does not allow disaggregation to local labour market level. Given its focus on the labour market, however, it allows associations with labour force status to be determined, such as the degree to which movement involves

corporate relocation. The small size of the sample, however, means that detailed disaggregation is not always possible within the confines of acceptable sampling error.

2.2.4 Other surveys

The sources discussed above provide some indication of migrant characteristics, though not at the local scale. They say little about motivation or people's perceptions of gains and losses from movement, information for which it is necessary to rely upon independent surveys (discussed in Coleman and Salt, forthcoming). Mostly, the migration data they provide is a by-product of a survey in which migration is a subsidiary variable rather than the main one (see, for example, Donnison et al, 1959; Cullingworth, 1965; Woolf, 1967; Friedlander and Roshier, 1966). By their nature these surveys usually fail to differentiate long and short distance movement, an important distinction when trying to assess motivation which is known to be related to distance moved. Indeed, still the only detailed survey specifically of inter-urban migrants is the Housing and Labour Mobility Study carried out in 1972 (Johnson, Salt and Wood, 1974), though other studies have collected data on various aspects of inter-urban movement (Law and Warnes (1973, 1980) and Karn (1977) on retirement migration; Jones et al (1986) on English and Welsh migrants to remote areas in northern Scotland; Deakin and Ungerson (1977) on migrants from inner London to Milton Keynes in the early 1970s).

It is difficult to compile a consistent picture of the nature of British internal migration, especially the relationship between distance and motivation, from these surveys (Gordon, 1979). They lack comparability in sample size, design, questionnaire detail, timing and aims and they vary in their spatial coverage; samples are usually too small for anything but macro-regional comparisons to be made.

Most survey data on migration are cross-sectional, looking at movement at one particular time. This type of data does not allow the move to be put into a longitudinal framework. Yet concepts of life-cycle and career paths imply the need for this. The lack of longitudinal data becomes all the more pressing a problem when it is seen that previous migration history is closely related to subsequent movement: those who have moved once are more likely to move again (Johnson, Salt and Wood, 1974; Gleave and Cordey-Hayes, 1977). Hence in the present study it was deemed essential to collect data which would allow migration to be set in the context of employment and residential history.

2.3 The inter-war period and early signs of the 'drift to the south'

The 'drift to the south' was first recognised during the inter-war period, as profound industrial restructuring generated massive out-migration from the high unemployment concentrations of the coalfield industrial areas to the Midlands and the South (Willats and Newson, 1953; Osborne, 1964). Population movements from rural to urban areas

continued, but were overshadowed by the predominant pattern of net losses in the North and net gains in the South and the Midlands. While rates of growth in Clydeside, Lancashire, Cheshire and Yorkshire were below the national average, the Midlands and southern England gained rapidly. The South East, for example, grew by 9.8 per cent during 1921-31 compared with 2.5-3 per cent for the other regions.

The inter-war pattern of migration clearly reflected economic conditions (Dennison, 1939). Areas with the greatest net migration losses were those with the poorest employment prospects: the remoter rural areas and the older industrial towns. Between 1923 and 1936 mobility fluctuated with the trade cycle, with more inter-regional migration during periods of relative prosperity (Marschak, Makower and Robinson, 1939).

The increasing numbers of unemployed moving to new employment away from their home area with government assistance during this period is outlined in chapter three. An analysis of the geographical pattern of movement of all unemployed workers is provided by a Ministry of Labour study of the exchange of unemployment books in 1937, which compared the region of issue with that of exchange. Of 3.1 million insured people in London and the South East, 281,000 had come from other areas compared with only 85,000 going in the opposite direction. The main sources of the labour migrants were the North, Wales, North West, Scotland and the South West. According to the Barlow Report (1940) industrial development was the underlying force: between 1932 and 1937 Greater London had two-fifths of all new factories opened but only one fifth of

the total population, and its unemployment rate in 1937 was 6.3 per cent compared with a national average of 10.6 per cent.

2.4 Migration in the post-war period

Since 1945 migration has taken people out of the conurbations and into surrounding areas, so that centrifugal movements have come to dominate local patterns of population change (Champion, 1976). Some rural depopulation continued, especially in remoter places, but at a diminishing rate.

Overall the inter-regional pattern suggested a continuation of the 'drift south', the main net losses being in the North, Yorkshire and Humberside, North West, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. At first the South East and West Midlands gained most but by the 1960s East Anglia, the South West and East Midlands held pole positions, the change partly reflecting planned moves to new and expanding towns, but mainly voluntary migration out of the Greater London and West Midlands conurbations.

Attempts to explain this interregional pattern have focussed on net migration and its relationship to regional economic health, influenced by regional policy considerations. Oliver (1964) showed some association between net inter-regional migration and regional differences in unemployment rates, though his results were inconclusive because of the correlation between unemployment and other regional

factors such as industrial composition and social infrastructure. More significant was Hart's (1970) analysis of gross flows for 1960-1 which showed the highest propensity to move was not from depressed to prosperous regions but between prosperous regions. His results indicated that migration did not have the labour market equilibrating effect economic theory presupposed, and chimed in with the prevailing view of regional policy - that work should go to the workers and not vice versa.

Subsumed within the inter-regional pattern was one based on movement within the urban system. Decentralisation meant that from 1966 to 1971 1.9 million people left the cores of the major cities to live in the suburban rings but only half that number moved the other way (Spence et al 1982). The pattern was geographically complex with large cities decentralising not only into their own suburban rings but into those of their neighbours as well. Kennett (1983) concludes that the effect of the extension of migration fields from the large cities was a net shift of people into intermediate and smaller-sized settlements in parts of the country which had previously had much lower proportions of the industrial base, especially in East Anglia and the South West.

2.5 Migration in the 1970s and 1980s: decline and recovery

Trends in inter-regional migration between 1971 and 1979 have been analysed using data from the National Health Service Central

Register (NHSCR), and the Labour Force Survey (LFS) (Ogilvy, 1979, 1980, 1982) (table 2.1). During the 1970s migration was affected by the change in economic circumstances which began in 1973. The onset of economic recession marked not only a general reduction in population mobility, but also a fundamental change in the pattern of inter-regional movement. The general pattern of population movement away from the three most densely populated regions of the country persisted, but while the flow from the South East was diminishing, that from the North West continued at a steadier pace and from the West Midlands increased. In between the extremes of regions gaining or losing population were the North and Yorkshire and Humberside which maintained their intermediate position of near balance, in some years making a slight migration gain and in other years a slight migration loss (Ogilvy, 1980).

Population dispersal from South East England, which previously had been increasing in scale, declined rapidly after 1973 (table 2.1). This change was a key factor in the reduced inflows into other regions in the southern half of Britain and the increasing net migration losses from regions in northern Britain. The increasing net outflow of population from the latter was not due to an increase in numbers of persons moving southward, however. In fact, the numbers of people transferring from the northernmost regions declined during the 1970s, but the numbers of persons entering these regions fell to an even greater extent. Because those leaving were no longer being replaced to the same degree as before, the net loss of population increased. In general, the net extent of population displacement between regions was

reduced during the 1970s, but the north-to-south shift of population was accelerating (Randolph and Robert, 1981; Ogilvy, 1982). Unfortunately, these analyses provide no information on the characteristics of the migrants, since the NHSCR has recorded age and sex only since 1975, and gives no information on migrants' employment characteristics.

Devis (1984) confirmed these findings with an analysis of NHSCR data between 1975 and 1982 which indicated a steady decline in the amount of population movement in England and Wales since 1971. This was true for moves both between regions and within regions. Although rate of decline varied between years, the average annual decline in NHSCR moves between 1971 and 1982 was between 2 and 2.5 per cent. Over the period 1975-1982 both the inflow and outflow for most areas became smaller but the pattern of net gain or loss was largely unchanged. These findings are consistent with results from the last two censuses.

In the 1971 Census, 730 thousand persons in England and Wales had changed their address from another region (15.0 per 1000), compared to 533 thousand in 1981 (11.0), an average annual decline of 2.4 per cent. The same rate of decline is found for moves between counties in the same region. As total movement fell over the period so also did gross flows in and out of areas, and this is consistent with the reduction in net flows. Areas with the lowest gross rates were the older industrial areas in South Wales, the North and North West regions. But these rates were already so low that they declined little over the period. Among the areas in which population decreased between 1971 and 1981 were all

the metropolitan counties, the largest relative declines being in Greater London and Merseyside.

During 1980-81 the census records that 9.6 per cent of the population, just over 5 million people, changed address. This represented a substantial decline from the figure of 6.25 million, 11.8 per cent of the population, who had moved ten years earlier. The overall pattern of interregional migration pictured in the 1981 census is more complex than a simple north-south drift. Three regions, the South West, East Anglia and the East Midlands, generally gained population from elsewhere, including the South East which itself gained from the remaining regions. Northern and Western regions had their own complex exchanges: Yorkshire and Humberside, for example, lost to the southern regions and to Wales, but gained from the North and North West; the North lost to all but the North West which lost to everywhere else.

In the 1980s the decline in interregional movement observed during the 1970s appears to have reversed, the numbers moving between regions steadily increasing from 800,000 in 1981-2 to 922,000 in 1985-6. At the same time, moves within Family Practitioner Committee areas also increased, from 1,757,000 in 1983-4 to 1,875,000 in 1985-6. These changes in absolute numbers represent a genuine increase in mobility in England and Wales where the rate of migration rose from 31 per thousand in 1983-4 to 34 per thousand in 1985-6, though it remained lower but steady in Scotland (15 per thousand).

These patterns of overall change hid considerable regional variation. The economic depression that gathered pace after 1979 hit the North harder than the South of Britain. Similarly, growth in employment after the worst of the recession in 1983 favoured the south of England rather than other parts of the UK. Champion (1989) has shown that whereas the four southern regions of the South East, East Anglia, South West and East Midlands gained 449,000 extra jobs between 1983 and 1986, the other six regions combined had a net increase of only 83,000 jobs. Furthermore, while employment in the prosperous four declined by only 1.5 per cent 1979-86, the poorer six lost 12.1 per cent.

The population consequence was that the four southern regions absorbed all the national increase in population, pulling in people from the rest of the country in the process. Hence, during 1981-6 the South gained over half a million people, while population in the rest of Britain fell by 200,000. It was internal migration that was largely responsible for this trend. The level of net immigration to the South rose from 24,000 a year in the early 1970s, to 50,000 a year by the end of that decade, and reached 69,000 by the mid-1980s (Champion, 1989).

Despite these net changes, increased mobility affected all regions, though some experienced net gains while others experienced net losses. From 1980-1 to 1985-6 five regions had net gains: South West (189,000), East Anglia (88,000), East Midlands (40,000), Wales (18,000) and South East (12,000). If Greater London is separated from the rest of the South East, the former lost 229,000 while the latter gained

241,000. In contrast, net losers were the North West (-124,000), West Midlands (-74,000), the North and Yorkshire and Humberside (each -43,000), Scotland (-42,000), Northern Ireland (-17,000) (OPCS, 1987).

These net changes are marginal compared with gross flows. For example, the net loss to the North West of 20,000 during 1985-6 was on a total flow of 186,000. The South East fared similarly, with gross flows totalling 505,000 and a net change of only -3,000. East Anglia, by contrast, had a net increase of 21,000 on gross migration of 116,000.

In general, the regional pattern of net gain and loss was consistent year by year during the 1980s. The North, Yorkshire and Humberside, West Midlands, North West, Scotland and Northern Ireland were consistent net losers; East Midlands, East Anglia, South West and Wales were consistent net gainers; the South East changed from a gainer to a net loser.

A comparison of regional rates of in- and out-movement shows greater variation for the former, from 35 per thousand to four per thousand (table 2.2). Out-migration rates were more evenly distributed from a high of 24 per thousand down to eight per thousand (Stillwell and Boden, 1986). The rank order of regions for in- and out-flows was similar ($r=.95$), indicating that those regions with high rates of inflow were also the ones of high outflow, confirmation that the pattern of recent years is consistent with that identified in the 1970s (Cordey Hayes and Gleave, 1977).

The macro-regional pattern continues to subsume one based on the urban hierarchy (Champion et al, 1987; Owen and Green, 1989). The 1981 census shows London gaining from other large cities, but losing to small urban places and rural areas. The other major cities lost universally, while all rural areas gained; medium-sized cities gained from larger places but lost to smaller ones.

There is, however, another dimension to the inter-urban migration pattern. Comparison of gross and net flows at the level of local labour market areas during 1980-81 shows a strong positive correlation (Owen and Green, 1989). Gross flows were also positively associated with employment increase and negatively with unemployment. However, these correlations were stronger for inflows than outflows, with the signs in the same direction for each, suggesting that indicators of labour demand cannot be interpreted in terms of a simple push-pull relationship. It may therefore be concluded that migrants are attracted to areas of economic growth but that economic decline does not generate out-migration. If this is true it raises important questions about the causes of immobility among those whose labour market situation would suggest that migration was a rational course of action.

The current UK inter-regional migration pattern thus generally remains one of large scale population exchange between regions with marginal net gains and losses. However, if the regions are amalgamated into North and South, then trends in net migration from the former to the latter provide further evidence of spatial polarisation (Champion, 1989) (figure 2.1). During the early 1970s it appeared that the gap

between the two halves of the country was beginning to narrow as the net migration exchange fell sharply. Yet from a low point in 1973 this began to increase again year by year, until it stabilised during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Since 1981/2, however, the trend has been upward again, so that in 1985 the net transfer of persons between North and South, was more than six times greater than at the low point of 1973. Thus the rate of net movement of population from the north to the south appears to have increased over recent years as growing evidence of increasing economic and social divisions has emerged. The pattern is clear and well established, but what of those who move? Do they differ from those who do not?

2.6 The Composition of Migrant Flows

At the heart of explanations for the geographical patterns of aggregate flows is the selective nature of the migration process. This means that at any time those who are migrating display different characteristics from the population as a whole. The nature of the selectivity in the migration process will now be discussed with the principal aim of demonstrating the relative immobility of the low paid.

Most moves are associated with either life-cycle changes or are dominated by career considerations. Life-cycle migration is related to attributes of the household, including marital status, age, size and composition. All of these change over time, causing migration propensity to change, often in association with housing circumstances.

The reason that most people move short distances is because they are adjusting housing needs to family circumstances. Career migration is a response to occupational structure, including such attributes as education, skill, income, type of employer and the nature of work being performed. Younger workers are generally more mobile, while seniority tends to reduce movement.

Migration is, in fact, highly selective by age. Generally the relationship between migration rate and age shows a declining propensity to migrate during childhood followed by an increase, normally peaking in the late twenties, then a steady decline, perhaps interrupted by retirement migration in the sixties (Stillwell 1983). Census and NHS data both show total movement to be dominated by the 15-29 age group which, on a proportional basis, has more than its share. The recession at the turn of the decade seems to have had some effect on the age structure of migrants: between 1975/6 and 1982/3 mobility among the 0-14 year age group fell by over a quarter and continued to fall until 1987; the next largest falls were among the late middle-aged (45-64). The mobility rates of age groups between these two fluctuated, except for the 15-25's who showed a rise until 1983 (Stillwell and Boden, 1986) then a slight fall (OPCS 1989).

Household size is also a significant variable, though its effect varies with distance. Larger households are more likely to be mobile than smaller ones over short distances (Cullingworth, 1965; Woolf, 1967), but over longer distances young families, couples without children and unmarried adults seem to have the highest movement rates

(Johnson, Salt and Wood, 1974). There is also an association of household size and socio-economic status. However, large households headed by manual workers in the 1960s were found less likely to be mobile between local authority areas than those headed by non-manual workers (Friedlander and Roshier, 1966).

Those moving over long distances are selected in part according to their education and employment. All surveys are agreed that the higher the educational level reached, the greater the propensity to migrate (for example, Harris and Clausen, 1967; Johnson, Salt and Wood, 1974).

2.6.1 Socio-economic selectivity in migration

Of particular importance for this thesis is the relationship of migration with socio-economic group. It has frequently been demonstrated that higher socio-economic groups are over-represented among migrants and that there is an increasing propensity to move with rising income (Cullingworth, 1965, Willis, 1971; Woolf, 1967; Johnson, Salt and Wood, 1974). The employment characteristics of migrants in recent decades thus suggest that they are well off, work in high status occupations and that they are not unemployed, features that continue in the 1980s as will be seen below. These characteristics are bolstered by job information systems that facilitate movement among non-manual workers (Saunders, 1986).

The propensity of different socio-economic groups to migrate has been discussed by Salt and Flowerdew (1989) (table 2.3). Their

analysis confirms that higher skilled, and better-paid people are more likely to move than others, although at first sight the jobless appear to be an anomaly. Over all distances the unemployed were most likely to migrate (13.2 per cent), but interpretation of this figure is difficult because of the definition used in the census. It includes those who are not working at the time of the count, but pays no attention to their circumstances or likelihood of getting a job. Next came junior and intermediate non-manual workers. They had a slightly higher propensity to migrate (11.8 percent) than professional and managerial people (11.1 per cent), with manual workers trailing at 8.8 per cent. Over long distances, above 20 and 80 kilometres respectively, professional and managerial workers had higher mobility rates than junior and intermediate non-manual and manual workers, a third of the former group moving over 20 kilometres. The high proportion in the 'Other SEG' who moved over 20 and over 80 kilometres is accounted for by the inclusion of the military population. The propensity of the unemployed to move over 20 and over 80 kilometres was higher than average - nearly four times as high as manual workers, for example, for moves over 80 kilometres. Salt and Flowerdew suggest this results from the inclusion of students and retirees in this category, rather than in the tendency of the unemployed to be labour migrants.

Support for this view comes in table 2.4 which cross-tabulates economic status by type of move during 1980-1 for the sample of persons aged over 16 captured by the Labour Force Survey (Green et al, 1986). It shows the bulk of migrants to be in employment and that the genuinely unemployed display a low propensity to migrate. Only a small

proportion of this LFS-recorded migration was inter-regional, even amongst the most mobile groups. Never the less, professional and managerial workers were eight times more likely to move interregionally during the year than manual workers.

A comparison of trends for 1971-81 is presented in table 2.5, derived from Saunders (1986) and discussed by Salt and Flowerdew (1989). Columns 3 and 6 show that higher status SEGs (1-6, except 2 and 5.2) increased their share of all interregional migrants during the decade; conversely most lower status SEGs decreased their share. This suggests that experience of migration may have become more polarised during the recession. However, an attempt to standardise migration rates by SEG for the overall reduction between 1971 and 1981 gives a different picture (column 7). For each SEG, change in the percentage of the economically active who were interregional migrants is related to the national figure, a value of one indicating that the level of interregional migration change for the SEG was equal to the national level. A value of less than one indicates a greater proportional reduction in interregional migration than the national one; a value greater than one indicates a lower reduction. Results show (column 7) that for higher status SEGs, and for manual workers, the rate of interregional migration slowed at a time when the percentage of total interregional migration accounted for by them increased. This suggests that a rise in the numbers of economically active in these SEGs, caused by the changing occupational structure, has more than offset a decline in their migration rates. Hence, during 1971-1981 migration rates for

most occupation groups fell but the effects were hidden by a secular rise in the numbers of economically active in higher status SEGs.

Further evidence of the socio-economic polarisation of migration in the 1980s comes from analysis of 1983 LFS data (Hughes and McCormick, 1987). This shows that for the most part movement involved the higher socio-economic groups, and made little inroad into alleviating unemployment in the depressed areas, where manual workers form the bulk of those out of work. Hughes and McCormick showed that during the previous year there was no net flow of manual workers from the six depressed regions of the North to the four prosperous ones in the South. For non-manual workers, however, the South provided a destination for 61 per cent, but an origin for only 52 per cent. This suggests that it is not manual workers who have been drifting south and swelling the population of the nation's prosperous parts. Hence the high unemployment that struck much of the northern region of Britain in the early years of the decade did not encourage those weakest in the labour market to move. Instead, contrary to labour market expectations and government hopes, they stayed put.

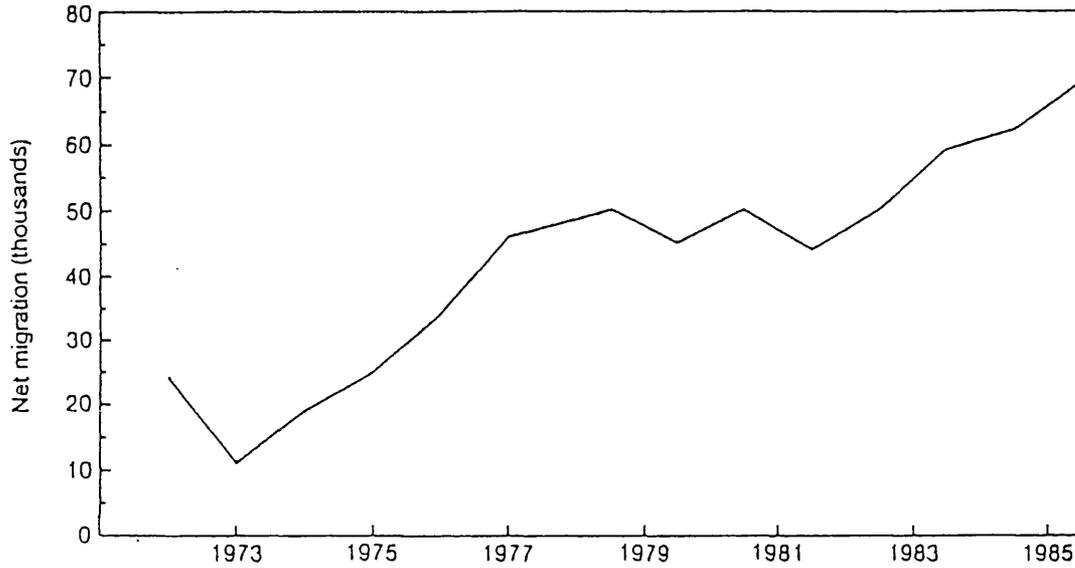
2.7 Conclusion

The patterns described in this chapter exhibit a fair degree of consistency over time. From the inter-war period a general drift south has occurred, though within a context of large scale interregional exchanges. The role of Greater London and the South East has been

anomalous. The capital has tended to draw in young people from further afield and push out families into the rest of the South East and into neighbouring regions. In turn the South East as a whole has had a chequered migration history over the last twenty years, with gains from the north but a drain to the rest of metropolitan England. At no time, however, has there been evidence of a great haemorrhage of population from depressed to prosperous Britain. Nor does evidence on the general characteristics of migrants support the view that the low-skilled and unemployed are as mobile as traditional economic theory suggests. Indeed, the pattern is the reverse. Those who are mobile move from positions of strength.

There does seem to be, therefore, a contradiction between what labour market theory would have and the volume of movement that occurs. Furthermore, labour is responding only in part to government exhortations to move in search of work. The latter point is taken up in the next chapter where government labour migration policy in its most tangible form is discussed. This is the direct intervention in the labour market through a series of mobility schemes aimed at assisting the unemployed and low-paid. Analysis of the geographic pattern of these moves, and the characteristics of those involved, allows the unemployed and the low-skilled to be placed in the general context set by this chapter.

Figure 2.1
Net migration from north to south, 1971-1986



Notes: South refers to the South East, South West, East Anglia and East Midlands

Data, 1971-78 comprise two-year running averages estimated from Ogilvy (1982); the data from 1978/9 onwards are taken from OPCS Monitors reference MN.

Source: Champion (1989), figure 8.2.

Table 2.1

Transfers between each region and the rest of Great Britain: mean annual transfers recorded by the NHSCR

	1971-1973			1977-1979		
	(Annual transfers per 1000 population)					
	in	out	net	in	out	net
Scotland	53.2	66.2	-13.0	47.3	54.8	-7.5
North	57.9	60.1	-2.2	43.4	50.3	-6.9
Yorks & Humb.	89.2	90.5	-1.3	76.2	80.6	-4.4
North West	101.3	113.2	11.9	83.6	103.9	-20.3
West Midlands	90.8	96.8	-6.0	76.0	87.8	-11.8
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	392.4	426.8	-34.4	326.5	377.4	-50.9
East Midlands	96.4	80.4	+15.9	87.3	79.7	+7.6
East Anglia	70.6	45.7	+24.9	64.3	45.3	+19.0
Wales	57.9	46.9	+11.0	51.8	46.5	+5.2
South West	138.1	96.3	+41.8	126.5	97.8	+28.7
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	362.9	269.3	+93.6	329.8	269.3	+60.5
South East	244.3	303.6	-59.2	233.0	242.6	-9.6

Source: Ogilvy (1982), table 1.

Table 2.2

Recorded movements within areas and with the rest of the United Kingdom by region, mid-1985 to mid-1986

Region	(Moves per 1000 population)			
	Within Area	In	Out	Net
North	10	13	16	-3
Yorkshire and Humberside	11	15	17	-2
East Midlands	7	25	21	+4
East Anglia	6	35	24	+11
South East	30	15	15	0
Greater London	24	24	32	-8
Remainder	15	28	23	+5
South West	10	29	21	+8
West Midlands	13	14	17	-3
North West	16	13	16	-3
Wales	8	18	17	+2
Scotland	15	9	11	-2
Northern Ireland	:	4	8	-4

Notes: Figures are derived from re-registrations recorded at the National Health Service Central Registers and are lagged by three months to make allowance for the time between actual move and re-registration.

Movements within area are those between FPCs in the area (for England and Wales) and between AHBs for Scotland.

Source: OPCS Monitor, May 1987, table 1.

Table 2.3

Migration rate by socio-economic group (GB males 1980-1)

	Migrants: all distances		Migrants over 20km		Migrants over 80km	
	no.	rate	no.	rate	no.	rate
1-4	33 828	11.1	11 400	3.7	6 456	2.1
5-6	30 855	11.8	8 405	3.2	4 551	1.7
8-11	67 171	8.8	7 580	1.0	4 072	0.5
Others	26936	12.2	9 826	4.5	6 943	3.2
Total	158 970	10.2	37 211	2.4	22 022	1.4

Based on 1981 census (10% sample)

Rates are the percentage of economically active who are migrants. SEG categories refer to economic activity after migration. See table 2.5 for key to SEGs.

Source: Salt and Flowerdew (1989), table 2.

Table 2.4

Crosstabulation of economic status of migrant by distance of move, 1980-1

Type of move	Economic status				TOTAL
	self-employed	employed	out of work	inactive	
No move	8 580	80 153	8 953	61 518	159 204
	5.4	50.3	5.6	38.6	90.7
	90.9	90.2	83.8	92.4	
	4.9	45.6	5.1	35.0	
Intra-district	407	4 772	895	2 772	8 796
	4.6	54.3	10.2	30.9	5.0
	4.3	5.4	8.4	4.1	
	0.2	2.7	0.5	1.6	
Intra-region	293	2 478	402	1 266	4 439
	6.6	5.8	9.1	28.5	2.5
	3.1	2.8	3.8	1.9	
	0.2	1.4	0.2	0.7	
Inter-region	128	1 193	343	779	2 443
	5.2	48.8	14.0	31.9	
	0.1	0.7	0.2	0.4	
Eire	1	10	2	4	17
	5.9	58.8	11.8	23.5	0.0
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Rest of world	9 436	88 862	10 688	66 597	175 583
	5.4	50.6	6.1	37.9	100

Based on 1981 Labour Force Survey.

Source: Green et al (1985), table 6.

Table 2.5
Inter-regional migrants by socio-economic group
(GB males 1970-1 and 1980-1)

Inter-regional migrants (GB males 1970-71 and 1980-81)							
SEG	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	1 558	2.37	5.59	1 487	1.73	6.88	0.80
2	2 735	1.90	9.82	2 298	1.68	10.63	0.97
3	304	1.96	1.09	198	1.38	0.91	0.77
4	2 910	4.12	10.45	2 339	3.33	10.82	0.88
5.1	2 836	3.36	10.18	2 327	2.29	10.77	0.74
5.2	162	1.32	0.58	112	0.89	0.51	0.74
6	3 063	1.42	11.00	2 047	1.39	9.47	1.07
7	557	3.20	2.00	558	3.13	2.58	1.07
8	391	0.61	1.40	235	0.42	1.08	0.75
9	3 895	0.74	13.98	2 100	0.51	9.72	0.75
10	1 865	0.81	6.69	1 258	0.60	5.82	0.81
11	1 196	0.83	4.29	635	0.70	2.93	0.92
12	805	1.04	2.89	717	0.86	3.31	0.90
13	93	0.59	0.33	76	0.72	0.35	1.34
14	58	0.37	0.20	37	0.36	0.17	1.07
15	352	1.24	1.26	267	1.38	1.23	1.22
16	4 558	17.94	16.36	4 094	16.85	18.95	1.03
17	531	0.81	1.90	816	1.49	3.77	2.02
Total	27 869	1.54	100	21 601	1.39	100	1.00

- (1) Inter-regional migrants 1970-71
- (2) Inter-regional migrants as % of economically active 1970-71
- (3) % of total inter-regional migrants 1970-71
- (4) Inter-regional migrants 1980-81
- (5) Inter-regional migrants as % of economically active 1980-81
- (6) % of total inter-regional migrants 1980-81
- (7) Increase in migration selectivity 1971-81 (see text)

SEGs:

- 1 Employers and managers (large establishments)
- 2 Employers and managers (small establishments)
- 3 Professional - self-employed
- 4 Professional - employees
- 5.1 Ancillary workers and artists
- 5.2 Foremen - non-manual
- 6 Junior non-manual
- 7 Personal services
- 8 Foremen - manual
- 9 Skilled manual
- 10 Semi-skilled manual
- 11 Unskilled manual
- 12 Own account workers
- 13 Farmers (employers)
- 14 Farmers (own account)
- 15 Agricultural workers
- 16 Members of armed forces
- 17 Inadequately described

1971 and 1981 censuses (10% samples)

Source: Salt and Flowerdew (1989), table 1

Chapter Three

SCHEMES TO ASSIST JOB MOVERS

3.1 Introduction

Beneath the rhetoric of government policy towards the geographical mobility of the unemployed, the only tangible measures at assisting migration have been through a series of transfer schemes, begun in 1928 and the principal scheme ending in 1986 (table 3.1). During this period the underlying rationale for direct government attempts to move unemployed workers, or those about to become so, has changed (Johnson and Salt, 1980). The geography of the migration has remained remarkably consistent, however. Most moves, at least since the Second World War, have been intra-regional. Inter-regional moves have exhibited a strong net flow from north to south, on the face of it conforming to the expectations of labour market theory and government policy.

Almost throughout, however, an earnings ceiling has been placed on those who were eligible for assistance, aiming labour transfer policy specifically at the lower-end of the skills and income spectrum. For such people it has provided the only means of direct assistance with the costs of moving. Hence, its evolution and eventual demise are important in helping explain government attitudes towards as well as actual migration of the low-skilled and unemployed. Analysis of the

schemes provides a major policy context for the discussion of wider issues of mobility and immobility with which the thesis is mainly concerned.

The chapter begins by reviewing the main phases in the development of those transfer schemes which have helped the low skilled and unemployed to look for employment in areas beyond daily travelling distance, and which enable them to move to take up such employment opportunities. It goes on to analyse the geographical patterns resulting, and their implication for labour migration as a whole. Finally it attempts to assess the success of transfer schemes, particularly in the light of the 1986 Budget decision to abolish the main one. It will be seen that schemes may be divided crudely between those relating to employment and those to housing. The lack of coordination between them highlights the divisions between schemes which intervene in the housing market and those which intervene in the labour market.

3.2 The historic development of government transfer schemes to facilitate the mobility of unemployed and key workers

Government programmes to facilitate the geographical mobility of labour have existed for over half a century. The precise nature of the schemes has varied with changing economic circumstances and policy emphasis, and with underlying political ideology. Many conflicts have thus arisen between the objectives of these schemes and policies in

other spheres, and between different objectives of the schemes themselves.

For many years transfer schemes coexisted uneasily with regional policy: whilst the former took workers to the work, the latter attempted to take the work to the workers (for discussion of the relative merits of these see, for example, Sant, 1975; Johnson and Salt, 1980). As a result, various interim compromises have been introduced to provide for the temporary transfer of particular workers who were expected to return to their home areas once new employment opportunities had been created.

Ideological conflicts are evident in the foci of the various schemes. Attention has been focussed for most of the post-war period on the unemployed and the poor. Besides the alleviation of unemployment, however, the transfer of labour has fulfilled other important roles: to foster vital skills for new industrial development; to help employers to fill particular vacancies; and to 'tighten up' the general relationship between labour supply and demand, thereby bringing benefits to the national economy. The balance between these various objectives has changed over time, as indicated by changes in eligibility criteria, and the general extent of publicity.

This section outlines the development of transfer schemes since the inter-war period, and illustrates the changes and conflicts outlined above. It provides a politico-historic context for a detailed analysis of the operation of the most recent of these schemes.

The development of transfer schemes may be divided into seven broad phases, characterised by levels of transfer and the priority afforded to transfer schemes relative to coexisting employment and regional policies (table 3.2). The overall impact of these schemes in terms of achieved mobility is recorded in figure 3.1 and table 3.3, to which reference should be made throughout the following section.

3.2.1 Phase one: 1928-1939

Before the 1939-1945 war, assistance was generally given under the Industrial Transference Scheme (ITS) to unemployed workers living in scheduled depressed areas. In the beginning it was aimed particularly at coal miners. Assistance was limited to married men, or other men with dependants, who were transferring from a scheduled area to industrial employment elsewhere. The scheme had a social emphasis, and was designed to channel aid to the worst areas of unemployment. In addition, assistance was aimed at those most in need by means of a maximum starting wage. This scheme was effectively terminated at the outbreak of war.

3.2.2 Phase two: 1940-1945

During the war policy emphasis shifted from resettlement for social welfare reasons to temporary movement to ease acute labour shortages. Under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1940, the Minister of Labour and National Service had powers to transfer workers to work of urgent national importance. Workers so transferred from 1940 were

assisted under a General Transfer Scheme (GTS). Workers were eligible whether they were already in employment or unemployed, and a variety of allowances were available, irrespective of earnings.

3.2.3 Phase three: 1946-1950

In late 1945 and early 1946, a comprehensive review of the policy on granting assistance to transferred workers was undertaken by the new Labour government. Although it was still necessary at this time to transfer workers to some kinds of work of national importance, it was considered that in order to give effect to the government's full employment policy, the aim should be to assist workers who had no good prospects of work in their home areas to transfer permanently, and to resettle in an area offering such prospects.

In 1946 a new Resettlement Scheme (RS) was introduced to encourage and facilitate permanent resettlement. In order to qualify under the scheme, workers had to undertake at the outset to transfer their households and dependants to the new area. The emphasis of the scheme, therefore, was upon permanent resettlement of workers and their families in accordance with the aims of full employment. Aid was again targeted at the poor, with the imposition of a maximum starting salary. Assistance available under the scheme comprised lodging allowances, fares, and removal expenses.

To supplement the Resettlement Scheme, three additional schemes were introduced over the next year. First the Voluntary Transfer Scheme

was introduced at the same time as the Resettlement Scheme. This was designed to enable unemployed workers in areas where there was, for the time being, unemployment, (but in which industrial development was planned), to take jobs in other areas on a temporary basis while remaining under consideration for jobs in their home area.

Second, a scheme later called the Nucleus Labour Force Scheme (NLFS) was introduced. Under this scheme assistance was given to unemployed workers in development areas or areas in need of additional employment, who were recruited by firms establishing new factories in those areas, and which required workers to go to existing parent works for training, and subsequently return to their home areas to form a nucleus labour force in the new factories.

Third, a Registered Disabled Persons' Resettlement Scheme was introduced in 1947. The assistance available under this scheme corresponded broadly with that available under the Resettlement Transfer Scheme, but the criteria of eligibility were far more lenient, to account for the special employment needs of disabled workers.

In general, the package of transfer schemes introduced by the post-war Labour government was aimed primarily at the unemployed and the poor. The Resettlement Scheme was introduced to put unemployed workers into areas where they were more likely to find work. The ideal of full employment, however, coexisted with a strong regional policy, rooted in the 1945 Distribution of Industry Act. For this reason, the Voluntary Temporary Transfer Scheme and the Nucleus Labour

Force Scheme were introduced to ease pockets of unemployment in the short term, and to facilitate the development of certain regions. Aid was thus geographically determined, and was usually reliant upon local unemployment statistics.

3.2.4 Phase four: 1951-1961

In 1951 a new transfer scheme, the Key Workers Scheme (KWS), was introduced. This was to provide assistance on the same scale as under the Resettlement Scheme, which was granted to employed key workers being transferred permanently or temporarily by their employers to new or expanding undertakings in development areas. Those key workers temporarily transferred were not usually expected to remain in the transfer area for more than twelve months. Thus, although transference aid was made more readily available to workers already in employment, it remained location specific, and was in essence a means of facilitating regional development policy. Workers were transferred in response to the needs of particular employers in designated regions. The needs of the transferees themselves were not always of paramount importance.

Between 1952 and 1956 all transfer schemes suffered a series of cutbacks at the hands of successive Conservative governments as a contribution to economies. Lodging allowances and continuing liability allowances were limited to a maximum of two years, and 'settling in' grants ceased to be payable to workers transferred under any of the transfer schemes after 1953. From 1953 the facilities of the General

Transfer Scheme became available only to workers transferring to work considered by the Department of Employment to be of exceptional urgency and importance. From 1956 the General Transfer Scheme was further restricted to apply only to workers transferring to coalmining employment.

During the period 1950 to 1956 the number of workers transferring with assistance under the Department of Employment's transfer schemes decreased sharply. There were only 38 lodging allowances current at the end of 1956 compared with almost five thousand at the end of 1951. (table 3.3). The restriction during this period of the payment of allowances, and in the type of worker to be assisted, was probably the main reason for the reduction, but the improving employment situation during these years was undoubtedly an important factor.

During late 1956 and early 1957 fairly large scale redundancies occurred in certain sectors of industry, (for example, motor car manufacture). As these recessions were occurring in areas not normally affected by high unemployment, the workers were not eligible for assistance under the Resettlement Scheme (which applied only to designated areas.) In order to help workers affected by the redundancies, a Temporary Transfer Scheme (TTS) was introduced in 1957. This scheme was available to married workers, or workers with equivalent domestic responsibilities in non-designated areas, who had been unemployed for eight weeks or more. The expectation in these cases was that employment would ultimately become available again in the home area.

Against a background of increasing unemployment, various improvements were introduced from 1958 onwards, in an effort to "overcome to some extent workers' natural reluctance to move to work in other areas" (Manpower Services Commission, 1973, page 10). A variety of removal grants was increased substantially, and all transfer schemes were extended to include workers transferring to work of professional and executive standard. From 1961 workers transferred under the Key Workers' Scheme were eligible for assistance irrespective of salary.

3.2.5 Phase five: 1962-1971

During late 1961 and early 1962 the general policy in relation to transfer schemes was reviewed in the light of impending large scale redundancies in coal mining and railway employment, some of which occurred in areas not previously affected by high unemployment. This resulted in an extension of the Resettlement Scheme in 1962 to cover unemployed workers moving to or from any place in Great Britain. It became known henceforth as the Resettlement Transfer Scheme (RTS). The Temporary Transfer Scheme ceased to operate, and designation of areas was no longer necessary. The Disabled Resettlement Scheme was merged with the new extended scheme. Only three transfer schemes operated from 1962, viz.: Resettlement Transfer Scheme, Key Workers Scheme, and Nucleus Labour Force Scheme.

In 1963 against a background of higher unemployment, consideration was given to whether further changes in the Resettlement Transfer Scheme were necessary in order to increase the use made of it. The

scheme essentially served a social purpose, helping unemployed workers with employment problems. It was not a suitable instrument for dealing with large scale unemployment or redundancy. Government distribution of industry policy at the time laid particular emphasis on bringing the work to the worker, and it was felt that any suggestion that the government intended to encourage large scale transference under the Resettlement Transfer Scheme would arouse considerable public criticism.

Throughout 1963, however, a number of proposals that the schemes should be extended were made⁽¹⁾. It was generally considered that improvements in the benefits of the Resettlement Transfer Scheme would make a contribution (but not a very large one) towards increasing labour mobility and mitigating the effects of redundancies. Discussions lasting into 1964 resulted in an outline plan of improvements to the transfer schemes. A government statement in 1964 on the economic situation included the following paragraph.

"An active policy will be carried out to make it easier for workers to change their jobs in accordance with the needs of technological progress. This will include... an improved system of transfer grants." (Quoted in Manpower Services Commission, 1973, page 13).

By the beginning of 1965 final agreement had been reached on the improvements which were to be made in the transfer schemes. These comprised a general increase in all grants together with some relaxation of eligibility conditions.

Following a further examination of the schemes by the Department of Employment in 1969, more changes were made. The rates of the grants and allowances for all the schemes were also improved. At this time, the Hunt Committee report on the intermediate areas (Cmnd 3998) recommended that the transfer schemes "be reviewed from time to time to ensure that the levels of assistance have kept pace with any increase in the costs to which they refer" (page 127). Because of the increase in costs since the previous review, and in the light of the recommendations of the Hunt Committee, the rates of grants and allowances were reviewed again in 1970/1, and new levels were introduced.

3.2.6 Phase six: 1972-1978

The number of registered unemployed, which had been rising from 1966, increased substantially between 1970 and 1972, when it reached a national average of 4.1 per cent. Unemployment was persistently high in the development and intermediate areas of the country, and as part of the government's measures to stimulate the economy, and to reduce the imbalance between the assisted areas and the rest of the country, far reaching changes were made to the Resettlement Transfer Scheme. The eligibility conditions were relaxed for moves originating in assisted areas, and workers living in those areas were encouraged to transfer temporarily as well as permanently. Substantial new incentives were provided for persons living in assisted areas to transfer to work away from home by increasing the incidental expenses grant (and renaming it Rehousing Grant), and by providing for the first time, a weekly

allowance for single persons. In view of the changes which were made, the scheme was retitled the Employment Transfer Scheme (ETS), introduced in 1972. The ETS was designed "to help unemployed workers (or employed workers who will be involved in redundancy within six months) who have to move away from home in order to obtain employment" (Manpower Services Commission, 1973, page 20). The result of these changes was that the number of transferees more than doubled from 1971/72 to 1972/73, and rose to over twenty-six thousand in 1977/78. (table 3.3).

In conjunction with the launch of the new Employment Transfer Scheme, the Job Search Scheme (JSS) was also introduced in 1972. This was designed to give assistance to unemployed people wishing to attend interviews in other areas, or wishing to move speculatively to areas with better job prospects, for a period of up to two weeks.

3.2.7 Phase seven: 1979-1986

Under the new Conservative government, the 1979 budget, with its dramatic cuts in public expenditure, had a profound impact on transfer schemes. The local labour market rule was extended to all areas, including assisted areas. This rule required that the applicant should have no reasonable local work prospects, and that there should be no suitable unemployed people registered in the vacancy area. As a result of these changes, the number of transferees under the scheme fell sharply, and in 1979/1980 was less than half (43 per cent) that of the previous year (table 3.3)

"Whilst schemes are demand orientated and are liable to fluctuate according to the labour market the fall in assistance provided since 1978/79 partly reflects changes in rules designed to promote greater cost-effectiveness." (Manpower Services Commission correspondence, 1983).

In 1980 the rules of the JSS/ETS were modified to provide special assistance for unemployed people and redundant workers affected by major redundancies in the steel industry. The scheme, which was known as the Major Redundancy Scheme, was restricted to four steel plants, (Scunthorpe, Consett, Port Talbot, and Llanwern). It ran for one year only.

In 1981 the transfer schemes were again reviewed, and the rules and allowances were simplified to make the schemes more cost effective. (Manpower Services Commission, 1981). In the same year, in response to the increase in unemployment throughout Great Britain, and to the reduction in public funds available, the geographic specificity of the schemes was removed completely. Henceforth the rules applied equally to all areas. Also implicit in these changes was a subtle shift in emphasis from helping unemployed people in depressed areas to find work, to helping employers in areas of labour shortage to fill vacancies which could not be filled with local unemployed labour. These changes were reflected in the wording of the revised publicity literature.

"The Employment Transfer Scheme is intended to fill vacancies which cannot be filled locally by encouraging and assisting unemployed people from other places to move home permanently to fill such vacancies when they would not otherwise have considered doing so. Therefore applications from people moving to skill shortage and other difficult to fill vacancies are most likely to succeed." (Manpower Services Commission, 1984, page 1).

A new higher pay limit was introduced in 1982, enabling the highest paid manual workers and technicians to be included, but excluding most professional and managerial occupations. In 1984, with the introduction of voluntary registration at local Job Centres, the local labour rule had to change. Henceforth the employer was required to advertise the vacancy locally for at least two weeks prior to the job offer date.

A further review undertaken by MSC and DE officials in 1984 concluded that the schemes had not been successful in meeting their aims and were costly and complex to administer (Manpower Services Commission, 1984).

Following this review the Employment Mobility Scheme (EMS) was introduced on a pilot basis in the MSC's South West region, as a possible alternative to the ETS. The changes which were made put more obligation on the employer to ensure that no suitable labour was available locally, and shifted the emphasis of the scheme even further towards the employer, as a means of easing specific skill shortages. Under the new rules, the employer had to have the vacancy approved before the potential employee could be considered for assistance.

"Having trouble finding local people to fill jobs? If you are then perhaps the new style Employment Mobility Scheme can help."
(Manpower Services Commission, 1985).

The MSC undertook a comparative survey of EMS and ETS transferees in November and December 1985, "to provide information for a Commission

discussion of the schemes in January 1986". (MSC, 1985, page 1). In the event this discussion was postponed and 1986 Budget decisions were made which abolished the ETS and the EMS. It was not replaced by any other scheme. In May 1986 the MSC produced a report which attempted to justify abolition on the basis of the survey data previously collected (Manpower Services Commission, 1985). The report is far from convincing. It contains some broad and ill-founded economic assumptions, and takes no consideration of 'social' benefits whatsoever. In short, it bears all the hallmarks of a report which is written after the event to indicate the prior need for action which has already been taken.

It is ironic that the administration which has been noted for its strong exhortations to the unemployed and others to move to new employment opportunities in other areas, should be the one to abolish the only government scheme which helped them to do so.

3.3 The Employment Transfer Scheme

3.3.1 The geographical pattern of labour transfer, 1972-1986

The geographical pattern of movement under the Employment Transfer Scheme corresponds broadly to the pattern of migration evident in the 1971 and 1981 Censuses (chapter 3), although the differences in the net balance between regions is far more pronounced. Although absolute numbers of transferees do not correspond closely to national levels of

unemployment, the pattern of regional gains and losses from 1972 to 1986 is clearly linked with differentials in regional unemployment rates. The pattern of inter-regional movement has been remarkably consistent throughout this period, and a clear north-south divide has become far more pronounced since the late 1970s (figure 3.2).

London and the South East (ie. MSC's South East region excludes London) have been the main destinations for transferees throughout the history of the scheme. Together they constituted one third (33.2 per cent) of all destinations in 1972/73 (the lowest year), and in 1985/86 more workers transferred to London and the South East than to all the other seven regions combined (tables 3.4, 3.5 and figure 3.3). Although the numbers of workers leaving these regions has fluctuated markedly, they have not accounted for more than 16 per cent of all origins in any one year (tables 3.6 and 3.7). In 1985/86 they jointly accounted for a mere 7.5 per cent of all origins. The index of regional balance shows that although London has the highest score in every year, the South East has become more important relative to London throughout the 1980s, as new job opportunities have spread from the capital to the surrounding region (table 3.8 and figure 3.4). In 1978/79 London imported more transferees than the South East, but by 1985/86 the South East imported over five times as many transferees as London (table 3.4).

The South West imported more transferees than it exported in the first three years of the scheme, but then became a net exporter from 1974-1978, as the recession began to bite. It achieved a positive net

balance of transfers again in 1978/79, however, and maintained this in every subsequent year (table 3.9). These fluctuations have always been relatively small though, and the largest difference between imports and exports was a deficit of 347 persons in 1975/77.

The Midlands has also played a changing role under the scheme. It became a net exporter of workers for the first time in 1981/82, and continued as such thereafter (table 3.9). Although the percentage of transferees moving to the Midlands increased in the 1980s, the percentage of transferees leaving that region increased to a greater extent. In 1972/73 the Midlands accounted for 7.1 per cent of all origins and 12.6 per cent of all destinations, in 1985/86 the figures were 13.3 per cent and 12.0 per cent respectively (tables 3.5 and 3.7).

Whilst the positions of the South West and the Midlands have altered in the overall pattern of inter-regional movement, London and the South East have imported more workers than they have exported in every year since the scheme was introduced. By contrast, the remaining five regions have all experienced a net deficit of transferees in every year, and it is in these regions that the pattern has remained most consistent.

The Northern region is ranked lowest by the index of regional balance in every year in which the Employment Transfer Scheme has operated (Table 3.9). It has accounted for between 8.9 per cent and 17.5 per cent of all origins, and between 1.3 per cent and 6.0 per cent of all destinations (tables 3.5 and 3.7). In 1985/86 the number of

workers leaving the region under the scheme was more than ten times the number of transferees entering it. In the same year, the number of workers leaving the North was approximately fifteen times higher than the number of transferees leaving London (tables 3.4 and 3.6).

The role of the Yorkshire and Humberside region has also been fairly consistent over the fourteen year period. It accounts for between 7.3 per cent and 10.9 per cent of all origins, and between 4.9 per cent and 7.3 per cent of all destinations. Throughout the 1980s the percentage of all transfers originating in the region has increased marginally, whilst the percentage of all transfers destined for this region has remained quite constant (tables 3.5 and 3.7).

The North West has always been a region of net out migration under the scheme, and has made a large contribution to the total numbers. In the late 1970s one fifth of all transfers originated in the North West. This prominence was diminished slightly during the 1980s, but reached that level again in the last year of the scheme (table 3.7). Although the North West was ranked fifth by the index of regional balance in 1972/73, it fell to eighth place in 1979, and remained in that position in every subsequent year (table 3.9). This change in its position relative to the other regions was not due to a relative increase in the numbers of workers leaving the North West, but rather to a gradual decrease in the number of workers moving to the region relative to other regions. In 1972/73 the North West accounted for 12.3 per cent of all transfer destinations, but by 1985/86 this had fallen to a mere 5.1 per cent (table 3.5).

Whilst the North West has fallen in rank position by the index of regional balance, both Scotland and Wales were in slightly higher positions in the last year of the scheme than at its inception (table 3.9). In 1972/73 Scotland was ranked seventh and Wales was ranked eighth, in 1985/86 these regions were ranked fifth and sixth respectively. Yet the trends behind these changes are quite different. Wales has never been a major destination of transfers, and its position has been fairly consistent. It has never accounted for more than 5.2 per cent of all destinations. The percentage of transfers originating in the region was virtually identical in 1972/73 and 1985/86 (7.4 per cent and 7.3 per cent respectively), although it did reach a high point of 11.0 per cent in 1978/79. The changing position of Wales in the overall pattern of movement owes more to the changing balance of transfers in other regions than to any intrinsic changes. Scotland, by contrast has witnessed some dramatic changes in the balance of transfers relative to other regions. In 1974/75 Scotland played a far more important role in the overall number of transfers than any other region. It accounted for almost a third (33.2 per cent) of all origins, and over one quarter (27.0 per cent) of all destinations. These figures fell consistently from this point, however, such that in 1985/86 Scotland accounted for 17.5 per cent of all origins and 10.5 per cent of all destinations (tables 3.5 and 3.7).

Although the absolute number of transferees in any year is determined more by government priorities than by underlying economic circumstances or the extent of regional disparities in unemployment levels, the patterns of movement under the scheme do correspond closely

to the patterns which are suggested by neo-classical economic labour market theory. In general, workers transfer from areas of high unemployment to areas of lower unemployment, although there is a large amount of movement in the converse direction. Furthermore, in periods where regional disparities are most acute, this net transference of unemployed workers under the scheme from the least prosperous regions to the most prosperous ones is most clearly apparent.

The patterns of inter-regional migration under the Employment Transfer Scheme also serve to emphasise the growing inter-regional disparities over the period. During the 1970s the north-south divide within the scheme was blurred by the positive balance of transfers experienced by the Midlands region and the negative balance in the South West region (table 3.8 and figure 3.5). These anomalies were never very substantial, however, and during the 1980s the geographical division has become increasingly pronounced (figure 3.6). In the last year of the scheme over 62 per cent of all transferees moved to the three regions of the south (figure 3.4). In every year since 1978/79 the six northern regions have all experienced a net deficit of transfers. By contrast London, the South East and the South West have all experienced a positive balance of transfers in every year (table 3.8).

3.3.2 Characteristics of transferees under the ETS

Little is known about the people who transferred under the scheme, since the Manpower Services Commission kept no records of these

details. A number of sample surveys have been undertaken, however, generally when the scheme was under review. One such survey, conducted by Parker (1975), investigated a sample of people who had received a grant from the scheme in its first two years of operation. It compared this with a control group of 'unassisted movers', (General Household Survey informants who expressed a desire to move). The survey attempted to measure the effectiveness of the official transfer scheme, and "to find out more about the extent and nature of any obstacles to mobility which potentially mobile people might be experiencing" (page 1). It is notable for its investigation of the relationship between potential and actual mobility, and it provides some important information on the characteristics of transferees.

Transferees were found to be younger than the general population, with an average age of 35 years; 69 per cent of the sample moved alone, and 96 per cent were men. Comparison of housing tenures before the move and one year later illustrate that many transferees had to give up the security of owning their own house or renting from the local authority, in order to move: 29 per cent of transferees owned their own house before the move, for example, as opposed to 10 per cent after. Many had to accept short-term lodgings, or stay with friends and relatives. Some fall in housing conditions may well have been offset by improvement in employment conditions, however, as average earnings after the move were higher than average earnings prior to it, and only five per cent of the sample were unemployed at the time of the interview. Those respondents of higher economic status generally expressed a greater desire to move again. One year after the initial move 18 per cent of the transferees

had moved back to their original area and a further four per cent had moved outside the destination area of the assisted move. Those who returned to their origin area were generally younger, more often single, and had more often moved alone.

"It may be concluded that attachment to the area, for those who returned, was based more on family and personal relationships than on the physical environment" (Parker, 1975, page 18)

3.3.3 A critical review of the Employment Transfer Scheme

In evaluation of labour mobility policy, the criteria used are dependent upon both the purpose of the evaluation, and the objectives of the policy. This is complicated by the constantly changing nature of those policy objectives, and the different ways in which they may be interpreted. For example, if an unemployed transferee returns to his/her origin area after twelve months employment elsewhere, was the transfer successful or not? Does it make any difference if this transferee returns or moves again to another job or another period of unemployment? Clearly the answers to these questions depend upon an interpretation of the role of assisted labour mobility within the economy. In this respect, official documents are of limited use, though there are some well defined indicators of 'success' which have been used in evaluation.

Successive governments have clearly envisaged differing roles for assisted labour mobility. The fluctuations in gross transferee numbers between particular years bear testimony to this. These fluctuations can not be closely related to national levels of unemployment, regional

differentials in unemployment and vacancy rates, or to levels of non-assisted labour migration. The key to understanding these fluctuations lies in the administration of the schemes. This in turn is a reflection of government priorities. The 220 per cent increase in the number of transferees between 1971/72 and 1973/74, for example, can only be explained in terms of changes in the administration of the scheme. (The scheme was expanded and extended, grants and allowances became more generous, and there was much attendant publicity). Likewise, the 57 per cent decrease in transferees between 1978/79 and 1979/80, despite an increase in national levels of unemployment over the same period, can only be explained with reference to cuts in public expenditure. (The scheme was made more restrictive, and aid was withdrawn from people moving to a first appointment on completion of higher education). There is an indirect link between the general performance of the economy and the levels of assisted labour mobility, however, since indicators of the former will influence the role and administration of the latter.

One key criticism which has been levelled at policies of assisted labour migration arises from the conflict between sectoral and spatial policies, or between 'people prosperity' and 'place prosperity'. Opponents of assisted labour mobility from depressed communities have tended to emphasise the latter at the expense of the former. There is a belief that a policy of assisting out-migration from depressed areas will tend to siphon off the youngest and the more skilled people, leading to a general deterioration in the quality of the local labour force left behind. This in turn would act as a hindrance to any policy aimed at attracting new industry to the area. Such arguments are

central to the theory of cumulative causation (Myrdal, 1957). Its central contention is that the play of unrestrained market forces will tend to increase rather than decrease the various inequalities between regions. Migration from depressed areas is age selective, which is seen as favouring the growing regions but at the same time has negative or "backwash" effects on the declining areas.

This hypothesis of cumulative forces of decline tends to overlook the high positive correlation between in and out migration rates (Johnson and Salt, 1980). In the case of the ETS, net movements were very small in comparison to gross movements, and the greatest net imbalances were sometimes experienced by the regions experiencing the lowest levels of net migration. Furthermore, as the analysis of geographical patterns over time has shown, net deficits in depressed regions are often more sensitive to falls in the numbers of transferees moving into these areas than to any increase in numbers leaving.

A sample survey of ETS transferees from four employment exchange centres in Scotland in 1973 and 1974 addressed the hypothesis of selective out-migration (Beaumont, 1976a). Of a sample of 533 relocatees only four were women; however, about half of the men were married, which suggests that the sex imbalance is far less pronounced if the migrating family or household is used as the basic unit of analysis. Transferees were found to be younger than the local population, but the relationships between age and migration were similar to those established for unassisted migration. Over fifty per cent of the relocatees went into employment in four categories: metal

manufacture; mechanical engineering; electrical engineering, and vehicle manufacture. The analysis of the skills composition of the transferees showed that approximately 44 per cent were unskilled manual workers, and a further 42 per cent were classified as skilled or semi-skilled manual workers. There was also no evidence to suggest that the unskilled were mainly short distance or intra-regional movers and the skilled men in the long distance or inter-regional transferees. In short "the ETS appears to have been important in giving the unskilled section of the unemployed the ability and possibly the incentive to relocate" (Beaumont, 1976a, page 77). This study is at variance with the studies of unassisted mobility in Britain which all report a correlation between mobility and the level of skill or socio-economic status. Thus while the ETS appears to have lubricated ongoing migration patterns, it may have helped to achieve a better balance in the composition of these streams by bolstering the mobility of those groups which are generally under-represented.

The second criticism levelled at the ETS is that it often subsidised the movement of those people who would have moved anyway. "An assessment of the impact of any Manpower policy upon the labour market status of the policy users must consider the participant groups' likely labour market position in the absence of the policy" (Beaumont, 1976d, page 1). This is particularly important in the case of assisted labour mobility policy, as the underlying rationale of such policy is to facilitate the movement of persons who would not otherwise move. Thus in assessing the performance of assisted labour mobility policy, one essential requirement is an estimate of the proportion of assisted

transferees who would still have moved without this assistance, termed 'deadweight' by the MSC. Different figures have been derived for this. Beaumont's (1976d) survey in Scotland found that eighty-eight per cent of the sample would have wanted to move anyway, and that sixty-nine per cent said that they would have been able to move in the absence of the ETS. The major effect of the aid was to bring about an earlier move for twenty-five per cent of this group than would otherwise have occurred. Those in the scheme who could not have moved without the ETS subsidy included, in particular, older, married, unskilled people. Parker (1975) found that 13 per cent of the sample would not have moved without a grant, whilst 56 per cent said they would have found it difficult to move without the grant, and 42 per cent said they would have managed without it. A Manpower Services Commission (1984a) review of the ETS put the 'deadweight' figure at 54 per cent.

In response to the problem of assisting moves which would have occurred anyway, Johnson and Salt (1980) suggested targeting aid at certain groups, such as the older, married, unskilled people, whilst Green et al (1985) proposed increased assistance for the unemployed. A review of the EMS by the Manpower Services Commission (1986) suggested that a more selective approach could achieve far greater success. Under the pilot scheme transferees in a sample survey were found to be older than their ETS counterparts, and were more likely to be married. 'Deadweight' under the scheme was reduced to 21 per cent. Yet such promising early results failed to prevent the scheme's abolition in the face of administrative costs in relation to alternative Manpower schemes.

3.3.4 Consequences of the demise of the ETS for the mobility of the low-skilled and unemployed

Industry has always found it necessary to provide relocation assistance to its executives and key staff. On average it costs a company £10,000 to relocate an employee, not including any mortgage subsidy offered.⁽²⁾ The relocation packages provided by employers are becoming more generous and more extensive as the costs of moving increase. Yet these packages seldom extend to the lower socio-economic groups. The substantial numbers of migrants assisted in this way, and the levels of assistance they have received have always dwarfed the aid provided by the ETS (where the average assistance paid per transferee, by comparison, was £1,300 in 1984/5, Manpower Services Commission, 1985). Yet the ETS provided assistance to those groups who would not normally expect to receive it from any other source. In this way the scheme served an egalitarian purpose by helping the low-skilled and unemployed with the costs of moving, and probably redressed the socio-economic imbalance in migration streams to some small degree. Its termination is likely to contribute to a further polarisation in migration behaviour between the higher and lower socio-economic groups.

The termination of the ETS may be regarded as a form of privatisation of labour migration, as there is now a greater obligation on employers to provide the assistance to workers from other areas they wish to employ. The termination of the scheme must also be viewed in relation to other Manpower initiatives introduced by the Department of Employment in conjunction with the 1986 budget. With hindsight it

appears that the scheme was sacrificed on the altar of public spending in order to make way for the high profile 'Action for Jobs' package.⁽³⁾ Training workers 'in situ' was clearly perceived as a more cost-effective way of removing people from the unemployment register than helping them to move to new job opportunities in other areas. The more recent Employment Training Scheme takes this process even further by giving employers an even greater role in the process of retraining. The scheme with its emphasis on "training the workers without work for the jobs without workers", does not appear to incorporate the notion of mobility into this attempt to tighten up the labour market.

The government clearly believes there is still an important role for geographical mobility, however, as some important ministerial statements have illustrated. To this end a National Vacancy Circulation System (NATVACS) was introduced by the DE in 1984. All JobCentres now have access to a central computer bank which is capable of storing information on about five thousand vacancies concurrently. Those circulated are ones which are unlikely to be filled either locally or by circulation to other specific Jobcentres. The vacancies held on the NATVACS bank are normally of a skilled nature because it is these which are usually difficult to fill. While most of the vacancies on NATVACS are for work in Great Britain there are some which are for work abroad.

Vacancies held on NATVACS, by definition tend to be skilled, but the introduction of the system reflects a belief in the importance of information on job opportunities in other areas. For potentially mobile unemployed job seekers who secure interviews with employers located

beyond reasonable daily travelling distance, the continuation of the Travel to Interview Scheme will cover travel costs (and overnight subsistence in some cases). Although these schemes provide valuable assistance to the potentially mobile, this only covers the first stages of the migration process.

Green et al (1985) identify five sequential hurdles which a prospective migrant must clear in pursuit of successful job migration. These are demand deficiency; information; job search; housing; and settling down. Whilst current government policies target some aid at the first three hurdles, there are no policies aimed at the last two. Yet it is these which are frequently the most difficult to overcome, a point apparent in chapter ten.

3.4 Housing mobility schemes: the National Mobility Scheme and the Tenants Exchange Scheme

The National Mobility Scheme (NMS) is a housing mobility scheme which entails the co-operation of virtually all local authorities and some large housing associations. The scheme began in 1981, although its foundations were laid in a Labour government White Paper in 1979. Since the scheme began approximately 50,000 households have moved under its auspices. Almost eight thousand moved in 1987/88 (table 3.10). The growing numbers of annual transferees under the scheme provide further evidence of an unsatisfied demand for migration amongst many low-skilled and unemployed.

The Tenants Exchange Scheme (TES) is a means by which local authority tenants can arrange mutual exchanges with local authority tenants in other areas. Upon registration, tenants have their details displayed at the local authority of their anticipated destination, and they receive a list of appropriate tenants wishing to move out of that area and into their current area. On average there are about 30,000 people registered on TES at any one time, and the National Mobility Office estimates that there were about 14,000 exchanges in 1987/88, though it is not known how many of these were achieved through the TES. Sixty per cent of people registering under the TES wished to exchange across regional boundaries, with the South East being the most popular destination region. (National Mobility Office, 1988).

The National Mobility Office, funded by the Department of the Environment, is responsible for the administration of the National Mobility Scheme and the Tenants Exchange Scheme. Under the NMS, local authority housing departments (and participating housing associations) agree to set aside a minimum of one per cent of their housing stock each year for in-migrants nominated by other local authorities, in addition to one house or flat for each household which moves out ^{of} one of its own properties to another area under the scheme. Figures for the year 1986/87 suggest that local authorities allocated about 2.5 per cent of lettings to NMS nominees.

The scheme is designed to help "existing tenants, those high on housing waiting lists and other people with a pressing need to move to a different area... People may apply if they have a definite need to

move either for job or for social reasons, to somewhere beyond reasonable travelling distance from their present home" (National Mobility Scheme, 1984). Although most people moving under the scheme each year do so for 'social' reasons, about a quarter do so to find employment. In 1987/88, of all those rehoused under the scheme, 11 per cent had moved to be near existing jobs, 8 per cent had moved to a new job, and 7 per cent were unemployed and had moved to take up a new job. Moreover, it appears that those nominees wishing to move for 'employment' reasons stand a slightly better chance of being rehoused than those moving for social reasons. In 1987/88 people moving for employment reasons comprised 22 per cent of all nominations considered and 26 per cent of all those rehoused.

Although the NMS includes a number of larger housing associations, a majority of moves under the scheme occur within the local authority sector (table 3.11). In 1987/88 94 per cent of households moving under the scheme moved into council housing, whilst 5 per cent moved into housing association property. Since the criteria for acceptance and allocation under the scheme are dependent upon the allocation procedure of the local authorities concerned, it is generally those households already within the system, or with high positions on the waiting list, who benefit from assistance under the scheme. As nominations currently exceed rehousing by about 300 per cent, there are few opportunities for people who do not have a high housing priority according to local authority criteria. Although it is of limited help to young single job-seekers, it is reasonable to assume that the scheme does target help at those groups who would be least able to move in its absence.

Although no information exists on the characteristics of households moving under the scheme, the National Mobility Office does collect data which outline the geographical patterns of movement and demand. Approximately eighty per cent of moves under the scheme in each year are at national (ie: inter-county) level (National Mobility Office, 1986, page 7). At regional level the greatest demand is for moves to Greater London, the South East, the South West, and East Anglia, although the actual pattern of movement is more even, due to the relative parity of allocations between regions. When social moves and employment moves are disaggregated by region the relative importance of the southern regions for job moves becomes more evident (figures 3.7 and 3.8). In 1983/4 (the latest year in which these figures were produced) the regions with the highest level of in-migration for employment reasons relative to in-migration for social reasons were Greater London and the South East. By contrast the regions where employment reasons constituted the lowest percentage of all in-movement were Northern Ireland and the Northern region (tables 3.12 and 3.13). When moves out of regions for employment reasons are analysed the regions with the highest levels as a percentage of all moves are Scotland, Wales, the North West and Northern regions. In each of these regions employment moves account for 40 per cent or more of all moves out as opposed to 17 per cent in Greater London and 27 per cent in the South West.

The pattern of employment moves which emerges under the scheme is very similar to that under the Employment Transfer Scheme, although regional inequalities are somewhat masked by the relative net balance

in total moves in each region as a result of the nature of the scheme. Patterns of social moves, by contrast, are generally contrary to this. Interviews with National Mobility Office personnel indicate that this may be more a function of supply, given the nature of the scheme, than an expression of demand, although the data produced do not allow this to be tested. About three moves in four take place across regional boundaries.

The TES could theoretically be of great value to job seekers, but little information is available on the characteristics of the tenants registering under the scheme, or the reasons for wanting to move. The scheme by definition is only available to existing local authority tenants, and is likely to be of most use to those who occupy the higher positions on the local authority housing 'ladder', as it is they who will have most to trade. Potential job-movers are also hampered by the fact that the areas associated with the greatest job opportunities are also associated with the greatest housing shortages.

The operation of the NMS has been reviewed by SHAC (the London housing aid centre) using a sample of participating housing authorities (Conway and Ramsay, 1986). The review found great variability in the acceptance practices of the authorities. Few would accept an applicant looking for work with no firm job offer, and although job movers with firm job offers were likely to be offered accommodation quickest, still only one in four job nominations succeeds, and it is not possible to estimate how many people wanted to move for job reasons but did not know about the scheme or were refused by their local authority. Half

the London boroughs in the survey gave NMS applicants a lower priority for re-housing than other households, such as people on the waiting list, and owner-occupiers were particularly discriminated against. The recommendations made by SHAC include a mandatory system of membership, standardised eligibility criteria, and an increase in the annual quota of lettings to at least two per cent, and preferably higher. Within this, a minimum quota of one per cent of lettings should be imposed for employment related moves.⁽⁴⁾

Green et al (1985) have proposed a policy of positive discrimination to assist job movers. This policy would demand a higher initial quota of dwellings in the South East, and other areas of growing employment opportunities, to be set aside for labour migrants.

Administrative improvements are relatively insignificant, however, when set against the underlying trends in the local authority housing sector. Local authorities already keep a low profile to the scheme, as current demand far outstrips supply. In a climate of rapidly declining investment in local authority housing, and faced with a shrinking stock of lettings with which to meet a statutory requirement to house certain groups, many local authorities are already experiencing difficulties in meeting their present obligations to the scheme. These pressures are likely to intensify due to the policy of selling council houses to tenants. As Green et al (1985) argue, this practice is likely to be particularly detrimental to the weaker sections of society (including many of the low-skilled and unemployed) who are tending to become increasingly residualised in undesirable housing in areas of high

unemployment, while the more desirable properties in the more prosperous areas - often in local authorities where the stock of dwellings is small in relative and absolute terms - are most likely to be sold to sitting tenants.

These competing pressures on a shrinking stock may lie behind the decrease of thirteen per cent in the number of movers under the scheme between 1986/7 and 1987/8, following a general trend of increasing annual moves since 1981/2 (table 3.10).

3.5 Conclusion

The above analysis of transfer schemes indicates a number of conflicts between government assisted labour mobility and policy in other spheres.

First, there is a conflict between taking work to the workers and taking workers to work (Richardson and West, 1964; Salt, 1975; Johnson and Salt, 1980). Whilst regional policy has attempted to take new employment opportunities to declining regions, assisted labour mobility has allowed workers to leave such areas in search of new employment opportunities elsewhere. This conflict is particularly apparent where transfer assistance has been targeted at Assisted Areas. Allied to this conflict is that between assisting regions and assisting individuals and families.

Second, there is a conflict between regional development and development of the national economy. In periods of strong regional policy, transfer assistance has been adapted to the aims of these policies, and has often been targeted at specific geographical areas. In periods of more 'laissez-faire' economic development, such as the 1980s, this geographical specificity has been reduced or removed entirely.

Third, there is a conflict between the 'social' and the 'economic' benefits of assisted labour mobility. Economic arguments for the schemes have tends to be strongest when the economy is experiencing an upturn, as the mismatch between labour supply and demand tend to be greater in a tight market. During periods of recession, social arguments have been dominant, and the scheme has been used to assist declining areas, and to assist unemployed individuals with poor prospects of re-employment in their home area. Allied to this there is a conflict between targeting aid at the unemployed individual or the employer with unfilled vacancies, and between targeting aid at the poor and the unemployed, or targeting aid at those in with skills for which there is the greatest demand.

Finally, there is a conflict between spatial mobility policies which aim to place unemployed workers from depressed areas into unfilled jobs in other areas, and sectoral policies (such as retraining) which aim to fill vacancies with local unemployed labour.

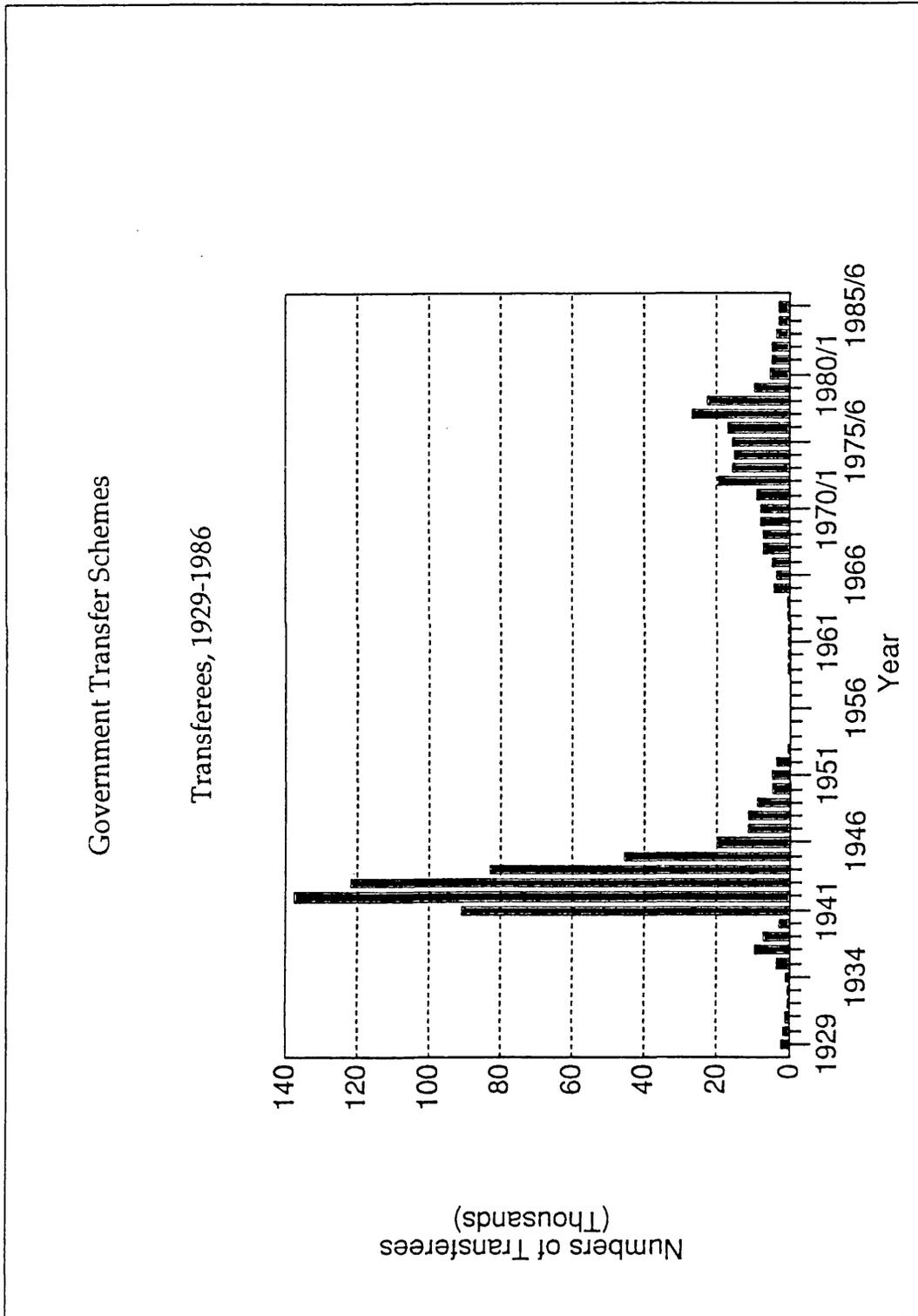
The role of assisted labour mobility has been adjusted many times in accordance with changing political objectives since the inter-war period, and has been balanced in different ways with conflicting policies. Under the present government, however, political philosophy has shifted to such an extent that assisted labour mobility is no longer considered viable in the face of conflicting policy objectives.

Notes

- 1 Among these, the National Economic Development Council's report, 'Conditions Favourable to Faster Growth', 1963, commented that grants and allowances under the scheme were no more than a contribution to the minimum expenses of removal (para. 44).
- 2 Estimate provided by Incomes Data Services Study, 399, December 1987.
- 3 The schemes and benefits which constitute this package are outlined in 'Action for Jobs', a publicity booklet produced by the Department of Employment and the Manpower Services Commission, HMSO, April 1986.
- 4 A House of Commons Environment Committee report for 1984/5 considered the current level of lettings under the NMS to be unduly low, and recommended the basic quota be increased to two per cent per year. (Quoted in Conway and Ramsay, 1986, page 46).

Figure 3.1

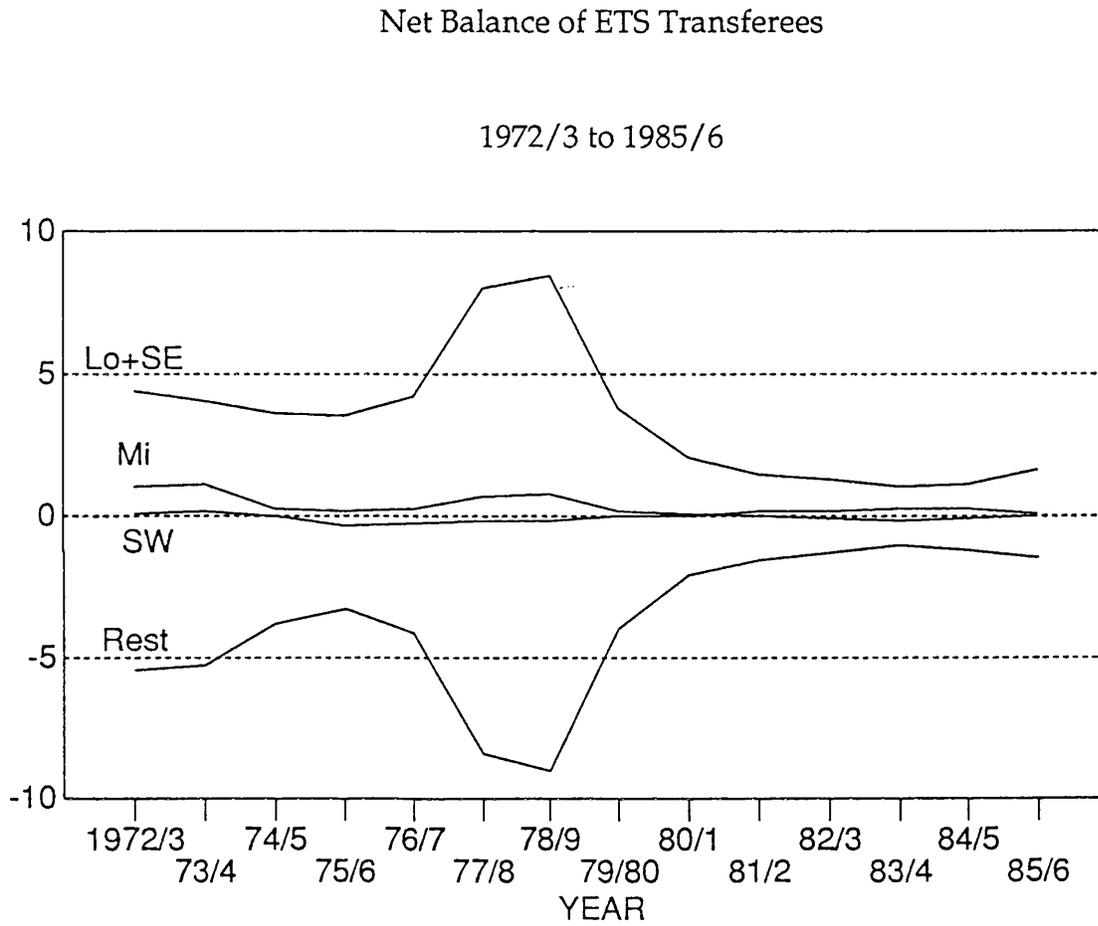
Government transfer scheme transferees, 1929 to 1986



Source: as table 3.3

Figure 3.2

The north-south balance of ETS transferees, 1972/3 to 1985/6



Source: as table 3.3

Figure 3.3

Outward and inward movement of ETS transferees by region, 1985/6

Source: Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield

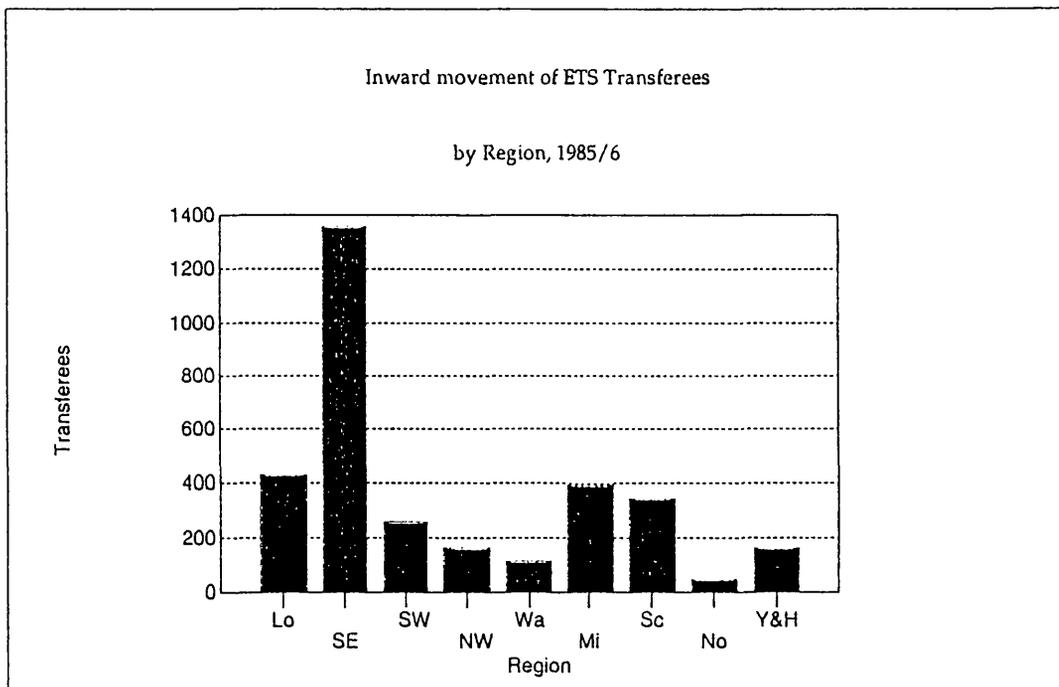
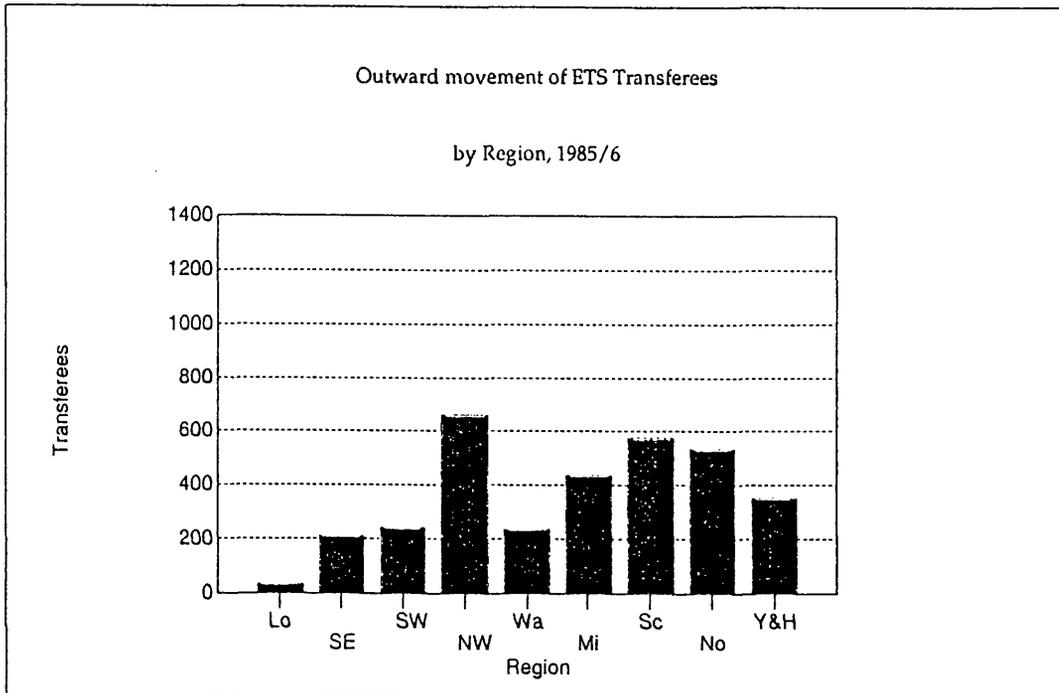
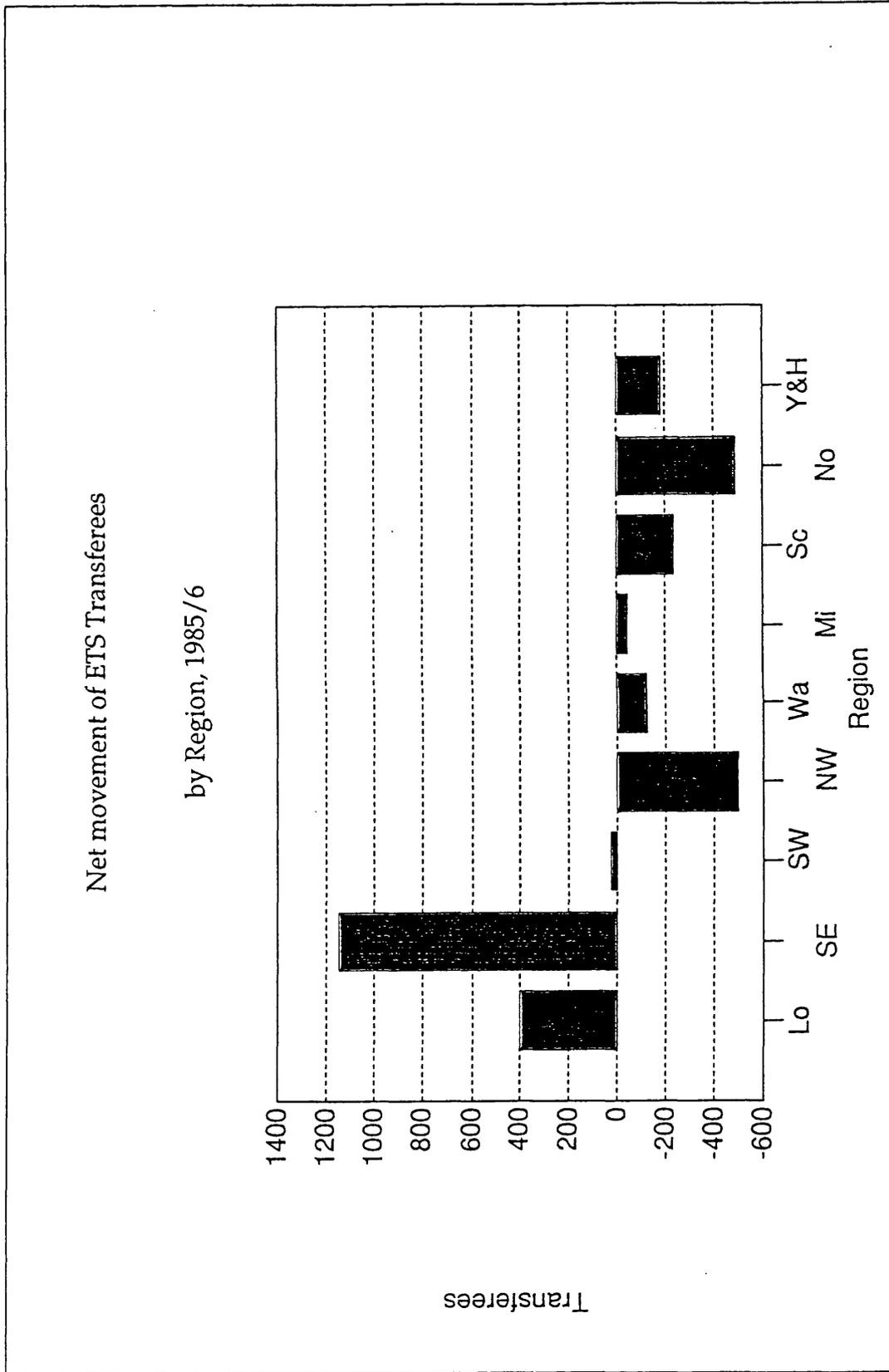


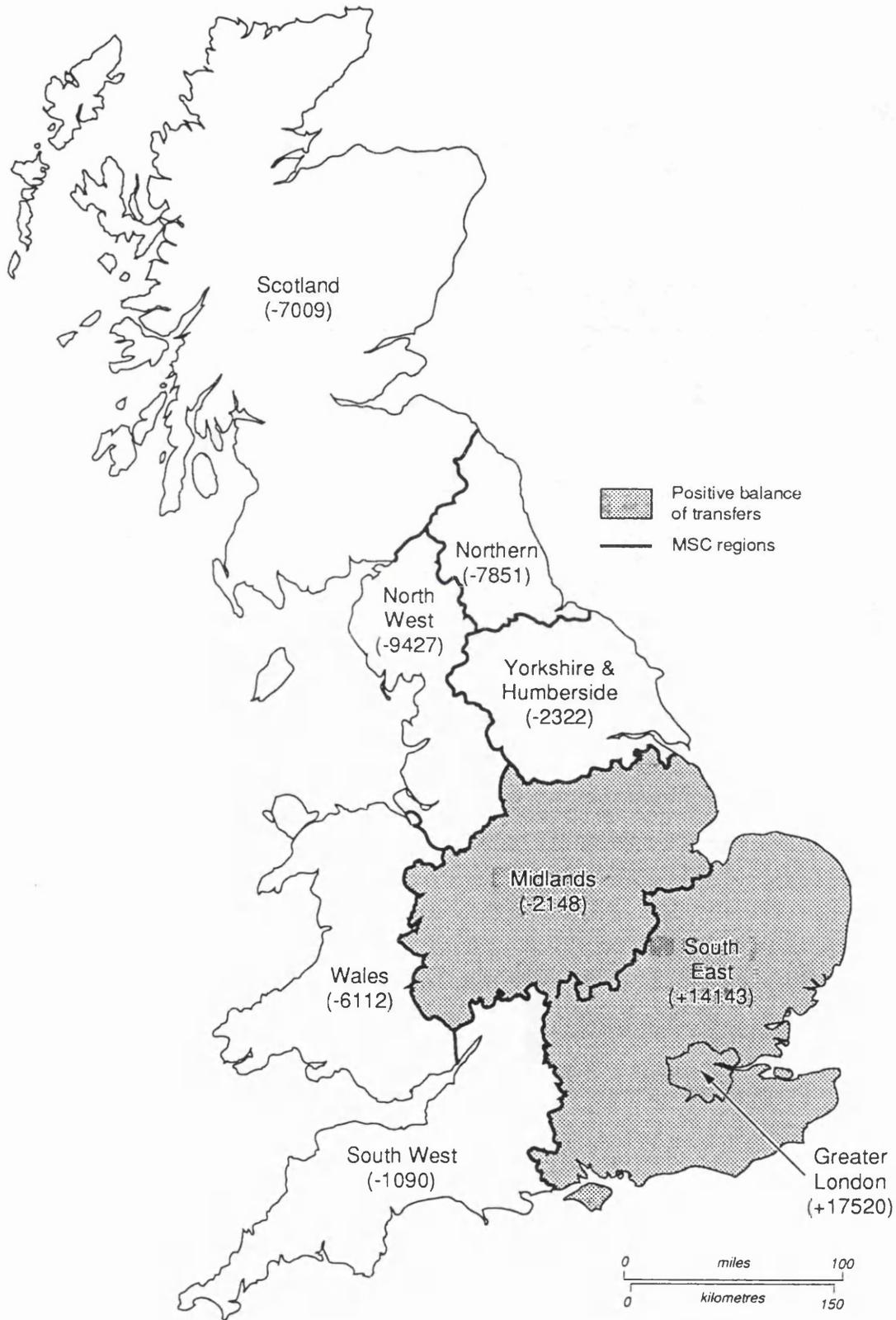
Figure 3.4
Regional balance of ETS transferees, 1985/6



Source: Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield

Figure 3.5

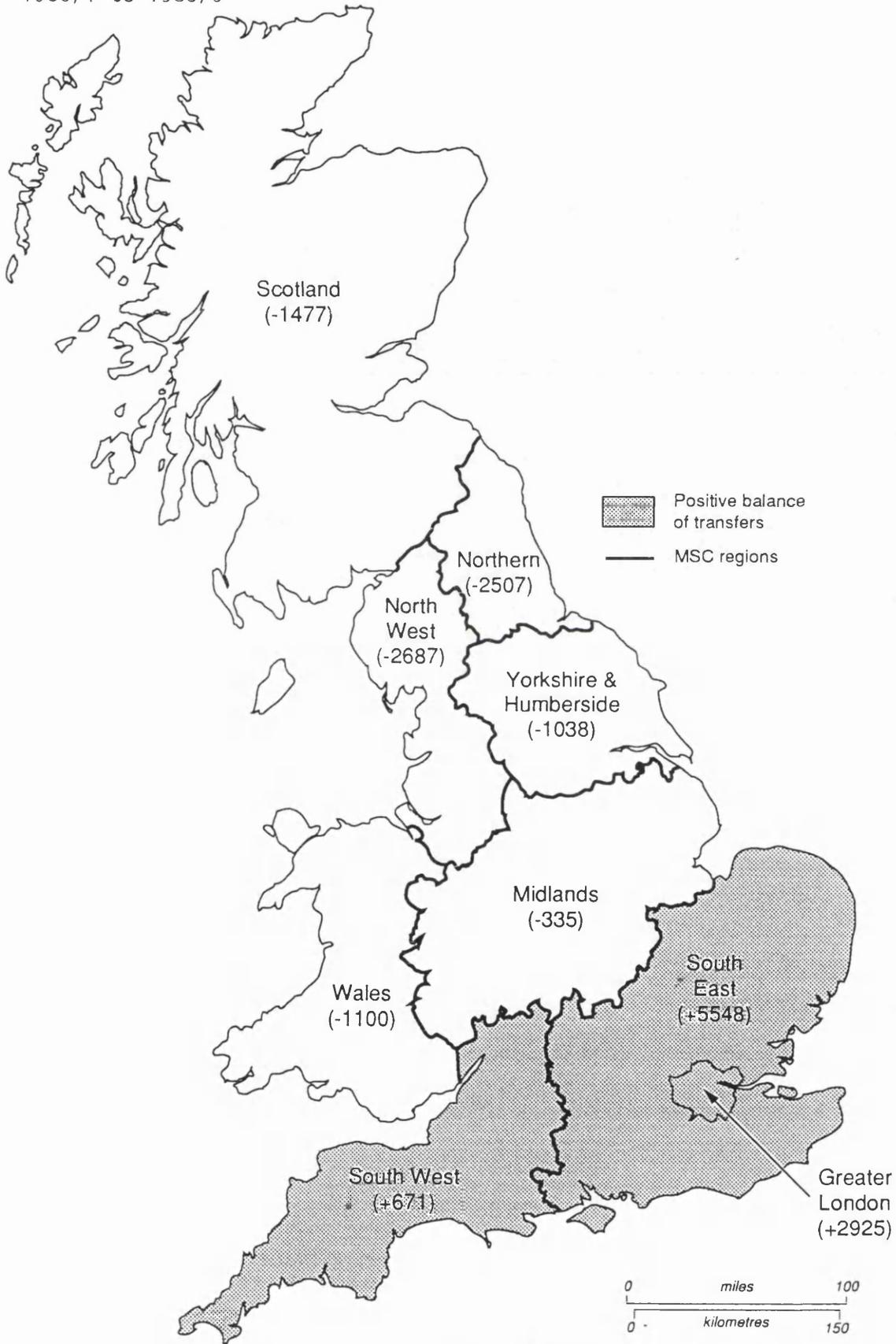
Employment Transfer Scheme: the geographical pattern of net transfers
1974/5 to 1979/80



Source: as table 3.3

Figure 3.6

Employment Transfer Scheme: the geographical pattern of net transfers, 1980/1 to 1985/6



Source: Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield

Figure 3.7

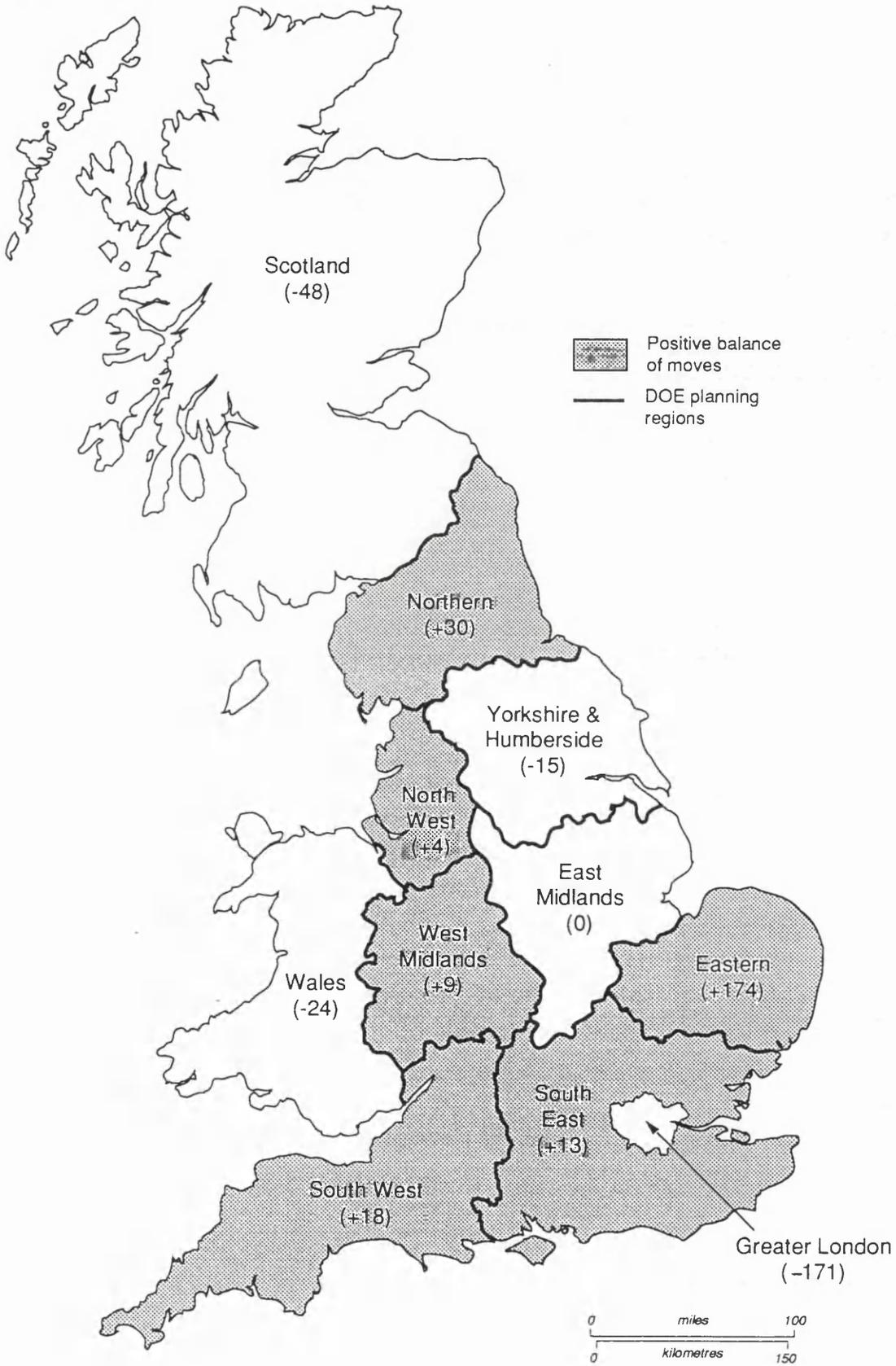
National Mobility Scheme: the geographical pattern of net movement for employment reasons, 1983/4



Source: National Mobility Office, London

Figure 3.8

National Mobility Scheme: the geographical pattern of net movement for social reasons, 1983/4



Source: National Mobility Office, London

Table 3.1

A chronology of government employment transfer schemes.

Scheme	Started	Terminated
INDUSTRIAL TRANSFER SCHEME (ITS)	1928	1939
GENERAL TRANSFER SCHEME (GTS)	1940	1962
RESETTLEMENT SCHEME (RS)	1946	1962
Voluntary Temporary Transfer Scheme	1946	1962
Nucleus Labour Force Scheme	1946	1978
Key Workers Scheme (KWS)	1951	1979
Disabled Resettlement Scheme	1947	1962
Temporary Transfer Scheme (TTS)	1957	1962
RESETTLEMENT TRANSFER SCHEME (RTS)	1962	1972
EMPLOYMENT TRANSFER SCHEME (ETS)	1972	1986
Major Redundancy Scheme	1980	1981
Job Search Scheme (JSS)	1972	1986
Employment Mobility Scheme (EMS) ¹	1985	1986
Travel to Interview Scheme (TIS) ²	1985	*

(Main schemes are listed in capitals, subsidiary schemes in lower-case.)

Source: Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield.

* Scheme still in operation at time of writing.

1 A revised version of the ETS, run as a pilot scheme in the MSC's South West region.

2 A revised version of the JSS, run as a pilot in the MSCs Northern region.

Table 3.2

The seven phases of government employment transfer schemes

Phase	Period	Transferees p.a. (mean)
Phase 1	1926-1939	3,460
Phase 2	1940-1945	95,759
Phase 3	1946-1950	10,661
Phase 4	1951-1961	1,095
Phase 5	1962-1971	5,049
Phase 6	1972-1978	19,099
Phase 7	1979-1986	5,154

Source: Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield

Table 3.3
Transferees under government transfer schemes, 1929-1986¹

YEAR	ITS	GTS	RS ²	NLFS	KWS	TTS	RTS	ETS ³	TOTAL
1929	2850								2850
1930	2100								2100
1931	1680								1680
1932	990								990
1933	605								605
1934	1308								1308
1935	3718								3718
1936	10179								10179
1937	7673								7673
1938	3500								3500
1941		91020							91020
1942		137334							137334
1943		121757							121757
1944		83064							83064
1945		45618							45618
1946		16467	3980						20447
1947		8585	3373						11958
1948		9003	2558						11561
1949		7424	1916						9340
1950		3898	1398						5296
1951		3912	1002		43				4957
1952		3034	570		14				3618
1953		440	102		2				544
1954		31	134		-				165
1955		2	75		-				77
1956			38		-				38
1957			35		-	6			41
1958			206	1	-	75			282
1959			536	-	-	353			889
1960			715	2	1	107			825
1961			511	-	16	87			614
1962				2	5		680		687
1963				9	8		952		969
1964				7	6		755		768
1965				23	47		4229		4285
1966				2	410		3569		3981
1967				6	373		4426		4805
1968				106	378		7004		7488
1969				14	465		6932		7411
1969/70 ⁴				401	512		6318		7845
1970/71				57	793		7200		8050
1971/72				79	734		8437		9250
1972/73				57	792			18557	19406
1973/74				71	687			15237	15995
1974/75				34	753			14333	15120
1975/76				7	435			15701	16143
1976/77				9	386			16859	17254
1977/78				15	325			26539	26879
1978/79								22897	22897
1979/80								9785	9785
1980/81								5668	5668
1981/82								5367	5367
1982/83								4879	4879
1983/84								3780	3780
1984/85								3299	3299
1985/86								3299	3299

Notes to Table 3.3

(ITS, Industrial Transfer Scheme; GTS, General Transfer Scheme; RS, Resettlement Scheme; NLFS, Nucleus Labour Force Scheme; KWS, Key Workers' Scheme; TTS, Temporary Transfer Scheme; RTS, Resettlement Transfer Scheme; ETS, Employment Transfer Scheme)

- 1 Precise figures are difficult to calculate since not all transferees receive all allowances. Figures presented are MSC estimates, generally based on lodging allowances.
- 2 RS figures include any cases
under the Voluntary Transfer Scheme for years 1946-1949
under the Nucleus Labour Force Scheme for years 1946-1957
under the Registered Disabled Persons resettlement Scheme for years 1946-1961.
- 3 Includes transferees under the pilot Employment Mobility Scheme, 1985/86
- 4 From 1969/70 figures refer to financial years. (1st April to 31st March).

Source: Figures for years 1929-1938 after Dennison, 1939, in Johnson and Salt, 1980, p.22.
Figures for years 1941-1986 supplied by the Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield.

Table 3.4
ETS transferees by importing region, 1972-1986

YEAR	REGION ¹									TOTAL
	Lo	SE	SW	NW	Wa	Mi	Sc	No	Y&H	
1971/72 ²	-(2681)-		1016	972	387	1281	1069	452	579	8437
1972/73	-(6152)-		1500	2284	779	2345	3311	1107	1079	18557
1973/74	-(5065)-		952	1617	516	1916	3314	957	900	15237
1974/75	1715	2825	1135	1339	560	1272	3863	574	1050	14333
1975/76	2127	2842	1476	1830	821	1384	3740	670	811	15701
1976/77	2588	3062	1470	1958	759	1570	3673	645	1134	16859
1977/78	4960	5123	2121	2932	1104	2601	5192	862	1644	26539
1978/79	5208	4637	1738	2137	886	2152	3965	615	1559	22897
1979/80	2029	2342	990	868	376	823	1523	210	624	9785
1980/81	774	1758	487	486	189	629	975	76	294	5668
1981/82	758	1509	601	369	242	683	809	112	284	5367
1982/83	630	1478	559	263	238	597	778	95	241	4879
1983/84	421	1120	552	210	183	460	512	107	215	3780
1984/85	403	1063	449	219	100	389	415	55	206	3299
1985/86	432	1358	264	168	115	396	347	52	167	3299

(Lo, London; SE, South East; SW, South West; NW, North West; Wa, Wales; Mi, Midlands; Sc, Scotland; No, Northern; Y&H, Yorkshire and Humberside)

1 MSC Regions, standardised to boundaries as of October 1983.

2 1971/72, transferees under the Resettlement Transfer Scheme.

Source: Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield.

Table 3.5
ETS transferees by importing region (%)

YEAR	REGION ¹									TOTAL
	Lo	SE	SW	NW	Wa	Mi	Sc	No	Y&H	
1971/72 ²	-(31.8)-		12.0	11.5	4.6	15.2	12.7	5.3	6.9	100
1972/73	-(33.2)-		8.1	12.3	4.2	12.6	17.8	6.0	5.8	100
1973/74	-(33.2)-		6.2	10.6	3.5	12.6	21.7	6.3	5.9	100
1974/75	12.0	19.7	7.9	9.3	3.9	8.9	27.0	4.0	7.3	100
1975/76	13.6	18.0	9.3	11.7	5.2	8.8	23.9	4.3	5.2	100
1976/77	15.4	18.2	8.7	11.6	4.5	9.3	21.8	3.8	6.7	100
1977/78	18.7	19.3	8.0	11.0	4.2	9.8	19.5	3.3	6.2	100
1978/79	22.7	20.3	7.6	9.3	3.9	9.4	17.3	2.7	6.8	100
1979/80	20.7	23.9	10.1	8.9	3.8	8.4	15.6	2.2	6.4	100
1980/81	13.7	31.0	8.6	8.6	3.3	11.1	17.2	1.3	5.2	100
1981/82	14.1	28.1	11.2	6.9	4.5	12.7	15.1	2.1	5.3	100
1982/83	12.9	30.3	11.5	5.4	4.9	12.3	15.9	1.9	4.9	100
1983/84	11.2	29.6	14.6	5.6	4.8	12.2	13.5	2.8	5.7	100
1984/85	12.2	32.2	13.6	6.7	3.1	11.8	12.6	1.5	6.3	100
1985/86	13.1	41.2	8.0	5.1	3.5	12.0	10.5	1.6	5.0	100

(Lo, London; SE, South East; SW, South West; NW, North West; Wa, Wales; Mi, Midlands; Sc, Scotland; No, Northern; Y&H, Yorkshire and Humberside)

1 MSC Regions, standardised to boundaries as of October 1983.

2 1971/72, transferees under the Resettlement Transfer Scheme.

Source: Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield.

Table 3.6
ETS transferees by exporting region, 1972-1986

YEAR	REGION ¹									TOTAL
	Lo	SE	SW	NW	Wa	Mi	Sc	No	Y&H	
1971/72 ²	-(1269)-		976	850	497	984	2182	1002	677	8437
1972/73	-(1760)-		1401	2706	1365	1323	5511	3001	1490	18557
1973/74	-(1010)-		801	2312	1155	802	5030	2680	1447	15237
1974/75	121	777	1154	2135	1275	1025	4766	1786	1294	14333
1975/76	195	1270	1823	2885	1611	1264	4069	1442	1142	15701
1976/77	220	1204	1776	3300	1634	1300	4470	1523	1432	16859
1977/78	294	1740	2362	5390	2608	1968	7240	2614	2323	26539
1978/79	228	1173	1921	4774	2513	1432	5876	2774	2206	22897
1979/80	49	524	984	2007	977	665	2544	1288	747	9785
1980/81	29	471	517	916	612	535	1458	693	437	5668
1981/82	195	651	444	851	499	718	1024	486	499	5367
1982/83	138	659	447	741	317	709	983	434	451	4879
1983/84	62	440	337	633	248	620	681	414	345	3780
1984/85	33	305	254	599	251	467	589	440	361	3299
1985/86	36	212	242	662	240	440	578	537	352	3299

(Lo, London; SE, South East; SW, South West; NW, North West; Wa, Wales; Mi, Midlands; Sc, Scotland; No, Northern; Y&H, Yorkshire and Humberside)

1 MSC Regions, standardised to boundaries as of October 1983.

2 1971/72, transferees under the Resettlement Transfer Scheme.

Source: Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield.

Table 3.7
ETS transferees by exporting region (%), 1972-1986

YEAR	REGION ¹									TOTAL
	Lo	SE	SW	NW	Wa	Mi	Sc	No	Y&H	
1971/72 ²	-(15.1)-		11.6	10.1	5.9	11.7	25.8	11.8	8.0	100
1972/73	-(9.7)-		7.5	14.6	7.4	7.1	29.5	16.2	8.0	100
1973/74	-(6.6)-		5.3	15.2	7.6	5.3	33.0	17.5	9.5	100
1974/75	0.8	5.4	8.0	14.9	8.9	7.2	33.2	12.5	9.1	100
1975/76	1.2	8.0	11.6	18.4	10.3	8.1	25.9	9.2	7.3	100
1976/77	1.3	7.2	10.5	19.6	9.7	7.7	26.5	9.0	8.5	100
1977/78	1.1	6.6	9.0	20.4	9.8	7.1	27.4	9.8	8.8	100
1978/79	1.0	5.1	8.5	20.7	11.0	6.3	25.7	12.1	9.6	100
1979/80	0.5	5.4	10.1	20.5	10.0	6.8	26.0	13.1	7.6	100
1980/81	0.5	8.3	9.1	16.2	10.8	9.5	25.7	12.2	7.7	100
1981/82	3.6	12.1	8.3	15.9	9.3	13.4	19.1	9.0	9.3	100
1982/83	2.8	13.5	9.2	15.2	6.5	14.5	20.2	8.9	9.2	100
1983/84	1.6	11.6	8.9	16.8	6.6	16.4	18.0	11.0	9.1	100
1984/85	1.0	9.3	7.7	18.2	7.6	14.2	17.8	13.3	10.9	100
1985/86	1.1	6.4	7.3	20.1	7.3	13.3	17.5	16.3	10.7	100

(Lo, London; SE, South East; SW, South West; NW, North West; Wa, Wales; Mi, Midlands; Sc, Scotland; No, Northern; Y&H, Yorkshire and Humberside)

1 MSC Regions, standardised to boundaries as of October 1983.

2 1971/72, transferees under the Resettlement Transfer Scheme.

Source: Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield.

Table 3.8
ETS regional balance of transferees, 1972-1986

YEAR	REGION ¹								
	Lo	SE	SW	NW	Wa	Mi	Sc	No	Y&H
1971/72 ²	-(+1412)-		+40	+122	-110	+297	-1113	-550	-98
1972/73	-(+4392)-		+99	-422	-586	+1022	-2200	-1894	-411
1973/74	-(+4055)-		+151	-695	-639	+1114	-1716	-1723	-547
1974/75	+1594	+2048	-19	-796	-715	+247	-903	-1212	-244
1975/76	+1932	+1572	-347	-1055	-790	+120	-329	-772	-331
1976/77	+2368	+1858	-306	-1342	-875	+270	-797	-878	-298
1977/78	+4666	+3383	-241	-2458	-1504	+633	-2048	-1752	-679
1978/79	+4980	+3464	-183	-2637	-1627	+720	-1911	-2159	-647
1979/80	+1980	+1818	+6	-1139	-601	+158	-1021	-1078	-123
1980/81	+745	+1287	-30	-430	-423	+94	-483	-617	-143
1981/82	+563	+858	+157	-482	-257	-35	-215	-374	-215
1982/83	+492	+819	+112	-478	-79	-112	-205	-339	-210
1983/84	+359	+680	+215	-423	-65	-160	-169	-307	-130
1984/85	+370	+758	+195	-380	-151	-78	-174	-385	-155
1985/86	+396	+1146	+22	-494	-125	-44	-231	-485	-185

(Lo, London; SE, South East; SW, South West; NW, North West; Wa, Wales; Mi, Midlands; Sc, Scotland; No, Northern; Y&H, Yorkshire and Humberside)

1 MSC Regions, standardised to boundaries as of October 1983.

2 1971/72, transferees under the Resettlement Transfer Scheme.

Source: Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield.

Table 3.9
ETS index of regional balance³, 1972-1986

YEAR	REGION ¹								
	Lo	SE	SW	NW	Wa	Mi	Sc	No	Y&H
1971/72 ²	-(211)-		104	114	78	130	49	45	86
1972/73	-(350)-		107	84	57	177	60	37	72
1973/74	-(501)-		119	70	45	239	66	36	62
1974/75	1417	364	98	63	44	124	81	32	81
1975/76	1090	224	81	63	51	109	92	46	71
1976/77	1176	254	83	59	46	121	82	42	79
1977/78	1687	294	90	54	42	132	72	33	71
1978/79	2284	395	90	45	35	150	67	22	71
1979/80	4141	447	101	43	38	124	60	16	84
1980/81	2669	373	94	53	31	118	67	11	67
1981/82	389	232	135	43	48	95	79	23	57
1982/83	457	224	125	35	75	84	79	22	53
1983/84	679	255	164	33	74	74	75	26	62
1984/85	1221	348	177	37	40	83	70	12	57
1985/86	1200	641	109	25	48	90	60	10	47

(Lo, London; SE, South East; SW, South West; NW, North West; Wa, Wales; Mi, Midlands; Sc, Scotland; No, Northern; Y&H, Yorkshire and Humberside)

- 1 MSC Regions, standardised to boundaries as of October 1983.
- 2 1971/72, transferees under the Resettlement Transfer Scheme.
- 3 Destination as a percentage of origins.
(100 = number of exports = number of imports)

Source: Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield.

Table 3.10
NMS rehousing, 1981-1988

1981/2	1982/3	1983/4	1984/5	1985/6	1986/7	1987/8	Total
3,384	6,235	6,820	7,593	6,841	9,050	7,862	47,793

Source: National Mobility Office, London.

Table 3.11
The original housing status of people who move through the NMS, 1987-88.

Council tenants	58.9%
Waiting list applicant	8.7%
Others in pressing need	15.6%
Housing association tenant	5.3%
New Town tenant	3.0%
Not known	8.5%
TOTAL	100.00%

Source: National Mobility Office, London.

Table 3.12

NMS moves out of regions by reason for move, 1983/4

Region ¹	Employment moves		Social moves		Total
	No	%	No	%	
Eastern	166	(37)	288	(63)	454
South Eastern	118	(30)	278	(70)	396
South West	62	(27)	164	(73)	226
Greater London	123	(17)	589	(83)	712
East Midlands	152	(37)	263	(63)	415
West Midlands	140	(39)	216	(61)	356
Northern	115	(40)	175	(60)	290
North West	173	(43)	234	(57)	407
Yorks & Humberside	119	(32)	250	(68)	369
Wales	88	(44)	113	(56)	201
Northern Ireland	4	(17)	9	(83)	23
Scotland	60	(48)	66	(52)	126
Total all regions	1320	(33)	2655	(67)	3975

1 DoE Housing and Planning Regions for England and Wales.

Source: National Mobility Office, London.

Table 3.13
NMS moves into regions by reason for move, 1983/4

Region ¹	Employment moves		Social moves		Total
	No	%	No	%	
Eastern	194	(30)	462	(70)	656
South Eastern	131	(31)	291	(69)	422
South West	140	(43)	182	(57)	322
Greater London	359	(46)	418	(54)	777
East Midlands	138	(34)	263	(66)	401
West Midlands	93	(29)	225	(71)	318
Northern	42	(17)	205	(83)	247
North West	91	(28)	238	(72)	329
Yorks & Humberside	92	(28)	235	(72)	327
Wales	28	(24)	89	(76)	117
Northern Ireland	4	(12)	29	(88)	33
Scotland	8	(31)	18	(69)	26
Total all regions	1320	(33)	2655	(67)	3975

1 DoE Housing and Planning Regions for England and Wales.

Source: National Mobility Office, London.

Chapter Four

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE IMMOBILITY OF THE LOW-SKILLED AND UNEMPLOYED

4.1 Introduction

Thus far the approach adopted has been essentially empirical, focussing on patterns of inter-regional migration and the characteristics of those who move. To some extent causal factors can be identified from analysis of pattern, but real explanation demands a more rigorous theoretical approach.

Despite clear evidence of spatial and social disparities in migration, theories seeking to explain migration have many inherent weaknesses. These hinder the incorporation of notions of the reasons for immobility, and present contradictory explanations for the relative mobility of different socio-economic groups. Migration theories also remain strongly identified with particular disciplines (Flowerdew, 1982).

This chapter reviews the main bodies of theory which relate to the differential mobility of socio-economic groups. Some weaknesses of existing theories are identified, including the static framework they adopt, the dichotomy between movers and stayers, and the failure to conceptualise migrants as members of households rather than as

individuals. It is argued here that in order to understand better the reasons for individual migrations, and hence the reasons for immobility, it is necessary to study migration within the context of the developing family or household life-cycle, linked to changing residences, changing jobs, and changing household priorities. Further, the migration decision is placed within the interacting spheres of opportunity, aspiration and constraint, as individual decisions are examined with reference to the contexts in which they occur. In this way it should be possible to comprehend more clearly the complex combination of forces which leads a household to consider migration, the way in which this combination is balanced against competing considerations, and the manner in which the translation of migration aspiration into migration action is facilitated and inhibited by a web of institutional guidance.

4.2 Economic theory

Some of the earliest theories of migration are found in Ravenstein's Laws of Migration (1885; 1889). These laws stated that most migration occurred across short distances, the volume decreasing with increasing distance. Also implicit in the laws were the concepts of Newtonian physics: most migration tended to be towards larger places. Ravenstein's laws may have been appropriate for migration to the cities during the period of rapid industrialisation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but they have been thrown into question by the predominant patterns of urban decentralisation and

suburbanisation during the post-war period. However, Ravenstein also stated that migrants react to economic opportunities, primarily spatial differences in wages. Hence the notion that migration can act as an equilibrating mechanism has a long pedigree in neo-classical economics (Owen and Green, 1989). Simply, economic theory suggests that the main factors of production (labour and capital) are mobile in response to spatial differences in wages and rates of return on capital, such that these will be equalised across space by the operation of economic forces (Brown, 1972; Armstrong and Taylor, 1985, 1987).

This theoretical perspective has special importance with regard to the unemployed, since it suggests that an unemployed worker will be particularly sensitive to employment differentials, and will migrate if unable to find work of a suitable type, or with an adequate wage locally. The approach is particularly pertinent to the study of migration in the UK labour market today, since it underpins much of the present government's philosophy (Green et al, 1985) (chapter one). This philosophy has been expressed through several policy initiatives aimed at freeing the equilibrating mechanisms of the market, like reducing national wage bargaining, and deregulating housing to make rents more responsive to the local economy. Some writers (most notably Minford, Peel and Ashton, 1987) have argued that this process needs to be taken much further.

Attempts to relate inter- and intra-regional migration patterns to economic differences between origin and destination have met with varying degrees of success (Owen and Green, 1989). Jack (1970) argued

that migration between areas would respond to wage rate differentials in the long run and unemployment rate differentials over shorter periods. Likewise, Pissadares and McMaster (1984) found that net inter-regional migration displayed a positive relationship with the change in the regional wage differential, and a negative relationship with the change in the regional unemployment differential. They argued that the time scale within which migration would even out inequalities in the market was very long. Burridge and Gordon (1981) concluded that migrants respond more strongly to unemployment differentials and employment opportunities than to earnings differentials.

The assumption that unemployed workers should be particularly sensitive to spatial variations in wages and rates of unemployment carries with it the implication that those who do not move are prevented from doing so by the existence of barriers or constraints. Even those analyses which seek to highlight the personal difficulties of migrating conceptualise these as 'constraints', 'barriers' or 'sequential hurdles' (Green et al, 1985). Implicit in such terminology is the notion that the unemployed job-seeker is being stopped from behaving as economic theory would suggest. It is assumed that the unemployed and low-skilled will find barriers more difficult to overcome than those of higher socio-economic status, since they are less able to shoulder the financial costs involved.

Yet Schultz (1980) argued that poor people are as competent as rich people in adjusting their preferences or choices to match their (meagre) resources and particular scarcity constraints. In a similar

vein, Clark and Whiteman (1983) pointed out that the parameters defining the economic environment within which individual decisions are made differ. Where uniqueness of skill and wide-ranging information networks are lacking, the labour market process is likely to be more localised, perhaps limited to a few towns or a single metropolitan area. Such localisation is especially typical of low-wage jobs, and of workers who are defined as lacking skills and can be characterised as being in the 'secondary' labour market (Piore, 1979). Rather than placing responsibility for labour market disequilibrium on supposed irrational individual behaviour, they suggest that it is precisely those individual rational decisions in the face of varying spatial labour market conditions that preserve inequalities in employment opportunities and local labour market disequilibrium.

Theories of labour market segmentation suggest that the low-skilled should be less mobile than skilled workers, since they are more likely to find suitable work within a smaller labour market. Likewise, the employer attempting to recruit unskilled workers will not have to look so far afield as when recruiting those with unusual skills. Theories of segmentation, especially duality in labour markets, have been applied especially to explanations of international migration in Europe, as Piore's Birds of Passage (1979) testifies. Within the United States Roseman (1982), among others, has used the duality concept to explain the net migration northwards of the black population from the south. Related to the concept of segmentation is that of occupational structure, and the idea that migration rates may be related to occupational change. It has been argued that occupational groups with

high elasticities of supply are less likely to move geographically since they are able to find different jobs locally, at approximately the same skill level (Johnson, Salt and Wood, 1975; Jayet, 1988). Unfortunately, data to allow this association to be tested are limited. In one of the few studies, based on the 1971 UK census results (the only UK census to include data on occupational change over the previous year as well as change of residence) Gleave and Palmer (1980) found the link inconclusive. At the extremes of highest and lowest skill levels there did seem to be the expected relationship which did not hold for the mass of occupations between.

In addition to the concept of segmentation, some writers have suggested that the unique historical role and character of a local labour market can have an influence on the workers within it, and by implication, upon their attitudes to looking for work locally and in other areas (Gordon, 1988; Lane, 1986; Massey, 1984).

Economic theory has influenced the study of migration far beyond the boundaries of that discipline. In most migration literature, economic forces are placed at the centre of the decision-making process, either explicitly or implicitly. Differences in employment opportunities between areas are seen as paramount, with a potential migrant's assessment of, and response to these differences being the fundamental process which generates migration. Housing is often used as a factor which distorts the picture, differentially affecting a household's ability to respond to economic differences, be they real or perceived, and is one of the sequential hurdles to be overcome by

aspirant migrants (Green et al (1985)). The results of this thesis suggest that in many cases it is housing processes which are central to migration decisions, with employment acting as a secondary consideration, or 'barrier'.

4.3 Sociological theory

Sociological approaches to the study of migration have focussed upon social relations, emphasising the importance of social networks and kinship and community ties as determinants of mobility (Taylor, 1969; Jansen, 1969; Pahl, 1980). The argument runs that low-skilled or working class households will be least mobile, since their kinship and community ties are likely to be stronger, and more spatially constrained.

Much of this theory was developed in the 1950s and 1960s, and it is unclear whether such ties remain as significant a factor in the explanation of working class immobility today, given the extent of population dispersal in such communities over the past few decades. Yet Pahl (1980) and Meegan (1988) have shown that such social networks remain important in the operation of informal local economies, and as local support mechanisms, which become especially significant to the low-skilled during periods of unemployment. The spatially constrained networks inhabited by working class communities may also be related to the limited range and sources of information available to them on

opportunities elsewhere, reliant as many are on contacts with friends and relatives.

Allied to such ideas are the dual concepts of cumulative mobility and cumulative inertia. Migrants are less indigenous than non-migrants, and those who have moved once are more likely to do so again. Conversely, the more deeply rooted in a community a household becomes, the more it has to lose in terms of family and friends, and the more unlikely a geographical move becomes. These points are well illustrated by Taylor's (1969) study of a Durham mining community, where he found a different attitude towards the likelihood of future movement among those who had already moved between coalfields than those who had never moved.

The link between geographical mobility and social mobility has also received attention. Friedlander and Roshier (1966) found evidence that the process of upward social mobility, from one generation to the next, involved more movement than might have been expected from occupational status alone. For higher socio-economic groups Watson (1964) argued that 'middle class spiralism' was intimately linked with spatial mobility. Little in the literature, however, suggests that a similar relationship exists for the working class. Indeed, the links between social mobility and geographical mobility are barely discussed, largely owing to the inadequacy of data sources. However, some headway is being made in this direction now, with the use of the longitudinal study to link social and spatial change for the individual between censuses (Fielding, 1988).

The problem of attempts to link social and spatial mobility is the difficulty of looking beyond simple social class and occupational type for the individual, and to include the way in which social networks and community ties are balanced against other factors, and how this balance changes over time within the life-cycle of individual households. What is important to grasp is the particular combination of factors which converts a stayer into a mover or vice versa.

4.4 Geographical theories

Geographical approaches to the study of migration have focussed on environmental preference, distance decay models, issues of population concentration and dispersal, and on the behaviour of migrants and non-migrants (Flowerdew, 1982). Broadly speaking geographical migration theories may be divided between those which deal with groups, and those which deal with individuals (Woods, 1982).

Much geographical migration research has been concerned with aggregate observable patterns (Ogilvy, 1980a, 1980b, 1982; Randolph and Robert, 1981; Fielding, 1982; Kennett, 1984; Devis 1984; Brant, 1985; Devis and Mills, 1986; Boden, Stillwell and Rees, 1988; Stillwell, Boden and Rees, 1988). The general perspective is generally that based on gravity and regression models, usually incorporating economic and other variables, and often sidesteps the issue of causal theory. It has been concerned with the pattern of migration, assessing its effects on origins and destinations, and explaining the selectivity of migration

streams. In general aggregate patterns are used to construct regression and spatial interaction models which serve as accurate predictors of population movements (Fotheringham, 1983; Frey, 1983; Rees and Stillwell, 1984, 1986; Willekens and Baydar, 1986; Rees 1986, 1989). In these models, the reasons for individual migration decisions are inferred from aggregate patterns. The models build in macro-scale factors to explain micro-scale decisions and actions. It is observed behaviour of individuals that is examined, not the way in which those individuals form attitudes and then the way in which those attitudes inform behaviour.

The weaknesses inherent in this approach are in part a reflection of the data sources available to the study of migration, where migration itself is not the prime concern. First, studies of pattern, by definition, are based only on those who have moved successfully. Models based on such data cannot incorporate the notion of frustrated potential movers. Second, migrants are usually conceptualised as individuals rather than as members of migrating households, with the result that the reasons for the movement of individual members cannot be related to one another. Although information on household size and type is sometimes incorporated into analyses of reasons for movement, there have been few attempts to study the way in which a collection of household members contribute to migration decisions which involve them all.

Third, such studies are usually based on cross-sectional data which provide a snapshot only on the point of movement. Information on

the circumstances preceding and following a move is usually very limited. Whilst the models derived from such analysis can provide reasonable predictions of future movements between particular places, their ability to make causal links is minimal. The motivation for migration must be inferred from actions, and the move is not set within the longitudinal context. Since differences between households at one point in time are sometimes less important than differences within one household at different points in time, this is a particularly important problem. Some attempts have been made to link individuals in such large data sets at different points in time, which give valuable insights into the ways in which migration can bring change for the individual (notably Fielding, 1988), yet again, this remains a linking of two cross-sections rather than a true longitudinal analysis.

Finally, examination of migration motivation is often based on single factor analysis, whereby the most important reason behind a particular move is identified in order to classify that action. Details on secondary reasons, in the absence of which the major reason may not be sufficient to result in a migration, are often overshadowed in attempts to categorise individual migrations by broad types.

The aggregative approach fails sufficiently to take account of the attitudes of movers, stayers or potential movers. Attitudes lead to behaviour which in turn gives rise to observable patterns that may have spatial as well as social, economic and political manifestations. Woods's (1982) model illustrates these points, and also emphasises the interaction between groups and individuals (figure 4.1). In this model,

the attitudes of individuals are affected by group norms which are some function of the combination of like-minded individuals or the dominance of a single person (eg. in a household). Woods argues that although it is reasonable to suppose that attitudes condition behaviour, and that certain modes of behaviour create observable patterns, the construction of theories on the inter-linkage between these three boxes has tended to work against the direction of flow. That is to say that geographers have generally reversed the chain of argument, analysing form in the guise of spatial patterns, and have then proceeded to infer the nature of causal processes responsible for its creation.

4.5 Behavioural approaches and decision-making

Studies of individuals who migrate have their origins in psychological theories of motivation in the decision making process, focussing on how migrants decide to move, and the costs and benefits of doing so (see, for example, Mangalam and Schwartzweller, 1968).

Wolpert's (1965) 'place utility matrix' suggests that individuals have a list of variables which are used to assess the utility of places, although the list and the weighting given to each variable will differ from person to person. His theory suggests that individuals will rationally assess their life-chances in their current location against those offered by other locations, and will migrate once the chances offered by an alternative location exceed those of the present one. The theory only becomes useful however, once the notion of bounded or

selective rationality is substituted for that of economic rationality, and once non-economic factors are brought into play. It provides a useful way of conceptualising the migration decision, since it may be applied to the individual or to a household, and it incorporates temporal forces. It appears that the life-cycle tends to lead to the use of common sets of variables and similar weights by those at the same stage of family building or career (Speare, 1970). However, it contains a number of important defects.

First, the theory assumes that migrants have unlimited knowledge of other places, and that they are able to weigh up this objectively against knowledge of their own location. In reality, individuals will receive information in a far more haphazard manner through personal channels of information or contact (Hagerstrand, 1967), and may interpret this very subjectively. Moreover, the role of information is mediated by the distribution of relatives and friends which is itself a product of past migration (Nelson, 1959). Second, the theory assumes that individuals or households are constantly weighing up the relative merits of their own and alternative locations. Yet Speare (1971) found that a great many non-migrants interviewed appeared never to have given serious consideration to the thought of moving anywhere. It also fails to acknowledge that the potential migrant's perception or expectations of opportunities in other areas are more important than reality (Todaro, 1980), and that the time span of the theoretical benefits which the individual is weighing up will have an important effect.

Those studies which have explored individual migration decisions in depth, examining the process of decision-making as well as the results, have helped to fill some of the gaps in existing theory. Particularly important is the distinction between attitude and behaviour, or between willingness and ability to migrate. A survey of attitudes to moving in slum clearance areas of Leeds concluded that the majority of those interviewed showed a strong desire to go (Wilkinson and Merry, 1965). Richardson and West (1964) surveyed attitudes to employment migration amongst unemployed men on Tyneside, and concluded that inability to move was of greater significance than unwillingness. Moreover, willingness to move was unaffected by the degree of occupational skill of the interviewee. They concluded that the clearest possible distinction had to be made between psychological unwillingness to move, and physical obstacles to mobility. In general, this hypothesis tends to over-emphasise the role of free choice and underplay that of constraints, since the individual's perceptions of constraint will also feed back and influence attitude. Furthermore, it assumes that individuals will maximise their life chances, and will move whenever opportunities elsewhere exceed those in the local area. In reality, however, migration as an option is only likely to be considered when aspirations cannot be satisfied locally.

More recent surveys of migration attitudes have also yielded some estimates of potential migrants. In the Northern Ireland Mobility Study (1980) 17 per cent of all employed respondents would have been prepared to move to a suitable job were they to lose their current one. Among the jobless, 9.7 per cent had seriously considered moving, whilst 14.3

per cent were prepared to move if necessary. In a survey of the long-term unemployed in Skelmersdale, 64.5 per cent of respondents claimed they would be prepared to move to another part of the country to obtain work (Riley, 1986). In the same vein, a MORI survey of young people undertaken for The Times found that 76 per cent would move to another part of the country to get a job if they were unemployed (1 September 1986).

Answers to glib questions on attitudes to migration which present hypothetical situations vary enormously, and must be treated with a great deal of caution. In this context, it is worthy of note that in a study of the long-term unemployed by the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham (1985), of those who claimed they had considered starting their own business, only two per cent had consulted a bank, and only three per cent had approached the Manpower Service Commission regarding the Enterprise Allowance Scheme. However, there are many other indications of unfulfilled potential for migration, or actions which may be regarded as surrogate migrations. Conway and Ramsay (1986) highlighted the housing problems of people moving to London. Many of them, despite finding suitable work, were eventually forced to return to unemployment in their former home area because of the difficulties of finding suitable and affordable accommodation. Furthermore, the gulf in housing costs between the South East and the North leads many unemployed northerners to resort to long-distance weekly commuting. This may involve living in lodgings during the week, returning to home and family only at weekends. One estimate in 1987 was that about 10,000 people were engaged in long-distance weekly commuting, and that this

represented rates of up to 4.6 per cent of the male economically active population in some major northern cities (Hogarth and Daniel, 1988).

4.6 The role of institutional regulation

Most aggregate and decision-making models tend to give undue emphasis to the role of individual choice, and behaviour as an expression of that choice. Yet as Flowerdew (1982) asserts, "for many people migration is regulated by the institutional structures that affect their lives" (page 209). He argues for the importance of studying the effects of institutions to both illuminate the background to individual migration decisions and improve understanding of aggregate relationships.

4.6.1 Institutions and labour markets

Although migration is theoretically linked to differentials in employment opportunities, it is clear that many migrants respond, not to the opportunities of an area, but to the offer of a specific job in that area. For this reason, some recent research has focussed on the role of job advertising by employers (Saunders, 1985a, 1985b). Furthermore, skilled and professional employees will move with and at the behest of their employer, as part of their career development. In these cases it is the operation of the internal labour market of the organisation which will determine the opportunities available and their geographical distribution (Johnson and Salt, 1980; Salt, 1988). For

manual workers, however, the opportunity to move with an employer is rare, and notification of vacancies by word of mouth is more frequent (Bradshaw, 1973). Although employers' decisions on how to advertise a particular vacancy clearly influence the geographical spread of information, manual workers are far more likely than their non-manual counterparts to move on speculation (Lansing and Muller, 1967), or in response to information supplied by friends and relatives in other areas. For this reason, it is important to look at the individual's process of job-search; to identify the influence of the local labour market on that process, and the way in which the consideration of migration may enter it.

4.6.2 Institutions and housing markets

The influence of housing upon labour mobility has been well documented (Cullingworth, 1969; Johnson, Salt and Wood, 1974; Conway and Ramsay, 1986; Minford, Peel and Ashton, 1987; Roberts, 1987). Housing-based studies of migration have traditionally focussed on tenure-based models of residential mobility, and have attempted to explain working class immobility in relation to the operation of the local authority housing sector in which the low-skilled are disproportionately concentrated. (Hughes and McCormick, 1981, 1985; National Consumer Council, 1984).

One problem with such tenure-based analyses is that it is not possible to disaggregate fully the effects of tenure from those of class or socio-economic position, expressed through relative

geographical mobility (Rex and Moore, 1967). Since local authority housing is allocated on a points system to the most deserving households, the tenure will thereby contain disproportionately high numbers of households who would be least inclined to move anyway. As local authority housing becomes increasingly marginalised, so council tenants are likely to display lower rates of mobility relative to other tenures. This declining mobility may be less an expression of management practice than of a broader process of socio-tenurial polarisation, whereby local authority housing becomes more closely aligned with socially disadvantaged groups (Hamnett, 1984; Bentham, 1986).

Present government policies with regard to local authority rented housing seem likely to exacerbate the current process of socio-tenurial polarisation. As the owner-occupied sector becomes relatively more important within the UK housing market, and as home-ownership is extended to sections of the population who have traditionally been excluded, differences within this sector become more important than differences between it and other tenures (Forrest, 1983; Forrest and Murie, 1986). The implications of this tenurial polarisation, and the political dichotomy which surround the debate over housing are beyond the scope of this section, yet this provides an important element of the context within which particular households shape their decisions.

4.6.3 Behaviour within an institutional framework

Much of the research which has focussed on the institutions which organise housing and employment has focussed on the institution rather than upon the individuals or households whose lives are regulated by it. Thus the conclusions which are drawn tend to emphasise the importance of the institutions at the expense of the individual. Households are often seen as passive agents in this web of institutional control.

However, housing institutions (and employment institutions) exist within a specific national and international politico-economic context. Within this context, they further regulate housing and employment markets at a variety of scales, and thus determine the range of opportunities which are presented at a particular locale. In the owner-occupied sector, for example, building societies can act as 'gatekeepers' through the supply of finance by 'redlining' inner city areas (Williams, 1978), whilst the way in which information on housing for sale is provided can influence the set of potential buyers (Palm, 1976).

Such practices clearly affect housing opportunities in a local area. What is less well understood, however, is the way in which individuals and households respond to their own interpretations of the alternatives which are available to them, and the way in which their behaviour reflects the decisions they reach.

4.7 The migration decision and household strategy

One consequence of a pattern-orientated approach to explanation (discussed in 4.4 above) is that it can easily lead to the study of pattern at the expense of process, failing to locate migration decisions within the context of the evolving household life-cycle. The result is to present a dichotomy of 'movers' and 'stayers' at a given time, where the motivations behind the actions of the former are used to make inferences about the forbearances of the latter. A theoretical framework where non-movers or 'stayers' are regarded as a homogenous group to be contrasted with migrants or 'movers', fails to recognise that many have been migrants in the past, and many may become migrants in the future.

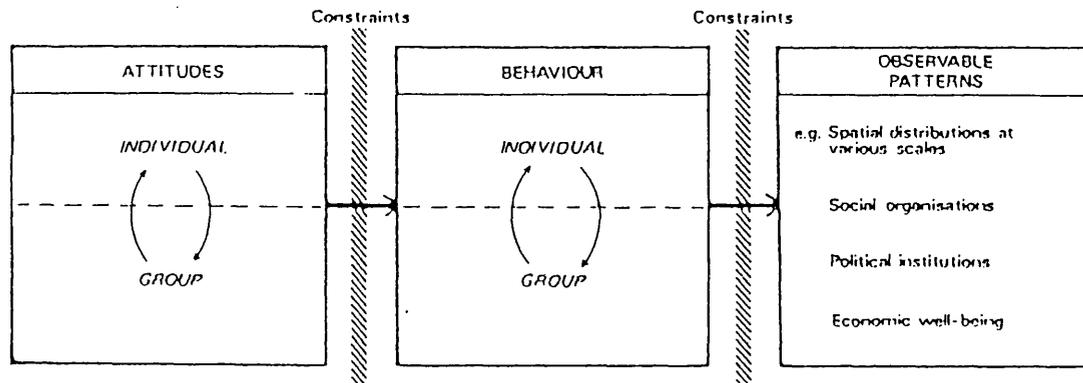
Studies of the decision-making process at the level of the individual household have yielded some important insights into the manner in which combinations of factors determine the likelihood of moving and the destinations chosen. A survey of mobile managerial families, for example, pointed to an increasing reluctance to move due to the trauma of buying and selling houses, the social and psychological costs to other members of the family, the disruption of childrens' schooling and the growing importance of the spouses' jobs and careers (Cooper and Makin, 1985). The increasing phenomenon of dual career households is another development which has made migration decisions even more complex for many of higher socio-economic status (Brzeskwinski, forthcoming). In a study of affluent home owners in Bristol, Forrest and Murie (1985) reconstructed their housing histories

to examine the interaction of the labour and housing market at the level of the household. They illustrated the importance of the whole household in the migration decision. One of the most important influences on the timing of a move for example, (if not the decision to move itself), was the need to minimise the disruption to childrens' schooling. Furthermore, one of the most important influences on residential location at the destination was the operation of local school catchment areas. One of the most striking features of these life histories was the relationship between housing history and job history. This work illustrates the need to look at migration as one aspect of a series of employment and housing changes, within the context of the developing life cycle of particular households.

This brief review of theoretical perspectives suggests that in order to explain levels of geographical mobility and immobility, why some households move and others do not, it is essential to explore the decision-making process at the level of the household, and to examine in particular the ways in which they respond to different sets of opportunities and constraints presented by different geographical locales. A methodology for doing this will now be discussed.

Figure 4.1

The associations between attitudes, behaviour and observable patterns



Source: Woods (1982), figure 4.1.

Chapter Five

METHODOLOGY

5.1 Aims and objectives

The broad aims of the fieldwork were to examine the household and local market contexts in which migration is considered; to investigate the migration decision in depth, at the level of the individual household: to explore attitudes towards migration (both past and present); and to set the migration decision in the context of the interface of the labour and housing markets, linked to the local community. The means of achieving these aims were a household survey and a series of discussion groups.

This chapter outlines the methodology used in the fieldwork surveys in Liverpool and Reading, with reference to the problems inherent in existing data sources and migration surveys, as outlined in previous chapters.

The research methods adopted follow the general approach suggested by Germani (1964) and adopted by Taylor (1969) in his study of migration and motivation in Durham mining communities. This approach is characterised by the use of three levels of analysis: an objective level, a normative level and a psycho-social level. At the objective level the local context was examined, and the different

labour and housing markets compared. At the normative level a semi-structured household interview was employed to investigate the way in which migration was perceived as a household strategy, and the factors which determined the likelihood of adopting this strategy. At the third level of analysis, psycho-social determinants of the propensity to migrate were explored through the medium of small group discussions.

The approach adopted combines quantitative and qualitative techniques in order both to identify the determinants of migration attitudes and behaviour, and to explore the complex interaction of forces which lie behind the consideration of migration.

The chapter begins by outlining the methods used to compare the employment and housing markets of the two locations, and the different behaviour of the unemployed in these locations. It goes on to discuss the conception, design and implementation of the household interview survey. The final section outlines the potential of local Jobclubs as a source of unemployed job-seekers, and describes the adaptation of appropriate group methods developed in other disciplines, and their application to Jobclubs.

The chapter demonstrates that different research methods were appropriate at each of the three levels of analysis, and illustrates the interrelationship between the development of research methods and the context in which these are to be applied.

5.2 Comparing local labour and housing markets

At the objective level of analysis published and unpublished data sources were used to compare local labour and housing markets, and to assess the different opportunities and constraints which these presented for low-skilled households, with particular reference to the option of migration.

The data sources used included employment and housing surveys undertaken by the respective district and county councils, and small area statistics from the 1981 census. These were supplemented by additional information gleaned through local newspapers; interviews with local planners at county and district level, and discussions with officials of the Manpower Services Commission at regional and sub-regional level, and at local Job Centres.

In order to present a more detailed picture of the unemployed at each location, particularly those who may have been considering migration, a number of local data sources were utilized. These included job vacancies advertised in local newspapers, and records kept by local Job Centres. In addition, the opportunity of publicity on a local radio station in Liverpool was used to generate some case studies of unemployed households who had tried to move, or were in the process of doing so, in response to better job opportunities. Further case studies were generated through follow-up discussions at selected households visited in the course of the survey.

5.3 The household survey

The household survey was designed to explore migration actions and forbearances within the family life-cycle, and at the interface of local employment and housing markets. It was an investigative survey which sought to encompass and balance a range of factors which influence migration decisions. It was not an attempt to test the strengths of particular relationships. Its focus was that end of the socio-economic spectrum which is normally to be found at the bottom end of the housing market. Likewise, the survey locations were chosen to be representative of certain labour and housing market characteristics which are towards the extremes on a national continuum; hence differences between two cities are central to the purposes of the fieldwork.

The survey differs from most migration surveys in that it did not focus exclusively on those who have moved. Moreover, although the individual was used as the basic unit of study, it was at the level of the household that decisions have been analysed. That is where decisions are formed, and it is the household which acts upon these decisions, since most migrants move not alone, but as part of a migrating household. The household itself is conceptualised here as a dynamic and inconsistent unit. It can vary in its labour and housing market positions, as it can move up or down in each at the local and national level; it may also vary in its size and structure, as it moves through a cycle which may involve the loss of some members through

death and fission, and the addition of other members, through birth and marriage for example.

5.3.1 The pilot survey

In accordance with the survey objectives outlined above, a pilot interview schedule was designed and tested in Melrose and Speke wards, in Liverpool, in areas as similar as possible to those to be utilized in the full survey (see figure 6.1). Twenty interviews were completed during September 1986. The experience of the pilot survey resulted in a number of changes to the design of the interview schedule, the selection of survey areas, and the general 'doorstep approach', which are important to note. The interviews conducted during the pilot survey were only used to test the methodology to be employed and the information obtained thereby is not included in the final analysis.

The pilot survey yielded a remarkable response rate of 100 per cent, yet three important problems arose which resulted in some changes being implemented before the full survey was started. The first problem to be overcome was the insufficient depth of information which was derived in some cases, as many respondents assumed that they were to answer a few straightforward questions on their doorstep in a simple and superficial manner. Since the objectives of the survey demanded intricate and detailed information, rather than a large number of interviews or a high response rate, the balance between depth of information, time taken per interview and response rate was shifted. In the full survey, the 'doorstep' introduction included more specific

reference to the time commitment required from potential respondents. In this way it was possible to increase the depth of information drawn from each interview, at the expense of the number of interviews which could be conducted in a given period, and the proportion of persons approached who agreed to participate. In short the changes implemented increased the length of the interview, decreased the total number of these, and increased the number of refusals.

The second problem to be overcome was the undesirable over-representation of elderly and retired respondents. This had been anticipated, since the majority of the interviews were conducted during the day. Although the objectives of the survey required that the sample contained a range of household types at various stages in the life-cycle, the numbers of retirees were clearly too high. In order to achieve a better balance of age groups, greater emphasis was placed upon the age structure of census enumeration districts used in the selection of survey areas; particular housing areas (such as sheltered housing units for the elderly) were excluded, and some further doorstep 'vetting' was used in some cases. In addition, a greater proportion of interviews were conducted outside normal working hours.

The third problem to arise was the operational difficulty of using one standard interview schedule to cover respondents in very different circumstances. For this reason, the interview schedule became more detailed, and although the core sections were still addressed to all respondents, those questions relating to employment and unemployment were arranged into three parallel sections (coloured in the interview

schedule), designed to cater for the employed, the unemployed and the retired respectively, whilst maintaining the comparability of answers to particular questions within each of these sections.

5.3.2 The interview schedule: construction and design

The interview schedule (reproduced as appendix one) conforms to the standard structure outlined by Fink (1985): beginning with the most objective questions, and moving on to more sensitive and subjective issues towards the end; moving from present circumstances to past experience and future aspirations; moving from questions directly related to the respondent to those related to other members of the household, family and friends. It was designed to probe thoughts and attitudes, and to explore individual circumstances, in addition to providing a core of comparative data. These objectives, coupled with the diversity and complexity of the information gathered, demanded a flexible format, with many questions open ended in design, allowing respondents to express themselves in their own words wherever possible. As the results in chapter eight will illustrate, people's reactions to and interpretation of particular questions were in some cases more instructive than the answers they provided to these questions.

There is a purposeful transition through the interview schedule, from the fixed response questions of the introductory sections (which lend themselves to quantification), to later ones which trace diverse housing and employment histories in an open-ended manner, allowing the incursion of information relating to various household members (past

and present). In this way, it was possible to generate some basic data of a comparative nature for every interview, and to 'tailor' some sections to the circumstances of the individual household.

In order to maintain fluency, and to retain the respondent's interest, questions were grouped in a logical sequence, with introductions of format and topic providing the transition from one part to another. The following section outlines the sequence of topics within the interview, and describes the basic concerns of each section.

5.3.3 An outline of the interview schedule

The interview schedule was divided into six main sections. Section A gathered basic information on each member of the household. This facilitated the construction of a typology of households, and the position of the respondent within the household to be examined. It recorded many items of information commonly associated with migration propensity, including age, employment situation, birthplace, and level of education. The section also gathered information on the geographical location of the household's family and friends both within the UK and overseas, in order to provide a wider context for the decision-making of an individual household.

In coding, problems were encountered by virtue of the fact that the respondent was not necessarily at the hub of decision making⁽¹⁾. For example, a young adult living with parents was not likely to be the key instigator of migration decisions involving the whole household,

although he or she may well have had a decisive influence upon such decisions. For reasons of standardisation, therefore, the coding frame recorded which member of the household was the respondent, and which member was the 'principal wage earner', as identified by the respondent. The term 'principal wage earner' was not intended to be synonymous with the term 'head of household'. Instead, it was a means of deciding which household member to focus upon when housing market factors and migration attitudes were related to employment factors. Moreover, in many cases the 'principal wage earner' and the respondent were one and the same. In coding, the principal wage earner was recorded as 'person one' and household types are derived from the relationship of subsequent members to this person. (Appendix two outlines the number of responses to each question, the variables derived from these, and the manner in which these were coded.)

Section B contained a number of fixed-response questions, mostly pre-coded, on various aspects of housing. They related to the information networks used in the housing search process, the reasons behind housing choice, and degrees of satisfaction with housing and the immediate location.

Questions on the type of property and its facilities gave an impression of the character of each survey area. They were combined with household details to provide indicators of household stress or overcrowding, which may act as impetus to movement. This information also allowed the 'representativeness' of the sample to be checked against the small area statistics for each of the survey areas, and

those for the district as a whole. This comparison provided a good basis for understanding any significant social differences between the two survey locations, which may have influenced differences in migration rates and attitudes.

The questions relating to housing tenure reflected a belief that many mobility studies over-simplify the influence of tenure through the use of a tripartite classification which fails to acknowledge significant differences within each broad tenure group, and which is becoming increasingly inappropriate in the face of rapidly changing tenure balance, and the emergence of new tenure types.

Section C was sub-divided according to employment position (working, unemployed and retired), although some questions were common to each sub-division. The information generated relates to employment (past, present and prospective), and allows job changes to be related to residential changes and to attitudes to movement for both employment and other reasons. The questions on attitudes to migration are central to this survey. Employed and unemployed respondents were asked whether they would be prepared to move away from Merseyside/Berkshire for employment reasons, and all respondents were asked whether they would be prepared to move for other reasons. In addition, respondents were questioned in a more discursive manner about the specific places they would and would not consider moving to, and the reasons behind their choices. With regard to the unreliable nature of answers to questions which establish hypothetical situations (see chapter four), respondents

were asked if they had considered migration in the past, even if they had not subsequently moved.

The section reflects the view that the employed, the unemployed and the retired should not be regarded as three distinct groups, but rather as representatives of phases in an employment history. Each group was questioned about the previous job, in order that they might be classified by social class and socio-economic group on a comparable basis; the employed were questioned about their current job in addition to its predecessor, and the unemployed about jobs they were seeking. In addition to providing a means of classification by employment, this section also gathered information on attitudes to work, levels of job satisfaction, job-search methods, and duration of employment and unemployment, since each of these factors has been linked to willingness to move for work reasons.

The unemployed were asked a series of detailed questions concerning job-search methods and the geographical pattern of the job-search process. Employed and retired respondents were also questioned about past experiences of unemployment, in order to examine the relationship between being out of work and attitude towards migration, and the role of unemployment in particular career patterns and employment histories.

Section D was designed to investigate migration decisions in the context of the household life-cycle. It focussed on past experiences of living and working in other areas, and on times in the past when

migration may have been a more important issue. It also attempted to explore the 'social orbit' of the household, through questions relating to friends and relatives who have moved to other areas, and the way in which these information networks shape current attitudes.

In Section E past housing changes were used as a framework for recalling the development of the household, particularly its changing housing, employment and composition. This section was an adaptation of the framework used by Murie and Forrest (1985) to trace the housing histories of affluent home-owners. The amount of information generated in this manner varied greatly, depending on the complexity of the history, and on the willingness of the respondent to digress at length. Generally, however, the intention was to trace these details back to the point at which the respondent married, or left the parental home, thereby forming a new and distinct household.

This section was placed towards the end of the interview partly by virtue of its time-consuming nature, and partly because there was a better rapport with the interviewee once some basic details were established. Using this framework to follow up particular members of the household allowed the 'teasing out' of some finer details which are frequently overridden in questionnaire surveys. Much of the information generated in this way was personal and anecdotal: there is often little common ground between two different histories, and the information did not lend itself to statistical analysis.

The concluding Section F sought to 'round off' the interview on a note of comparative optimism. Its open-ended questions provided some indication of the degree of conformity between aspirations and expectations, which was important in the interpretation of much of the information gathered.

5.3.4 Selecting survey areas

The questionnaire survey areas were selected using both published and unpublished sources. The results of social area analyses undertaken by Liverpool City Council and Reading Borough Council, based on the 1971 and 1981 censuses and selected social indicators were used to indicate the broad areas most appropriate for the survey. The areas were further defined using 1981 census Small Area Statistics and additional social indicators collected annually by the respective local planning authorities. Further guidance was obtained from local planners in each survey location, and from other individuals with detailed local knowledge.

The final selection of survey areas presented a number of specific problems. The aim was to target areas of high unemployment, with high levels of unskilled and semi-skilled persons and in a mixture of housing types and tenures. The main criteria used in the selection of survey areas, (heavily dependent upon the information gathered by the 1981 Census), were: persons seeking work; persons economically active; households of social classes 3m, 4 and 5. These criteria alone, however, yielded a sample heavily biased towards local authority

housing. Yet in order to investigate the relationships between tenure and mobility, it was necessary to encompass a variety of tenure forms. Furthermore, as this variety was not apparent at the level of individual enumeration districts, the criteria listed above were applied to different housing areas, as identified by the social area analyses and small area statistics. Four survey areas in each location were eventually selected, each consisting of three enumeration districts. The social and housing characteristics of each of these areas is described in the following chapter.

5.3.5 Conducting the interviews

A total of two hundred household interviews were conducted, one hundred in each city. Interviews were conducted in Liverpool between September and December 1986, and in Reading between August and November 1987. Twenty-five interviews were conducted in each of the eight survey areas selected.

Respondents were contacted 'cold'. In practice, this entailed knocking on every third door, and returning if necessary, where there was no reply. After a brief introduction, contacts were asked whether they would be prepared to participate. No precise response rate was recorded, since quality was the main objective, and in some cases a willing respondent was dissuaded from participating when it was clear that they did not have sufficient time to devote to the interview. The duration of these interviews varied from twenty to one hundred and ten minutes, with most lasting about thirty. Interviews were conducted both

during the day (between 11.00hrs and 18.00hrs) and in the evening in each area, in an attempt to prevent the over-representation of elderly and retired respondents and to incorporate more of the nine-to-five workers.

5.4 Small group discussions

5.4.1 Why Jobclubs?

The profile of the sample households in the next chapter illustrates the difficulties involved in reaching the target population. Out of 200 respondents, 100 were employed, 62 were retired, and 38 were unemployed. Although it was important to encompass people in different positions within the labour market, the primary aims of the survey demanded a sharper focus on the unemployed. Furthermore, as the eligibility criteria for the receipt of unemployment benefits demand that the recipient is 'available for work', there is often a great difference between persons who are classified as 'unemployed seeking work' for official purposes, and those persons who are actively seeking work in reality. Conversations with respondents in the pilot survey revealed that the option of labour migration was generally irrelevant to many of those officially seeking work. This was especially so amongst the long-term unemployed, some of whom felt that they had no hope of ever finding work again, and had consequently stopped searching altogether.

Although the relationship between the duration of unemployment and attitudes towards migration is an important concern, the primary objectives in this thesis demanded a greater concentration on unemployed persons actively seeking work, particularly the points at which migration decisions were made. Hence the use of Jobclubs.

"A Jobclub is a place where people who have been out of work for some time can get together to work at finding a job... The aim of the Jobclub is to get each member the best possible job in the shortest possible time... The jobclub leader (a member of the Job Centre staff) shows members the best ways to contact employers and make job applications. The member then uses the facilities provided to contact employers and apply for jobs... Members commit themselves to attending every session of the club (at least four mornings each week)... Members stay on a jobclub as long as it takes to get a job". ('An introduction to Jobclub', Manpower Services Commission, 1985, pages 1-2)

Although the precise manner in which a Jobclub operates differs between Job Centres, there are a number of elements which are common to all. Typically, a Jobclub will entail an initial two to three week period of coaching in job-search techniques, including the preparation of CVs, letter writing, telephone manner, and interview performance. On completion of this programme, each member of the Jobclub may freely use the resources of the Jobclub - paper, pens, envelopes, telephones stamps, typewriters and newspapers - to conduct an intensive job search. Members may stay in the Jobclub for as long as it takes to find suitable work, although they are expected to follow up at least ten job 'leads' each day. Although relatively new in Britain, the Jobclub approach of providing unemployed people with the necessary skills and resources to conduct an extensive job search has been developed in the USA, Canada and New Zealand. In a highly competitive labour market, job hunting is a skill in itself. Often the low-skilled and the unemployed

do not have these skills, or, through constant rejection, lack the necessary motivation to compete effectively for jobs. In order to join a Jobclub, members must have been registered as unemployed for a minimum of six months, have some idea of the type of work sought, and possess the reading and writing skills necessary to follow the Jobclub programme.

The Jobclub concept was first introduced to Job Centres in the UK in 1984, when two pilot schemes opened at Durham and Middlesbrough. A third followed soon after at Walthamstow, London. In these initial pilots, seventy per cent of members entered employment, prompting the introduction of a full-scale national evaluation. Twenty-nine Jobclubs were set up, and from August 1985 to February 1986 their performance was closely monitored: this evaluation confirmed the initial success with sixty three per cent of members leaving to start work, and a further fifteen per cent going into either Community Programme or government training schemes. In October 1986, Lord Young, (then Secretary of State for Employment), requested the MSC to implement a major expansion in the number of Jobclubs from 250 to 1000 by March 1987, and 2000 by September 1987 if the need continued.

The apparent success of the Jobclub approach must be qualified, however. Since their principal aims are to get the highest proportion of people into work in the shortest possible time, each Job Centre manager is obliged to demonstrate the relative success of his or her Jobclub in these terms. This requirement, coupled with an element of self-selection amongst members, means that many who find jobs under the

auspices of the Jobclub may well have done so of their own accord in a similar time period. Thus, although help is targeted at those people who have been unemployed for six months or more, it is the most optimistic and perhaps the most able elements within this group who will join Jobclubs.

One aim expressed by local MSC officials is the heterogeneity of Jobclub membership, in terms of age, sex, race and skills, and duration of unemployment. This objective, coupled with the minimal eligibility criteria, means that Jobclub members are fairly representative of the unemployed community in most respects, although a few qualifying points must be noted. Although the Restart Scheme was the main source of recruitment, there were also some strong elements of self-selectivity, as members also joined in response to advertisements or word of mouth. This self-selectivity may generate Jobclub groups whose membership is more motivated than the local unemployed population in general. This imbalance may become even more pronounced as the Jobclub programme proceeds, owing to a lower 'dropout rate' amongst the self-selected members. When questioned about the ways in which they differed from other local unemployed people, most Jobclub members perceived no quantifiable differences, (in terms of skills, age, socio-economic status etc.), but often felt that they were more "hopeful", "forward looking" or "motivated". In the context of the problems of balance in the household survey outlined above, this bias may be regarded as a form of correction factor and hence an advantage.

There are also important theoretical reasons for using Jobclubs as a context for discussions centred on issues of mobility, since it is in such groups that these issues are spontaneously discussed. The Jobclub group provides a decision-making context which is analogous to that of the household in many respects. Through preparatory discussions with Jobclub leaders, it became clear that most groups contained one or two people who were prepared to move, and some contained members who were actively seeking work in other regions. In the latter case, the effects of this clearly influenced the group as a whole, as it was in such groups that other members were most likely to pursue this option. In Liverpool Group 6 (LG6)⁽²⁾ for example, this 'copycat' effect meant that all four members of the discussion group were actively seeking work in other areas.

Jobclub groups tend to provide a concentration of the more motivated job-seekers, who are those most likely to contemplate movement. Furthermore, within the Jobclub they have wider access to information about job opportunities in other areas than their local unemployed counterparts. In the interview survey for example most unemployed respondents relied on a maximum of three local sources of job information, (personal contacts, local newspapers and the local Job Centre). Jobclub members by comparison, are introduced to a much wider range of sources, many of which are less location-specific than those listed above. Most Jobclubs provide a range of national newspapers and journals, together with newspapers containing job vacancies from a variety of surrounding labour market areas. (Most are within common commuting distance, but some are far enough away to necessitate

migration). In addition to this exposure to a wider range of sources, the techniques employed by Jobclub members are also more likely to 'throw up' job opportunities in other areas, particularly the practice of sending speculative letters to head offices. Being based within the Job Centre, Jobclub members are also likely to use its facilities more fully than 'drop in' visitors. These facilities include advertised vacancies for jobs in other areas, and the computerised NATVACS system. Normally in Job Centres non-local vacancies are often restricted to small and inaccessible noticeboards, or even less accessible files due to the pressures of space, and the priority given to local vacancies. Hence, drop-in visitors tend to be less aware of them than Jobclub members. Indeed, interviews with MSC officials highlighted the contrast between Jobclub members, and the traditional parochialism displayed by many job-seekers. Once again, the Job Centre manager's brief provides the crucial link. Local managers are assessed through numbers of job vacancies advertised, and numbers of 'placements' (jobs filled). In addition, each Job Centre has a clearly defined catchment area from which the overwhelming majority of its advertised vacancies are drawn. This parochialism is gradually changing, however, particularly with the influence of the NATVACS system.

Jobclubs, therefore, provide a useful concentration of local unemployed job-seekers for the discussion of issues related to employment and mobility. Members are not likely to differ significantly from the population of the local Job Centre in terms of age, sex or ethnicity, but they are likely to be more motivated, and less likely to be among those unemployed for less than six months.

Because of the nature of the Jobclub programme, which includes writing letters, constructing CVs etc, Jobclub membership is likely to be biased towards the low-skilled and unskilled manual workers, who have little or no prior experience of such skills and have joined in part to acquire them; people with clerical backgrounds are less likely to require training in such skills.

It was apparent that the full potential of Jobclubs as a vehicle for the investigation of the process of job-search, and the exploration of feelings of identity and place preference central to the migration decision could not be realised through the techniques applied to individual households. Small group discussion was the technique adopted.

5.4.2 Small group research

"Empirical qualitative research is gaining recognition within social and humanistic geography, although the 'small group' is not yet recognised as a valuable research technique". (Burgess, Limb and Harrison, 1988a, page 309).

Much of the development in the theory and practice of small groups has taken place within the fields of social and market research, and psychotherapy. This section outlines briefly the theory underlying the techniques adopted within these disciplines, and discusses the adoption of certain group methods in geographical research. This is followed by a review of the elements of these methods applied to the Jobclub discussion groups.

Smith (1980, page 5) defined group work as "a finite activity whereby a small group seek to create change within their own behaviour and feelings". This definition reflects the therapeutic aim of group work which is developed in a clinical context. In small groups as used for research purposes, change is not the raison d'etre, although it is still an important product of the process of group discussion.

Small groups provide an alternative to the household, as a decision-making context in which to explore attitudes towards work, mobility, housing, employment and community and place attachments. Furthermore, the anonymity and freedom which the group discussion affords its members allows deeper exploration of the beliefs and feelings which underlie the decisions relating to migration. In the small group, shared experiences and attitudes can lead beyond the 'here and now', or the current and historic situations of a particular household, and into the realms of the attitudes and emotions which feed into these situations. This affords insights into underlying issues of community and regional identity, class affiliations, the role of work, feelings of belonging and alienation, and perceptions of the life chances offered by different geographical and social milieux.

Small group discussions have been used extensively in social and market research to gain an insight into perceptions, reactions and motivations. The non-directive discussion is an intensive method of gathering market information from small numbers of people at a time. For market researchers it is relatively inexpensive compared to other techniques in terms of the richness of the information generated.

"It allows consumers to express their views in their own language, and to determine the levels of emphasis which they themselves wish to lend to areas under discussion." (Glen, undated, page 4).

The practice of market research groups varies, but the standard format adopted entails a homogenous group of six to eight strangers who meet once for about one hour and a half in an unfamiliar setting to discuss a particular product or product field. The discussion will usually be recorded. The group members will usually be offered some basic incentive to attend (usually financial), and may be required to respond to a variety of stimulus material, including videos, pictures and thought-projection cartoons. This method provides a more fluid technique than the questionnaire or interview, and is sufficient to cover a fair spectrum of response, whilst the group is not large enough to split into sub-groups.

Social and market researchers have developed a wide range of techniques to stimulate group discussions, but there are still a number of limitations inherent in this format which must be noted. First, despite the declared aim of generating 'free-flowing' discussion, it is clear that many market research groups are often set a clear agenda by the group leader (the market researcher), and even where the group is allowed some degree of freedom, the group leader will usually have a 'checklist' of issues or questions which he or she will attempt to cover in the course of the discussion.

"[The] list of topic areas may be interspersed with notes on specific questions the moderator [or group leader] wishes to ask at certain points in the discussion, designed to elicit specific relevant pieces of information." (Glen, undated, page 10).

This conflict between the freedom to discuss the general and the obligation to address the specific is clearly evident in the inconsistent terminology of market research literature on group discussions, where 'group discussion' and 'group interview' are used to describe the same technique. Likewise, the various terms used to describe the researcher - 'group conductor', 'facilitator', 'moderator', 'leader' and 'interviewer' - imply different roles.

Another important function of the techniques adopted by market researchers is that of 'screening' (the carefully controlled recruitment of members, whereby 'unrepresentative' people are excluded. Groups are thus ideally composed of people with a great deal of common ground between them. This emphasises representation at the expense of spread, and implies a search for consensus, or "canvassing broadscale views and attitudes" (Glen, undated, page 3), rather than seeking out differences between group members. In this way conflict within the group is minimised. Where contrasts and comparisons are drawn, they are usually between groups (with different membership criteria) rather than within them. Furthermore, the use of strangers in a once-only situation does not give members the time and freedom to build strong relationships with one another. It does not give them an opportunity to do much more than express 'safe' standard reactions and opinions. Attitudes must be taken at face value, which permits little distinction between 'manifest' and 'latent' meanings which run through the group dialogue (Burgess et al, 1988a).

5.4.3 Jobclubs as small groups

The methods used in the Jobclub groups draw on elements of market research, and on the adaptation of the group psychotherapeutic methods employed by Burgess et al (1988a; 1988b; 1988c) in research into environmental values. The methodology devised is essentially a compromise, designed to meet the objectives of the research project, within the context of the Jobclub organisation, yet 'tailored' to fit within tight time and budgetary constraints. The resulting methodology is described below.

Jobclubs may be regarded as 'ready-made' groups. Thus many of the issues of recruitment central to market research project work are overridden. Each Jobclub consisted of a group of people from various backgrounds, of different ages and skill levels. Thus the objectives of homogeneity central to most market research groups were not explicitly introduced in this survey, although there was a clear set of characteristics common to all members.

Each member was an active job seeker, and had been unemployed for a minimum of six months. Some members were actively seeking work in other areas, some had considered the issue, and the majority were not prepared to do so. The Jobclub provided an ideal forum for the discussion of such issues, which were central to the lives and experiences of the members, (most poignantly so at this stage of their lives). The Jobclubs were 'real' groups which facilitated the exchange of feelings and attitudes related to work and unemployment, to housing

and finance, and to the existence of different conditions for different social groups in different areas, (and by implication, to issues of mobility opportunities, aspirations and constraints).

Discussion of migration to other areas was clearly a significant issue which touched the lives of all group members, either directly or indirectly, and was a natural progression from those discussions which formed part of the Jobclub programme - centred on other (less extreme) means of widening the job-search process, and widening the scope of available opportunities. All members, (even those with no intention of moving) appreciated the importance of these issues for the group, as well as for other people in their situation, and the response to the project was most encouraging. Indeed, the issues raised in the group discussions were so closely connected with other issues raised within the Jobclub, that in each case the Jobclub leader co-operated to the extent that the discussions were organised within Jobclub time, using Jobclub premises and facilities. The discussion groups became in effect an informal part of the Jobclub programme. (This was of vital importance, since the financial constraints of this research prohibited the hiring of premises and the payment of basic expenses to group members which is usually required in such circumstances).

Jobclubs thus provide a focus for those low-skilled unemployed who are likely to consider, or have considered, seeking jobs in other areas. After initial consultation with officials at various levels of the local MSC hierarchy, Jobclub leaders, and Jobclub members, it became apparent that these groups should be utilized in their existing

form, for both practical and theoretical reasons, and that group discussion was the most appropriate method to apply.

The Jobclub discussion group may be regarded as one variant of the basic self-help discussion group, where "the group is semi-permanent, and the occurrence of group work is signalled by the temporary addition of a group facilitator" (Smith, 1980, page 4). One of the key objectives of the Jobclub training programme is to build a "group identity" (Mortimer, 1986, page 481). For this reason, it was important to maintain the nature of the group as far as possible. In this respect, the Jobclub discussion groups, formed from those already meeting on a regular basis are very different to the once-only discussion groups characteristic of market research. In a once-only group people can do very little more than express their initial ideas and attitudes, which the researcher must take at face value and interpret accordingly. But over time, groups build their own unique culture, their own unique history. (Burgess et al, 1988a).

Although the Jobclub discussion groups were convened only once, the timing was arranged to coincide with the point in the Jobclub programme as a whole at which the discussion of mobility issues would be most appropriate for the members and for the Jobclub leader. As the research restrictions prohibited the use of groups which were reconvened several times over a period of weeks, this was felt to be the best means of avoiding the superficiality associated with once-only groups. The discussions generally coincided with the beginning of the third week in the life of the Jobclub. This was the point at which the

formal programme terminated, after which the group members were free to use the facilities of the Jobclub to pursue their own job leads.

The aim was thus to tap the group at the point at which discussion would be most fruitful, when barriers and inhibitions had been removed, but before the group became dissipated. Indeed, many members confessed that they would not have felt confident enough to participate in these discussions were it not for their experiences on the Jobclub over preceding weeks. This point is reinforced by the problems encountered in one discussion group (LG.8) which, due to timetable problems, was convened during its first week. Only three out of eight members attended, and the nature of the session differed greatly from the other discussions: it became little more than a subdued group interview.

It is important to emphasise that these groups were not created for research purposes, but were utilised to these ends. The conductor was responsible for neither the birth nor the death of these groups, but rather for a 'refocussing' of the group at a particular phase in its life.

The methodology adopted was appropriate in the context of the constraints outlined, but it did have serious limitations. The conductor was required to steer the discussion quite firmly at times, and to raise specific issues towards the end of the discussion if they had not been visited during its natural course. Furthermore, the problems encountered in the interpretation of the dialogue were compounded by the fact that the group history preceded the inception of

the conductor. This meant that many of the interpersonal relationships which developed during the life of the group remain largely a mystery to the conductor, and prohibited a fully comprehensive understanding of the group matrix.

5.4.4 Conducting the Jobclub discussions

Within the constraints noted a standard procedure was adopted. The groups were contacted at the end of the second week in their lives, the project introduced, and initial reactions invited. It was important at this stage to outline the research project clearly, and to explain how the group discussions fitted into the overall research framework. It was also necessary to stress the independence and confidentiality of the project, and to confirm that the proposed discussion was not a part of the official Jobclub programme, or of the operation of the MSC in any other respect, and that the informal format adopted was a means of soliciting attitudes and feelings as opposed to the more common practice of questions and answers.

The response of the group was favourable in every case and each Jobclub group approached yielded a discussion group (although these discussion groups did not necessarily include all members of the Jobclub). The initial recruitment contact was rendered easier when second and subsequent groups were approached at the Job Centres previously visited, as members had already received reports on the experience from participants in previous discussions. In two cases

(LG.1 and LG.2) the recruitment was aided by some publicity on a local radio station which group members had heard.

Once all questions from potential participants had been answered, and it was established that enough members were willing to take part in the discussion, a meeting time was fixed (usually for between one and three days hence). At this point it was often difficult to prevent the proposed discussion arising spontaneously, but it was important to approach the meeting in this way to give prospective members enough time to consider carefully whether they wanted to participate or not. It also established the meeting as a serious commitment of fixed duration, and gave people the opportunity to consider some of the basic issues raised in the introduction.

The use of an incentive, or a basic gesture of courtesy in the form of reimbursement of expenses and a recognition of the value of a member's time, was unfortunately prohibited by the regulations of the research funding. This undoubtedly affected both attendance and the nature of the 'hidden contract' which exists between conductor and members. Gordon and Robson (1982) suggest that amongst market research groups incentives are essential to guarantee attendance. In their survey, only 18 per cent of group members said they would have attended anyway, without the payment of an incentive. The experience of this survey suggests that the incentive was not so important in ensuring participation. This is largely explained by the close links with the overall Jobclub programme. However, there was generally a shortfall of two or three members compared with the initial approach, which may have

been improved with some form of incentive. Furthermore, the absence of an incentive affects the nature of the 'hidden contract', or the set of obligations which the respondent feels he/she must adhere to as a result of accepting the invitation. (Gordon and Robson, 1982).

The absence of an incentive resulted in several instances where members expressed enthusiasm at the introduction, but then failed to attend the discussion. In other cases, members arrived late or departed early, thereby disrupting the course of discussion. The role of conductor was also different in the absence of an incentive. This put increased pressures upon time, and often forced the conductor to participate far more in the discussion than was desirable, when invited to do so. In the absence of an incentive, the nature of the hidden contract was probably quite different to that usually experienced in market research groups, and greater freedom had to be given to the group in terms of what they wanted from the discussion. On the positive side, however, the absence of an incentive may have helped respondents to feel more confident about expressing feelings and opinions which they felt not be those desired by the conductor, and less obliged to 'perform'.

The recruitment practice adopted for the Jobclub groups also differs in many respects from that used by market researchers, and by Burgess et al (1988a). First, the members were not a homogenous group, but from various stages in the family life-cycle, in different housing situations, with different employment histories. Some were prepared to move to work in other areas, some had considered this, and most were

not prepared to do so. All views were encompassed in an attempt to generate debate between people from different stages of life, with different perspectives, rather than using the group to achieve some form of consensus. The groups were recruited as groups, and not as a controlled collection of individuals. The character of the group was maintained, together with its attendant problems. The system of vetting through contact questionnaires or preliminary interviews normally employed was not used. Some groups, therefore, contained particularly vociferous and domineering members as well as quiet and reticent ones.

The voluntary nature of membership dictated this liberal approach despite the problems, and there are a number of relative advantages which should be recognised. First, recruiting the group en masse in this way meant that the more reluctant members often 'tagged along' once others had expressed interest, though they may have been far less likely to participate if contacted on an individual basis. Since the exploration of feelings about different areas and social contexts, and about alienation and belonging, are so closely enmeshed in individual migration decisions, the group discussions would provide distorted insights if those who felt especially inhibited by new and apparently threatening social contexts were implicitly excluded. Second, the use of a questionnaire or preliminary contact interview prior to acceptance into the group would have tarnished attempts at confidentiality, designed to provide the best environment possible for the exploration of personal and sensitive issues.

Twenty group discussions were conducted with twenty different Jobclub groups: ten in Liverpool between October and December 1986, and ten in Reading between July and November 1987 (table 5.1). The Jobclubs used were, where possible, those based at Job Centres with catchment areas which encompassed the survey areas (see figures 6.1 and 6.2).

Group size ranged from four to ten members (excluding the conductor) and the gender balance varied (table 5.1). The set duration of each discussion was 45 minutes although some continued informally thereafter. All discussions were recorded using a portable cassette recorder with a flat-bed microphone, and these recordings were later transcribed. (The group recordings and transcripts form the basis of the analysis presented in chapter ten).

Conducting the group discussions demanded the cultivation of a variety of personal "facilitating skills" (Burgess et al, 1988a) (table 5.2). These include the ability to draw out reticent members; the ability to diffuse conflict and close out dominating members, and an appreciation of when to ^{give the} discussion a free rein and when to steer it. Most important however is the ability to listen.

5.5 Conclusion: a synthesis of methods

This chapter has argued the need to employ different research methods at different levels of analysis. Whilst quantitative techniques may be appropriate to the analysis of migration patterns or observable

behaviour, they fail to provide the means by which the attitudes which generate behaviour may be explored. Hence this research seeks to combine quantitative and qualitative methodologies in order to identify the factors which are associated with attitudes towards migration, and to explore the ways in which these factors are assessed by individuals and households.

The preceding discussion has also emphasised the interrelationship between fieldwork and methodology. The experience of the Jobclub discussions and the richness of the qualitative information derived illustrates the value of a flexible approach: the adoption or adaptation of methods appropriate to both the research issues explored and the context within which this is undertaken.

Notes

- 1 Since one of the main arguments of the thesis is that considering migration may be a joint activity of several members of a household it was important to encompass members with different positions within individual households.
- 2 Henceforth in this and subsequent chapters all references to Jobclub group discussions use the following notation: LG.1, Liverpool Group number one; RG.1, Reading Group number one, etc. Group discussions are detailed in table 5.1 and the location of Jobclubs used is indicated in figures 6.1 and 6.2 (in the following chapter).

Table 5.1
 Jobclub discussions: location, size and group
 composition.

Number	Location	Date	Group size/ sex balance
LG1	OLD SWAN	22-Oct-86	4 (4M;0F)
LG2	GARSTON(1)	24-Oct-86	10 (8M;2F)
LG3	GARSTON(2)	07-Nov-86	7 (7M;0F)
LG4	OLD SWAN	12-Nov-86	5 (4M;1F)
LG5	LORD STREET	26-Nov-86	8 (7M;1F)
LG6	WILLIAMSON SQ	02-Dec-86	4 (4M;0F)
LG7	OLD SWAN	03-Dec-86	3 (2M;1F)
LG8	GARSTON(1)	05-Dec-86	3 (3M;0F)
LG9	LORD STREET	10-Dec-86	5 (4M;1F)
LG10	OLD SWAN	10-Dec-86	4 (3M;1F)
RG1	THE BUTTS (2)	16-Jul-87	3 (3M;0F)
RG2	THE BUTTS (2)	06-Aug-87	4 (3M;1F)
RG3	MANOR FARM SKILLS CENTRE	14-Aug-87	4 (4M;0F)
RG4	THE BUTTS (1)	20-Aug-87	6 (5M;1F)
RG5	THE BUTTS (1)	24-Sep-87	8 (6M;2F)
RG6	THE BUTTS (2)	01-Oct-87	4 (3M;1F)
RG7	THE BUTTS (1)	15-Oct-87	6 (5M;1F)
RG8	THE BUTTS (2)	12-Nov-87	3 (1M;2F)
RG9	MANOR FARM SKILLS CENTRE	16-Nov-87	4 (2M;2F)
RG10	THE BUTTS (2)	19-Nov-87	5 (3M;2F)

Table 5.2

Facilitating skills required for the conduct of small in-depth discussion groups

1	Listening:	with complete attention; encouraging conversation between members, not member and conductor.
2	Using silences:	recognise and respond to different kinds of silences (is the group thoughtful, embarrassed or stuck for example).
3	Not asking direct questions:	reflect rather than direct group discussions.
4	Drawing in silent members:	encourage contributions from everyone in the group.
5	Keeping to task:	bring the group back to the purpose of the group meeting where necessary.
6	Handling conflict:	recognise and diffuse interpersonal hostilities.
7	Protecting individuals:	recognise unconscious desires for psychotherapy and deflect them.

Source: Burgess et al, 1988a, table 3.

Chapter Six

LIVERPOOL AND READING

6.1 Introduction

Despite a lack of consensus over the position of the dividing line between 'north' and 'south', and numerous exceptions which are used to challenge its existence, Liverpool and Reading clearly stand on opposite sides. On an amalgamated index of employment and housing, using both static and change variables, Champion and Green (1989) ranked the Reading labour market area fourteenth on a national scale of 280, and Liverpool fifth from bottom. Similar differences are evident in comparative rates of unemployment (table 6.1). In February 1987 Liverpool Riverside was the parliamentary constituency with the highest rate of unemployment in the country, whilst Reading West was ranked 540th out of a total of 630 constituencies.

Such acute differences are manifest in political attitudes (table 6.2). Moreover, it appears that these political divisions have become more pronounced during the 1980s. In the 1983 general election The Labour Party won five out of six seats in the constituencies which broadly correspond to the census district area and the Liberals won the sixth, whilst the Conservatives secured the two seats in Reading. In the 1987 general election The Labour Party captured the Liberals' seat in Liverpool and increased its majority substantially in each of the

others. The Conservatives also increased their majority in both of the seats in Reading.

The two areas were selected as comparative survey locations by virtue of their differences. Liverpool is a declining northern conurbation in an almost permanent state of depression from the 1930s. In the 1980s it has been characterised by slow rates of economic recovery, high rates of unemployment, and a scarcity of new employment opportunities. Reading, by contrast represents a new era of economic success. It has experienced new and expanding employment opportunities in electronics and information technology, rapidly increasing property prices amidst fierce development pressures, and acute skills shortages which have limited development (Berkshire County Council, 1982, 1985).

The two locations are not wholly 'representative' of the regions within which they are located. They do though, provide stark contrasts in their housing and employment markets, and thus in the opportunities and the constraints which they present for their citizens. Tables 6.3 and 6.4 provide comparative profiles of the respective labour and housing markets, based on the 1981 Census.

The aim of this chapter is to review the principal economic and social characteristics of Reading and Liverpool and thus provide a context for the decision-making of individuals and households. The first part compares the characteristics of the two labour and housing markets, and their implications for migration. The eight survey areas in which the household interview survey was conducted are then

described, using employment and housing profiles which are compared with those of the districts and counties in which they are located, and with those of the sample interviewed. Similarities and differences between the survey areas at each location are identified, particular attention being paid to the low-skilled and unemployed, to issues related to migration, and to the relationships between labour and housing markets at the local level. Published and unpublished sources are combined, including the 1981 census; information from local planning bodies; local press reports; and anecdotal information gleaned through interviews with local planners, officials of the Manpower Services Commission, and households.

The final part of the chapter focusses on the differences in job-search activities among the unemployed in each location, using a survey of job vacancies in local newspapers, and analysis of Job Centre records on local and distant job-search activity.

6.2 Liverpool

"They should build a fence around [Liverpool] and charge admission. For sadly, it has become a 'showcase' of everything that has gone wrong in Britain's major cities" (Daily Mirror, 11 October 1982).

From its position as the nation's second city at the end of the last century, and the "gateway of the British Empire" (Lane, 1987, page 2), Liverpool has slumped rapidly since the 1950s and 1960s, to become a city "long established as the epitome of recession" (Halsall, 1987,

page 26). Its decline is inextricably connected to the fortunes of its port. Liverpool has never had a strong manufacturing base, and its port-related economy has declined inexorably as trade has shifted from the Atlantic to Europe (Roberts, 1987). In the post-war period, the city's economy did attempt to diversify into manufacturing; but it came too late, and was too impermanent to offset the dramatic decline of the port from the late 1960s. Much of the manufacturing that did exist, like Courtaulds, Kraft, Leyland and Tate and Lyle closed (Roberts, 1987). At its peak, the port provided direct employment for perhaps as many as 60,000 people. Almost as many again worked in the dependent processing and manufacturing industries (Lane, 1987). By 1986 the Merseyside waterfront workforce had fallen below 1,500, less than a tenth of those employed there three decades before (Liverpool Echo, 30 August 1986). Male unemployment rates of up to 30 and 40 per cent in some wards, rising crime, and poor housing conditions are Liverpool's heritage in the 1980s.

There are many positive signs of a 'renaissance' in the Merseyside economy, which is based around redevelopment of the dockland areas, and a new emphasis on tourism and services (Halsall, 1987). It has been given momentum by a series of 'pump-priming' investments, orchestrated by the City Action Team among others, which have attracted private investors. This regeneration has been aided by a new spirit of cooperation between central government and Liverpool City Council's post-Militant Labour leadership, which will enable more effective integration of the many central and local agencies working within the city (The Guardian, 5 August 1987).

Although Liverpool's long-term economic prospects look more promising now (1989) than during the early 1980s, it will be a long time before the benefits of new initiatives are widely felt. This is of little comfort to the majority of the local unemployed population, a large proportion of whom are manual workers (table 6.3). By most social and economic indicators, (football excepted), Liverpool falls towards the bottom of the national 'league' (see for example Champion and Green, 1989). Around 20 per cent of its working population were seeking jobs at the time of the survey, though precise figures vary, depending on the political objectives of the organisation which collects them. Against these high levels of unemployment there is an acute shortage of new vacancies, especially for the unskilled and semi-skilled, and one of the highest unemployment to vacancy ratios in the country (Green et al, 1985).

There are stark differentials in rates of unemployment and job vacancies between Merseyside and other more prosperous areas of the country. Official statistics which illustrate these differences are continually highlighted by anecdotal evidence in both local and national media. One such example was that of the 'Whitbread' brewery company. In 1986, the company advertised in respective local newspapers a number of identical vacancies for full-time bar, catering and hotel staff, at two new hotels, one in Wirral, Merseyside, and the other in Maidstone, Kent. In Merseyside, almost 1,500 people applied for the 45 jobs advertised, yet in Kent only ten applications were received in response to the 20 jobs advertised (Liverpool Echo, November 19 1986).

The shortage of jobs, coupled with Merseyside's geographical distance from those areas where better opportunities exist, renders it an area where classical and neo-classical labour market theory, would suggest high rates of out-migration among the low-skilled and unemployed may be expected. Although Liverpool has lost 20 per cent of its population over the past 20 years, it is not clear how many of those leaving moved into surrounding suburban areas, and how many moved to other parts of the country (Halsall, 1987).

Against the lack of employment opportunities, Liverpool offers some of the cheapest owner-occupied housing in the country. Hence the option of ownership is extended to many households lower down the income scale who would be excluded from this tenure in other areas. However, more significant for the majority of the low-skilled is local authority housing, which accounted for 39.6 per cent of households in 1981 (table 6.3). At the time of the survey, the situation in Merseyside was unusual, since rapid new public sector house-building and renovation programmes were evident throughout the city, due to the high priority Urban Regeneration Programme of the city council. The opportunities for re-housing offered to both new and existing tenants were thus particularly good relative to other cities. After a lifetime in tenement flats, many households were moving into houses with gardens for the first time (Liverpool Echo, 30 August 1986).

6.3 Reading

In Reading the problems are of growth rather than decline and are manifest more in housing problems than in unemployment, although being out of work in Reading can, ironically, be worse for the individual than being so in Liverpool.

During the survey period a Reading newspaper carried an article entitled "Homes spiral at £1.65 an hour". It explained how "the average house price in Reading is £74,086 compared with £59,582 this time last year". Directly below this, another article headed "Search for skills as jobless total falls" reported that "Berkshire's skills shortage problem has taken a new turn, as Reading and Slough Skillcentres renew their efforts to recruit trainees from unemployed adults. Both have excellent records in placing trainees in work, but are now having difficulty in recruiting enough people to fill some courses. At the same time, local employers report continuous problems in recruiting suitably skilled workers" (Reading Evening Post, 16 September 1987). These two reports illustrate two aspects of the current economic success enjoyed by Reading. Set in the heart of the Thames valley, it has experienced rapid economic development over the past decade, spearheaded by computing and information technology. The speed and extent of this development led one writer to comment that "new office blocks seem to sprout out of the ground near the railway track every time your attention is diverted" (Dineen, 1988, page 51). Yet economic success has also brought a host of attendant problems, many of which are borne disproportionately by the low-skilled and unemployed.

The pace of development throughout much of the South East has resulted in fierce development pressures, and the search for new land. This has brought about a series of political confrontations at different levels of the planning hierarchy within the region: between district and county councils; between officers and councillors; between developers and conservationists; and between local planners and the Department of the Environment. Indeed, the debate exposed fundamental divisions within the Conservative party, personified in the conflict between Heseltine and Ridley (then Secretary of State for the Environment), which reinvigorated the regional debate.

Berkshire is, arguably, the county currently experiencing the most acute development pressures on its land. With London's Green Belt at one end of the county, and an area of outstanding natural beauty at the other, these pressures coalesce in the middle ground, around Reading, Bracknell, and Newbury. Even with no in-migration, the number of households in the South East would still increase through demographic and social changes (Champion and Congdon, 1988). Young people are leaving home earlier, and old people are living longer. In response to such pressures, Berkshire plans to build 36,000 new homes by 1996⁽¹⁾. At Lower Earley near Reading, there are plans to build 6,000 new homes, in the largest current private estate development in Western Europe⁽²⁾. These pressures are leading to fears about the effects of over development. These fears have been sharpened by confrontation between central and local government, as DoE inspectors have over-ridden local decisions by granting planning permission for new homes which the local planners do not want, for example at Binfield⁽³⁾.

Rising house prices are one of the most obvious corollaries of economic prosperity. Berkshire has experienced such rapid house price increases in the upper end of the market over the past few years, that the eastern half of the county now contains the most expensive residential property outside London⁽⁴⁾. This is only partly caused by people moving into the county for work. More important is the geographical spread of the 'London effect', whereby growing numbers of people working in London want to move further west to live, as well as rapid household formation locally (Champion, Green and Owen, 1988; Champion and Congdon, 1988). This increased demand, coupled with the scarcity of appropriate housing, has resulted in buyers paying up to 25 per cent above the asking price in some cases⁽⁵⁾. The housing market of Reading is thus interrelated with the labour markets of both the surrounding region and London.

House price inflation at the top end of the market has implications throughout the hierarchy, as people are forced to accept successively lower standards of housing, thereby displacing those below them. Reading may now be the most expensive place to buy a semi-detached house in the south east outside London, with an average price of £74,000, and prices rising faster than in London (Halifax Building Society, 1988). This leaves many people in a perilous position, and is a direct cause of homelessness.

" A lot of young couples who would once have expected to buy a semi are now having to buy terraced housing, and the people who normally rent terraced accommodation are forced into bed and breakfast... Those who can afford property are placing themselves in a perilous position, because a rise of one per cent in the interest rate could mean serious trouble." (Margaret Singh,

Housing Chief, Reading Borough Council, quoted in the Reading Chronicle, 9 October 1987)

For those even lower on the housing 'ladder', there are fewer choices still. With a small and declining stock of local authority accommodation, and many private landlords tempted to sell off their properties by the rapid increase in property values, rents in the private rented sector have increased accordingly. The virtual absence of housing associations in Reading has limited choice still further for many households. As a result, many people find themselves in the bed and breakfast 'trap', where rents are so unreasonably high that local starting wages are seldom sufficient to allow re-entry into employment (this is discussed in chapter ten). The paucity of private-rented accommodation has been exploited by Reading's notorious 'baron landlords' to a point which has prompted the Borough Council to intervene. In 1987 the first Control Orders ever issued in the Borough were served on two local landlords, and a number of management orders were issued soon after on other properties in an unsatisfactory state of repair⁽⁶⁾. These moves signal a new attitude toward unscrupulous landlords, and may increase the opportunities for local housing associations. But clearly the acquisition of properties in such a high cost area, even under Compulsory Purchase Order, is an expensive option for the local housing committee.

As a buoyant local housing market can punish those on the lower levels, through the knock-on effect which pushes them off the 'ladder', so an expanding local labour market can create greater problems for some of the unemployed than for their counterparts in areas of higher

unemployment who have less chance of finding work. To be unemployed in Reading is to be marginalised in a way which is not evident in other areas where the unemployed constitute a larger minority of the local population (this is discussed in chapter ten). To many people in Reading who are in work, the unemployed are 'idlers' and 'scroungers'. When asked about the general prospects for living and working in Berkshire in the household survey, a common attitude was that there were so many jobs available that those still without work were not really looking for it.

"I haven't got a lot of patience for the unemployed. Every day there are hundreds of jobs in the 'Post', and if they're not qualified, they get trained and paid... I've got fifteen grandchildren, and they've all got jobs, so if you want work, you can find it. That's the way I look at it. If you're really looking for a job, you'll find one" (RI.132) (7).

The attitude that being unemployed in Reading is inexcusable was evident at all levels of society. One striking example was that of a local magistrate, who, when passing sentence on an unemployed decorator guilty of a minor driving offence, declared that

"Painting and decorating is a high employment field in this area, and Mr. [X] should be earning money... I know for a fact that painters and decorators here get £165 a week." (Reading Evening Post, 9 September, 1987).

Such attitudes are propounded by local reports of job opportunities and skill shortages, and are echoed by the local press, and local politicians.

"The unemployment problem in Berkshire is not due to a shortage of jobs, but to the difficulty of finding people with the right skills for the jobs available." (A local councillor, quoted in the Reading Evening Post, 28 September 1987).

This is the philosophy behind many of the new government schemes for the unemployed introduced over the past few years. The effects of this philosophy at local level were well illustrated by the controversy over Berkshire's unemployment centres (meeting and socialising centres for the jobless), which was evident towards the end of the fieldwork survey. The County Council's employment sub-committee effectively closed the county's four unemployment centres (meeting and socialising centres for the jobless), at Reading, Slough, Newbury and Bracknell, by withdrawing their contribution to the funding. The money was redirected into new initiatives for the unemployed, such as job training. The recommendation put to the sub-committee stated that since 1982, when the centres were established, priorities had changed. A 10,000 drop in the number of unemployed had occurred. Those still without work frequently lacked skills, and it was felt that the emphasis should be switched to the provision of training. Little mention was made of those unemployed in other parts of the country who already possessed those skills in demand locally.

"Unemployment is down in our area. We are told there are more vacancies than people to fill them if only they had the necessary skills... We feel because of that we should be going towards more training. That is what we want to do to use our resources more effectively." (Ron Jewitt, Council Leader, reported in the Reading Evening Post, 28 November 1987)

Such developments are the local expression of the government's new training emphasis: "Training the workers without jobs for the jobs without workers" (8). This is a politically attractive, if simplistic notion. It overlooks the fact that unemployment is more than an absence

of appropriate skills; for many of those who are out of work, in whatever geographical milieu, the experience is total.

In Liverpool, unemployment touches sectors of the population which are not affected in Reading. Yet the unemployed in Reading may be more disadvantaged than their counterparts in Liverpool in some respects. Interviews with local Job Centre staff in each of the survey locations revealed that Jobclub members in Reading were more likely to have personal problems in addition to unemployment. This is illustrated by the analysis of the Jobclub throughflow records (table 6.5): the number of members in Reading with an additional health problem (10 per cent) was twice that in Liverpool. Whereas the exploration of job-search methods is probably the most important function of the Liverpool Jobclubs, in Reading, their therapeutic role is arguably of equal importance, a means of rebuilding confidence in the face of local prejudices.

The dual problems of skill shortage and housing pressures in Reading have created serious problems for both employers and prospective job movers. In some cases "job applicants [for teaching and social work] from the north have turned down offers simply because they cannot afford to move." (Reading Chronicle, 25 September 1987)

The coexistent problems of staff shortages and high housing costs prompted Reading Borough Council to introduce a Key Worker Policy, based on the experience of other local councils in the South East⁽⁹⁾. This comprised financial assistance with house purchase, and in some

cases preferential consideration for council accommodation. However, the borough council was unable to compete successfully with the relocation packages offered by private sector employers to workers with comparable skills.

Those of lower socio-economic status, or the unemployed moving speculatively, seldom receive any such housing or financial assistance, especially as the local council is forced to give priority to local unemployed and local needs. The problems encountered by those who do try were highlighted by the case of a couple with a young child who moved in to Reading after ten fruitless years looking for work in south Wales. After living in a rented caravan initially, they were forced to leave, and were placed in temporary bed and breakfast accommodation by Reading Borough Council. However, since the family had no connection with Reading, and did not satisfy the residential qualifications, the council were not obliged to accept responsibility for the family after a period of 28 days. The family eventually returned home to further unemployment. (Reading Chronicle, 25 September 1987; Reading Evening Post, 6 October 1987).

6.4 The household interview survey areas

The manner in which the household interview areas were selected was outlined in chapter five. This section provides a comparative picture of those areas. It is based on a variety of published and unpublished local sources, interviews with local planners and housing

officers, and the household interviews themselves. The picture supplements the census variable comparisons in tables 6.3 and 6.4, and provides the local context within which the profile of the sample drawn can be understood, and the results interpreted.

6.4.1 Low status owner-occupied areas

Both areas L1⁽¹⁰⁾ and R1 serve as examples of the bottom end of the owner-occupied housing market, which provides the 'first rung' on the housing ladder for many young households. Amidst the owner-occupiers there was a significant minority of private tenants renting unfurnished housing, often older people who had been resident for many years, before the practice of converting such houses into furnished tenancies became commonplace.

Area L1 was located around Kirkdale station, in the north of Liverpool district, straddling Melrose and County wards (figure 6.1). It is characteristic of the older terraced areas which form a ring around the city's central area. In 1921 virtually the entire built-up area of the city was contained within this ring, but since then it has been eroded at an increasing rate on the inward side by slum clearance and redevelopment by the inner council estates. There has been some erosion, too, by non-residential uses, such as the university and hospitals. The general characteristics of the population of this ring depart only in some respects from those of the city in general. The proportion of manual households was slightly higher than the city

average (table 6.3), and the age structure showed an imbalance, with a high proportion of families with pre-school children⁽¹¹⁾.

Area L1 contained some of the least adequate privately-owned housing for single families in the city, and had the lowest status occupants. It occupied a position at the bottom end of the owner-occupied housing market, providing many first homes for newly-formed households, offering a location on the outer side of the inner area that was comparatively accessible to the city centre. The housing was generally poor in quality. Narrow terraces of tunnel-backed bye-law houses opened directly on to the street; behind were small backyards and narrow back passageways. Despite the low physical standards, however, there was little evidence of serious deprivation or social malaise comparable with that in the rooming house areas or the inner council estates, and unemployment was no higher than the relatively low status of the area would indicate as being normal for the city⁽¹²⁾. The age structure of the population was one of the youngest of the city, apart from the newest outer council estates⁽¹²⁾.

The area has experienced some dramatic changes since 1971 under slum clearance and redevelopment programmes, and many more houses are scheduled for demolition in the near future⁽¹³⁾. Housing associations have been active over the past few years, taking over many sub-standard houses from both the owner-occupied and the private-rented sectors.

Area R1 was situated to the south and within easy access to Reading town centre (figure 6.2). It comprised mainly Victorian

terraced housing, similar to that in Liverpool, though generally of slightly higher quality, and improvements appeared to have been carried out more often by private owners. Socially, the area was more heterogeneous than area L1, and contained many more young professionals, who in Liverpool would be able to afford higher quality housing in other areas. There were a few long-standing tenants of unfurnished private-rented accommodation, but these were far less evident than in Liverpool (tables 6.3 and 6.4).

6.4.2 The inner area council estates

The inner area council estates contained some of the highest levels of unemployment and deprivation in the two cities. The two estates surveyed displayed remarkable physical similarities, and both provided first steps in the local authority system for many households. Yet community affiliations were very different in the two areas.

Area L2 was situated just north of the city centre, amidst the Vauxhall and Everton Heights (figure 6.2). Ninety-eight per cent the property in this area was local authority owned, and included some pre-war tenement blocks around open courtyards and 1950s walk-up flats, many of which were scheduled for demolition to make way for the new-style local authority housing (small terraced or semi-detached houses with gardens)⁽¹⁴⁾. The area contained a number of large tower blocks built in the 1960s, many of which were undergoing extensive refurbishment at the time of the survey.

Everton and Vauxhall generally were of very low socio-economic class. In the survey area itself the proportion of household heads who were semi-skilled or unskilled was almost twice that of the city at large. The unemployment rate was high, particularly long-term unemployment. Rates of car ownership and educational qualifications were also low. In addition, the area contained twice the Liverpool average proportion of large families, particularly with children of school age⁽¹⁵⁾. As the average size of dwellings was small, overcrowding was serious. Other problems included sickness, truancy, delinquency and supervision orders, which were two or three times the city average⁽¹⁵⁾. The rate of in-migration to the area was low. This, coupled with a comparatively young adult population, suggests that the social character of the area will not change significantly for a number of years.

Area R2 also bore all the hallmarks of an inner city council estate. Geographically, it was much further from the town centre than area L2, since Reading has not experienced the same history of slum clearance and redevelopment: consequently, most local authority housing tended to be on the outskirts of the town (figure 6.2). The estate was small and spatially discrete. It consisted of three large tower blocks (built at approximately the same period as those in Liverpool) surrounded by streets of terraced and semi-detached housing. Unlike Liverpool, there was no major new building activity, so the opportunities for local rehousing seemed more limited for tenants.

The tower block flats in area R2 served as a first step on the local authority housing ladder for many small households, and also contained a high proportion of elderly, disabled, and one-parent families⁽¹⁶⁾. The more desirable houses around, by contrast, contained some larger families, and some middle aged and elderly couples whose children had left home.

In both areas, there was a sharp contrast in attitudes between those tenants living in the tower blocks, (a great many of whom wanted to be rehoused), and those living in the houses with gardens, (very few of whom wanted to move out). This was emphasised by the numbers who have exercised their 'right to buy' the houses in each area, compared with those in the flats. The main difference between the two areas is in the strength of social cohesion and historic continuity. Although many residents in area R2 had lived there since the houses were first built in the 1950s, the estate was built on a 'greenfield' site, and there were few community ties which pre-dated its development. In area L2, by contrast, the continuity and cohesion of the community was an important influence on the attitudes of many households. Some areas were dominated by old communities rehoused en masse in the redevelopment programmes. Religious affiliation was also an important aspect of the cohesion of the community.

"Our previous flat was demolished... We wanted to stay local... Four generations of the family have lived in Holy Cross parish."
(LI.050).

"Well, without going into religion too much, I think this is a nice block because it's all Catholic, you know. But up there I mean it's a lot of the Orange gang, and there's a lot of

bitterness, and that's what causes the problems I think."
(LI.029).

The value of the social cohesion of these communities was recognised by architects and planners. The new rehousing programmes were relocating tenants from the same tenement blocks together in the same streets, sometimes just a few hundred metres away.

6.4.3 Private renting areas

The multi-let private-rented housing in Liverpool was geographically highly localised around Sefton Park/ Princes Avenue, and Newsham Park. The survey area L3 was located to the west of Sefton Park, within Aigburth ward (figure 6.1). The ward had a social status above average for the city, with a low percentage of manual workers (table 6.3). This presented the greatest sampling problems of all four areas. The area consisted mainly of larger houses (three and four storey early-Victorian terraces), and some mid- and late-Victorian large detached houses and villas.

The dramatic change in character of this rooming house area dates from the departure of its original occupants - the Victorian merchant classes and their successors - and the virtual disappearance of the domestic servants who made possible the use of these large houses as single family homes. A comparison of the 1971 and 1981 Census data indicates that the area has undergone two main changes in function over the past two decades⁽¹⁷⁾. As many of the original occupants grew older, the houses were split up, and parts offered for let, many on a sharing

basis. By 1981 many of these subdivided houses had been converted into fully-equipped, self-contained flats, either by the original occupants, or by housing associations. Thus the function of the area changed. It no longer comprised large family housing but maintained something of its original status as an area for professional people, by virtue of its accessible location, and attractive environment. During the 1980s this status dropped significantly, partly through proximity to the notorious 'Liverpool 8' [Toxteth] district. There were clear signs of continuing change in this area, as the private-rented sector was eroded further on two fronts. Some houses were being refurbished by private owners with the aid of local authority grants, and converted into small, high quality flats for sale, whilst other rented properties which had fallen into neglect were being taken over by housing associations.

The population comprised those normally unable to afford their own homes, yet who did not qualify for council tenancies: immigrants; young couples; and some single parent families. They nearly all sought rented, often furnished, accommodation in locations easily accessible to the city centre, the university and hospitals. The larger houses were traditionally well suited to this purpose, being either fully converted into separate self-contained flats, or subdivided into various types of shared accommodation. Nearly a third of households occupied only one or two rooms, and the area had a greater than average amount of overcrowding. The age structure was distinguished by the high proportion of young adults⁽¹⁸⁾.

Area L3 acted as a key reception area for new migrants to the city. For some it acted as a stepping stone to more suitable and permanent accommodation elsewhere in the city; for some it was associated with a temporary stay in the (especially in the case of students); but for others it had become a trap between the local authority and owner-occupied sectors.

The main area of private renting in Reading (area R3) was also geographically concentrated, centred on the notorious Zinzan and Waylen streets, where the 'baron' landlords operated (figure 6.2). The area consisted of a mixture of Victorian properties, mostly too large for single families and thus subdivided. Some of these were high status homes, but the majority had become flats and bedsits which catered for the poorer section of the local community. The proportions of unemployed and low-skilled, and of ethnic minorities were above average for the town as a whole. These groups were scattered among higher status residents in professional categories, who rented flats within easy reach of the town centre and the station. Like that in Liverpool, the area of rented housing served as a key reception area for immigrants.

The only important difference between the two areas was that the balance of rented accommodation was different. In Reading this was invariably of the furnished bedsit or bed-and breakfast variety. In Liverpool, housing associations and unfurnished rented accommodation was more evident. The differences between the areas reflect the

differences in the stock of private rented accommodation in the respective districts (tables 6.3 and 6.4).

6.4.4 The outer council estates.

Like the inner council areas, the outer council estates in each area displayed a range of similarities in their physical structure, and in the role they fulfilled within the local authority sector. The social class balance was also very similar. Differences emerged in the proportions unemployed in each area, and in the number of properties which had been purchased by tenants.

Area L4 comprised three enumeration districts in the centre of Speke, one of a number of outer council estates which formed a discontinuous semi-circle at a distance of about six miles from the city centre (figure 6.1). The housing stock was predominantly council owned (87 per cent), and even the apparent presence of 13 per cent owner-occupied homes was misleading, as it included homes sold by the council to their tenants.

Speke was a socially homogeneous area, with a predominance of manual households (table 6.3). The housing stock was very distinctive. In contrast to the inner council estates, 66 per cent of dwellings in were houses, and 65 per cent of these had three bedrooms. This gave a slightly below average size of dwelling for the city as a whole which, with the above-average size of households, led to considerable overcrowding. Other characteristics of deprivation were also above

average for the city: unemployment was higher, though sickness was less than average, and the non-census variables such as the percentage of children receiving free school meals or educationally sub normal, were also below average, though not as seriously as in the inner council estates⁽¹⁹⁾. The outer council estates have traditionally relied heavily on manufacturing for employment, and on the bus for travel to work.

Speke was, in many respects the most deprived of the outer council estates of Liverpool. It contained the largest proportion of unskilled workers, and consequently had high unemployment, low educational qualifications, and low car ownership. The local population showed a preponderance of school-age children, a comparatively high proportion of large families and overcrowding. Almost all of it was built during the late 1950s, and there has been relatively little in-migration in recent years. The estate was relatively inaccessible from main employment centres. As the local manufacturing base had shrunk, (for example the main employer in Speke itself, Dunlop, has now closed), there were few opportunities to provide new employment opportunities for the local population. Consequently, the experience of unemployment touched the vast majority of households, either directly or indirectly. Indeed one family untouched by unemployment regarded itself as something of a rarity.

"Yes I know...three sons and a daughter, and they're all working full time... It's like finding teeth in a chicken!" (LI.081).

Whitley Wood (area R4) was Reading's equivalent to Speke (figure

6.2). Built in the same period, it had a similar mixture of houses and flats. It did not suffer the same geographical isolation, however, being much nearer to the town centre. It contained many of the most desirable local authority properties, as demonstrated by the large proportion which had recently passed into owner-occupation. Like many other outer council estates throughout the UK, Whitley Wood was characterised by higher than average levels of unemployment, and a concentration of people working in manual occupations (table 6.4), low levels of car ownership, and a high proportion of large families. Many of the older properties were now being renovated or modernised, but on a smaller scale to Speke.

6.5 Profile of the household sample

Despite the adoption of ^a standard procedure in the selection of survey areas and the sampling technique, discussed in chapter five, there were some differences in the sample drawn from each location, which reflect differences in the survey areas and the census districts in which they were located. At this point it is important to note some of those differences, and also to provide a profile of the households interviewed, against which the results reported in chapters seven, eight and nine may be set.

Table 6.6 outlines the employment position of the principal wage earners in the two hundred household surveyed. Exactly half the sample were working: 19 per cent were unemployed and seeking work, with the

remaining 31 per cent economically inactive. Although the number of economically inactive was the same in each of the two survey locations, the relative balance between the employed and the unemployed was very different, reflecting the overall differences in rates of unemployment between the two cities. The number of unemployed in the Liverpool sample was almost three times that in Reading, whilst the number employed was correspondingly smaller. The difference in the ratio of employed to unemployed between the two locations reinforced the picture presented by the 1981 census (tables 6.3 and 6.4), although the proportion of unemployed in the sample population of each location is naturally higher than that recorded by the census, by virtue of the particular sampling techniques adopted.

Analysis of household size (table 6.7) shows broad similarities between the two locations, although the average number of persons per household was higher in Liverpool (3.2) than in Reading (2.7), resulting from more small (one and two person) households in the latter. These differences in household size may be explained partly in terms of different housing stock in the two areas, with a greater degree of subdivision of old properties into flats, and a greater rate of private development in the more buoyant housing market of Reading. They might also, in part, reflect the respective employment opportunities available to young people, with a greater number of 'trapped' households in Liverpool than in Reading. Some of these included siblings who would have liked to break away from their parental home, but were unable to do so for financial reasons.

Analysis of the housing of the sample showed that just over half (53 per cent) lived in terraced houses, and almost a quarter (23.5) lived in flats (table 6.8). The rest were divided between semi-detached or detached houses (15.5 per cent) and bedsits (7.5 per cent). However, there were some important differences between the two areas. Although the number of flats in each area was similar, terraced housing accounted for over two-thirds (68 per cent) of dwellings in Liverpool, but little more than one third (38 per cent) in Reading. Conversely, the two extremes, (bedsits and larger houses), accounted for a larger proportion of the total in Reading. Despite these differences between the two locations in the balance of house types, house size as measured by the mean number of bedrooms was virtually identical (table 6.9).

Differences between the two locations in housing type may be explained in terms of historical inheritance, with a greater proportion of Victorian working-class terraced housing in Liverpool. They may also be attributed to the differences in tenure balance between the two locations (table 6.10). The private-rented sector was more important in Reading where it has been associated with the subdivision of larger properties into flats or bedsits for rent. In Liverpool, by comparison, cheaper rents made this process far less lucrative for local private landlords. Furthermore, housing associations appeared to have been more active in Liverpool, and had taken over the management of many poorer quality private-rented properties. This process tends to favour the establishment of family size units, rather than their subdivision.

The balance of housing tenure was carefully stratified, and obviously reflects the survey areas selected. However it is apparent that even when a standard sampling procedure was applied to the two locations, the resulting samples differed to some extent, reflecting the differences in the general districts in which they were located. For these reasons, Reading had a higher rate of owner-occupation than Liverpool, and a lower rate of local authority renting. There were even more important differences in the housing association and private-rented sectors, 18 per cent of households in Liverpool belonged to the former but none in Reading. Conversely, the private-rented sector accounted for 26 per cent of housing in Reading, but a mere 7 per cent in Liverpool. Furthermore, within the private-rented sector, furnished rented accommodation was more important in Reading, whereas unfurnished rented accommodation was more important in Liverpool (table 6.10).

There are a number of processes which give rise to these differences. First, although local authority housing has constituted a larger proportion of the housing stock in Liverpool than in Reading for many years, it seemed that these differences were being accentuated by the higher rate of council house sales in Reading than Liverpool. Theoretically, the sampling methods adopted should have yielded a sample containing close to 50 local authority homes in each area. The sample which was drawn contained 48 local authority homes in Liverpool, and 39 in Reading. This difference is due to the greater degree of homogeneity among housing areas in Liverpool, and second to the

differential rate at which local authority property has passed into owner occupation since the 1981 census.

The housing association and private-rented sectors are closely related in each area, and if combined, account for 25 cases in Liverpool, and 26 cases in Reading. Again, recent changes provide part of the explanation for this, since private-rented accommodation has passed into housing association management. This appeared to have taken place at a much faster rate in Liverpool than in Reading.

Analysis of the household social class profiles serves to validate the sampling methods used, and also highlights some of the differences between the two locations. The social class balance of the sample, (as measured by the social class of the current or most recent occupation of the principal wage earner) was heavily weighted towards the manual occupations (table 6.11): the manual classes (3M, 4 and 5) accounted for over 70 per cent of the sample population. Social class 3N accounted for a further 17.5 per cent, and class 2 for 5.5 per cent, with the remainder (6.5 per cent) distributed between unclassified and class 1.

The predominance of manual occupations was more evident in Liverpool than in Reading for a number of reasons. First, it reflected the greater proportions of these groups in the survey areas and in Liverpool district (table 6.3). Other factors include the greater sampling difficulties encountered in Reading, related to its smaller size, and the greater socio-economic heterogeneity at the level of

enumeration districts, caused by continuing processes of embourgeoisement, which include the purchase of council housing and the gentrification of lower-status owner-occupied inner area housing. Hence the application of a standard sampling procedure in the two locations yielded a sample of households, 70.5 per cent of which were classified as manual: 80 per cent in Liverpool and 61 per cent in Reading.

6.6 Local job opportunities and job search

The preceding discussion has compared the housing and labour markets of the two survey locations and has profiled the household sample and the eight survey areas from which it was drawn. Thus far, however, there has been little discussion of the unemployed or their job search activities. This section compares the opportunities available to low-skilled unemployed job seekers at each location, using a survey of local newspapers and local Job Centre records. It provides a more detailed context in which to set the discussion of migration behaviour and migration attitudes in following chapters. It also presents some objective measures of job-search activities, both locally and in other areas, to complement the more detailed account of the problems of looking for work locally and of responding to opportunities in other areas, which will emerge from the group discussions.

6.6.1 Job vacancies in the local press

A comparative survey of job vacancies advertised in local newspapers highlights the vast differences in the type and quantity of vacancies available in each location. The survey was based on a four-week samples of the Liverpool Echo during November 1986 and of the Reading Evening Post during September/October 1987. The results of this survey provide a stark contrast which cannot be accounted for by differences in national rates of vacancies between the survey periods.

A total of 1,457 vacancies were recorded in Liverpool, compared with 5,016 in Reading (table 6.12). When these figures were related to the numbers of copies sold, the difference between the two places became even more pronounced: The ratio of advertised vacancies to copies sold in Liverpool (1:3,400) was less than twenty times that in Reading (1:158).

Analysis of the occupational class of vacancies advertised illustrates the scarcity of semi-skilled and unskilled manual vacancies in Liverpool relative to Reading (2.8 per cent and 17.0 per cent of all vacancies respectively). All manual vacancies combined constituted almost half (46.3 per cent) of advertisements in Reading, and less than one fifth (18.9 per cent) in Liverpool. Hence semi-skilled and unskilled vacancies were extremely scarce in Liverpool, but over-represented relative to the proportion of the population employed in these occupation groups in Reading. Employers in Reading who placed large advertisements for gangs of bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters,

hod carriers and general labourers would not have needed to incur this expense in Liverpool, where 'putting the word out' would probably have yielded a vast surplus of suitable applicants within hours.

This survey confirms the picture presented by DE records of vacancies advertised at job centres relative to the number of unemployed job seekers registering there, but what effect do these local labour market differences have on the job search process and the likelihood of finding work?

6.6.2 Job search activities of Jobclub members

Analysis of the performance and throughflow records of local Jobclubs at Garston Job Centre in Liverpool and The Butts Job Centre in Reading (figures 6.1 and 6.2) provides some insight into job-search activity and job placement rates (table 6.13). At first sight it appears that the job entry rate in Liverpool (67 per cent) was substantially higher than in Reading (42 per cent). Yet this must be qualified, since the 'other' category (55 per cent in Reading and 29 per cent in Liverpool) contains job entrants who have not reported their success to the Job Centre. Moreover, interviews with Jobclub leaders suggested that some members who were particularly disadvantaged in local labour markets, and who had joined Jobclubs in Reading, may have been less inclined to do so in Liverpool, since their expectations of finding work would have been far lower. Some evidence for this is provided by table 6.5, which shows that members over 40 years were far more numerous in Reading (50 per cent) than in Liverpool (19 per cent).

Although members in Liverpool appeared more likely to enter full-time employment than their counterparts in Reading, they were also three times as likely to take up a place on the Community Programme.

A good indication of the relative difficulty of securing employment in the two locations is provided by an analysis of a sample of Jobclub members over the same five month period (table 6.14). The average Jobclub member in Liverpool spent almost twice as long as his/her counterpart in Reading, and made far more applications in the form of letter, telephone calls and visits. Each job-entry recorded in Liverpool represents an effort equivalent to 25.9 replies to advertisements, 149 telephone calls and 2.4 visits. The same job entry in Reading was achieved with nine fewer replies to advertisements, one less visit, and 139 fewer telephone calls. Hence securing a job required far greater levels of activity in Liverpool than in Reading, and was by inference far more difficult. But does the relative difficulty of securing a job locally encourage people to look further afield?

6.6.3 The local operation of the Forward Fares for Interview Scheme

The review of government assistance to the unemployed seeking work in other areas in chapter three concluded that the only financial assistance available after April 1986 was in the form of the Travel to Interview Scheme (subsequently renamed the Forward Fares for Interview Scheme, FFIS). Under this scheme unemployed job seekers may apply for expenses to travel to a pre-arranged job interview beyond reasonable

daily travelling distance, provided they have been unemployed for a minimum of six months. Hence it can be assumed that securing a job which meets the criteria of the scheme will entail migrating or working away from home. The FFIS is thus the best objective indicator of job-search beyond the local area among the unemployed.

In the course of one year (April 1987 to March 1988), 28 FFIS applications were awarded at The Butts Job Centre, Reading, compared with 737 at Lord Street/ Williamson Square, Liverpool (table 6.15). The rate of acceptance was also much lower in Reading (61 per cent) than in Liverpool (86 per cent). When these figures were related to the general extent of Job Centre usage, it was shown that one FFIS application was made for every 3,046 recorded contacts with a member of staff in Reading; the rate in Liverpool was one per 269 contacts. Hence it appears that the scarcity of local opportunities does have a significant impact on the likelihood of seeking work in other areas.

Unfortunately, these data tell us nothing about the types of job to which interviewees were travelling under the scheme; hence it is not possible to assess whether propensity to search in other areas is linked to occupational class. Moreover they do not allow any assessment of whether the unemployed were more inclined to look for jobs in other areas than those in employment. These are some of the themes addressed in the following chapter.

Notes

- 1 Interviews with local planners, Reading Borough Council, July 1987
- 2 BBC Panorama, 27 June 1988
- 3 Interviews with local planners, Reading Borough Council, July 1987
- 4 Knight, Frank and Rutley, quoted in Dineen, 1988, op cit
- 5 Reading Evening Post, 30 September 1987
- 6 Interviews with local planners, Reading Borough Council, July 1987
- 7 'RI.132' = household interview number 132, Reading. Similar notation is used for interviews in Liverpool (L). This notation is used henceforth in all references to household interviews in this and subsequent chapters.
- 8 'Action for Jobs' publicity booklet (undated); Employment Training and Enterprise programmes of the Department of Employment and the Manpower Services Commission, HMSO: London.
- 9 'Key Worker Policies Survey of South-East Local Authorities', unpublished report of Reading Borough Council's Economic Promotion Sub-Committee, 1987.
- 10 All references to survey areas use the following notation:
L1 = Liverpool survey area one; R1 = Reading survey area one etc.
Figures 6.1 and 6.2 show location of survey areas.
References to household interviews (see note 7 above) may also be related to the survey areas in which they were undertaken:
interviews 001-025, L1; 026-050, L2; 051-075, L3; 076-100, L4;
101-125, R1; 126-150, R2; 151-175, R3; 176-200, R4.
- 11 Unpublished social indicators, Liverpool City Council, 1986.
- 12 1981 Social Area Study, Liverpool City Council, 1984.
- 13 Interviews with local planners, Liverpool City Council, September 1986.
- 14 1981 Social Area Study, Liverpool City Council, 1984.
- 15 Unpublished social indicators, Liverpool City Council, 1986.
- 16 1981 Social Area Study, Liverpool City Council, 1984.
- 17 Social Area Analyses based on the 1971 and 1981 censuses, Liverpool City Council, 1974; 1984.
- 18 Social Area Analysis, Liverpool City Council, 1984.
- 19 Unpublished social indicators, Liverpool City Council, 1986.

Figure 6.1
 Survey areas and Jobclubs in Liverpool

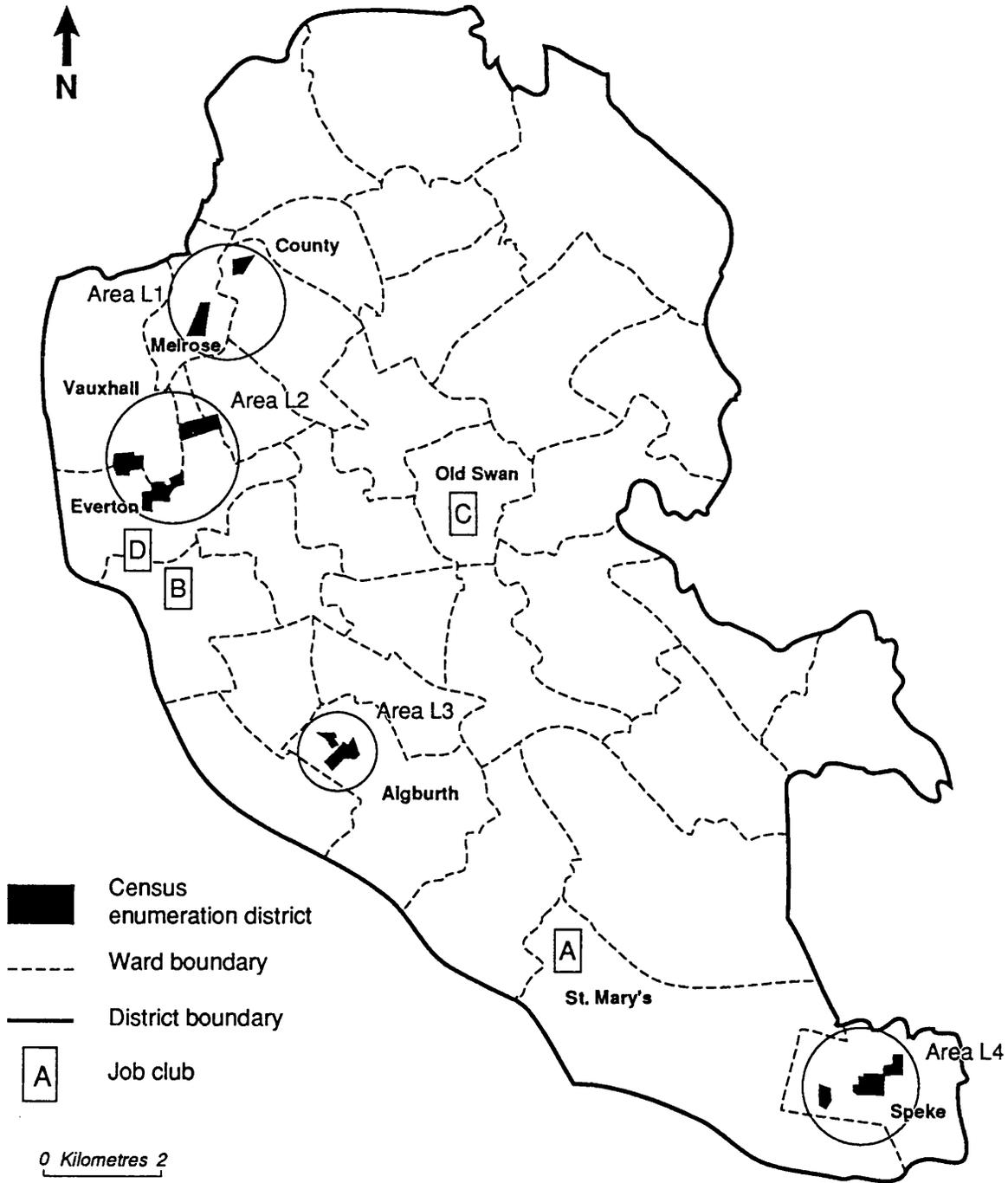
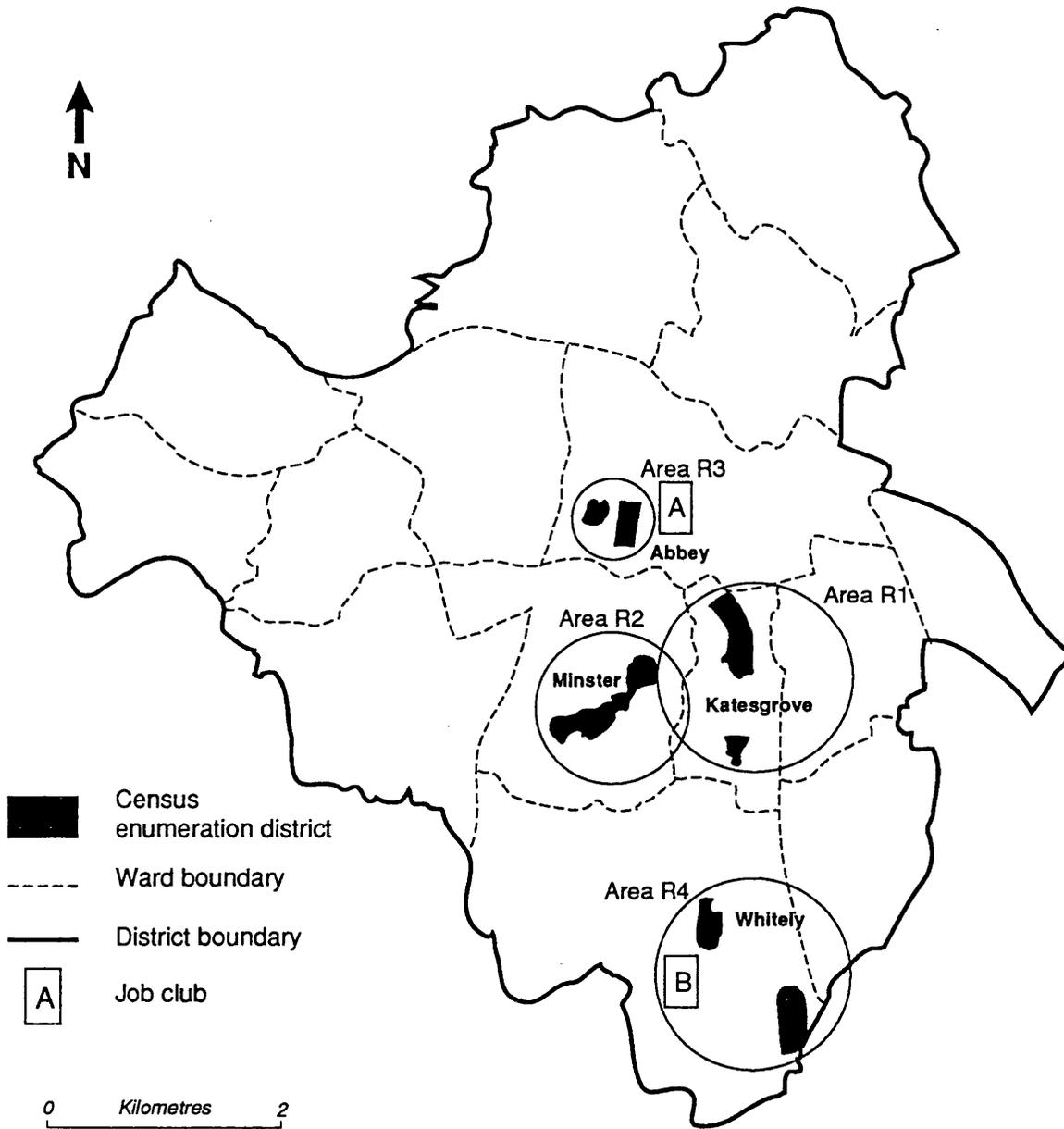


Figure 6.2
Survey areas and Jobclubs in Reading



Notes to figures 6.1 and 6.2

Each survey area comprises three enumeration districts

Jobclubs:

Liverpool	A	Garston
	B	Lord Street
	C	Old Swan
	D	Williamson Square
Reading	A	The Butts
	B	Manor Farm (Skills Centre)

Table 6.1
 Unemployment rates in parliamentary constituencies:
 Liverpool and Reading 1987

	D.E ⁽¹⁾	U.U ⁽²⁾
Feb. '87		
Liverpool:		
Broadgreen	21.8%	24.9%
Garston	18.6%	21.5%
Mossley Hill	20.5%	23.6%
Riverside	29.2%	33.9%
Walton	23.8%	27.3%
West Derby	23.3%	26.8%
Reading		
East	7.6%	8.8%
West	6.3%	7.1%
Nov. '87		
S.E.Region	6.6%	8.6%
N.W.Region	12.1%	15.5%

Notes:

- 1 The official headline statistic (Department of Employment count)
- 2 The Unemployed Unit index. This estimates the level of unemployment on the pre-November 1982 basis. The index does not, however, include an estimate for those people removed from the count through Special Employment Measures such as the Community Programme.

Source: Unemployment Unit (1987), pages 24 & 35.

Table 6.2

Political affiliations and trends: parliamentary constituencies in Liverpool and Reading 1983-87

	1983		1987		Change in maj. 1983-87
	Party	Majority	Party	Majority	
Liverpool:					
Broadgreen	Lab	3,800	Lab	6,047	+2247
Garston	Lab	4,002	Lab	13,777	+9775
Mossley Hill	Lib	4,195	Lab	2,226	Lib-Lab
Riverside	Lab	17,378	Lab	20,689	+3311
Walton	Lab	14,115	Lab	23,253	+9138
West Derby	Lab	11,843	Lab	20,496	+8653
Reading					
East	Con	8,613	Con	16,217	+7604
West	Con	11,399	Con	16,753	+5354

(Votes cast in the general elections of 1983 and 1987)

Con: Conservative

Lab: Labour

Lib: Liberal

Source: The Guardian, 11 June 1983; 13 June 1987

Table 6.3

Table 6.3
Employment and housing in Liverpool: profile from 1981 census

	Total Persons Resident	Total households	Average Econ. h'hold size	Econ. active work (%)	Seeking work (%)	Housing Tenure (% households)		Social Class (%)		
						OO	LA	3M	4	5
Merseyside	1,503,120	528,864	2.84	35.2	14.9	52.0	33.0	25.8	14.0	6.1
Liverpool	503,722	180,515	2.79	47.1	18.2	40.6	39.6	25.0	15.1	7.6
All survey areas	4,267	1,614	2.60	47.6	27.2	21.4	51.1	20.5	18.6	15.5
Area L1	1,386	494	2.81	49.8	24.2	60.3	6.7	18.7	18.0	15.1
Area L2	1,395	549	2.54	45.4	44.5	0.4	98.0	16.5	25.1	27.2
Area L3	757	344	2.20	50.6	11.4	15.9	12.5	14.5	10.4	5.8
Area L4	729	227	3.21	44.6	28.7	8.8	87.0	32.2	20.7	13.7

Notes:

Each survey area comprises three enumeration districts.

"Seeking work": per cent economically active

- OO: Owner-occupied
- LA: Local authority
- PRU: Private-rented (unfurnished)
- PRF: Private-rented (furnished)

Social class: persons in households by social class of head of household where economically active.

- 3M: Skilled manual
- 4 : Semi-skilled manual
- 5 : Unskilled manual

Source: 1981 census, small area statistics

Table 6.4

Table 6.4
Employment and housing in Reading: profile from 1981 census

	Total Persons Resident	Total households	Average h'hold size	Econ. active (%)	Seeking work (%)	Housing Tenure (% households)			Social Class (%)			
						00	LA	PRu	PRf	3M	4	5
Berkshire	670,859	233,629	2.87	50.6	5.0	62.9	23.2	4.4	3.7	23.7	10.7	2.7
Reading	130,891	47,896	2.73	50.2	6.5	61.7	21.6	6.5	6.4	25.5	11.8	3.6
All survey areas	5,634	2,157	2.61	53.4	11.2	34.4	39.6	8.1	16.7	29.8	14.8	6.9
Area R1	1,454	553	2.63	51.8	10.6	72.7	3.1	10.4	13.2	25.4	17.9	6.9
Area R2	1,541	624	2.47	53.3	9.4	10.4	81.8	0.6	0.2	33.1	16.2	5.8
Area R3	983	425	2.31	59.4	15.1	28.7	0.0	20.9	53.4	18.3	15.3	5.1
Area R4	1,656	575	2.88	49.0	9.7	25.7	73.4	0.5	0.2	37.4	9.7	9.7

Notes:

Each survey area comprises three enumeration districts.

"Seeking work": per cent economically active

- 00: Owner-occupied
- LA: Local authority
- PRu: Private-rented (unfurnished)
- PRf: Private-rented (furnished)

Social class: persons in households by social class of head of household where economically active.

- 3M: Skilled manual
- 4 : Semi-skilled manual
- 5 : Unskilled manual

Source: 1981 census, small area statistics

Table 6.5
 Characteristics of Jobclub members in Liverpool and Reading
 (Per cent)

	Liverpool	Reading
Sex		
male	73	71
female	27	29
all	100	100
Age		
under 25	39	16
25 to 39	42	34
40 to 59	19	46
over 60	0	4
all	100	100
Ethnic group		
White	96	85
Asian	2	8
West Indian	0	2
other	2	5
all	100	100
Duration of unemployment		
6 months to 1 year	42	36
1 to 2 years	19	21
2 to 3 years	11	11
over 3 years	27	32
all	100	100
Method of recruitment		
Manpower Services Commission	99	86
other	1	14
all	100	100
Health problem		
additional health problem	5	10
no additional health problem	95	90
all	100	100
Base sample	124	98

Source: Jobclub throughflow records (Garston Job Centre, Liverpool and The Butts Job Centre, Reading), weeks ending 24/4/87 to 25/9/87, (MSC form JC8B)

Table 6.6
Employment status of respondents by location

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
Working	41	59	100
Unemployed	28	10	38
Retired	31	31	62
Total	100	100	200

Source: household survey

Table 6.7
Household size by location

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
Number of persons:			
1	12	21	33
2	29	37	66
3	21	12	33
4	15	17	32
5 and over	23	13	36
Total	100	100	200

Source: household survey

Table 6.8
Housing type by location

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
Bedsit	3	12	15
Flat	23	24	47
House (terraced)	68	38	106
House (semi-detached/ detached)	6	26	32
Total	100	100	200

Source: household survey

Table 6.9
Number of bedrooms per household by location

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
Bedrooms: 1	10	19	29
2	24	26	50
3	54	45	99
4 and over	12	10	22
(Mean)	(2.7)	(2.5)	(2.6)
Total	100	100	200

Source: household survey

Table 6.10
Housing tenure by location

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
Owner-occupied (owned outright)	10	12	22
Owner-occupied (mortgaged)	17	23	40
Local authority	48	39	87
Private-rented (unfurnished)	5	6	11
Private-rented (furnished)	2	20	22
Housing association	18	0	18
Total	100	100	200

Source: household survey

Table 6.11
Social class of previous job (person 1) by location

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
Professional/managerial	1	1	2
Intermediate	2	9	11
Junior non-manual	13	22	35
Skilled manual	19	27	46
Semi-skilled manual	37	20	57
Unskilled manual	24	14	38
Unclassified	2	1	3
Total	100	100	200

Source: household survey

Table 6.12

Job vacancies in the local press, Liverpool and Reading

	Liverpool ¹	Reading ²
Occupational class of vacancy		
professional, managerial and intermediate (1 and 2)	652 (44.7)	724 (14.4)
junior non-manual (3n)	529 (36.3)	1 965 (39.2)
skilled manual (3m)	235 (16.1)	1 472 (29.3)
semi-skilled and unskilled manual (4 and 5)	41 (2.8)	855 (17.0)
Total vacancies	1 457 (100)	5 016 (100)
Estimated sales in period ³	4 945 000	792 000
Sales per vacancy	3 400	158

Notes: 1 'Liverpool Echo', 3/11 to 29/11/1986

2 'Reading Evening Post', 14/9 to 10/10/1987

3 Based on Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) figures

Table 6.13

Jobclub members by reason for leaving, Liverpool and Reading

(Per cent)

	Liverpool	Reading
Job Offer: Part Time	6	5
Job Offer: Full Time	46	32
Community Programme	15	5
Other positive outcome	4	3
Other	29	55
All	100	100
Job Entry Rate (a+b+c as per cent of total)	67	42
Of all jobs (a+b):		
Permanent	68	89
Temporary	32	11
All	100	100
Base sample	124	98

Source: Jobclub throughflow records, (Garston Job Centre, Liverpool and The Butts Job Centre, Reading), week ending 24/4/87 to 25/9/87, (MSC form JC8B).

Table 6.14

The activities of Jobclub members, Liverpool and Reading

	Liverpool	Reading
Number of Members leaving during period	124	98
Total person-weeks spent in Jobclub	1235	550
Average period in Jobclub (in weeks)	10.0	5.6
Advertised vacancies pursued	1229	684
Speculative Applications:		
Telephone calls	1735	411
Letters	9994	1641
Visits	159	71
Interviews attended	no data	271
Activity per member:		
Advertised vacancies	9.9	6.9
Telephone calls	14.0	4.2
Visits	1.3	0.7
Activity per person-week:		
Advertised vacancies	1.0	1.2
Telephone calls	8.1	0.7
Visits	0.1	0.1
Activity per Job Entry:		
Advertised vacancies	25.9	16.3
Telephone calls	149.2	9.8
Visits	2.4	1.7

Source: Jobclub performance returns, (Garston Job Centre, Liverpool and The Butts Job Centre, Reading), week ending 24/4/87 to 25/9/87 (MSC form JC7B).

Table 6.15

Operation of the Forward Fares for Interview scheme in Liverpool and Reading

	Liverpool	Reading
FFIS applications [a]	737	28
FFIS awards [b]	634	17
FFIS acceptance rate [b/a x 100]	86%	61%
Mean weekly Job Centre usage [c]	3816	1640
Index of FFIS applications [a/c x 100]	19.3	1.7
Index of FFIS awards [b/c x 100]	16.6	1.0
Job Centre contacts per FFIS application [c x 52/a]	269	3046

Source: Job Centre records (Williamson Square/ Lord Street Job Centre, Liverpool and The Butts Job Centre, Reading), March 1987 to March 1988.

Chapter Seven

DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION BEHAVIOUR AND MIGRATION ATTITUDES

7.1 Introduction

The different theoretical perspectives on the reasons for the relative immobility of the low-skilled (discussed in chapter four) have yielded a number of variables which have been used as determinants of mobility. Of particular importance are occupational status, unemployment, housing tenure, birthplace, previous migration and the spread of personal contacts. In most analyses of migration behaviour, action is used to understand motivation and aspiration. In what follows, however, the determinants of mobility are related to both actual migration behaviour and attitudes to migration, for both work and other reasons. It is argued that whilst many of these variables are statistically related to migration behaviour, their relationship to attitudes towards migration is less clear. Moreover, the survey shows there are key differences between attitudes to movement for employment reasons and attitudes to movement for 'other' reasons, differences which are most important in understanding why some people move and why others do not.

Any discussion of actual migration behaviour confronts the obvious problem of what constitutes a migration. In the analysis of migration

behaviour here, three measures of mobility experience were adopted: first, whether or not the household had ever lived in another area (ie. outside the census district of Liverpool/Reading): second, whether or not members of the household had ever worked in another area: and third, the birthplace distribution of household members. The third measure is particularly useful, as it encompasses experience of different members of a household prior to its formation. It may also be used as a measure of attachment to a particular area, since households composed entirely of people born within the district could be expected to have a closer attachment to that district than households where this was not the case.

Obtaining a reasonably objective view of the highly subjective issue of attitude towards migration is even more difficult than establishing actual behaviour. Despite the dangers of oversimplification, it was felt that a simple, direct approach was best. Consequently, attitude towards migration was based on the questions 'would you consider moving away for employment reasons?', and 'would you consider moving away for any other [ie. non-work] reasons?'. In most of the following analysis, differences between Liverpool and Reading were negligible against other differences between groups of households, but there were clearly some relationships where place had a strong complementary influence. These relationships are discussed below.

7.2 Occupational status

In order to examine the relationship between occupational status and mobility, the current or most recent occupation of the 'principal wage earner' was used to derive a social class variable. Chi-square tests were then applied to assess the statistical relationship. These showed that there was a relationship between this variable and previous mobility, as measured by the birthplace distribution of 'principal wage earners', and between social class and birthplace distribution of all household members. Members of households in which the principal wage earner was engaged in manual work were more likely to have been born within the immediate district than those in which the principal wage earner was non-manual (tables 7.1 and 7.2).

There was also a relationship between social class of the principal wage earner and whether the household had lived outside the county [Merseyside/Berkshire] at some time in the past: manual households were less likely to have done so than their non-manual counterparts. The majority (61 per cent) of all respondents had never lived outside Merseyside/Berkshire. Yet among non-manual workers, those who had lived in other areas were in the majority (52 per cent), but in the minority (34 per cent) among manual workers (table 7.3). However, although the differential between the manual and non-manual groups was significant when related to past residence in other areas, there was no relationship between social class and experience of working in other areas on this basis (table 7.4). The reasons for the differences between past experience of living in other areas and past experience of working

in other areas may be due to the greater experience of working away from home among manual workers (see chapter eight).

The relationship between social class and attitudes to migration supports these findings. The household social class variable used was derived from the social class of the current occupation of the principal wage earner where in employment, and the most recent occupation where unemployed or not working. Although the relationship between household social class and preparedness to move for either work or non-work reasons was not statistically significant (tables 7.5a and 7.6), half of all households to which a social class variable was assigned stated that they would be prepared to move away for work reasons (table 7.5). The rate was highest among non-manual workers (63.9 per cent) and lowest among semi-skilled and unskilled workers (44.4 per cent), with skilled manual workers falling between the two (46.1 per cent). These results suggest that first, whilst manual households were less likely to have lived in other areas in the past, they were equally likely to have worked in other areas, and second, differences between social class groups in attitudes to migration for both work and non-work reasons are minimal.

Although manual households seemed less inclined to move away from their home areas for work and non-work reasons, and were less likely to have lived in another area in the past, they were equally likely to have worked in another area. How can these differences be reconciled? One key, perhaps, lies in the terminology itself. During the first Jobclub discussion conducted, the term 'willingness to move' was swiftly

criticised. In short, many manual workers who did not particularly want to move to other areas, may have done so of necessity.

STEVE: I said I was prepared to move. I didn't say I was willing to. They're two completely different things (LG.1)

Thus while manual workers were equally likely to have worked in other areas in the past, they were not necessarily favourably disposed to the idea. Indeed, once job considerations were removed from the issue, the difference between the two social class groups became clear, since manual workers were far less likely to have lived in other areas in the past. The explanation for these differences, it seems, lies in the fact that many manual workers have worked away on short-term contractual or seasonal work, whilst maintaining their permanent home. Where the work was short-term, it was not feasible to uproot the household and move elsewhere. The implications are that although there seems to be no significant difference between manual and non-manual workers in responding to employment opportunities in other areas, there is a difference in either propensity or ability to move to these areas permanently. This theme is taken up in subsequent chapters.

Besides these differences between occupation groups, there is also a significant difference between the two locations in the likelihood of having lived outside the county, though not in having worked outside the county (tables 7.7 and 7.8). In Liverpool 22 per cent of respondents had lived outside the county at some time in the past, compared with 78 per cent in Reading, suggesting a greater degree of attachment to the former. Yet the proportion of respondents who had worked outside the county at some time in the past was similar in each

location: 45 per cent in Liverpool and 55 per cent in Reading. This difference may be explained in part by the fact that the administrative area of Berkshire corresponds less closely to a meaningful labour market boundary than that of Merseyside, because of the influence of London.

When asked whether they would be prepared to move away for employment reasons, just over half (53.4 per cent) of all respondents answered yes. The rate was marginally higher in Liverpool (55.5 per cent) than in Reading (51.3 per cent), although not significantly so (table 7.9). Moreover, preparedness to move does not appear to be related to employment position, since 55.6 per cent of the employed and 54 per cent of the unemployed stated that they would move for job reasons (table 7.10). The immediate implications of these findings are that contrary to the assumptions of neo-classical labour market theory, variations in rates of wages and employment appeared to have little impact on attitudes to movement for work reasons: the unemployed were not more prepared to respond to such differentials than those in employment.

When questioned about attitudes to movement for non-work reasons, there seemed to be a greater unwillingness to leave Merseyside than Berkshire, although the difference was not statistically significant (table 7.11). Such a difference may result from a greater attachment to the home area in Liverpool, which offset better employment opportunities in other areas. The attachment may be reinforced by practical difficulties, particularly related to monetary costs and

housing, which make it more difficult to move from this area than from Reading.

This preliminary look at the relationship between occupational status and migration serves to illustrate its complexity. Substantial numbers of both manual and non-manual workers showed a strong attachment to the local area, never having lived elsewhere, but this trait was especially characteristic of manual occupations.

7.3 Previous migration experience

The preceding section pointed to the significance of previous residence and mobility experience in affecting the likelihood of moving again. This will now be considered in more detail. Migration theory suggests that those who have moved in the past are more likely to do so again than those who have not. The rationale for this is that once long-standing social ties in a home area have been severed, it is easier for the individual or household to undertake subsequent moves from those areas to which ties have not become so strong. Such ideas underlie explanations for the movement of career-mobile higher socio-economic groups (see, for example, Packard's Nation of Strangers, 1972). Do the same arguments work in reverse to explain the immobility of those of lower socio-economic groups?

Information on respondents' past experiences of migration showed that 60 per cent of the sample had never lived outside

Merseyside/Berkshire (table 7.7). This figure was significantly higher in Liverpool (78 per cent) than in Reading (42 per cent). When past experience of working in other areas was examined however, the difference between the two areas was minimal (table 7.8). More detailed analysis of these results reveals that of those from Liverpool who had lived or worked outside the county in the past, the majority had retained the same home base, but worked elsewhere in the UK or overseas (table 7.12). By contrast, none of the Reading sample fell into these categories. This is a very important difference, and one which endures today. Indeed, the very perception of questions related to attitudes to movement emphasised these differences. In Liverpool, when contemplating the question 'would you consider moving away for employment reasons?', many immediately interpreted this as meaning working away from home. The fact that the question related to household migration had to be made quite explicit. Yet in Reading, the latter interpretation was taken for granted.

These differences emphasise the different understanding of the relationship between work and home in the two locations. In Liverpool, work was more often detached from the home base, and was more likely to be seen as short-term, whereas in Reading the location of work and home usually went hand in hand. There may well be deeper attachments to Liverpool than to Reading as a place to live, once work is removed from the equation. Also important is the experience of the meaning of work in the two locations, which is inextricably connected with the history of their respective labour markets (see chapter nine).

Whilst respondents from Liverpool may have worked in other parts of the UK or even abroad in the past, the implications of table 7.12 are that they clearly regarded Liverpool as their home throughout. Indeed, the only other category of any size was those who had lived and worked elsewhere in the UK (15 per cent as against 23 per cent in Reading). Whilst some respondents from Reading had experience of working elsewhere in the region (usually London) from the same home base, none had worked elsewhere in the UK or overseas without regarding these places as their home too. Sixteen per cent of the Reading sample had lived and worked elsewhere in the region, and eight per cent had lived and worked overseas. This compares with rates of a mere two per cent for each of these categories in Liverpool. Hence there is a local dimension, perhaps linked to the local labour market, to experiences and attitudes to movement.

Past experience of migration is clearly the best measure of behaviour to relate to migration attitudes. However, for each successful migration, there may be many more attempted migrations which did not occur for a variety of reasons. Moreover, ability to translate migration aspirations into migration actions may be different for different groups of households, dependant upon socio-economic status and housing tenure for example. Hence it is important to examine past consideration of migration as well as past migration actions.

Thirty-seven per cent of all respondents had seriously considered migrating in the past. Of these the largest number (63.5 per cent) had considered moving out of their region to destinations in the UK.

Curiously, the next largest category (23.0 per cent) had considered moving overseas; the remainder (13.5 per cent) considered moving elsewhere in the region. Moreover, the rank order of these categories was the same in both survey locations, although perhaps for different reasons. These figures appear to challenge common assumptions of gravity models of migration, and serve to emphasise the extent of household upheaval which may occur through migration to another area.

Even more surprising is the fact that only one-third of the sample replied that they had ever seriously considered moving to another area. This is not consistent with the fact that 52 per cent of respondents said they would consider moving for work reasons, and emphasises the problems of assessing migration propensity through questions related to hypothetical situations.

Although manual workers were less likely to have lived in other areas in the past, it appears that they were no less likely to have considered doing so: 40.4 per cent of non-manual and 37.8 per cent of manual households had considered moving away at some time in the past (table 7.13). When the reasons given for moves which were seriously considered but did not result in migration are examined, the general picture conforms to that presented by the comparable questions linked to migration attitudes. The most common reasons for having considered movement were employment opportunities (46.5 per cent); a better environment (23.9 per cent); and to be near family and friends (15.5 per cent) (table 7.14). There were no significant differences between manual and non-manual households in the reasons given for having

considered migration: job reasons were cited by 44.4 per cent of manual and 45.3 per cent of non-manual households (table 7.15). However, there was a statistically significant difference between the two locations (table 7.14a). Employment was the most frequent reason for having considered migration in Liverpool (63.4 per cent), whilst non-employment reasons were more frequent in Reading: these included environment (36.7 per cent) and a desire to be near family and friends (23.3 per cent). Housing factors were cited by 23.3 per cent in Reading, but none in Liverpool.

Hence although manual households were less likely than non-manual households to have lived in another area in the past, they were just as likely to have seriously considered moving. Furthermore, among those households which had considered migration there were no differences between manual and non-manual in the reasons for having done so. Yet there were differences between the two locations. More households in Liverpool than in Reading had considered moving and the reasons for this also differed: those in Liverpool more likely to cite employment reasons than those in Reading.

These results may be interpreted in two ways. First, it is likely that respondents in Liverpool feel a greater attachment to their home location for a variety of reasons, but that they are just as likely, if not more so, to be lured away by better employment prospects than their counterparts in Reading. A second interpretation is that employment reasons for considering migration feature more strongly in the decisions of households in Merseyside because job availability is

currently, and has been, a greater problem for them than for their counterparts in Reading, who were more able to consider other (secondary) factors such as environmental preference. Indeed, the general issue of prospective migration was clearly a subject of greater significance in Liverpool where 14 per cent of respondents talked about it 'frequently' with family and friends, compared with a mere three per cent in Reading. At an informal level, therefore, the local labour market of Liverpool appeared to have produced a more discernible 'climate of mobility' (Rossi, 1955) than that of Reading. The different ways in which employment and non-employment factors were balanced against each other by individual households is considered in chapter ten.

Analysis of the influence on attitudes to migration of past experience of living and working in other areas supports the idea that 'preparedness' to move away is very different from 'willingness' to move away. This difference helps to explain why a greater proportion of households were prepared to move away for work reasons than for non-work reasons. However, although households which had experienced working in other areas appeared slightly more likely to consider moving than those which had not, these relationships were not significant (tables 7.16 and 7.17). Likewise, there was no statistical relationship between experience of living in other areas and preparedness to move for job reasons, although those who had lived in other areas seemed more prepared to move than those who had not (table 7.18). One relationship which was statistically significant was that between experience of living in other areas and preparedness to move

away for non-work reasons (table 7.19). Hence it appears that when considering moving to better job prospects in other areas, would-be migrants were less likely to be influenced by their prior experience than they were when considering movement for non-employment reasons. This would suggest that a move for job reasons has to be accompanied by a strong push from the present location or a strong job-related pull from the new area. Similarly, experience of working in other areas does not appear to influence attitudes to migration for non-work reasons, although experience of living in other areas does.

These hypotheses are supported by analysis of preparedness to move against another indicator of past migration experience, the birthplace distribution of household members. Whilst this distribution was not related to preparedness to move for job reasons (table 7.20), it was related to preparedness to move for non-job reasons (table 7.21). The broader implications of this are that movement for job reasons occurs where choice is constrained, ie. that households are willing to consider job opportunities in areas in which they do not particularly wish to live, and that many have responded to such opportunities in the past. In short, the locations to which people move for job reasons are not necessarily those to which they would chose to move if the influence of the job were removed. This finding has implications for long-distance daily and weekly commuters. It helps to explain the strategy of working in other areas whilst retaining a home base in the present one. It also helps to explain the large proportion of transferees under the Employment Transfer Scheme who eventually returned to their home areas (chapter three).

In order to explore further the links between motivation and potential destinations, respondents who were prepared to move were asked where they would consider moving. This was done in an open-ended way rather than by presenting a list of choices (see chapter five and appendix one). There were considerable differences between those motivated by employment and others. When contemplating theoretical destinations for work-related migration, those respondents who were prepared to move were generally prepared to move 'where the work is', and were much less likely to name specific locations than when contemplating destinations for migration for non-work reasons. Indeed, they were often more likely to eliminate areas to which they would not be prepared to move than to name areas to which they would go. When pressed on this issue, most respondents in Liverpool agreed that this would probably entail moving 'down south', although there were no such consistencies in the areas mentioned by respondents in Reading.

The main reasons given for the choice of areas to which respondents had considered moving for job reasons revealed few surprises. In the vast majority of cases, the area or areas cited were chosen principally on the basis of employment opportunities, with other considerations such as environment and the proximity of family and friends of lesser importance (table 7.22). However, the fact that 82.9 per cent of respondents cited these areas mainly on the basis of employment prospects does not mean that other factors were not important secondary considerations in these cases. Indeed, further questioning often revealed that the information on which the assessment

of employment prospects in other areas was based was frequently supplied through contacts in, or prior experience of, those areas.

Destinations cited for considered migration for non-job reasons were generally much more specific, and were inextricably connected with the reasons given for considering migration in the first place. For example, hypothetical moves which were primarily motivated by the desire for family unification were obviously dependent on the location of family members. Similarly, retirement migration often entailed choosing an aesthetically pleasing environment, such as coastal and rural areas.

The reasons given for the selection of areas to which respondents had considered moving for non-job reasons reflect the diverse nature of individual migration decisions (table 7.22). In general, however, the main reasons were, first, housing (44.6 per cent); second, environmental (37.5 per cent), and third, to be near family and friends (10.7 per cent). The only important difference between the answers from the two locations was that of the influence of housing considerations. These were cited by 19 per cent of respondents from Reading as the main reasons for the choice of the areas cited, but were not cited at all in Liverpool. This reflects in part the relative house values in the two locations. For many respondents in Reading who owned their houses, it was possible to sell and to purchase a much higher quality house in a location where prices were cheaper, or alternatively, to purchase a similar house, and profit from the difference. This is especially relevant to people who are retired, or who will be retiring shortly,

for whom the advantages of a Berkshire location (such as employment opportunities, wage rates and accessibility), become less important. Conversely, for retired home owners in Liverpool, living in a relatively depressed housing market affords fewer possibilities of this kind. For those renting from the local authority, there was a greater chance of satisfying housing aspirations within the local area than among those in Reading. Hence there was less inclination to move away from the banks of the Mersey than from the banks of the Thames.

7.4 Social networks

Family and kinship networks may be used both to explain the way in which some people are tied to particular locations, when their social networks are spatially constrained, and as a means by which information on alternative locations may be disseminated to prospective migrants. The distribution of family and friends is thus a vital determinant of the range of opportunities open to a prospective migrant, particularly when migration is speculative and the types of employment sought are liable to be locally advertised.

A contact in a particular area can provide the initial picture of opportunities there, and may later provide temporary accommodation and local knowledge to assist a prospective migrant in the search for work and for accommodation. It is difficult to over-emphasise the importance of such contacts, as the results of the Jobclub discussions demonstrate (chapter ten). In the vast majority of cases, group members obtained

their information on other areas through informal channels, such as contact with friends and relatives, and previous visits. The use of these information channels can mediate against the simple assumptions of migration based on gravity models and friction of distance, since the information they provide may come from remote places. Many respondents in both Liverpool and Reading had more information on opportunities in other countries, based on contacts and visits, than they did on other regions of the UK. One consequence was that for some potential migrants, preferred destinations were in the US, Canada and Australia, for example, rather than elsewhere in the UK.

Before examining the influence of kinship networks on migration attitudes, it is important to acknowledge the differences between the two locations which may account in part for differences in the strength of attachment to them. Interview results showed a significant relationship between location and the birthplace distribution of household members (table 7.23). In 82 per cent of households in Liverpool, all members were born within the district, compared with 27 per cent in Reading. This may help to explain the apparent differences in the relative strength of attachment to the two locations for non-work reasons.

Birthplace of household members is, by definition, linked to past migration experience, but is there a relationship between this and attitudes to migration? Sociological theory would suggest that households with all members born within the same district would be less inclined to consider moving (see, for example, Taylor, 1969) (chapter

four). The households surveyed show that whilst there was a relationship between the birthplace distribution of their members and attitudes towards moving away for non-work reasons - with those households in which all members were born within the district least prepared to do so - there was no relationship between this and attitudes to moving for work reasons (tables 7.21 and 7.22). These findings lend further support to the hypothesis that people were prepared to consider being pulled away to another area for job reasons, when they did not wish to do so for any other reason.

Birthplace of household members is one means of examining the spread of social networks. However, there were clearly many households born within their local district, and which had never lived or worked outside that district, yet which had close contacts in other areas, particularly if these contacts were people who had themselves moved away at some time in the past. To establish the geographical spread of these social networks, households were asked where most of their family and friends were located, and whether they had any close personal contacts in other areas. The two cities showed both similarities and differences. The number of households with close contacts outside the region was similar: 67 per cent in Liverpool and 69 per cent in Reading (table 7.24). In total 53.5 per cent of all households reported that all their family and friends lived within the district, with the proportion decreasing with increasing distance (table 7.25). But households in Reading were more likely than those in Liverpool to have the majority of their family and friends located elsewhere in the U.K. or overseas (16 per cent in Reading and 5 per cent in Liverpool). This

conforms to the picture which is presented by the general demographic histories of the respective locations, with Liverpool acting as a net exporter of people over recent years, and Reading as a net importer.

Analysis of the relationship of the geographical extent of social networks with both preparedness to move and past experience of living and working in other areas showed negligible differences between those households whose social networks were limited to the immediate district, and those whose network of family and friends extended to other areas in the UK or overseas. In general, those households which were prepared to move away were more likely than those which were not so prepared to have family, friends and other close contacts outside the district. Likewise, households with past experience of living and working in other areas were more likely than those without such experience to have family, friends and other contacts outside the district. However, none of the relationships tested were statistically significant, and the overriding picture is one of little connection between the extent of a household's social network, and either its preparedness to move away, or its past experience of living and working in other areas.

The fact that there was no relationship between past experience of living and working in other areas and close contacts in other areas is surprising. It may be explained, first, by the fact that many people who had lived or worked in other areas on a short-term basis had neither the chance nor the inclination to become enmeshed in the social fabric of those areas, and second, by the fact that many who had never

lived or worked outside their district had maintained close contact with family and close friends who had moved away, both within the UK and overseas.

Theoretically, the previous migration of family and friends is an important influence on the migration decisions of prospective migrants. Migration experience since Ravenstein (1885, 1889) suggests that migration between origin and destination areas occurs in a series of steps, with the first or 'pioneer' migrants providing important feedback of information to the origin area, and also acting as reception points for new second wave migrants (Hagerstrand, 1956).

Analysis of the out-migration of family and friends shows that just over half of the households interviewed cited examples of family or friends who had moved out of the county recently (table 7.26). The number of households citing one or more examples was 59 in Liverpool, as opposed to 47 in Reading. This conforms to the impression given by the 1981 Census, which suggest that rates of out-migration are somewhat higher in Liverpool. The destination ranges of these out-migrating family and friends were broadly similar, with most moving to other locations in the UK, followed by overseas migration, and then migration within the region. The main difference between the two areas lies in the fact that 14 per cent of households from Liverpool cited contacts who had recently moved out both elsewhere in the UK and overseas, as opposed to two per cent in Reading. It appears, therefore, that the apparent willingness of many respondents in Liverpool to contemplate movement overseas in preference to movement elsewhere in the UK, is not

the result of fewer contacts in the latter category. It may be related to the availability of employment and housing in other parts of the UK, and to deeper area preferences.

Non-manual households (59.6 per cent) were more likely than manual households (49.3 per cent) to have family and friends who had recently moved away. There was also a difference between the two areas with those in Liverpool more likely than those in Reading to mention out-migrating family and friends (table 7.34). These results are not surprising, and are consistent with the notion that non-manual workers were more likely to have family and friends in non-manual occupations (with their associated higher rates of mobility), and with the fact that Liverpool has suffered greater loss of population through out-migration in recent years than Reading.

Of those households with family or friends who had migrated, about 80 per cent purported to maintain contact with them. In many cases, (even overseas), this entailed frequent visits or holidays. In the vast majority of cases (88.6 per cent), reports from out-migrants were 'positive' or 'very positive'. When questioned about the influence of these friends or relatives upon their own attitudes toward moving to another area, however, a majority of respondents replied that this had no influence. Hence it appears that it is the characteristics of the household members themselves which are most likely to determine the propensity to migrate. The influence of the family, friends and other contacts elsewhere may enter the picture only after a certain combination of circumstances places the option of migration on a

household's agenda. Some of the most fundamental ways in which household circumstances differ are related to their housing situations.

7.5 Housing tenure

Studies of housing and labour mobility have demonstrated a relationship between housing tenure and migration behaviour, with private renters and owner occupiers substantially more mobile than local authority tenants (chapter four). Housing tenure has been used to explain differential rates of mobility, since it is argued that it is easier to enter and leave some tenures than others, and that these differences are particularly acute over longer distances. The results of this survey bear out these relationships to a degree, but again there are some differences between attitude and behaviour which must be noted. Does tenure affect migration aspirations or just the ability to translate aspiration into actions?

In general, local authority tenants were less prepared to move away for both job and non-job reasons than their counterparts in owner-occupied and private-rented properties. Overall, 52 per cent of respondents were prepared to move away for job reasons. Yet 63.3 per cent of owner occupiers were prepared to do so, compared with 56.8 per cent of private renters, and 40.3 per cent of local authority tenants (table 7.28). Similarly, 37.1 per cent of owner occupiers and 39.2 per cent of private renters were prepared to move away for non-job reasons, compared with only 24.7 per cent of local authority tenants (table

7.29). The relationship between housing tenure and preparedness to move away for job reasons was statistically significant (table 7.28), but that between tenure and preparedness to move for non-job reasons was not (table 7.29).

Besides being less prepared to move away for job and other reasons, local authority tenants were also less likely at some time to have lived or worked outside the county. Forty per cent of all respondents had lived outside Merseyside/Berkshire in the past. Those least likely to have done so were the local authority tenants (28.7 per cent), and most likely to have done so were private renters (52.9 per cent). Owner occupiers fell between the two (45.2 per cent) (table 7.30). The same tenure differences were apparent in experience of working outside the county, with the majority of private renters (56.9 per cent) and owner occupiers (54.8 per cent) having done so, compared with a minority (42.5 per cent) of local authority tenants (table 7.31). As with other variables, the relationship between housing tenure and experience of living in other areas was significant (table 7.30), but this was not so for experience of working in other areas (table 7.31).

At this point, however, it is appropriate to note that such tenure-based analysis must be treated with a great deal of caution, since housing tenure may be merely another expression of those same household circumstances which generate reluctance to move, rather than the determinant of such attitudes. As noted in chapter four, housing tenure is associated with household size and social class. It will be

shown that the results of this survey support both of these associations. Hence it is necessary to consider the interrelationships between the traditional determinants of migration.

7.6 Interrelationships between the determinants of migration

The above attempts to relate migration attitudes and behaviour to some of the variables traditionally used in its explanation have met above with varying degrees of success. In general, the variables used have been related more successfully to migration behaviour than to migration attitudes, and more successfully to non-work migration behaviour and attitudes than to those for work reasons.

Labour market differentials and the state of unemployment did not seem to affect readiness to move for work reasons. Similarly, attempts to relate migration behaviour and attitudes to household social networks were inconclusive. In general, the birthplace distribution of household members seemed far more important than the distribution of family and friends in determining which households moved, or were prepared to do so, and which stayed put. Those households which had lived or worked outside the district in the past seemed more inclined to do so again than those who had not, but these results were inconclusive. Likewise birthplace distribution of household members was related to preparedness to move for non-job reasons, but not to preparedness to move for job-reasons.

Some relationships between housing tenure and migration were also demonstrated, with local authority tenants less prepared to move for job reasons, and less likely to have lived outside the district in the past. However, the variable which was related most successfully with migration experience, though less successfully with migration attitudes, was the household social class variable, derived from the current or most recent occupation of the principal wage earner.

Although there were noticeable differences in migration experience and propensity on the basis of a range of independent variables, social class, birthplace of household members and housing tenure emerged as the three main variables where these relationships were statistically significant. At this point, it is important to investigate the ways in which these variables themselves may be related to one another.

There was no clear relationship between birthplace distribution of household members and housing tenure, yet there did appear to be a difference between the local authority tenants and others (table 7.39): 59.8 per cent of local authority households were born exclusively within the district, and 40 per cent had one or more members born elsewhere. Households in other tenure types were divided evenly between these two categories.

Relationships between social class and other variables were clear. There were statistically significant relationships between household social class and each of the other key variables. Manual households were more likely to have had all their members born within the district

than non-manual households (table 7.2), and were also more likely to be living in local authority accommodation (table 7.33). It appears that in order to reconcile the differences between migration attitudes and migration behaviour, and the differences between migration for job reasons and migration for non-job reasons, it is necessary to investigate the processes by which households move house and by which members of those households change jobs. In this way, it may be possible to examine the differences between manual and non-manual households, and to identify the ways in which these differences may engender variations in attitudes to and experience of migration.

Superimposed upon these differences according to household social class, housing tenure and birth-place distribution, are differences between the two locations themselves. The preceding analysis has shown that there were some significant relationships between those variables tested and location. Some of these differences may be accounted for by differences in the balance of social classes and housing tenures between Liverpool and Reading, engendered by differences in their respective labour and housing markets, but others remain, even when these are controlled for. For example, it was shown that the birth-place distribution of household members, and past experience of living in other areas varied by location (tables 7.23 and 7.7), the relationships being statistically significant. When the effect of social class was controlled for, the relationship between location and past experience of living in other areas (for manual households only) was no longer significant, and there appeared to be no difference between manual households from each location in this respect (table

7.34). However, the relationship between birthplace distribution of household members (manual households only) and location remained significant (table 7.35).

In this context, the next chapter explores the processes of household residential moves and job changes in detail, and links these to the household life cycle. It examines the ways in which these processes may differ according to social class, housing tenure and location.

TABLES

Notes to following tables

(All tables in Chapter Seven)

Social class (by occupation)

- 1 Professional/managerial
- 2 Intermediate
- 3N Junior non-manual
- 3M Skilled manual
- 4 Semi-skilled manual
- 5 Unskilled manual

("non-manual" = social classes 1, 2 and 3N;
"manual" = social classes 3M, 4 and 5)

(): Figures in parentheses are per cent.

χ^2 : Chisquare value

DF: degrees of freedom (Yates correction used to
for all tables with one degree of freedom).

H_0 : Null hypothesis

H_1 : Alternative hypothesis

Housing tenure:

- OO Owner-occupied
- LA Local authority
- PRu Private-rented (unfurnished)
- PRf Private-rented (furnished)

District = Liverpool/ Reading (census boundaries)

County = Merseyside/ Berkshire (census boundaries)

Source: Household Interview Survey (all tables)

Table 7.1
 Birthplace of principal wage earner by social class

Social class	Birthplace of principal wage earner		
	In district	Outside district	Total
1/2/3N	21 (44.7)	26 (55.3)	47 (100)
3M	35 (67.3)	17 (32.7)	52 (100)
4/5	66 (82.5)	14 (17.5)	80 (100)
Total	122 (68.2)	57 (31.8)	179 (100)

$\chi^2=19.43$ DF=3 Significant at 99.9% confidence level

H_1 : There is a relationship between birthplace of principal wage earner and social class.

Table 7.2
Birthplace distribution of household members by
social class.

Household social class	Birthplace of household members				
	All born in district		One or more born outside district		
1/2/3N	18	(38.3)	29	(61.7)	
3M	28	(52.8)	25	(47.2)	53 (100)
4/5	59	(65.6)	31	(34.4)	90 (100)
Total	105	(55.3)	85	(44.7)	190 (100)

$\chi^2=8.46$ DF=3 Significant at 95% confidence level

H_1 : There is a relationship between birthplace
distribution of household members and household
social class.

Table 7.3
Experience of living outside the county
[Merseyside/Berkshire] by social class

	Ever lived outside the county?				Total
	No		Yes		
Non-manual	22	(47.8)	24	(52.2)	46 (100)
Manual	94	(65.7)	49	(34.3)	143 (100)
Total	116	(61.4)	73	(38.6)	189 (100)

$\chi^2=3.98$ DF=1 Significant at 95% confidence level

H_1 : There is a relationship between experience
of living outside the county and social class.

Table 7.4
Experience of working outside the county
[Merseyside/Berkshire] by social class

	Ever worked outside the county?				Total	
	No		Yes			
Non-manual	23	(48.9)	24	(51.1)	47	(100)
Manual	70	(49.0)	73	(51.0)	143	(100)
Total	93	(48.9)	97	(51.1)	190	(100)

$\chi^2=0.03$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between experience of working outside the county and social class.

Table 7.5
Preparedness to move away for job reasons by household social class

Household social class	Prepared to move?				Total	
	No		Yes			
1/2/3N	13	(36.1)	23	(63.9)	36	(100)
3M	21	(53.8)	18	(46.1)	39	(100)
4/5	35	(55.5)	28	(44.4)	63	(100)
Total	69	(50.0)	69	(50.0)	138	(100)

Table 7.5a
 Preparedness to move away for job reasons by household social class.

Household social class	Prepared to move?		Total
	No	Yes	
Non-manual	13 (36.1)	23 (63.9)	36 (100)
Manual	56 (54.9)	46 (45.1)	102 (100)
Total	69 (50.0)	69 (50.0)	138 (100)

$\chi^2=3.04$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between preparedness to move away for job reasons and household social class

Table 7.6
 Preparedness to move away for non-job reasons by household social class.

Household social class	Prepared to move?		Total
	No	Yes	
Manual	100 (70.4)	42 (29.6)	142 (100)
Non-manual	31 (66.0)	16 (34.0)	47 (100)
Total	131 (69.3)	58 (30.7)	189 (100)

$\chi^2=0.15$ DF=1 Not significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between preparedness to move away for non-job reasons and household social class.

Table 7.7
Experience of living outside the county
[Merseyside/Berkshire] by location.

	Ever lived outside the county?		
	No	Yes	Total
Liverpool	78	22	100
Reading	42	58	100
Total	120 (60)	80 (40)	200 (100)

$\chi^2=25.52$ DF=1 Significant at 99.9% confidence level

H_1 : There is a relationship between experience of living outside the county and location.

Table 7.8
Experience of working outside the county
[Merseyside/Berkshire] by location.

	Ever worked outside the county?		
	No	Yes	Total
Liverpool	55	45	100
Reading	45	55	100
Total	100	100	200

$\chi^2=1.62$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between experience of working outside the county and location.

Table 7.9
Preparedness to move away for job reasons by location.

Location	Prepared to move?		Total
	No	Yes	
Liverpool	32 (44.4)	40 (55.5)	72 (100)
Reading	37 (48.7)	39 (51.3)	76 (100)
Total	69 (46.6)	79 (53.4)	148 (100)

$\chi^2=0.12$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between preparedness to move away for job reasons and location.

Table 7.10
Preparedness to move away for job reasons by employment position.

Employment position	Prepared to move?		Total
	No	Yes	
Employed	44 (44.4)	55 (55.6)	99 (100)
Unemployed	17 (45.9)	20 (54.0)	37 (100)
Not working/ retired	10 (83.3)	2 (16.7)	12 (100)
Total	71 (48.0)	77 (52.0)	148 (100)

Table 7.11
 Preparedness to move away for non-job reasons by
 location.

Location	Prepared to move?		Total
	No	Yes	
Liverpool	71 (71.0)	29 (29.0)	100 (100)
Reading	63 (64.3)	35 (35.7)	98 (100)
Total	134 (67.7)	64 (32.3)	198 (100)

$\chi^2=0.74$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between preparedness
 to move away for non-job reasons and location.

Table 7.12
Experience of living and working in other areas
by location.

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
Never lived or worked outside county	52	35	87
Same home, worked elsewhere in region	1	7	8
Same home, worked elsewhere in UK	13	0	13
Same home, worked overseas	12	0	12
Lived only, elsewhere in region or elsewhere in UK	2	5	7
Lived only, overseas	1	5	6
Lived and worked elsewhere in region	2	16	18
Lived and worked elsewhere in UK	15	23	38
Lived and worked overseas	2	8	10
Other	1	0	1
Total	100	100	200
Ever lived outside county	22 (27.5)	58 (72.5)	80 (100)
Ever worked outside county	45 (45.0)	55 (55.0)	100 (100)

Table 7.13
Past consideration of migration by social class.

	Considered migration in past?		
	No	Yes	Total
Non-manual	28 (59.6)	19 (40.4)	47 (100)
Manual	89 (62.2)	54 (37.8)	143 (100)
Total	117 (61.6)	73 (38.4)	190 (100)

$\chi^2=0.02$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between past consideration of migration and social class.

Table 7.14
Main reason for considered migration by location.

Main Reason for considered migration	Location		Total
	Liverpool	Reading	
Employment	26 (63.4)	7 (23.3)	33 (46.5)
For better environment	6 (14.6)	11 (36.7)	17 (23.9)
To be near family & friends	4 (9.8)	7 (23.3)	11 (15.5)
For better housing	0 (0.0)	4 (13.3)	4 (5.6)
Other	5 (12.2)	1 (3.3)	6 (8.4)
Total	41 (100)	30 (100)	71 (100)

Table 7.14a
Main reason for considered migration by location.

Location	Reason for considered migration				Total	
	Employment		Non-employment			
Liverpool	26	(63.4)	15	(36.6)	41	(100)
Reading	7	(23.3)	23	(76.7)	30	(100)
Total	33	(46.5)	38	(53.5)	71	(100)

$\chi^2=9.63$ DF=1 Significant at 99.9% confidence level

H_1 : There is a relationship between reason for considered migration and location.

Table 7.15
Main reason for considering migration by household social class.

Household social class	Reason for considered migration				Total	
	Employment		Non-employment			
Non-manual	8	(44.4)	10	(65.6)	32	(45.1)
Manual	24	(45.3)	29	(64.7)	39	(54.9)
Total	18	(100)	53	(100)	71	(100)

$\chi^2=0.05$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between reason for considered migration and household social class.

Table 7.16

Preparedness to move away for job reasons by experience of working outside the county.

	Prepared to move?		Total
	No	Yes	
Never worked outside county	38	33	71
Worked outside county in past	33	44	77
Total	71	77	148

$\chi^2=1.28$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between preparedness to move away for job reasons and experience of working outside the county.

Table 7.17

Preparedness to move away for non-job reasons by experience of working outside the county.

	Prepared to move?		Total
	No	Yes	
Never worked outside county	70	29	99
Worked outside county in past	64	35	99
Total	134	64	198

$\chi^2=0.58$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between preparedness to move away for non-job reasons and experience of working outside the county.

Table 7.18

Preparedness to move away for job reasons by experience of living outside the county.

	Prepared to move?		Total
	No	Yes	
Never lived outside county	45	40	85
Lived outside county in past	26	37	63
Total	71	77	148

$\chi^2=1.53$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between preparedness to move away for job reasons and experience of living outside the county.

Table 7.19

Preparedness to move away for non-job reasons by experience of living outside the county.

	Prepared to move?		Total
	No	Yes	
Never lived outside county	89	30	119
Lived outside county in past	45	34	79
Total	134	64	198

$\chi^2=6.11$ DF=1 Significant at 98% confidence level

H_1 : There is a relationship between preparedness to move away for non-job reasons and experience of living outside the county.

Table 7.20

Preparedness to move away for job reasons by birthplace distribution of household members.

Birthplace of household members	Prepared to move?		Total
	No	Yes	
All born in district	38	35	73
One or more born outside district	33	42	75
Total	71	77	148

$\chi^2=0.67$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between preparedness to move away for job reasons and birthplace distribution of household members.

Table 7.21

Preparedness to move away for non-job reasons by birthplace distribution of household members.

Birthplace of household members	Prepared to move?		Total
	No	Yes	
All born in district	83	26	109
One or more born outside district	51	38	89
Total	134	64	198

$\chi^2=7.11$ DF=1 Significant at 95% confidence level.

H_1 : There is a relationship between preparedness to move away for non-job reasons and birthplace distribution of household members.

Table 7.22

Main reason for potential destination considered by
main reason for considering migration.

Main Reason for choice of potential destination	Main reason for considering migration			
	Employment		Non-employment	
Employment	63	(82.9)	1	(1.8)
For better environment	6	(7.9)	21	(37.5)
To be near family & friends	5	(6.6)	6	(10.7)
For better housing	1	(1.3)	25	(44.6)
Other	1	(1.3)	3	(5.4)
Total	76	(100)	56	(100)

Table 7.23

Birthplace distribution of household members
by location.

Birthplace of household members	Liverpool	Reading	Total
All born in district	82	27	109
One or more born outside district	18	73	91
Total	100	100	200

$\chi^2=58.8$ DF=1 Significant at 99.9% confidence level.

H_1 : There is a relationship between birthplace
distribution of household members and location.

Table 7.24

Close contacts in other areas by location.

	District only	Region	UK	UK &/ or O.S.	Total
Liverpool	7	19	30	37	93
Reading	13	17	41	28	99
Total	20	36	71	65	192

Table 7.25

Location of most family and friends by location

	District only	Region	UK	UK &/ or O.S.	Total
Liverpool	49	43	5	0	97
Reading	58	26	13	3	100
Total	107	69	18	3	197

Table 7.26
Recent out-migration of close family/friends by location

	Recent out-migration of family/friends?		
	Yes	No	Total
Liverpool	59 (60.2)	39 (39.8)	98 (100)
Reading	47 (47.5)	52 (52.5)	99 (100)
Total	106 (53.8)	91 (46.2)	197 (100)

$\chi^2=2.72$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between recent out-migration of family and friends and location.

Table 7.27
Recent out-migration of close family/friends by household social class

Household social class	Recent out-migration of family/friends?		
	Yes	No	Total
Non-manual	28 (59.6)	19 (40.4)	47 (100)
Manual	70 (49.3)	72 (50.7)	142 (100)
Total	98 (51.9)	91 (48.1)	189 (100)

$\chi^2=1.11$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between recent out-migration of family and friends and household social class

Table 7.28

Preparedness to move away for job reasons by housing tenure.

	Prepared to move?				Total	
	No		Yes			
L.A.	37	(59.7)	25	(40.3)	62	(100)
O.O.	18	(36.7)	31	(63.3)	49	(100)
P.R.	16	(43.2)	21	(56.8)	37	(100)
Total	71	(48.0)	77	(52.0)	148	(100)

$\chi^2=6.21$ DF=2 Significant at 95% confidence level

H_1 : There is a relationship between preparedness to move for job reasons and housing tenure.

Table 7.29

Preparedness to move away for non-job reasons by housing tenure.

	Prepared to move?				Total	
	No		Yes			
L.A.	64	(75.3)	21	(24.7)	85	(100)
O.O.	39	(62.9)	23	(37.1)	62	(100)
P.R.	31	(60.8)	20	(39.2)	51	(100)
Total	134	(67.7)	64	(32.3)	198	(100)

$\chi^2=4.02$ DF=2 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between preparedness to move for non-job reasons and housing tenure.

Table 7.30

Experience of living outside the county by current housing tenure.

Current housing tenure	Ever lived outside county?		
	No	Yes	Total
L.A.	62 (71.3)	25 (28.7)	87 (100)
O.O.	34 (62.9)	28 (45.2)	62 (100)
P.R.	24 (47.1)	27 (52.9)	51 (100)
Total	120 (60.0)	80 (40.0)	200 (100)

$\chi^2=8.85$ DF=2 Significant at 98% confidence level

H_1 : There is a relationship between experience of living outside the county and current housing tenure

Table 7.31

Experience of working outside the county by current housing tenure.

Current housing tenure	Ever worked outside county?		
	No	Yes	Total
L.A.	50 (57.5)	37 (42.5)	87 (100)
O.O.	28 (45.2)	34 (54.8)	62 (100)
P.R.	22 (43.1)	29 (56.9)	51 (100)
Total	100 (50.0)	100 (50.0)	200 (100)

$\chi^2=3.48$ DF=2 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between experience of working outside the county and current housing tenure

Table 7.32

Birthplace distribution of household members by housing tenure.

Housing tenure	Birthplace of household members				
	All born in district		One or more born outside district		Total
L.A.	52	(59.8)	35	(40.2)	87 (100)
O.O.	31	(50.0)	31	(50.0)	62 (100)
P.R.	26	(51.0)	25	(49.0)	51 (100)
Total	109	(54.5)	91	(45.5)	200 (100)

$\chi^2=1.74$ DF=2 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between birthplace distribution of household members and housing tenure.

Table 7.33

Housing Tenure by household social class

	1/2/3N		3M		4/5	
L.A.	15	(31.9)	19	(35.8)	48	(53.3)
O.O.	22	(46.8)	20	(37.7)	20	(22.2)
P.R.	10	(21.3)	14	(26.4)	22	(24.4)
Total	47	(100)	53	(100)	90	(100)

$\chi^2=10.38$ DF=4 Significant at 95% confidence level

H_1 : There is a relationship between housing tenure and household social class.

Table 7.34
Experience of living in other areas (manual households)
by location.

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
Never lived outside district	62	53	115
Lived outside district in past	15	13	28
Total	77	66	143

$\chi^2=0.03$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between location and experience of living in other areas among manual households.

Table 7.35
Birthplace distribution of manual households by location

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
All born in district	65	22	87
One or more born outside district	12	44	56
Total	77	66	143

$\chi^2=36.81$ DF=1 Significant at 99.9% confidence level.

H_1 : There is a relationship between birthplace distribution of manual households and location.

Chapter Eight

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY, RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND THE HOUSEHOLD LIFE-CYCLE

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has related some of the key variables used in traditional theories which explain immobility to both migration actions, and migration attitudes. It has demonstrated that whilst many of these variables may be related to migration actions with varying degrees of success, their relationships with migration attitudes are less apparent. Hence it is difficult to infer aspirations and motives from action alone. Moreover, many of these variables are themselves related to one another.

Whilst tenure, occupational status and social networks may be associated with different rates of employment change, residential movement and migration, and with different ranges of opportunities and information networks, the prime generating forces for such changes are within the household itself. Such decisions are rarely taken by individuals, but rather by individual households.

8.2 Occupational mobility and migration

Although migration is theoretically linked to differences in employment opportunities, it is clear that many migrants respond not to the general job opportunities of a new area, but to the offer of a specific job there. Many skilled and professional employees move within the internal labour market of their employer, as part of their career development. In these cases it is the formal operation of the internal labour market of the organisation which determines the opportunities available and their geographical distribution, and also provides the relevant information. For manual workers, however, the opportunity to move with an employer is rare: furthermore, notification of vacancies elsewhere is informal, often by word of mouth. For these reasons, for manual workers it is important to look at the individual's process of job search, in order to identify the influence of the local external labour market on that process. In this way it should be possible to determine the point at which consideration of migration enters the process.

It has been shown in chapter seven that past experience of migration is related to occupational status, and that although attitudes to migration differ somewhat between occupation groups, this relationship is not statistically significant. Since labour migration is theoretically linked to differentials in wages and employment opportunities, the demand for out-migration among the employed and the unemployed in Liverpool should have been far higher than that in Reading, yet this was clearly not the case. Moreover, the unemployed

were no more influenced by such considerations than those in employment. Before we can understand the factors which induce consideration of labour migration as an option, therefore, it is important to identify the point at which the process of job search itself is initiated. Why are manual occupations associated with less migration than non-manual occupations, despite similar experience of working in other areas and minimal differences in preparedness to move for job reasons? What influence does the local labour market have on such considerations?

This section explores attitudes towards work and the processes of changing jobs and searching for jobs. It investigates the differences between manual and non-manual workers, and between the two locations. Although the bulk of the following analysis will focus on the differences between manual and non manual workers, it is important first to acknowledge some differences in the sample drawn at each location, which reflect differences in the two local labour markets (as discussed in chapter six).

8.2.1 Socio-economic composition

In order that the retired and unemployed could be included alongside the employed, all respondents were classified by their previous job, in order to compare like with like. This revealed a preponderance of jobs between socio-economic groups 6 and 12, a broad group encompassing all the manual occupations as well as junior non-manual workers, and personal service workers. Manual occupations

accounted for 58 per cent of all respondents, the rate being higher in Liverpool (69 per cent) than in Reading (47 per cent). The lower proportion of manual workers in Reading was associated with relatively higher levels of employment there in junior non-manual and personal service occupations, (SEGs 6 and 7), and also in professional and ancillary occupations (SEGs 4 and 5.1), which were insignificant in the Liverpool sample (table 8.1).

When the current occupations of those respondents who were in employment were analysed, the socio-economic composition was broadly similar to that outlined above (table 8.2): 103 respondents were employed, of whom 46 were engaged in manual occupations (SEGs 8-11), and 44 in non-manual occupations (SEGs 1-7). Eighty-seven were working full-time, and 15 part-time. The proportion working part-time was marginally higher in Liverpool (17 per cent) than in Reading (13 per cent), and may reflect the relative availability of alternative full-time opportunities. Indeed, further evidence to support this explanation was provided by the length of time respondents had spent in their current job. On average, this was considerably higher in Liverpool (10.3 years) than in Reading (7.0 years), which suggests that respondents in Liverpool who were in work were less likely to look for alternative employment.

Information on the skills and qualifications which were needed to obtain the current job confirmed that jobs in Reading were generally associated with higher levels of qualification. Thirty-four per cent of employed respondents in Reading needed some formal skills or

qualifications in order to secure their current job, as against 21 per cent in Liverpool. Conversely, 50 per cent in Liverpool needed no skills or qualifications to secure their current job, as against 16 per cent in Reading. Respondents were also asked whether they possessed any specific skills or qualifications other than those required for the current job: the answers were generally negative confirming that the skills required for the current job were representative of the skills possessed by the respondent.

8.2.2 Changing job

Those in employment in Reading were far more likely to have had their present job 'lined up' on leaving the previous one, reinforcing the dual notion that they were more likely to have left voluntarily and that a new job was easier to find. In Reading, 50 per cent had their present job 'lined up' on leaving the former one, compared with 25 per cent in Liverpool. Consequently, unemployment was a greater probability 'between jobs' in Liverpool than in Reading.

Far more striking than these differences between the two labour markets in the ease of moving from one job to another, were the differences between occupational groups. Manual workers were far less likely than non-manual workers to move directly from one job to another. A majority of the latter (57.5 per cent) had their present job 'lined up' on leaving the former one, compared with a little under half (48.3 per cent) of skilled manual workers, and less than a quarter (24.2 per cent) of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. Indeed,

the relationship between social class of the present occupation, and the likelihood that it was 'lined up' on leaving the former one was statistically significant (table 8.3).

The implications of these findings are threefold. Firstly, manual workers were less likely than non-manual workers to leave a job of their own volition. Secondly, new jobs were not so easily secured by manual workers. Thirdly, manual workers were more likely to experience unemployment between jobs.

Assessment of the reasons for leaving the previous job reinforces the picture presented above. Manual workers were twice as likely as non-manual workers to have left their last job through redundancy or dismissal (28.2 per cent as opposed to 14.6 per cent). They were also far more likely to have left for personal or family reasons (often connected with poor health). Conversely, non-manual workers were more likely than manual workers to have as their main reason for leaving the previous job to move to another one already obtained (27.1 per cent compared with 12.7 per cent) (table 8.4).

In addition to the differences between manual and non-manual workers in reasons for leaving the previous job, there were also differences in this variable between the two locations. In Liverpool, 33 per cent of respondents lost their previous job through redundancy or dismissal, against 14 per cent in Reading. Conversely, 24 per cent in Reading, but only 7 per cent in Liverpool, left to move to another job (table 8.5).

Those respondents who did not have a new job lined up on leaving their previous one, and who were unemployed and looking for work, were asked how long they had thought it would take them to find a job initially. Curiously, despite far higher levels of local unemployment, respondents from Liverpool were slightly more optimistic than their counterparts in Reading about the time it would take to find a new job on leaving the previous one. The average anticipated search time on becoming unemployed was three weeks in Liverpool, and four weeks in Reading. Yet actual search times reveal a very different scenario. In Reading, the average time taken to find a new job was very similar to that anticipated, but in Liverpool it averaged two months, and was thus two to three times higher than had been anticipated.

These findings have important implications for labour migration, since an individual's assessment of the opportunities of the local labour market relative to those of alternative local labour markets may be more important than measurable differences based on wage rates, vacancy rates, or unemployment levels. This indeed is the classic Harris and Todaro (1970) model. If, as traditional labour market theory suggests, an unemployed worker considers the prospects of the immediate area against those of alternative locations, then that personal assessment of the likelihood of finding work locally is of fundamental importance. Why then, were workers in Liverpool more optimistic about finding work than their counterparts in Reading on becoming unemployed? The answer, perhaps, lies in the fact that individuals respond to unemployment through understanding it first on the basis of their own personal experience, and then on the experiences of other members of

their household, family and friends. In those occupations, households and local areas where periodic unemployment has been commonplace, prior experience of unemployment as a short-term phenomenon may engender different reactions to the process of becoming unemployed than where this has not been the case (Lane, 1987; Gordon, 1988). This idea that the local labour market can have an historic influence on the attitudes and behaviour of households which operate within it is taken up in the following chapters.

Unemployment between jobs was common among manual workers, and the norm for some. The likelihood of unemployment between jobs was higher in Liverpool than in Reading. It may be hypothesised that for the manual worker faced with unemployment, the costly act of migration is unlikely to spring to the forefront of the job-search options under consideration, if becoming unemployed is regarded as a form of occupational hazard which has been experienced before, and which will probably be experienced again. It is perhaps the person who becomes unemployed for the first time, for whom the process of becoming unemployed is less easy to understand, who is more likely to consider migration.

For those in employment, consideration of wage rates for comparable jobs in other areas appeared to have little relevance. Since starting their current job, only three of the 101 respondents to whom the question was appropriate had seriously looked for any alternative. For the vast majority of respondents who were 'satisfied' with the jobs they had, any active job-search was unlikely to occur unless forced

through redundancy, dismissal or the like. Moreover, levels of 'satisfaction' with and length of service in particular jobs appeared to be greater in Liverpool, where alternative opportunities were more limited. The average length of time spent in the current job among all employed respondents was 8.3 years. This was higher for skilled manual workers (9.1 years) and for semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers (8.6 years) than for non-manual workers (6.9 years).

This evidence suggests that notions of career ladders or 'spiralism' (Watson, 1964) have little relevance to the majority of the employed population of this survey. For the low-skilled, attempts merely to maintain the current job or level of income were more evident. Rather than changing jobs from positions of strength, continually comparing their wages and employment conditions with comparable opportunities locally and in other areas, most were likely to change job only on losing their current one, or when this was perceived to be under threat. Consequently, for the low-skilled, employment migration is generally a response to change, rather than a means of effecting it.

These findings suggest that, for the vast majority of respondents, alternative employment opportunities in the local area - let alone those in other regions - may not be seriously explored until becoming unemployed. Hence, it is particularly important, in explaining immobility, to look in greater detail at those respondents who were unemployed.

8.3 Unemployment and job-search

Socio-psychological literature on unemployment suggests a series of stages through which the unemployed job-seeker is supposed to pass (Eisenberg and Lazarfeld, 1938; Hopson and Adams, 1976; Harrison, 1976). Harrison (1976) postulates a transitional cycle in which questions relating to the possibilities of work in other areas generally occur toward the end, before the respondent gives up hope altogether (figure 8.1). The present results suggest a rather different scenario. Despite hypothetical willingness to move in many cases, most of those seeking manual work did not explore opportunities in other areas at any stage. The Jobclub discussions illustrate the reasons for this (chapter ten). Those who entertained ideas of migration generally did so very shortly after becoming unemployed. Thereafter, the rapid depletion of personal funds and morale increasingly limited the individual's propensity to consider opportunities in other areas, as well as his/her ability to respond.

Although the sub-sample of unemployed respondents in the household survey is not large enough to support much statistical analysis, it does provide a useful picture of the methods and patterns of job-search among this group, and the implications for migration. It also serves as a context in which to set the findings of the Jobclub discussions, reported in chapter ten.

Thirty-eight of the two hundred respondents were unemployed: 30 had been unemployed for over six months, including 24 who had been

unemployed for over a year. Thirty-three were actually seeking employment: the remainder were either not genuinely unemployed, or had effectively given up hope of finding work.

Of the 33 unemployed respondents who were genuinely seeking work, only three had looked outside their region at some time since becoming unemployed, and only one was currently exploring opportunities outside the region. The geographical extent of their job-search was extremely limited, with most having looked for work only inside their own district, or within the local area.

The sources of information used in the job-search process compound this parochialism. The 33 active job-seekers interviewed displayed an overwhelming dependence on local sources of information, mainly local newspapers, local job-centres, and personal contacts, with most respondents using all of these at some stage. Indeed, only one respondent (who had already decided to move away for non-work reasons and was thus not looking at any local opportunities) had used any national sources of information. When asked about the sources of information used over the preceding four weeks, the picture portrayed is again that of dependence upon a limited and localised information network. About half the respondents had used only one of the three types of local information listed above, and three respondents had used none.

The parochialism of the job-search process and the limited sources used, however, is not so much the result of unwillingness to

contemplate opportunities in other areas as a reflection of the appropriate search procedure for the type of job sought, almost always manual and requiring few skills. For eight of the job-seekers questioned, it was not possible to categorise the type of job they were seeking, since this was unimportant: "anything" was a common initial response to this question. In most cases, a minimum wage threshold was of greater importance than the type of work involved. The minimum wage deemed satisfactory to those actively seeking full-time jobs ranged from £40 to £160 per week, with the average around £95, although expected rates were naturally higher in Reading than in Liverpool.

Only nine of the thirty-three had any 'formal' qualifications, and only four were looking for non-manual jobs. Since the types of manual jobs being sought can generally be filled within the local labour market, few employers will chose to advertise them beyond local outlets (Saunders, 1985). This does have some important implications for migration, since unemployed job seekers without access to information on opportunities in other areas are unable to respond to them, even if they are theoretically willing to do so.

Where appropriate, respondents were asked about the last job they had applied for. These were concentrated heavily among the manual occupations as expected, with only four classified as non-manual. The average wage of last job applied for (£91 in Liverpool and £105 in Reading), is consistent with the average acceptable minimum stated. In only one case was the last job applied for located outside the immediate district.

The implications of these results are as follows. Rather than being more responsive to regional differentials in rates of employment, unemployed respondents were generally unaffected by such macro-scale considerations, and were likely to be influenced far more by local considerations. For example, sharp increases in bus fares throughout Liverpool, due to the de-regulation of local transport services during the period of the survey, prevented many respondents from visiting their local Job Centres. In such circumstances, information on opportunities outside the immediate area is even more minimal than usual, as is the ability to pursue such opportunities.

Further insights into the job-search process for the unemployed were provided by the Jobclub discussions. These revealed that those who were looking for work in other areas often had to decide first whether to do so, and then where to look. The location decision was frequently based on the availability of suitable contacts in other areas, both as an initial source of information, and as a base from which to search, using appropriate local sources and speculative visits.

The professional or non-manual job seeker, by contrast, will often be searching for the type of work which is advertised on a regional, national or even international basis. The existence of such sources itself brings an awareness of opportunities in other areas even to those people who have no intention of moving. The process by which a low-skilled job-seeker becomes aware of a suitable vacancy in another area is, therefore, very different to the process by which a more skilled worker becomes aware of such vacancies. In the case of the

latter, questions of whether to move, and where to move to, may arise in response to a particular job vacancy, and be inextricably connected to that vacancy. For the less skilled worker, these questions must often be contemplated in a more abstract sense, where information on the availability of work is provided by suitable contacts and personal experience in particular areas.

In explaining the apparent reluctance to take up opportunities in other areas, therefore, it is important that the 'unemployed' are not perceived as a separate group, but rather as people within a particular class of employment, who were without work at the time of the survey. It became clear from individual employment histories that certain types of work were associated with periodic unemployment (building and construction work, farming, and dock labour being three prime examples). For some people, then, periodic unemployment is an integral part of their employment history. Moreover, employment 'instability' is more likely amongst less skilled and lower status groups of workers (Gordon, 1988). It is, therefore, more instructive to look at employment histories than to compare the state of unemployment with that of employment. (This is explored further in chapter nine).

8.3.1 Wider experience of unemployment

It is important that the unemployed should not be regarded as a group separate from the employed or retired in each location. For this reason, both the employed and the retired were asked questions relating to their past experience of unemployment. This is an acknowledgement of

the problems which have been encountered in other studies using a cross-sectional framework to classify these groups. It takes account of the fact that in the past those respondents currently retired were in work or unemployed, those currently employed may have been unemployed, and those currently unemployed were probably employed at some time. This is an obvious notion, yet it has some important methodological relevance, since it emphasises the fact that the differences between the three groups may appear greater at a given point in time than through time.

For respondents in certain employment categories, periodic unemployment is an integral part of their employment history. Where employment is related to migration attitudes and propensity, the class of employment, and hence the range of opportunities available, is often of greater importance than the simple distinction between the states of employment and unemployment. Although this is largely self-evident, official statistics often categorise the unemployed as a discrete group.

The experience of the Jobclub discussions provides a good illustration of the significance of these observations. Whilst most Jobclubs were dominated by unemployed persons looking for manual work, a few members were highly skilled, and were looking for work in international labour markets, in highly specialised fields. Thus the similarities between members were more apparent than real. Although each member had been unemployed for at least six months, individual members usually shared more common characteristics with other members

of their particular class or employment type who were employed, than with fellow Jobclub members.

Similarly, in data collected by the Labour Force Survey, for example, the percentage of those 'out of work' among migrants is disproportionately low (table 2.4). However, this may be little more than a reflection of the over-representation of lower socio-economic groups in this category. This point is fundamental in attempting to identify the effects of the experience of unemployment itself upon an individual's attitudes towards migration, as distinct from the membership of a particular socio-economic group. This is explored in chapter ten.

For the reasons outlined above, questions on past experience of unemployment were included in interviews with employed and retired respondents. Almost half (44 per cent) of the employed and retired respondents had been unemployed at some time in the past. This rate was somewhat higher in Liverpool (50 per cent) than in Reading (40 per cent). Moreover, respondents from Liverpool were also more likely to have been unemployed more than once before.

The average period of time which had elapsed since the most recent period of unemployment among these respondents was actually higher in Liverpool (10.3 years) than in Reading (6.75 years). The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but the modal point around ten years in Liverpool as opposed to six years in Reading, suggests that this may be a reflection of the severity with which Merseyside was affected by

large scale redundancies during the late 1970s, rather than a lesser likelihood of becoming unemployed subsequently. The longest period of unemployment experienced in the past varied greatly, with an average between two and six months in each location.

The circumstances of past unemployment indicate that respondents in Liverpool were slightly more likely to have experienced unemployment in the past as a result of redundancy than their counterparts in Reading, although the differences were very small, and were not statistically significant.

8.4 Residential moves and migration

Thus far the causes of immobility have been viewed principally in labour market terms, but housing plays a major role too, not only as a barrier to movement, but also as an alternative set of processes which may generate immobility.

This section looks first at the relationships between residential mobility, housing tenure and social class, and then examines the reasons behind particular housing moves and the search procedures used. It is argued that such analysis must ultimately be set within the context of the household life-cycle.

8.4.1 House price differentials and the north-south divide

Within the owner-occupied housing sector, the frictional effect of house price differentials on migration has been well publicised over the past few years. Although current regional house price differentials render movement from depressed to prosperous areas difficult for households of all socio-economic groups, the option may just not be available to many low-skilled home owners, concentrated as they are at the cheaper end of the market. House values among Liverpool home-owners surveyed ranged from £12,000 to £30,000, with an average value of £16,700. Values in Reading were from £40,000 to £80,000, with an average of £55,250. The average house value for Reading respondents was therefore over three times that of those in Liverpool. More significant, however, is the fact that there was no apparent overlap between the two markets. In this survey, the most expensive house in Liverpool was worth £10,000 less than the cheapest house in Reading.

If the two housing markets are conceptualised as parallel ladders, even those people who have climbed to the top of this Liverpool housing ladder cannot step sideways (through migration) to the bottom rung of the Reading housing ladder without considerable additional financial burden. Clearly the examples in the survey are concentrated at the cheaper end of the housing price spectrum in each location, but this does illustrate a fundamental difficulty faced by home owners attempting to move from a depressed housing market in the north to a buoyant one in the south, even when they are prepared to make considerable sacrifices in house size and quality.

Average weekly housing costs (including rates) also demonstrated considerable disparity between the two locations. These costs ranged from £3 to £47 per week in Liverpool, and from £2 to £92 per week in Reading. The lowest figures were artificially low, and reflect the receipt of housing benefit by some households. Weekly averages illustrate the different costs incurred in the two locations: £24.79 per week in Liverpool, and £34.70 in Reading.

8.4.2 Moving within and between tenures

Since migration, for whatever reason, involves moving home, it is inextricably connected to residential mobility. Most housing moves take place across relatively short distances, do not entail a change of employment, and are undertaken mainly in response to changing household needs. However, the relative ease of movement within particular tenures and between tenures, in conjunction with the ease of such moves between different local housing markets, will obviously impact upon migration.

One of the key factors used to account for the relative immobility of the low-skilled is the restrictive practices of local authority housing allocation and transfer procedures (for example, Cullingworth, 1965; National Consumer Council, 1984). It has been argued that local authority housing is associated with lower rates of mobility, irrespective of social class, and that the low-skilled and unemployed tend to be disproportionately concentrated in this tenure (Hughes and McCormick, 1981). Similarly, one of the main reasons forwarded to explain the geographical immobility of labour between north and south

in recent years, is the exacerbation of regional house price differentials. It is therefore important in attempting to account for differential rates of mobility, to examine their relationship with social class, the influence of tenure, and differences between contrasting local housing markets.

The first points to note, with regard to tenure, are that movement within tenures accounted for the majority (60 per cent) of all recorded moves between former and current residences, and that these accounted for a slightly greater proportion of such moves among manual (64 per cent) than non-manual (59 per cent) households (tables 8.6).

It was shown in the preceding chapter that there is a relationship between social class and housing tenure. Therefore, examination of the influence of each upon residential mobility must acknowledge this. Analysis of length of residence by housing tenure provides little evidence that local authority tenants are less mobile than owner-occupiers. Indeed the opposite appears to be the case: the average length of stay in the current residence was 13.6 years for owner-occupiers, and 12.5 years for local authority tenants. Private-renters were the most mobile tenure group, with an average length of stay of 6.8 years (Table 8.7). Obviously, length of stay in current residence is, by definition incomplete. Yet analysis of length of stay by tenure in the former residence confirms the picture presented above: the length of stay was longest for owner occupiers (10.1 years), and shortest for private renters (7.0 years), with local authority tenants (8.8 years) falling between the two (table 8.7).

Analysis of residential mobility by household social class reveals few differences between manual and non-manual households. The average length of stay in the current residence was 12.0 years for non-manual households, 12.3 years for skilled manual, and 11.0 years for semi-skilled and unskilled manual households. However, average length of stay in the former residence was lowest for non-manual households (6.4 years) and highest for semi-skilled and unskilled manual households (8.5 years); with the skilled manual group between the two extremes (7.0 years) (table 8.8).

The average length of stay in all previous residences was remarkably similar for different social classes; 10.5 years for non-manual, 10.1 for skilled manual, and 10.8 for other manual (table 8.8). In order to understand these similarities, despite evidence of some differences between classes and tenures, it is important to view housing moves within and between tenures longitudinally. The housing histories, for example, revealed some interesting differences between those professional workers with experience of higher education and professional training, and those manual workers with no such experience. Housing histories of professional households were more likely to entail periods in private-rented accommodation during formative years, often associated with university, training and early employment changes. Furthermore, such households were far more likely than most to move into owner occupation in later stages. By comparison, the housing histories of many manual workers were formulated entirely within the local authority sector from the point of household formation (commonly marriage) onwards. Those manual households which did live for

certain periods in private-rented accommodation were also most likely to have done so during the early stages of household development, but often for very different reasons. For the young professional households, the private-rented sector provided the most convenient form of short-term accommodation for job or training reasons in an area in which the household did not necessarily intend to settle. Many manual households, by contrast, moved into private-rented accommodation by default, whilst they were biding their time on a local authority waiting list. These differences in housing histories are explored in greater detail in the next chapter.

Although there was little evidence in this survey of broad differentials in mobility rates between owner-occupiers and local authority tenants, it must be emphasised that the vast majority of the moves discussed occurred within a local area. Over 85 per cent of all recorded moves into the current residence, for example, were from within the same district [Liverpool/Reading]. Whilst council tenants may find it as easy as owner-occupiers to move within a district, this may not be so for moves between districts. The concept of a local housing market for owner occupiers is different to that for local authority tenants. The former often move within a housing market which is not spatially restricted. The fact that a particular household is moving from one local housing market to another is less significant than the comparative value of the houses they are moving to and from, since it is this which affects ease of entry to one market and exit from another. For local authority tenants, however, the local housing market is contiguous with the sphere of influence of the local

authority which controls allocation. Movement within a particular district thus means moving within a particular local authority, whereas moving between districts entails moving from one local authority to another. Since each local authority determines its own system of priorities and allocation procedures (within statutory requirements), and has a prime responsibility to its local population, movement between two local authority housing market areas is difficult, despite the existence of certain schemes which aim to facilitate such exchanges (chapter three). For these reasons, long-distance movement is generally likely to be more difficult for local authority tenants than for owner-occupiers.

Comparing the location of current residence with the location of previous residence illustrates these points. Overall 12.5 per cent of all households moved into their current residence from outside the district, yet 17 per cent of owner occupiers and 20 per cent of private renters, but only two per cent of local authority tenants did so (table 8.9). Likewise, whilst 17 per cent of non-manual workers had moved into their current residence from another district, only ten per cent of skilled manual, and seven per cent of other manual households had done so (table 8.10).

Although moves between districts are more likely to be associated with job changes than moves within districts, even at this level most moves were undertaken for reasons other than employment. For instance, moves into current residences involving simultaneous job changes

occurred for 1 in 25 of all households, but for one in seven non-manual households and one in 69 manual households (table 8.11).

8.4.3 Housing choice and the residential search procedure

When questioned on the reasons for choosing to live in their current house, a large number of respondents replied that they had no choice. Indeed their perception of the question was often more instructive than the answers recorded, since this emphasises the differences in the range of housing opportunities for different groups. Moreover, the perception of these opportunities was often historically determined, dependent upon former housing moves, and parental housing moves. (This is discussed at greater length in subsequent chapters).

A larger proportion of the Liverpool sample felt that the notion of choice was inappropriate. This cannot be wholly explained by the larger number of local authority properties within the sample. What is significant also, is the large number of households in Liverpool which have experienced some form of compulsory relocation. A quarter of the sample households in Liverpool had moved into their current homes through compulsory relocation, compared with a mere two per cent in Reading (table 8.12). Examination of housing histories further emphasises the historical importance of compulsory relocation, associated with wartime destruction, slum clearance and inner city redevelopment in the 1950s and 1960s, and more recently, the destruction or improvement of many older council properties, to make

way for the bold new house-building programmes of the Militant ^{-/ed} City Council.

By contrast, in Reading, housing managed by the local authority has played a far less significant role in the housing histories of the sample population. The 1981 census showed local authority housing to be far less important in the housing stock of the district, and Reading has not experienced the same upheavals of slum clearance and re-development. The implications of these factors for migration lie in the households' perceptions of opportunities for movement. Clearly, for those households which reject the notion of choice in housing, perceived opportunities will be very limited. When moves are continually determined by outside institutions, (in most cases the local authority), sometimes forcibly, then one important part of the decision-making process associated with migration is removed, in part, from the arena of the household. It is externally and bureaucratically controlled.

When the reasons for the choice of current housing are amalgamated, this distinction becomes very clear. These reasons may be broadly divided between those attributable to decision-making at the household level, and those attributable to decision-making external to the household (table 8.12). In Reading, household decisions accounted for over twice the number of such responses in Liverpool, whilst the number of responses reflecting external decisions in Liverpool was twice that in Reading. Differences were also apparent in a comparison of manual and non-manual households: among the former group

decision-making was more likely to be external to the household (table 8.13a).

Despite this seeming rejection of the notion of choice by many households in local authority accommodation, the tracing of their employment and housing histories illustrates that they were not necessarily mere passive agents within a bureaucratic system. Although choice was often reduced to the ability to accept or reject a specific offer of housing, many households were acutely aware of their relative position within the local authority sector, and of the means by which they would be able to improve this position. For example, households attempting to enter the local authority system may adopt a strategy of short term sacrifice by leaving the parental home for something of an inferior quality.

Questions relating to the choice of residential area, and to the search procedures used, also revealed some important differences between the two areas (table 8.14). In both locations, the majority of households chose to live in their current residential area because of the existence of family, friends and other ties, or else by virtue of the procedure for the allocation of council housing. However, the importance of family, friends, and other ties appeared to be greater in Liverpool than in Reading. Conversely, employment reasons and housing reasons were together cited almost three times as often in Reading, as the main determinants of residential location. Similarly, the importance of the local authority allocation procedure and the location

of family and friends were more important determinants of residential location among manual than non-manual households (table 8.15).

The relative importance of local 'roots' also had an influence on housing search procedures. Not surprisingly, friends, relatives and personal contacts were more important in Liverpool than in Reading. By contrast, 'official' information sources such as newspapers, estate agents and accommodation agencies, (of little significance in Liverpool), constituted the main source of information for about a third of respondents in Reading. The most important source of information used in both locations, however, was the local authority (table 8.16). Although this source appeared more important in Liverpool, this was a reflection of its greater proportion of local authority tenants. Comparison of information sources used by household social class confirmed that manual households were more reliant than non-manual households on personal contacts and the local authority in their housing search (table 8.17).

There are clear parallels which may be drawn between the housing search procedure, and the employment search procedure. Moreover, the nature of the information sources and the agencies used also determines the type and location of employment and housing opportunities available. Reliance upon local authority agencies, and 'unofficial' or personal sources, will clearly favour local opportunities, or opportunities in other places where a household has close contacts which facilitate the transfer of information. The use of 'official' sources, by contrast, can expose the household to a wider range and

spread of opportunities, which are determined to a lesser degree by the presence of personal contacts. Support for this hypothesis is provided by Forrest and Murie's (1987) study of housing histories among owner-occupiers in Bristol: the histories of those households in high status housing were characterised by housing and job moves within national labour and housing markets, whilst those of households in lower status housing were characterised by movement within local markets.

8.5 Household type and mobility

Despite the importance of employment mobility and housing mobility in determining the likelihood of migration occurring, and influencing attitudes to migration, it is clear that the majority of household moves are actually generated by changing household size and structure, and changing household needs. The most obvious of these changes occur at the point of household formation (commonly through marriage or leaving the parental home), at the birth or death of household members, and on entrance to and exit from the labour market among its members. Tenure, occupational status and social networks may influence the ordering of priorities within the household, the options available to it, and the search procedures utilized, but it is usually the household itself which determines the fundamental preconditions for movement.

In order to relate household life-cycle stages to mobility and to migration, households were grouped into six types, representing six

stages in a typical household life-cycle. The classification adopted reflects not only the age and labour market position of 'principal wage earners', their spouses and other dominant household members, but also the influence of siblings or elderly members. The interviews confirmed, for example, the over-riding importance for migration and mobility of the development of children.

Four main changes occurring at the divisions between the stages outlined were identified. First, the birth of new household members, which create new housing and social demands. Second, the commencement of secondary schooling, which influences decisions on residential location within a local area, and also inhibits migration (especially at important periods associated with examinations), since parents are reluctant to undertake moves which may be disruptive and detrimental to their childrens' schooling. Third, the end of formal education and entry of siblings into employment creates new demands related to their prospects in local labour markets, and at the same time reduces other demands placed on their parents. Fourth, as those siblings leave the household to form new households of their own (possibly moving away from the area in the process), the remaining household members must make further financial and housing adjustments. The strategies adopted by those siblings 'leaving the nest' may themselves influence the behaviour of the household which they leave behind; for example, in subsequent years as elderly parents retire from work and seek to be near their children and grandchildren.

The six household types identified were, young single persons (type A); young couples (type B); families with children all aged under twelve years (type C); families with one or more children within the age range 12-17 years (type D); families with all siblings aged 18 and over (type E); and elderly households where all members are aged over 60 years (type F). This six-fold typology was collapsed further in some analyses by coupling household types to produce a three-fold classification analogous to the three broad phases in the household life-cycle: 'consolidation' (types A and B); 'growth' (types C and D), and 'contraction' (types E and F).

In view of the way in which the sample of households in the interview survey was generated, it can reasonably be assumed that the balance of household types is representative of the household types within each of the survey districts, the balance of tenure and the focus on the low-skilled and unemployed. Comparison of the household types of the sample (at the time of the interview) with household types on moving into the current residence, identifies those associated with the highest rates of residential mobility. Households with young children were the largest group of movers into the current residence, accounting for 34 per cent of such moves, but only 20 per cent of the interview sample. The next largest groups at the point of movement were young couples and young families (types B and D respectively) (table 8.18). When the rank order of household types in the survey is compared with that of household types on moving into the current accommodation, two key differences emerge. First, elderly households (type F) which constitute the largest group in the sample, are the smallest group at

the point of the move. By contrast, young couples, ranked fifth in the sample, are ranked second at the point of movement (table 8.18a). Hence residential mobility is associated with household type, and by implication, with stage in the household life-cycle. Whilst most household types occupy a similar rank in the sample and at the point of the last move, elderly households seem much less mobile than the sample as a whole, and young couples and young families considerably more so.

In recognition of the fact that household type may influence both preparedness and ability to move, households were asked whether there was any stage in their past when they had seriously considered migrating (ie. moving beyond the boundaries of the region in which they were living at that time) but had failed to do so. Where possible, further questioning was used to identify the household type at such times. In one in three cases (37 per cent), serious consideration of migration was undertaken by young single people (type A). The next largest group was young childless couples (type B). All other household types, including young families (type C) were under-represented relative to their proportion of the sample population (table 8.18).

When the household types at point of migration consideration were ranked and compared with the rank order of the sample, as in the example above, some important differences emerged. Young single-person households and young couples are ranked first and second respectively among those considering migration, and fifth and sixth in the sample. Conversely, elderly (type F) households are ranked first in the sample, and joint fourth among those considering migration (table 8.18a).

It is important to note the differences between mobility and migration consideration at this point. Whilst young single households seemed more likely than most to consider migration, they were not disproportionately represented among movers. Conversely, young families were less likely to consider migration, but much more likely actually to move house. These differences are taken up chapter ten.

It has been shown that households at different stages of their development are associated with different propensity to migrate, and with different rates of mobility. This may be related to changing needs of household members, and also, in part, to housing circumstances, since there are also stages in household development associated with particular housing tenures.

8.5.1 Household type and housing tenure

Certain household types were clearly associated more strongly than others with particular housing tenures (table 8.19). Young single persons and young couples were more likely than most to be living in private-rented accommodation, whilst families with children of school age were more likely than most to be living in local authority accommodation. Seventy-six per cent of type A and 39 per cent of type B households lived in private-rented accommodation, compared to six per cent of type D. Conversely, 68 per cent of type D households lived in local authority housing compared to 19 per cent of type A and 18 per cent of type B households. Indeed there is a statistical relationship

between household type (in its three-fold classification) and housing tenure (table 8.19a).

8.5.2 Phases in the Household life-cycle

If these results are considered in a longitudinal manner, it appears that there is a greater probability of households at some stages of the cycle living in certain tenures than at other stages. The likelihood of living in the private-rented sector, for instance, was greatest for young single people, lower for married and cohabitating couples, lower still for those at child-rearing stages, and higher again for adult families and elderly households with no children (table 8.19).

Individual tenures must not be viewed separately from one another, however, since they are intimately related within a local housing market. Moreover, different stages in a household life cycle are associated with relative strengths in some tenures, coexisting with relative weaknesses in others. The predominance of young single people in the private-rented sector, for example, is a reflection partly of their strengths in and preferences for that tenure, and partly as a reflection of their relative weaknesses in, and perhaps even exclusion from, the local authority and owner-occupied tenures. Likewise, the high proportion of families with school age children in local authority housing, alongside their relatively low numbers in alternative tenures, is a reflection of their relative strengths in the local authority system (by virtue of the allocation procedures adopted), and of their

relative weaknesses in the owner-occupied sector (by virtue of the financial demands of children and the smaller likelihood of having more than one wage earner), and in the private-rented sector (due to the greater problems encountered in finding suitable accommodation in this sector, and the likelihood that children may not be accepted by landlords).

The composition of household types in the owner-occupied sector illustrates these points well (table 8.19). The proportion of young single people in this sector was small (5 per cent), but was markedly higher for childless couples (43 per cent) who were likely to have a greater need for housing stability, and were also more likely to have two wages with which to obtain a mortgage and make the appropriate repayments. The proportion of families with young children in this sector was slightly lower (39 per cent), and the proportion of families with school age children was considerably lower (26 per cent). Some speculative reasons for this may include the temporary or permanent withdrawal from the labour market of one parent and wage earner (usually the mother), and a possible return to work in later years on a part-time basis only. This means reduced strength in the owner-occupied tenure, and increased relative strength in the local authority sector. Households with older children may endure even greater financial burdens, which again means less strength in the owner-occupied sector, but (as the children are older), greater strength in the local authority sector. Thus households with children (especially those with school age children) were less likely than young childless couples to be living in owner-occupied housing, but more likely to be living in

local authority housing. However, mature households (type E) were as likely as young couples to live in owner occupied housing (40 per cent of them did so). Again speculative reasons for this could include the fact that there are likely to be fewer financial demands, and more wage earners in such households. Their strengths in the owner-occupied sector will thus be greater than households containing children, whilst their position in the local authority sector will be relatively weaker. One in four (25 per cent) of elderly households lived in owner-occupied housing, this rate being lower than every other household type except young single person households. Retired households will generally have lower incomes than working households, and will thus have less strength in the owner-occupied sector. Conversely, since old age frequently brings with it physical disability, the strength of such households in the local authority sector will be greater than those who are younger and physically more able.

There is a limit to the extent to which longitudinal processes can be inferred from cross-sectional information on households at different stages in their lives, however, and it is clear that these processes must be examined at the level of individual households, within the context of their developing life-cycle. This is pursued in the following chapter.

Besides being associated with different rates of movement and different propensities to migrate, different household types or development stages are also associated with different motives for movement. Movement into current residence, for instance, showed that

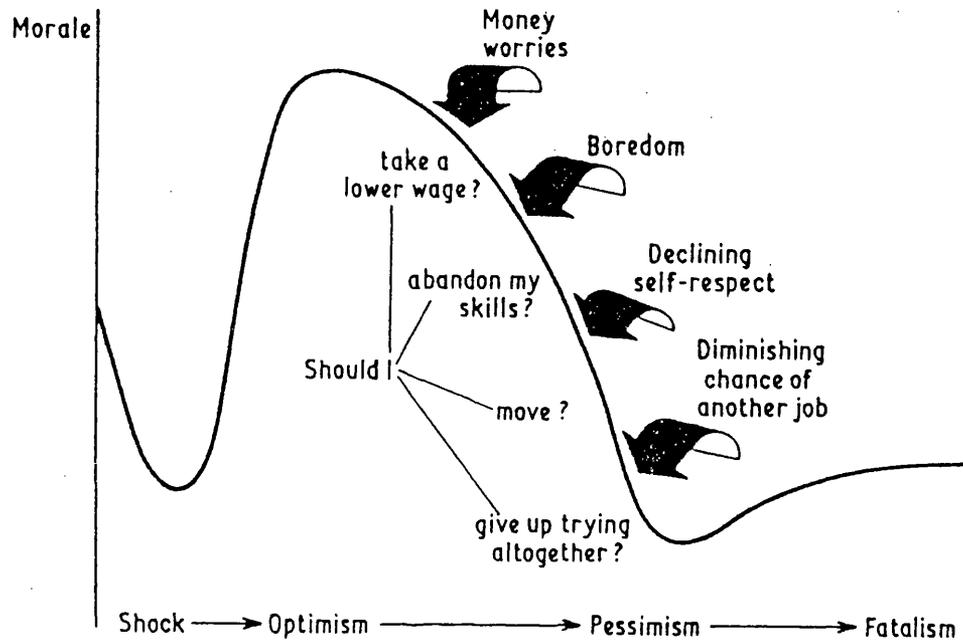
housing and location factors were more prominent among moves by households at the 'consolidation' stage (types A and B), whilst the allocation procedures of the local authority were far more important for households moving during the 'growth' phase (types C and D) (table 8.20).

Similarly, analysis of past consideration of migration showed that such consideration occurred mainly for employment reasons among households in the 'consolidation' phase (types A and B), that job and non-job reasons were of similar importance among households in the 'growth' phase (types C and D), and that non-job reasons were far more important than job reasons among households in the 'contraction' phase (types E and F) (table 8.20).

Housing tenure, mobility, migration propensity and the motives for the consideration of migration are all linked with household type, or with the stage in household development. This is due to the fact that different types of household have different needs and priorities, as well as different strengths and weaknesses in local labour and housing markets. Yet it is difficult to infer longitudinal processes from cross-sectional information. Furthermore, whilst it is apparent that certain priorities are more prominent for some types than for others, this analysis tells us little of the ways in which competing priorities are balanced against each other by a particular households, little about the ways in which this balance may change through time, and little about the opportunities and constraints within which individual households formulate their decisions and within which they act. For

these reasons it is necessary to look at these issues through time, at the level of the household; to explore the interaction of local and competing labour and housing markets within the developing household life-cycle. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at a better understanding of the rationale for not moving as well as the rationale for moving under different combinations of circumstances, and at different points in time, for different households. These are the themes which are explored in the following chapter.

Figure 8.1
Job loss as a psycho-social transition



After Harrison (1976)

Source: Hayes and Nutman, 1981, figure 2.2

TABLES

Notes to following tables

(All tables in Chapter Eight)

Socio-economic group (SEG):

- 1 Employers and managers (large establishments)
- 2 Employers and managers (small establishments)
- 3 Professional - self-employed
- 4 Professional - employees
- 5.1 Ancillary workers and artists
- 5.2 Foremen - non-manual
- 6 Junior - non-manual
- 7 Personal services
- 8 Foremen - manual
- 9 Skilled manual
- 10 Semi-skilled manual
- 11 Unskilled manual
- 12 Own account workers
- 13 Farmers (employers)
- 14 Farmers (own account)
- 15 Agricultural workers
- 16 Members of armed forces
- 17 Inadequately described

Social class (by occupation)

- 1 Professional/managerial
- 2 Intermediate
- 3N Junior non-manual
- 3M Skilled manual
- 4 Semi-skilled manual
- 5 Unskilled manual

("non-manual" = social classes 1, 2 and 3N;
"manual" = social classes 3M, 4 and 5)

(): Figures in parentheses are per cent.

χ^2 : Chisquare value

DF: degrees of freedom (Yates correction used to
for all tables with one degree of freedom).

H_0 : Null hypothesis

H_1 : Alternative hypothesis

Housing tenure:

OO Owner-occupied
LA Local authority
PRu Private-rented (unfurnished)
PRf Private-rented (furnished)

Household types/phases: see explanation in text
(section 8.5)

District = Liverpool/ Reading (census boundaries)

County = Merseyside/ Berkshire (census boundaries)

Source: Household Interview Survey (all tables)

Table 8.1
 Socio-economic group of previous job (respondent)
 by location

SEG	Liverpool	Reading	Total
1 - 5	7	12	19
6 & 7	21	31	52
8 & 9	22	15	37
10	27	18	45
11	20	14	34
12 - 17/other	3	10	13
Total	100	100	200

Table 8.2
 Socio-economic group of current job (respondent,
 where employed) by location

SEG	Liverpool	Reading	Total
1 - 5	6 (9.8)	8 (13.1)	14
6 & 7	10 (16.4)	20 (32.8)	30
8 & 9	7 (11.5)	14 (22.9)	21
10	11 (18.0)	7 (11.5)	18
11	5 (8.2)	2 (3.3)	7
12 - 17/other	3 (4.9)	10 (16.4)	13
Total	42 (100)	61 (100)	103

Table 8.3

Whether current job was 'lined up' on leaving previous job by social class of current job

Social class of current job	Was current job 'lined up'?				
	No		Yes		Total
Non-manual	17	(42.5)	23	(57.5)	40 (100)
Skilled manual	15	(51.7)	14	(48.3)	29 (100)
Semi-skilled & unskilled manual	47	(75.8)	15	(24.2)	62 (100)
Total	79	(60.3)	52	(39.7)	131 (100)

$\chi^2=12.41$ DF=2 Significant at 99% confidence level

H_1 : There is a relationship between social class and likelihood of having the current job lined up before leaving previous one.

Table 8.4
Reason for leaving previous job by social class of job

	Non-manual	Manual	Total
Redundancy/dismissal	7 (14.6)	40 (28.2)	47 (24.7)
Personal/family	5 (10.4)	27 (19.0)	32 (16.8)
Move to another job	13 (27.1)	18 (12.7)	31 (16.3)
Retirement	5 (10.4)	19 (13.4)	24 (12.6)
End of fixed contract/scheme	5 (10.4)	15 (10.6)	20 (10.5)
Other	13 (27.1)	20 (14.1)	33 (17.4)
no answer/ n/a	0 (0.0)	2 (1.4)	2 (1.0)
Total	48 (100)	142 (100)	190 (100)

Table 8.5
Reason for leaving previous job by location.

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
Redundancy/dismissal	33	14	47
Personal/family	19	13	32
Move to another job	7	24	31
Retirement	10	14	24
End of fixed contract/scheme	12	10	22
Other	16	20	36
no answer/ n/a	3	5	8
Total	100	100	200

Table 8.6

Tenure of current residence by tenure of previous residence: all households

Previous residence	Current residence		
	O.O.	L.A.	P.R.
O.O.	20	3	3
L.A.	16	45	9
P.R.	16	24	41

Movement within tenures = 60% of all moves

Table 8.6a

Tenure of current residence by tenure of previous residence: manual households

Previous residence	Current residence		
	O.O.	L.A.	P.R.
O.O.	15	3	1
L.A.	12	36	7
P.R.	7	19	35

Movement within tenures = 64% of all moves

Table 8.6b
 Tenure of current residence by tenure of previous
 residence: non-manual households

Previous residence	Current residence		
	O.O.	L.A.	P.R.
O.O.	5	0	2
L.A.	4	9	2
P.R.	4	2	6

Movement within tenures = 59% of all moves

Table 8.7
Length of residence by housing tenure

Length of stay (years)	Housing tenure		
	O.O.	L.A.	P.R.
Mean length of stay in current residence (by current tenure)	13.6	12.5	6.8
Mean length of stay in previous residence by previous tenure	10.1	8.8	7.0
Mean length of stay in all residences recorded by current tenure	11.8	10.7	7.9

Table 8.8
Length of residence by household social class

Length of stay (years)	Current household social class		
	1/2/3N	3M	4/5
Mean length of stay in current residence	12.0	12.3	11.0
Mean length of stay in previous residence	6.4	7.0	8.5
Mean length of stay in all residences recorded	10.5	10.1	10.8

Table 8.9
Tenure of current residence by location of previous residence.

Current tenure	Location of previous residence		
	Same District	Different District	Total
D.O.	50 (83)	10 (17)	60 (100)
L.A.	85 (98)	2 (2)	87 (100)
P.R.	41 (80)	10 (20)	51 (100)
Total	176 (89)	22 (11)	198 (100)

Table 8.10
Location of current residence relative to previous residence by household social class.

Household social class	Length of current residence, relative to previous residence		
	Same District	Different District	Total
1/2/3N	39 (83)	8 (17)	47 (100)
3M	47 (90)	5 (10)	52 (100)
4/5	87 (93)	7 (7)	94 (100)
Total	173 (90)	20 (10)	193 (100)

Table 8.11
 Whether movement into current house involved
 simultaneous job change by household social class

	Simultaneous job change?		Total
	NO	YES	
Non-manual	37	5	42
Manual	138	2	140
Total	175	7	182

Table 8.12
 Main reason for choice of current housing by location.

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
(a) Allocated by local authority	24	26	50
(b) Housing factors	14	28	42
(c) Locational factors	9	20	29
(d) Compulsory purchase of former home	25	2	27
(e) Family/friends already here	6	13	19
(f) Other family reasons	12	3	15
(g) Other	7	7	14
No answer/ na	3	2	5
Total	100	100	200

Table 8.12a
 Main reason for choice of current housing by location.

	Liverpool	Reading	Total
Household decision-making (b+c+e+f)	41	64	105
External decision-making (a+d)	49	28	77
Total	90	92	182

$\chi^2=9.78$ DF=1 Significant at 99% confidence level

H_1 : There is a relationship between the externalisation of housing choice and location.

Table 8.13
 Main reason for choice of current housing by household
 social class.

Main reason	Household social class		
	Non-manual	Manual	Total
(a) Allocated by local authority	10 (21.3)	39 (27.3)	49 (25.8)
(b) Housing factors	11 (23.4)	29 (20.3)	40 (21.1)
(c) Locational factors	10 (21.3)	16 (11.2)	26 (13.7)
(d) Compulsory purchase of former home	2 (4.3)	23 (16.1)	25 (13.2)
(e) Family/friends already here	7 (14.9)	11 (7.7)	18 (9.5)
(f) Other family reasons	2 (4.3)	13 (9.1)	15 (7.9)
(g) Other	4 (8.5)	10 (7.0)	14 (7.4)
No answer/ na	1 (2.1)	2 (1.4)	3 (1.6)
Total	47 (100)	143 (100)	190 (100)

Table 8.13a

Main reason for choice of current housing by household social class.

Main reason	Household social class		
	Non-manual	Manual	Total
Household decision-making (b+c+e+f)	27	69	96
External decision-making (a+d)	12	62	74
Total	39	131	170

$\chi^2=2.71$ DF=1 Not Significant

H_0 : There is no relationship between the externalisation of housing choice and household social class.

Table 8.14

Main reason for choice of residential area by location.

Main reason	Household social class		
	Non-manual	Manual	Total
Family/friends here	16 (38.3)	68 (48.6)	84
Allocation procedure	10 (21.7)	42 (30.0)	52
Employment	9 (19.6)	9 (6.4)	18
Housing	6 (13.0)	10 (7.1)	16
Other	5 (10.9)	11 (7.9)	16
Total	46	140	186

Table 8.15

Main reason for choice of residential area by household social class.

Main reason	Household social class		
	Non-manual	Manual	Total
Family/friends here	55	31	86
Allocation procedure	22	32	54
Employment	8	14	22
Housing	2	14	16
Other	11	7	18
No answer	2	2	4
Total	100	100	200

Table 8.16

Source of information used to find current housing by location.

Main source	Household social class		Total
	Non-manual	Manual	
Local authority	15 (33.3)	67 (47.9)	82
Personal contacts	10 (22.2)	56 (40.6)	66
Estate agent/ accommodation agency	13 (28.9)	12 (8.6)	25
Newspaper/ advertisement	5 (11.1)	5 (3.6)	10
Employer	2 (4.4)	0 (0.0)	2
Other	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0
Total	45	140	185

Table 8.17

Source of information used to find current housing by household social class.

Main source	Household social class		Total
	Non-manual	Manual	
Local authority	51	35	86
Personal contacts	37	31	68
Estate agent/ accommodation agency	3	24	27
Newspaper/ advertisement	3	7	10
Employer	3	0	3
Other	3	3	6
Total	100	100	200

Table B.18
Household type, residential moves and migration
consideration.

Household type	At point of survey	On moving into current residence	When migration was considered in past
A	21 (11)	22 (12)	24 (37)
B	28 (15)	35 (19)	18 (28)
C	38 (20)	61 (34)	9 (14)
D	34 (18)	33 (18)	5 (8)
E	30 (16)	24 (13)	3 (5)
F	39 (20)	7 (4)	5 (8)
Total	190 (100)	182 (100)	64 (100)

Table 8.18a

Household type, residential moves and migration consideration (rank order)

Rank	When migration was considered	Sample	Point of move
1	A	F	C
2	B	C	B
3	C	D	D
4	D	E	E
5	F	B	A
6	E	A	F

(arrows indicate difference of 2 or more positions in the rank order).

Table B.19
Current household type by tenure

Household type/phase	Housing tenure							
	O.O		L.A.		P.R.		ALL	
A	1	(5)	4	(19)	16	(76)	21	(100)
B	12	(43)	5	(18)	11	(39)	28	(100)
C	15	(39)	17	(45)	6	(16)	38	(100)
D	9	(26)	23	(68)	2	(6)	34	(100)
E	12	(40)	14	(47)	4	(13)	30	(100)
F	10	(25)	19	(49)	10	(25)	39	(100)
Total	59	(31)	82	(43)	49	(26)	190	

Table B.19a
Current household type by tenure

Household type/phase	Housing tenure			
	O.O	L.A.	P.R.	ALL
Consolidation	13	9	27	49
Growth	24	40	8	72
Contraction	22	33	14	69
Total	59	82	49	190

Table 8.20
Household type on moving in to current residence
by reason for move.

Household type/phase	Reason for move			Total
	Allocated/ C.P.O	Family/ social	Housing/ location	
Consolidation	9	8	36	53
Growth	49	11	29	89
Contraction	15	8	6	29
Total	73	27	71	171

Table 8.21
Past consideration of migration (which did not occur):
household type when migration considered by reason
for consideration

Household type/phase	Reason for considered migration			Total
	Job reasons	Non-job reason		
Consolidation	20	14		34
Growth	6	8		14
Contraction	1	7		8
Total	27	29		56

Chapter Nine

THE RATIONALE FOR IMMOBILITY

9.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters have demonstrated the variety of factors which are balanced in a particular migration decision. This chapter illustrates the ways in which these factors are played off against each other by individual households. It attempts to extend the analysis of the survey results, through a series of themes which have emerged so far. It is based on the qualitative information gathered in the household survey in order to liberate the analysis from the restraints of numerical methods which emphasise the testing of relationships between limited sets of variables. Frequently, the language of the respondents has been retained in order to portray the complexity and emotiveness of the issues which feed in to the consideration of migration.

The first part of the chapter explores two main themes: the organisation of work, and the balancing of strengths in housing and employment. Qualitative information from each of the survey areas is woven into these themes in order to examine the way in which individual households balance their aspirations, opportunities and constraints with reference to the systems which determine them. The analysis concludes by reviewing three case studies which are presented in the

form of edited monologues, in order to focus more specifically on the stages in the process of migration as it affects the individual and household.

9.2 Manual work, employment histories and career structure

The key to many of the apparent differences in migration propensity between manual and non-manual workers lies in the organisation of work, and the extent of career structure. For many professional migrants, migration is often associated with promotion (see, for example, Sell, forthcoming, with reference to the US; Salt, forthcoming, with reference to the UK; and Wiltshire, forthcoming, with reference to Japan). The importance of each move in an overriding career structure is clearly understood by both migrant and employer institution. For manual workers, however, it was shown in chapter eight that employment histories are characterised more by diversity and uncertainty. Although the jobs undertaken may be varied, their status is usually consistent, and there is often no logical progression from one to another. Furthermore, changing jobs is frequently a response to redundancy and unemployment rather than a step in the advancement of a particular career.

"My husband works in General Repairs, but he's done lots of other jobs...let me see, he was a chimney sweep, then a bus conductor...he's done steel erecting, pipe fitting...docker and a rigger." (LI.063)

It is the uncertainty of employment which renders migration an inappropriate option in the search for new employment for many households who have much to lose in terms of housing and local commitments.

"[If I moved] it would have to be where I can guarantee permanent work. Not a situation which is going to be just the same."
(LI.043)

There are exceptions to these socio-economic generalisations which render employment migration a more viable alternative for some. One exception is that of temporary, seasonal or short-term contractual work. In these cases, accommodation is often provided by the employer, and a home base is maintained throughout, which usually means leaving part of the household in the home area. A typical example of such a strategy is seasonal employment in hotels, undertaken by young single adults, who may return to their parental home at the end of the season. Other common examples are periods of a month or more away from home working on short-term contracts, typically in building and construction, or on oil rigs.

"Well in my job [road construction] I get shifted around. The first move after Christmas will be High Wycombe. That's alright because I get lodging allowance... If I jacked the job in I'd go back to Wales [the family home]." (RI.170)

A further course of action is often undertaken by married men, who work away from home during the week, sharing lodgings with others in similar situations, and return home at weekends. In all these cases migration is seldom worthwhile, and rarely possible.

Another exception to the lack of career structure among manual occupations, and one which does afford migration possibilities is that of employment in large or national organisations, where job security is good, and there are possibilities for transfer between one area and another within the organisation. Such opportunities approximate the transfers made within organisations by non-manual workers, but with one important difference. In the case of manual workers, these moves are rarely accompanied by promotion. Instead, there is often a facility whereby employees may transfer to jobs of equal status elsewhere. In practice, many manual workers transferring in this way must endure some drop in status, although this may be temporary, because their position in the employer's internal labour market ultimately depends on seniority (Doeringer and Piore, 1971).

"I'd like to go down to the west country, Teignmouth. It's an easier way of life, and cheaper to live. I like the lifestyle. We go there on holiday a lot, and I'm thinking about a transfer there now." (A postman, RI.140)

"If my husband could get straight transfer we would go tomorrow. Five years ago we considered Newport because of family connections and the housing situation, but it meant taking a drop in wages and status on the railway...back to junior trackman." (RI.138)

Clearly employment will not be the motivating force behind such moves, but it does mean that propensity to move for other reasons may not be hindered to such a great extent by the absence of job security and career structure in such cases.

The issue of job security and its effect on attitudes towards employment raised some important differences between manual workers in

the two survey locales. These differences were evident in the ways in which particular questions were interpreted, as discussed in chapter seven. The discussion highlighted the differences in strategies adopted by manual workers (especially unemployed manual workers) in the two cities. These may in part be due to differences in local employment and housing opportunities. Very few respondents in Reading, both in and out of work, thought that employment opportunities would be better for them elsewhere in the country. Conversely, housing was likely to be cheaper elsewhere. Another important aspect in the interpretation of the meaning of work to the individual is historical. The employment opportunities which have shaped past working patterns have socialised people into a particular model of working life inherited from their parents and others. Frequently in the Jobclub discussions, especially in Liverpool, it was plain that the history of the area's economy was a formative influence in attitudes towards work there and, consequently, towards migration too (Massey, 1984; Lane, 1987; Gordon, 1988).

9.3 Housing histories and housing ladders

The results of the household interviews emphasise the interrelationships of the housing and employment markets at each location. However, the results obtained indicate that these relationships are not always immediately evident, and often affect behaviour in an obtuse manner.

9.3.1 Movement within the owner-occupied sector

The influence of housing upon labour mobility has already been referred to (chapter eight). One clear message which has been propounded over recent years is that regional house price differentials prevent people moving from depressed to prosperous areas in response to new employment opportunities. This view is well supported by the results of both the interviews and the Jobclub discussions.

"I wouldn't move down south, even though the work's there. It's the cost of accommodation." (LI.095)

Another effect of those housing differentials which is less well documented is that of people moving away from prosperous areas, to similar jobs (where possible) in less prosperous areas, thereby achieving a higher standard of housing for themselves and their families.

"[I would move for] cheaper housing. Yorkshire, Lancashire, possibly even further north. Mainly because of the housing difference... I'm a civil servant, so it would be possible for me to transfer". (RI.166)

"My husband has been looking for a job in Leeds because the houses are cheaper there, but there are no jobs for the children." (RI.167)

My brother-in-law is thinking of selling up and going to Newport now... His wife says they could sell the house here and buy one up there and have a few thousand quid left to live on while looking for work... He's got three kids and everything...but he's looking for a new job anyway. (R.I.138)

It may be argued that since labour and housing markets are so closely interrelated, migration as a response to housing differentials

is actually migration in response to economic differentials expressed in an indirect manner. This is especially true for owner occupiers, for whom those regions with the best employment opportunities are also the regions where housing is most expensive. In such cases, housing factors are not merely a 'hurdle', but may be regarded as a force helping to propel movement in the opposite direction to that suggested by labour market theory. For people such as the civil servant quoted above, the wage increment derived by living in Reading may not be sufficient to compensate for the high costs of housing if similar employment can be obtained elsewhere. The force of house price differentials is expressed quite clearly where employment is removed from the equation. For example, in Reading a number of respondents approaching retirement age expressed a desire to move away.

"I'll have to stick with this job now, but as soon as I'm 60, I'm off". (RI.064)

The pace of urban life and a desire to be nearer to other members of the family were common factors behind retirement migration in both locations. But consideration of movement as a means of realising financial assets was not evident in Liverpool where house prices were low. In Reading, by contrast, the pace of house price increases over recent years had prompted some retired households to consider movement when formerly they may not have done so. Indeed, the effect of owner occupation on the retired in an area of buoyant house prices is emphasised by the case of one household which had recently purchased its local authority house.

Interviewer: "Have you ever considered moving to another area?"

Respondent: "Only now we've bought our own house." (R.I.127)

House price differentials clearly exert a major influence on owner occupiers in their consideration of migration. They appear to prevent migration from less prosperous to more prosperous areas, as well as generating movement in the converse direction. However, for many owner occupiers in Reading, the ability to realise tied capital, or to trade up to higher quality housing of the same financial value by migration to an area of lower prices, was offset by the problems which would be encountered if they wished to re-enter the Reading area at some future stage. If each move is regarded as one link in a household chain of migration, then for many elderly households it will be the last link, and the inability to move back into the origin area may be of little consequence. For younger households, though, this wish to 'keep the door open' behind them often prevents migration occurring in the first place, even where other factors combine to facilitate or encourage movement.

"We were going to move to Blackpool...we should have done really, but we didn't in case we didn't like it and we couldn't move back here". (RI.116)

"Most [of my friends] have property, so they can't move, because if they do they can't come back". (RI.107)

For owner occupiers then, migration decisions are strongly influenced by house price differentials, and these in turn are closely affected by the local economy. The consequence is that housing market forces and labour market forces may be diametrical opposites where they

influence migration decisions; hence, two owner occupier households, living in similar houses in the same area and presented with similar sets of opportunities, may behave in very different ways, depending on their circumstances.

9.3.2 Movement within the local authority sector

For local authority tenants, the picture is perhaps even more complex, and less directly related to the local labour market. The opportunities and constraints imposed upon local authority tenants are shaped by the management institutions (the local authorities). The policies of these local institutions vary from place to place, depending on political priorities, set within a framework of central government control. The range of options available to a household in a local housing market will, therefore, reflect first the historical inheritance of housing, second the policies of central government, and third, the priorities of local government within these parameters. These points are best considered in the context of housing strength, to which we must now turn.

9.3.3 Housing ladders, housing strength and movement between tenures

The conceptualisation of housing class, allied to socio-economic group as a determinant of mobility is seriously flawed. For, just as the labour market is segmented into different occupational groups, then different groups will have relative strengths and weaknesses in different housing markets. A young unemployed and unmarried mother, or

a household of two disabled pensioners, for example, may well occupy a very low position in the local owner-occupied and private-rented sectors, but is likely to occupy a strong position within the local authority housing sector. This concept of segmented housing markets, analogous to the concept of segmented labour markets, is central to this examination of migration decisions, since it provides the key to an understanding of that movement within and between tenures which forms the basis of any migration.

The examples outlined below also further the theme of the interrelated nature of housing and labour markets, whereby strength in one may be traded against strength in the other. It is also suggested that those locations in which owner occupiers enjoy greatest relative strengths may not necessarily be the areas where local authority tenants are most favoured.

The concept of a housing 'ladder' or housing 'career' (analogous to that in employment, where each move is associated with improvement and progression) was evident in the survey in both locations, in all but the private rented sector, (which generally acted as an intermediate phase in a 'ladder' characterised by another tenure form). Both owner occupiers and local authority tenants were acutely aware of their strengths in the local housing market at each stage in their housing careers, and this is reflected in the way in which they talked about past moves, and in their aspirations and expectations for the future. For local authority tenants, the crucial stage is getting into the local authority sector and on to the ladder. Many people were

prepared to accept any offer to 'get their foot on the first rung', although they may have been far from satisfied with the accommodation they were offered.

"I wanted to get into Liverpool 6 in the old district again, but it was Hobson's choice. I wanted a flat badly so I took it. I sometimes wish I hadn't now." (LI.027)

"I was stuck on the waiting list for eight years, and this was the first offer... Now I wish I hadn't taken it. I wanted Tilehurst really." (RI.138)

Once within the local authority system, tenants may have more power when it comes to moving again. The same tenants who leapt at the first offer of council accommodation (however poor) to get into the system have something to bargain with if the council wants to relocate them, and can wait for the offer of sufficiently superior housing, or housing in a preferable location.

"My old flat was due for demolition. I wanted to stay in this area and near to town. I had several offers, but I waited for a local one." (LI.049)

There are parallels in the owner-occupied sector, where the need to get on to the first rung of a ladder is often equally evident.

"You can buy and sell houses well in this area. We'd like a bigger house with another bedroom and a garden. This is just a stepping stone." (LI.007).

"Twyford was too expensive, so this is our first step to owning... We can't afford to get back into Twyford." (RI.106)

The influence of the local housing market is crucial in shaping housing histories and expectations. Once again, housing tenure as an

expression of free choice is an inappropriate notion. Instead, tenure preference must be set in the historical and geographical context of the previous residential move. Whilst government attempts to broaden home ownership reflect the underlying belief that there are many local authority tenants who wish to own their houses, many owner occupiers interviewed in this survey became owner occupiers by default, as they were unable to obtain local authority accommodation. The role of local authority housing within the local housing market, and a household's interpretation of the opportunities this role offers, is central to an understanding of housing histories.

"We watched it being built, and then went along to the council and applied." (RI.116)

"This was the first place of our own. At the time there were no new council houses being built, so it was a choice of moving into a flat or buying our own place." (LI.020)

As the influence of the local housing market is evident in accounts of past moves, so it shapes future aspirations and expectations. Thus, although the notion of a housing ladder was more clearly discernible in the narratives of owner occupiers in Reading than in Liverpool, the converse was true amongst local authority tenants. This is clearly a reflection of the relative opportunities afforded by each sector in the two cities.

Reading has a relatively small stock of council housing, and this has been shrinking over recent years, as new building has virtually ceased, and many homes have been purchased by tenants (chapter seven). Indeed this is one area where tenants have much to gain financially

from the right to buy legislation, if they wish to sell their homes at some time in the future. In contrast, ability to enter the owner-occupied sector reflects regional price differentials on a wider scale, rather than any purely local management, yet price variations render the experience of owner occupation (at the margins) very different in the two areas.

At any locale, a household will seek to maximise the life-chances of all its members. Where it is unable to satisfy its needs in one arena, such as housing or employment there may be a trade-off in other arenas. The chances offered by one locale, then, may become juxtaposed with those offered by adjacent (and in some cases distant) locales. When the opportunities presented by one locale fail to meet household expectations, the comparable opportunities offered by alternatives may enter the reckoning.

For households which have entered the local authority housing market, and have subsequently obtained high quality accommodation, the length of residence in a particular area represents an important investment in that market, in the same way that the level of mortgage repayments may be seen as a level of investment in the owner-occupied housing market. The priority afforded to local authority housing in different local housing markets will determine the return from that investment in the same way that the rate of house price increases will determine the rate of return for an owner occupier.

In Liverpool, where local authority house building still maintained a high priority status in the local housing market, the value of the investment of time and active involvement in a particular community were evident in the opportunities for improving housing situations within that sector.

"We lived up the road. We fought for these houses to be built...We submitted our plans for houses with gardens... We fought for these to be built because we wanted to keep the community from Foundry Gardens together." (LI.041)

Conversely, in Reading, where local authority housing opportunities were severely restricted, and the paucity of new house building in this sector limited the opportunities for those tenants already within the system to improve their housing situations, many of those who had not yet managed to get 'a foot in the door' saw little point in investing in a system where they were likely to wait a long time to see any returns.

"A friend of mine was in bed and breakfast. She moved up to Scotland because the housing situation is better there." (RI.131)

The central theme to emerge from the housing histories in the household survey was the need to maintain the stage reached on a particular 'ladder', and the need to open up opportunities for improvement. This occurred especially in the earlier stages of the household life cycle. Thus some owner occupiers in Reading who had achieved a satisfactory level in the local housing market were unwilling to leave, as this would hinder their chances of re-entering this market at the same level. Likewise, many local authority tenants in Liverpool who had achieved comparable housing quality levels in the

council sector were reluctant to relinquish this in return for the prospects of better employment elsewhere, since they too would have had difficulty re-entering this system at the same level. This worry is compounded by the perceived fragility of many opportunities for manual employment wherever they might occur.

For those households which had not achieved a satisfactory level of housing, their perception of opportunities for future improvement is very important. For home owners at the bottom end of the housing market in Liverpool there were few other areas which offered the opportunity of better housing at the same price. Therefore, any migration associated with a change of employment had to be weighed against its impact on the household's housing opportunities. In many cases, the returns to be derived by better employment did not outweigh the sacrifices which would have to be made in housing. For many more, the gulf in housing costs was so great that this equation could never be balanced. In this way, strengths in housing were often maintained at the expense of those in employment.

The importance of creating future opportunities for improvement in the life chances of an individual household is paramount to any consideration of migration, since moving is a possible solution where housing and employment opportunities cannot be balanced satisfactorily in the local area. The creation of opportunities may involve short term sacrifice in many cases. A number of households in the private rented bed and breakfast sector in Reading, for example, had often moved into this sector from superior housing, hoping thereby to improve their

'points rating' with the local authority, and thus better their chances of being offered local authority accommodation.

"I had a flat, but the landlord changed, and the rent went up from £35 to £55 a week. I took this place [a private rented bedsit] to get a council place. I've been on the list two and a half years now." (RI.169)

In some cases, the creation of future opportunities entailed not only sacrifices in housing, but parallel sacrifices in employment.

"We [my husband and I and two children] were living with my husband's parents. We knew we'd never get a place of our own because the council said we were okay there. So we had to move into a bed and breakfast place. My husband had to give up his job 'cos the rent was too much for us... Eventually they offered us this place." (RI.78)

In the case above, housing needs were eventually satisfied within the local area through sacrifices in both housing and employment conditions. However, migration may become part of such strategy when the household perceives that this may help to satisfy its needs.

"My brother moved into a new council house last week in Swindon. He moved in from a bed and breakfast...there's him, his wife, and three kids... Now they've got a lovely four bedroom place. He was living in Reading with the family, and they had six of them in a three bedroom house. The council came round and told them they had enough room, so they moved to Swindon to get a council house, 'cos there's nothing in Reading. He went to Swindon to have a better chance 'cos his wife's got family there too... They went into a bed and breakfast for a while, and they got one just like that." (RI.78)

There is much anecdotal evidence of the problems encountered by job seekers moving from declining areas to more prosperous areas in order to take up new employment opportunities. Many people who move to new employment in London, for example, often do so only after enormous

sacrifices in housing, and their family lives. (Conway and Ramsay, 1986). However, little is written of those who sacrifice employment opportunities through migration in order to improve their housing and family life. Such examples have been provided in the context of the differential opportunities within the local authority sector in different areas. There are parallels in owner occupation for those at the margin.

"We took this place because it was about all there was around here that we could afford. We didn't want to carry on renting for the rest of our lives... My husband's a welder and pipe fitter... There's plenty of work around here if you're willing to take a pittance for a wage... We have been thinking about moving away recently, yes...probably to Banbury where my family are, or even back to Ireland if he could find work there... We don't really want to leave, but if we stayed here we wouldn't be able to better ourselves." (RI.12)

The interviews conducted in this survey suggest a complex interrelationship between labour and housing markets at the local level. Clearly strengths in one are often balanced against weaknesses in another. The strategies adopted by individual households in order to satisfy their own needs (immediate or future) varied greatly. Although common themes run through the experiences of those of similar socio-economic status, or housing tenure, it is the dynamic interplay of housing and labour market forces at the local level, allied to the differing needs and aspirations of individual households at various stages in the life-cycle, which influences migration behaviour.

9.4 Opportunities and constraints in employment and housing

This section focusses on the dual issues of opportunity and constraint for the low-skilled. It is argued that individual household decisions will seek to balance opportunities in the housing market with those in the labour market, within a given set of financial and other constraints. Since the framework of opportunities and constraints within which a low-skilled or unemployed household must formulate its decisions is very different to that in which its better-off counterparts will operate, then the balance between housing and employment may also be very different.

The household interviews indicated that access to home ownership in Liverpool extended further down the social scale than it did in Reading. Thus whilst many middle class professionals have been forced to lower their housing standards significantly in order to move from the former area to the latter, many of those in manual occupations would have had to exit from the sector completely in order to effect such a move. But, since areas of high house values also tend to be characterised by the most acute shortages of private-rented accommodation, and local authority housing allocation usually demands a minimum period of residence in the local area, the ability to respond to better employment opportunities in other areas is seriously limited by the need to maintain adequate housing.

Extreme regional house price differentials also inhibit movement in both directions, because migrating households usually view the move

as one step in a sequence, taking a very long-term view of the costs and benefits involved. Thus some households are fearful of losing equity by leaving a buoyant housing market for an area where prices are lower. This problem is encountered to some degree at all levels of the owner-occupied housing market, but is disproportionately felt by those in lower socio-economic groups for a number of reasons. First, they are likely to be concentrated at the lower end of the housing market, and more at risk from exclusion at times of rapid price increase. Second, they are more likely to be faced with fragile or uncertain employment opportunities in other areas, which may not entail any promotion or wage increase if they move to them. Third, as they are less likely to be moving at the behest of an employer, they will not have access to the financial assistance which transfer often provides.

Since cost will exclude many low-skilled households from owner occupation, the opportunities and constraints imposed by the operation of the public sector are arguably of greater significance to their mobility. The influence of local authority allocation procedures has been well documented, but little attention has been paid in the literature to the responses of individual households to these procedures. The importance of this is demonstrated below, by looking first at the constraints on choice, and then at how individual households respond in order to maximise their opportunities within those constraints.

Local authorities in the UK generally allocate housing through a points system based on social needs, household size, and length of

residence in the local area. For this reason many households are unwilling to relinquish the position they have established within the local hierarchy for the prospect of better employment opportunities in other areas, since despite schemes which facilitate the movement of local authority tenants between areas, (most notably the National Mobility Scheme), it is often difficult for them to realise the true value of their accumulation, especially in areas where competition for local authority housing is more intense. Even where some form of transfer into comparable accommodation is possible, like owner occupiers who move within buoyant housing markets, those local authority tenants who have achieved a secure position within a local market are often reluctant to close the door behind them by moving, since it is unlikely that they would be able to re-enter the system again at the same level, should they wish to return at some stage in the future.

This problem is compounded by the fact that the best opportunities in a local authority housing sector are likely to be found in areas with the worst employment prospects. Interviews in Liverpool yielded numerous examples of households which preferred to maintain their housing strengths, even though local employment prospects were poor. Conversely, some households in Reading which were trying to enter the local authority housing sector, were contemplating movement to areas where they would be more likely to receive an offer of local authority accommodation, even if employment prospects were more limited.

It is clear that for many low-skilled households which have little strength in the labour market, and where 'careers' are characterised by uncertainty, strength and security in a local housing market provides important stability. In this way, strength in the labour market is balanced against strength in the housing market. The assumptions of labour market theory suggest that housing is one of a series of obstacles to be overcome by households attempting to respond to differentials in wages and employment prospects. Whilst this may be true for the majority of the population, this survey suggests that many low-skilled households, whose employment opportunities are relatively limited in any labour market area, are more inclined to regard the lack of employment as an obstacle to be overcome in their attempts to respond to better housing opportunities.

9.5 Changing strategies within the household life cycle

The household life-cycle is central to the understanding of individual migrations, and the ways in which these fit within a broader longitudinal framework. Many surveys of migration motivation fail to acknowledge that the stage reached in a particular household's life-cycle sets the preconditions for movement, which then enable that household to respond to external factors, such as more favourable employment or housing opportunities in another region.

A number of important points emerged from the interview survey and the Jobclub discussions, which emphasise the importance of the

life-cycle context. First, it is clear that the timing of a particular move is extremely important. If a variety of factors do not accord with movement, the opportunity is soon lost, and may not recur for many years. Second, the factors which motivate movement at each critical stage in a life-cycle are very different, and frequently rely upon household members other than those who make the decisions. Third, migration behaviour is a poor expression of choice or motivation. As many young professional households move, not so much through choice as through the demands of their chosen career, so many working class families stay, not through choice, but through inability to realise alternative aspirations. These themes have been illustrated in the preceding chapters.

The years of early adulthood are those during which a person is most likely to move, yet the reasons for these moves may differ greatly between individuals. The Jobclub discussions in particular revealed many young adults who were "prepared" to move, but by no means "willing". This group was especially evident in Liverpool, where the local economy often failed to offer them any realistic chance of adequate employment.

"I don't know many people who want to go down to London. Most want to stay, because they've got boyfriends and girlfriends here, and because of the expense of London. But if a good job comes up down south, they'll take it." (LI.069)

However, many of these young adults were reluctant to leave the city around which their family and social life revolved. The solution in many cases was to work away on short-term contracts, or seasonal

work, returning home regularly at week-ends, or off-season. Such moves may not easily be classified as expressions of choice, since if adequate opportunities were provided in their local area, they would not have migrated in the first place.

By contrast, many young couples and young families actively seek a new location in which to make a 'fresh start'. For them the focus of social and emotional life is altered, and personal ties to a particular locale become less important than the ties to another person. When two members of a household make this transition at the same time (in the case of marriage for instance), the range of options open to them is often very wide indeed. In Liverpool housing histories revealed that marriage was often the phase at which emigration was likely to have occurred in the past. Many people responded to the perception of a chance of a new life in Australia, New Zealand or North America; others came very close, but were thwarted by financial or family problems.

"When we were just married, just me and the wife, we tried to go to Canada to make a clean start. We filled in all the forms and everything, but they wanted two hundred and fifty pound each assisted passage, and at that time we just couldn't raise the money." (LI.080)

"A few years ago we had the chance of emigrating to Canada...Some friends had started their own business, and they offered my husband a job, but one kid had heart trouble, so we were afraid to go." (LI.066)

Although the 1980s afforded fewer opportunities for the low skilled to emigrate to a new life overseas, due to stricter immigration controls worldwide, this romantic motivation of starting a new life is still quite evident among newly-formed households, and may be echoed

later in life among those who have experienced further abrupt changes through, for example, bereavement, divorce, and remarriage.

Just before we bought this place, and the baby was on its way we thought about it. [Migration]... If they built a new city or something..." (LI.087)

"After my marriage failed I was thinking of getting away... A move and a clean sweep." (LI.054).

The probability of movement remains high throughout the 'consolidation' phase of the life-cycle, although the motivating forces are altered when children enter the picture. For many young households with young children, especially those of pre-school age, an environment in which to raise them becomes a consideration of paramount importance.

"If I had children, I wouldn't choose to bring them up here." (LI.057)

"For the kids' schooling... I'd go to Devon or somewhere like that." (LI.040)

"[I would move] for my daughter. A better place to be brought up in...less aggressive." (LI.007)

This expansionist phase for many families is very short. Once young children start school, their parents become settled into jobs, and housing commitments are taken on, the option of migration may not recur for several years, sometimes not until the children have left school or home.

"I don't know, 'cos I disagree with the wife on that one, but now that the children are grown up we might think of it [migration] again." (LI.003)

It is clear that whilst migration may become a prominent issue for an individual household in its early formative stages, this 'window' which allows it to respond to better opportunities elsewhere may be small. Once children become established in local schools, and the family assumes a range of commitments within the local community, parents are increasingly reluctant to disrupt their lives through migration to another area. This is especially evident among parents whose children are at secondary school, and who may be working for important examinations.

"We thought of moving to Devon a while back with my Dad's job with Racals, but it would have messed up my sister's schooling" (RI.147)

"I wanted to move down south when my husband died, for the companionship of my sisters, but the children were all in school here, and I didn't want to interfere with their education...it wouldn't have been fair to the kids. They were all born and brought up here." (LI.085)

Thus far discussion about migration has involved, inter alia, labour market conditions. Upon retirement, migration decisions may be completely divorced from considerations of wage rates and job opportunities, and centre instead on environmental preference, family unification, and past home areas. Although the reasons cited for migration and migration consideration during this phase of the family life cycle, were broadly similar in both cities, the differences in potential destinations discussed emphasise the divisions between the regions of the north, and those of the south. Those households likely to move from Reading were likely to gravitate towards preferred environments on the south coast, or in rural East Anglia, their

counterparts in Merseyside were far more likely to choose North Wales and rural Yorkshire, or locations overseas, where family connections made this possible. The few examples of retired households in Liverpool who were likely to move south, and in Reading who were likely to move north, were associated with family re-unification, or the return to a former home area.

"We would like to get back into Norfolk, that's where the wife's family are from. We like the countryside there." (RI.190)

"I'd like to retire to North Wales - Llandudno. We go there a lot on holiday, and we're always happy there. There are enough shops and services and things, and nice surroundings too." (LI.002)

Whilst the household life-cycle sets the preconditions for a consideration of migration, the way in which different sectors of the housing market are organised clearly influences their ability to respond to an impetus to movement. In this context, the issues of choice and control discussed in the preceding chapter are paramount. For whilst those households which owned their houses were able to plan housing movement to coincide with family developments, local authority tenants, and those in poorer quality private-rented accommodation who were on local authority waiting lists, were subject to a greater degree of institutional control. Expressed in a generalised way, whilst residential moves in the owner-occupied sector are often undertaken in anticipation of household changes, comparable moves in the local authority sector were more often in response to such changes, and were sometimes very belated.

9.6 Housing Aspirations

The housing aspirations of owner occupiers in both locations contained many common threads. Especially in Reading (and most notably among middle class households), residential moves were carefully planned to coincide with the planning of family development. Typically, moves would occur when both partners were working, and able to 'shoulder' the burden of additional mortgage repayments. Such moves were often undertaken in advance of need, in the realisation that the first few years of child-rearing would place additional financial burdens on the household (often forced to rely for the first time on one income).

"If my husband's job lets us stretch to a bigger house that would be good...a semi-detached or something...I want a garden and a larger place because we're just starting a family." (RI.010)

"I'm planning a baby, so I expect we'll still be here [one year from now]." (RI.121).

The degree of planning and control expressed through these accounts contrasts sharply with those of households in other sectors, especially the low-skilled.

"I was evicted from the last place when I became pregnant, because no children were allowed." (RI.146)

"I was offered a place of my own when my first son was born. I was living in a one room bedsit in Princess Park, Liverpool 8." (LI.084)

"I won't be able to move out until the eldest is twelve, they've [the housing department] told me that. So it looks like for the next nine years I'm stuck here." (RI.142)

For the owner-occupiers, residential moves were more subject to the control of the household, and were frequently undertaken prior to the birth of children, since it was anticipated that the additional financial burdens they would impose would restrict the options for further movement for a few years at least. For local authority tenants the exact opposite was the case. Entry into, and movement within this sector was extremely difficult for young single people and young couples. Yet the birth of children generally facilitated movement by virtue of the household's greater need, as defined by the local authority housing department.

The dual issues of choice and control are fundamental to an understanding of housing and employment histories. Although owner occupiers appeared better able to plan and determine their own housing 'careers' than those in local authority dwellings, this advantage was closely linked to employment. The ability to plan ahead in employment allows the household to regulate its housing 'career' better in response to the underlying household life-cycle. As noted previously, the nature of many working class employment histories inhibits migration to other areas for employment reasons. It also inhibits the planning of parallel housing 'careers'.

The employment uncertainty faced by many has ramifications in the housing market, and helps to explain the preference of many working class households for local authority accommodation, as a form of security in housing with which to counteract insecurity and uncertainty

in employment. Local authorities are far more lenient than private landlords or building societies when a household falls into arrears with rent or mortgage repayments through unemployment. The experience of unemployment is distressing enough in itself. A tenure form which ensures that the loss of a job will not result in the loss of one's home too is a welcome assurance to manual workers employed in jobs with an uncertain future which is far removed from their immediate control.

"I thought of buying my own house at one time like, but I've always maintained it's like a millstone round your neck, 'cos in my type of job [pipe fitting] you never know how long it's going to last, and you don't want to get into any big debts." (LI.032)

In such cases, a certain level on the local authority housing ladder is achieved only after many years on waiting lists and transfer lists. This is a form of investment in the local housing market which is sacrificed by out-migration. In order for such a sacrifice to be worthwhile, the returns must also be high. Moving to a manual job which is liable to collapse in the same way that jobs in the home area have done in the past holds little promise of such returns, and returning to the origin area would mean going back to the bottom of the local authority waiting list. For these reasons the costs of migration for many households in fields of employment characterised by uncertainty are deemed too high. It is only through setting the consideration of migration within this longitudinal context that the employment reasons behind the apparent socio-economic differences in rates of migration may be appreciated.

9.7 Crossing the divide: case studies

Immobility has been presented as a rational strategy for many low-skilled households, even when unemployed and faced with a paucity of local employment opportunities, since relative weakness in the labour market may be offset by strengths in other spheres. Yet there are many manual households which attempt to improve the life-chances of their members through migrating in response to employment opportunities. As the divisions between different parts of the UK in terms of the employment opportunities they provide have become more evident in recent years, the problems faced by those attempting to cross the divide through migration have found expression in popular culture.

"Saw a man who was fifty-one
He had married daughters and a single son
And he's lost his job as this year's begun
And it broke my heart
Saw his wife who was fifty two
She said she was sure they could make it through
That her single wage would just have to do
And it broke my heart
Talked about it with the family now
What began in sadness ended up a row
All the guys with the clever mouths
They were saying we should move south
Saw the son who's been gone two weeks
And he's down already with a job to seek
And he's in Kings Cross and there's no-one speaking
And it broke my heart"
(It Broke My Heart, a song by The Proclaimers, 1987, Chrysalis Records, London.)

This section recounts the experiences of three households who attempted to respond to better employment opportunities away from their home areas. The case studies were chosen to illustrate three different stages in the process of household migration. They are

presented in the form of edited monologues from recorded interviews. They illustrate the main factors which must be considered in migration, and the key hurdles which must be overcome by a household which attempts to translate aspiration into action.

9.7.1 Case study one: "now he's in Dagenham-the end of the world"

The first case is that of a middle-aged childless couple living in Liverpool. On becoming unemployed the husband (a rigger) was unable to find a job locally, but eventually found work in Dagenham. Yet the short-term nature of this work, coupled with the difficulty of selling a house in Liverpool, forced him to stay in bed and breakfast accommodation in Dagenham, travelling home to his wife in Liverpool on occasional weekends. The words of the wife left in Liverpool illustrate the personal and emotional problems this created for them both.

"My husband is forty four. He's been working on deep sea rigs for twenty years. Then he was made redundant... He was out of work for fifteen months...we've used all our savings... Now he's in debt for tools, train fare expenses to start this job in London, plus the mortgage payment and essential bills... The bank manager has been very good about the overdraft, but now this job's almost finished.

He's on a contract job at Fords [Dagenham]. He's on six pounds an hour, and he's working seven days a week, ten hours a day... It's good money, but then he has such big expenses... He's in bed and breakfast accommodation. That's sixty pound a week, then there's meals and fares, and the launderette... It's ninety pound just for essentials... His mental situation is quite good considering, but he gets quite depressed at times when he phones me.

He has been working in Dagenham since August. He has only been home once. That was for the end of August bank holiday weekend. He told me that when he got on the train at Euston, it was full of scousers going home.

I am very depressed here. The television and books help a great deal. The worst times are between five and seven in the evenings

when normal families are getting together after a day's work. Eating and talking. Saturdays and especially Sundays are really terrible when you're on your own... I like people and I have always worked with the public. I miss having people around. People tend to visit in the pubs... My husband and I have a great relationship. We can talk to each other. We enjoy company, but we're content on our own. Playing music, talking... One plus in our favour is that we have no young children to miss their father... I've thought many times of finishing it all. I feel so useless. I worked most of my life and I feel that I shouldn't have to live this way. I just want the essential things in life, and enough money to pay the bills... I feel like a yoke around my husband's neck and I know he would be better off without me financially, but then he would really have no incentive to live. We live for each other... I would move south, but who would buy this house, no improvements done?... As for Mr. Tebbit, well... My husband has got on boats let alone bikes. The conditions he sailed under around the North Sea were appalling.

Now he's in Dagenham...the end of the world. But he has got a job, even though it's short term. He's doing his best. All he wants is a permanent job, anywhere in this country, so that we can sort our lives out. He is only forty four, and he doesn't want to be out of work again... All we ask is for a decent wage, and to be able to live together, normally."

9.7.2 Case study two: "I might as well be back on the dole in Liverpool and save myself a few bob"

Where job opportunities are short term, household migration is seldom an appropriate strategy. Yet even when a good job with long term prospects is secured in another area, and suitable housing there is secured, the household may still have the largest obstacles before it.

The case below illuminates the plight of a family which, after several months of attempting to move into a new area, were eventually forced to remain in Liverpool, with depleted savings and the prospect of continued unemployment in a location where selling their house proved impossible.

"There was a situation where they were building a new high tech plant... I was a plant supervisor... It was a blow moulding plant...an edible oils company. I knew I was going to be made redundant well before, so I took a calculated gamble because our plant was the old one. I took early redundancy.

When I was finished up I started looking around here there and everywhere thinking well what am I going to do? Buy a sweetshop, do a year or two years at college, whatever, get another job? I then found this job in Morecambe. It was advertised in the Job Centre... I went up there and had the interview and the original job had been taken, but because of a lack of skills in the area they said 'we'll give you another job there. We know you've got the capability, you've done all the things already it won't be long 'till you move up'. They created a position for me.

So taking all in all I said well, I've got my redundancy money, I can get a job, I can move to a new area, it will suit me and the children, and it did. It worked out well. I was made up with it. It was a good time family-wise too. Jimmy wanted to move school anyway, Adrian was leaving primary school to go to secondary school, so that wouldn't have made any difference. I think Julie, my wife, would have the greatest difficulty settling in.

I started up there in May, and the factory shut down for a week, it was Whit week. So we decided that because the kids were on holiday, we'd go up and spend a week up there in the holiday camp, just scouting around. We found an ideal house. We were actually made up with it. It was reasonably priced too: just on twenty-five thousand. So we went ahead with it. I got a place in a hotel in the meantime. The landlady was a friend of the personnel manager.

We'd spoken to the headmaster in *Heyshaw* High School, because we thought everything would be completed in September. We could have moved mid-August. It would have been ideal, 'cos we'd have had the summer, and the factory was shut down for a few weeks. The kids could just have changed school normally. It was the best time to move.

But the biggest problem then was trying to sell this house. We just wanted what we owe - about twenty-five and a half thousand. So we thought well, twenty-five thousand plus the solicitor's fees, so we'll let it go for twenty-six and we'll just about break even. We were gonna sell it just to clear off the debt, not to use it as an asset or anything, but we couldn't get a penny for it. It's still on the market at twenty-five. You just can't sell them, there's no doubt about it. As soon as we'd seen that house up there we came back and we put this on the market while we were still negotiating. That was May [six months ago] and we haven't even had a single caller. Not a single offer. And we're not likely to... the people at the end just left their house. They did a midnight flit, just went missing.

By the end of July I started realising how much finances I was putting into it. I mean it was getting stupid. I found that to add to the wages I was taking about forty or fifty pound a week out of the bank. But you can't keep going on like that for ever. So you say well, I might as well go home. I might as well be on the dole in Liverpool and save myself a few bob. The money I had that was gonna be the deposit on the house was gradually disappearing.

We had a discussion in August. It was a long time since I'd been home, and I decided to chuck it all in. I've been unemployed ever since.

When I think about it now it makes me very angry. When I think what it's all cost... It's cost me a job I could have kept for a while. Financially, let's see, it's cost me the wages I would have earned between then and now. In fact I was earning more money here than I was getting up there, so I took a wage cut to go up there. Because I left early, redundancy wise it's cost me a fifth of that redundancy money, because I took early redundancy instead of compulsory redundancy. And spending up there, probably two and a half to three thousand pounds. Plus there's solicitor's bills and Christ knows what had to be paid, even though we didn't get the house, we still had solicitor's bills and survey bills and all. So in all I'd say it's cost me about seven thousand, maybe eight thousand pounds.

I'd advise most people to go into it much deeper than I did. I wouldn't consider anywhere now where it meant I'd have to move the family, unless there was some sort of government help."

9.7.3 Case Study three: "I wanted to give my daughters a decent start in their working lives"

Many households never consider migrating. Many do, but reject the option once they have weighed up all the costs and benefits involved. Those who do decide to migrate must overcome a series of obstacles in the course of successful movement. Some do not get off the 'starting blocks'; some fall at the first 'hurdle', whilst others may come within sight of the 'finish' but give up. Some, though, complete the obstacle course and migrate. The final case is one such household which successfully moved to Reading. It emphasises the obstacles which must

be overcome and illustrates the value of official assistance to do so.

"Why did we move? Well it's quite complicated really...a number of reasons, but I suppose it was for my daughters mainly... I wanted to give my daughters a decent start in their working lives... We moved down from Merthyr Tydfil. I don't know if you know that area at all, but I can tell you there's not much going in the way of work. Not for the young ones anyway... The eldest was unemployed and the second one was just leaving school. The job prospects were much better for them down here... That was a bigger reason to move than my own job.

I got a transfer with the firm I was working for, doing the same job [quality controller for an engineering company] down here... It's the same job really, but I actually took a bit of drop in wages at first.

We were living in a council place up there - a terraced house...and we couldn't afford to buy anything, not down here anyway, so that was our biggest problem.

I came down on my own first... I was living in a caravan for months before we got this place... In the end we were offered this through a special scheme [the National Mobility Scheme]... But at one time I was on the verge of giving up completely. I just didn't think it would ever work out. In the end the council were very helpful, but that was only after we had some help from the personnel guy at work. He put pressure on them... My wife was very ill at the time and all the problems of the move were just making things worse. I think that's what swung it in the end.

It's worked out very well... The eldest daughter is married now, they're living down in Essex. The second is working... the youngest is still at school... But at one time I really thought we'd have to give up on it.

These case studies illustrate the various obstacles which a household must overcome in attempting to move to another area. Housing, employment and family considerations are paramount in determining the ability to move once the household has decided to do so. Yet the assessment of such factors will also influence the likelihood of a particular household attempting to move in the first place. The following chapter considers the importance of these and other less

tangible factors in decision-making itself, among groups of unemployed job-seekers in Liverpool and Reading.

Chapter Ten

OPPORTUNITIES, ASPIRATIONS AND CONSTRAINTS

10.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters have indicated the importance of the institutional frameworks within which individual household decisions are formulated, the influence of personal social and kinship networks, the nebulous concepts of attachment to local communities and areas, and the consideration of migration strategies. It has also been demonstrated that for the vast majority of the low-skilled, comparison of the opportunities available to them in other areas with those of their immediate locale only becomes an issue when the balance of life chances achieved by a particular household is altered in some way by the changing circumstances of one or more of its members. One of the most profound and traumatic of such changes is the experience of becoming unemployed.

This chapter is based predominantly on the Jobclub discussions. It uses the words of the participants to elicit their individual and mutual feelings about being unemployed, assessing life chances and contemplating migration. First it explores the importance of the institutional and bureaucratic contexts within which the unemployed must operate in searching for work both locally and in other areas. It illustrates the difficulties faced by potential movers and the factors

which combine to make immobility a more appropriate response in most cases. It demonstrates how an association of the process of job-search with housing circumstances can reinforce immobility. The chapter then goes on to examine the social contexts in which decisions are formulated, the ways in which the need for support and assistance from social networks differs in importance for groups and individuals and through time. It concludes by illustrating the differences in the local communities of the two areas, and examines the ways in which these differences render the experience of being unemployed in Liverpool very different to that of being unemployed in Reading.

Throughout, the chapter focusses on the way in which the process of becoming and remaining unemployed alters the balance of household considerations, including the ways in which migration may be considered as one means of re-establishing a satisfactory balance. The analysis also attempts to draw out those qualitative differences between Liverpool and Reading which both underpin migration behaviour and attitudes to movement and influence the balance struck by a household between work, housing and social and community affiliations which conditions mobility strategies.

10.2 Opportunities and constraints in local and distant job-search

The importance of informal information sources for those unemployed seeking low-skilled jobs has been emphasised in preceding chapters. It appears that for many, to remain in an area of high

unemployment where personal social networks are well established may afford better prospects of finding work than to move to areas of low unemployment where the individual has no such personal contacts and is unable to tap such networks.

YVONNE: I like to stay because I know my way around. I like to know 'Oh there's a job there', I know how to get it. (LG.2) (1)

Attempts to use more impersonal or 'official' sources often met with little success, and drove the individuals concerned back to a reliance on their own informal contacts.

JOHN: Well the Jobclub has about four papers, they're the best choice in the area. We spend most of the time looking through them.

BOB: Yes, but I don't go into these spec. letters any more, 'cos my brother-in-law works for the Chamber of Commerce and he gave me their list of all the businesses in the area, so I wrote up about sixty or seventy letters and I didn't get nothing. So then I thought of going back to Nacro, 'cos they already knew me, and they were glad to have me back on the team.

JOHN: ...a lot of the time you've gotta treat word of mouth for what it is. You've gotta know the person you're speaking to. The papers are reliable, but you know that loads of you are going after the same damn thing... You can get a lot more information just from talking to people you know, other people who are signing on. (RG.1)

The importance of such informal and local information sources has important implications for those individuals attempting to search other areas for work. Since information on manual vacancies is seldom disseminated beyond the immediate area by employers or official government agencies, and as there are few national sources of information available for such work, local newspapers and personal

contacts were the most common sources used to search other areas too. These were often complemented by personal speculative visits.

ANDY: Fellas who've been down there and told us about it, and the television.

CYRIL: Plus newspapers and off the boards there

BILLY I used to go off to Lime Street of a Friday when the train comes in at seven o'clock. I used to go on the train and get a Standard. That's one way for areas of London. The other way is the Manchester Evening News, and then there's a new booklet that's just come out for the North West called 'Jobmart' from the newsagents.

DAVE: I use mostly the job centre and word of mouth. People who've been down south or been to Leicester have come back and told you, and then you've followed it up like. (LG.4)

Hence there are fundamental differences between manual workers and their skilled counterparts in the manner in which job-search is extended beyond the local area. Skilled workers may use specialist journals with national or international circulation giving them access to information on vacancies throughout the UK and even overseas. Sometimes they will look for vacancies in specific locations. Frequently, though, it is the discovery of a suitable vacancy in another area which triggers the consideration of migration, and the potential destinations are secondary to the nature and attraction of the particular job advertised. For manual workers by contrast, the decision to search in other areas is often an important prerequisite to gaining access to appropriate information. The decision about which areas to search is frequently influenced by prior experience of and suitable contacts elsewhere. The areas considered are thus more specific, and may not necessarily be those areas in which the most appropriate vacancies exist. Many on Merseyside, for example, had

better information on places overseas through personal contacts than they had on other parts of the UK; many responded, too, to job opportunities in areas with similarly high rates of local unemployment.

For jobs which are generally obtained informally, it is often essential for job seekers to make personal visits to such areas to gain access to appropriate information.

BILLY: ...I went to London and was there for two weeks, and I mean all you do is follow the cranes, and there's a building site there. Me and my Dad 'there's one' and we just walked there and there's hundreds of building sites everywhere... We had a chance of a job, but we didn't have enough money. I only took forty pounds, but if I went there again I'd take enough money to stay there for at least a week and get a job there, no problem.

DAVE: Well yes, I know fellas who've been and said to me 'if you want a job go to London', 'cos there's thousands of them...(LG.4)

A major obstacle to job search in other areas is that of demand deficiency, especially for those seeking low-skilled manual work. This makes it difficult for any individual job search to find a suitable vacancy. A further obstacle is that of gaining access to information on manual opportunities in other areas. Here DSS regulations discriminate against the speculative job seeker, and, by implication, against the low-skilled. Under current regulations, the essential prerequisite for official assistance is obtaining an interview (see chapters four and six).

JIM: I mean it's all right in the summer saying all right, I'll hitch down', but not in this weather. I mean when you get your giro and you say 'oh I'm going down south' they say 'okay, we'll stop your money'. You say 'I'm only going down to look for work, give me a travel voucher'. They say 'have you got an interview?'. 'No I'm only going down on spec.' 'Use your thumb pal'. Unless you can provide written proof that you've got an interview, then you have got a snowball's chance in hell of getting a travel voucher

to go down. You say 'I want to go down to Bath because I hear they're looking for labourers'...I mean twenty five pounds a week, where do you find the money for hotels? And if you kip at bus shelters you risk being picked up for vagrancy... I've knocked on police stations to ask if I can go in and sleep in a cell for the night. (LG.2)

Even where an unemployed job-seeker is able to overcome the problems of demand deficiency and access to information, and can endure the expenses of travelling to another area to seek work, not being a local person is an immediate disadvantage.

MALCOLM: Like a lot of people go down to London. When you get down there you've gotta be living there to get a job half the time, 'cos they say 'well if you're not here, you're not living here, you can't have the job'. Then you've got to find somewhere to live and it all starts again with the rent down there and all that. It's just impossible. (LG.3)

The perception of being disadvantaged in other areas affects the likelihood of searching those areas, even where such discrimination is more apparent than real.

The disadvantage of not being local is also felt by those who are able to reach the stage of interview.

BRIAN: I've been applying for jobs anywhere south of Nottingham... but, having said that, most of the jobs advertised for reps, they state on it specifically, 'to be living in the area'. And even when you get to an interview with them, and they say 'well why are you applying for a job in this area?' and I say 'well I'm quite happy to sell my house and move', and they then say 'well are you looking to us for the expenses?', and I say 'well I would be very grateful if you would offer me some money, but I'm quite prepared to do it at my own expense'. But I don't think they really believe it. (RG.7)

AHMED: The problem is if you go for a job in another city, by the time you get there there's somebody from the same city too. They're definitely gonna prefer the person from the same city

because he's settled down there. He's got a house, he lives in the right area. But somebody travelling from another area, everything is new to him, and the man who interviews knows that he's gotta take time to look for the house and he knows that you're gonna have a lot of pressure from settling down there. So he's definitely gonna give the preference to the person who lives next door, and that's some of the problems you face.

PAUL: It's like the old saying isn't it? 'Watch that man he's a scouser, he'll eat you'. (LG.6)

Besides the disadvantages faced as a result of employers preferences for local people for purely practical reasons, some unemployed job seekers felt disadvantaged because of their background and their address. This was especially evident in Liverpool where many felt that being a 'scouser', having a Liverpudlian accent, or an address in Toxteth or 'Liverpool 8' placed them at an immediate disadvantage.

DON: A Scouser's got no chance of getting a job in Manchester. They're gonna take their own people every time. (LG.2)

Feelings of being unwelcome as workers in other areas, and of being discriminated against in attempts to secure work there, were mirrored by local attitudes towards workers from other areas who had come in to perform jobs which they themselves were willing and able to do, right under their noses.

DAVE: Interesting point that. You know when they were doing this bypass. I had a word with one of the local contractors there. It was all gonna bring work to the local people. The nearest thing to local people that were on there was a set of southerners...the rest of them were for the most part Irish.

JIM: It's the same with what they were doing in Toxteth. All the rebuilding. All the contractors were from Manchester and Birmingham...All the flaggers who were doing Granby Street were from Manchester.

CHARLIE: I think the beginning was when they were doing the remodelling of Princess Boulevard. Not one was from this area at all.

JIM: Not one was from the area down there, and people were wondering why everybody was kicking up hell. Ninety per cent of Toxteth is on the dole. Ninety per cent of that area is on the dole.

DAVE: You're all on the dole and 'we're gonna smarten up your area and bring work to the local area', and they pop up to Manchester and Birmingham and places like that, and bring workers in from there. All they've gotta do is shout 'anyone want a job?' Apart from the fact that you'd get killed in the rush. (LG.2)

Often job-seekers are prevented from searching other areas and from responding to opportunities there by the seasonal or fragile nature of the work on offer.

PETER: There are some people who go down there and they find that it's not as good as they thought it would be, and they've had to come back...I think as Mark says, you've certainly got to have the security and the peace of mind that your job is gonna be permanent, or have that degree or permanence to it. In other words, it's not just gonna be a temporary thing that you're gonna hope 'well perhaps while I'm employed here I can look around and find something elsewhere. I mean you've gotta have it clear in your mind that that job is gonna be permanent for the foreseeable future, and that you're gonna have the means to pay the increased cost of living down there. (LG.3)

JOHN: Well you look in the hotels now. Summer season comes up. It's only for six months. If you're lucky it's nine months. But you've still got to come back... If the job was permanent that would be different, 'cos you're there aren't you, you can make your own life. But it's different when you work during the season and have to keep coming back, and you have to have somewhere to live. (LG.6)

Even where the job appears to have relatively secure long-term prospects, there may be an element of short-term uncertainty associated with the completion of an initial training or probationary period, which imposes an unrealistic short-term financial burden on the

prospective job-mover.

RON: You've got the situation too, where with most of them there's a training period before you are actually guaranteed the job. Now if you've got to live down there or live away from Liverpool where you can't get home, if you're not suitable to them, what do you do then? You've got to run two homes. It's hard work.

DAVE: And if you do move down there you risk being stuck there with your wife and family. (LG.2)

Since the abolition of the Employment Transfer Scheme and related schemes there has been no government assistance towards the costs of maintaining two homes short-term in such cases. Where opportunities are fragile, or contain a large element of uncertainty, the maintenance of acceptable and secure housing in the home area may assume greater importance than obtaining a job. There are also parallels in the process of housing search in distant areas which place the low-skilled and unemployed at a particular disadvantage. It is to such processes that attention is now turned.

10.3 Opportunities and constraints in local and distant housing

As there are advantages in being 'local' for accessing informal networks for job information, so there are advantages in gaining access to certain types of housing. This is particularly evident in the case of local authority housing, where discrimination against non-local people has been institutionalised through minimum residence criteria in the allocation procedure. Yet even within this sector, where there are official mechanisms for moving within a local area, it is clear that

many tenants use informal networks to arrange exchanges among themselves, which are then sanctioned by the local authority.

There are parallels in other tenures. For example, at the cheaper end of the owner-occupied housing sector, especially in Liverpool, many interview respondents stated that they had found their house through personal contacts, some purchasing from family and friends.

Even in the private-rented sector, traditionally associated with long distance labour migrants, it appears that the best accommodation is often secured informally.

TONY: Well my son's just got a new flat now. A beautiful flat, and he's only paying fifty-four pound a week, and that's bedroom, dining room, kitchen, bathroom, living room. But he had to get a letter saying he was working for such and such a company. Once he gets in and decorates it will be lovely. But mind you, that was through contacts. Somebody rang him up and said 'Paul, there is a flat available for you if you want it'.

ROY: I've got a feeling I know him...(RG.5)

Those people seeking private-rented accommodation in areas where they do not have strong personal contacts are placed at considerable disadvantage. Those who are also unemployed are even worse off, and may easily fall prey to unscrupulous landlords and letting agencies who are able to exploit their circumstances, charging them unreasonably high rents and fees.

The author's experience of letting agencies in London, for example, reveals a number of standard questions which precede putting the prospective tenant on their books. The first of these questions,

almost without exception, is 'are you in employment?' Answering 'no' to this question will exclude the individual from the vast majority of agencies and landlords, who, when faced with an excess of demand over supply, are unwilling to become embroiled in the long and complicated process of waiting for the DSS to pay out standard expenses, like one month's rent in advance and one month's rent as deposit. The unemployed accommodation seeker is thus often placed in a 'catch-22' situation: a flat cannot be secured without payment of these sums, but the DSS will not meet such expenses without proof that accommodation has been secured.

For the unemployed with meagre financial resources, then, excluded from most letting agencies and landlords, the alternatives are grim. They must often rely on a sub-sector within the private-rented sector, where Rachmanism prevails. 'DSS welcome' in an advertisement is usually an indication that the property is sub-standard. Moreover, it is also likely to be bed-and-breakfast accommodation, as this exploits loopholes in rented housing legislation and affords the tenant virtually no security whatsoever. The rents charged are usually unrealistically high, since landlords know they will be paid directly from the DSS, and that any unemployed people with low council housing ratings have few alternatives.

Evidence of such exploitation of the unemployed through the DSS system was plentiful in certain areas of both Liverpool and Reading. It was especially evident in the latter where high house prices, contracting local authority stock, and a paucity of housing

associations had squeezed the private-rented sector particularly hard (see chapter six).

GLEN: I sleep on my Mum's dining room floor now. I'm on a council list. I've been on that for just over a year now, to get a flat. 'Cos I'm single it's gonna take a long time. But I'm not going through renting again. I've done that twice. It's too expensive. I know that comes out of your dole money, but then they start putting on extras once you've moved in and you've got nowhere else to go. And the guy that comes round collecting rent has got hands bigger than my head. It's not so much a problem for me, 'cos I have got my Mum's place to go to, but a lot of people that are in rented places, they want to move, but they've got nowhere else to go. So they have to do what the landlords tell them to do.

TRACEY: I live in rented accommodation. I've lived in rented accommodation for four years now, and I would dearly love to have my own toilet, kitchen and bathroom. That's my biggest wish. The rent is high. For forty pounds I've got just one room, and I live, sleep, eat, drink, smoke, everything in that room. It's not very healthy.

LOUIS: Forty or fifty pounds is the average [weekly] rate for rented property around here.

TRACEY: If they could get more they'd try. One place I was living in I was paying sixty-nine pounds. But it wasn't coming from my pocket, it was coming from the DHSS, and that's when they had that big discussion.

GLEN: What makes me laugh is that some of the bedsits, the rooms are the same size, and if two people live in the same room they've got to pay double. I lived in one room with a friend and we had to pay eighty pound a week between us, and yet there was a person upstairs in the same size room, he was only paying forty.

TRACEY: That's right, it's per person.

ROY: Some of them are real crooks. (RG.5)

For an unemployed job seeker who moves into an area which offers better job opportunities, and by implication, into an area where the strain on private-rented housing is greatest, moving into this seedy sub-sector is likely to entrap that individual more firmly in unemployment. This is because local starting wages may seldom be

sufficient to meet unrealistically high rent costs, so it pays people to stay with the DSS.

Similar forms of entrapment are also evident among owner occupiers, even those who have achieved adequate standards of housing. This is most evident in areas of low house values, which are also those areas where local job opportunities are likely to be poorest. The problems of an owner occupier moving from a low cost housing area to one where prices are higher were discussed in chapters eight and nine. Where movement is possible, this may only be enabled through considerable increase in mortgage debt and a drop in housing standard. When house prices in potential destinations are rising at a faster rate than those in the origin area, these difficulties will be exacerbated over time. However, the focus of the debate at a regional level can obscure local differences. In the 1980s house prices have been increasing in every region, though at different rates, yet in some local areas within these regions, house prices have actually been falling. This is a problem for any household, but is especially difficult for the unemployed.

When a home owner becomes unemployed, the DSS will pay the interest on the mortgage only. Hence mortgage arrears may mount up as the resale value of the property falls. This can result in an increasing spiral of debt, where the minimum starting wage needed to break out of the spiral increases with the burden of the debt.

PAUL: I couldn't sell me mortgage could I, 'cos I'd lose too much. I mean I had the fella round to value me house and he said

sixteen thousand, but you'll be lucky to get fourteen thousand for it at the moment. I paid twenty for it.

AHMED: You paid twenty for it and it's gone down to sixteen?

PAUL: Yeah.

JOHN: But even one bedroom flats I've seen going for twenty-four thousand.

PAUL: Well I could ask a hundred thousand for me house, but it's what you get. Now there's one next door to me, it's a brand new property. One person moved in, he done a runner, and now it's up in the Echo for twelve grand. Two bedroom house in the Scotland Road area.

AHMED: How much did it cost before?

PAUL: To buy it, started off twenty-two. And now twelve grand the building society have settled for... For me to sell the house, I'd probably end up losing something like eight thousand pounds. Now that eight thousand pounds, I'd have to pay that. I'd have to pay it weekly to the building society, and I don't know how much that would be, so that's an extra bill when you're trying to earn a living...

BRIAN: But the Social Security pay that for you.

PAUL: Yeah but they only pay the interest, so it starts going up on your arrears you see, and I said 'right, well this is a long debt', I said 'I've been out of work now for three months, I can see it's gonna build up and build up, so either you stop giving me these silly letters or you evict me, 'cos you can have the house'. So then they changed there attitude, they said 'oh don't worry about the arrears'. 'Cos I owe more now than when I came out of work. 'Cos the arrears go on top of your mortgage you see, and then they're putting the interest on that.

AHMED: How much do you owe now?

PAUL: I owe about nineteen and a half grand on the house, and I've been paying it for about three years... It's the worst thing I ever done in my life taking a mortgage out... For me [the biggest obstacle to moving] is to get rid of me house. Then I could get out. Even if I've gotta go to Australia, Canada, wherever, I could get out and go to those places. But at the moment I'm imprisoned. (LG.6)

Escalating debts in areas where house values are falling are an extreme form of entrapment in owner-occupied housing. Yet even in

prosperous areas where house prices are increasing, the experience of owner occupation can become a burden on an owner who becomes unemployed and remains so for any length of time.

EDWARD: They [the employed] think just because you've got a house that you're rich. But they wouldn't know how to begin to live on twenty pounds a week. Unlike me, they haven't got to worry about whether the roof's gonna hang off or the chimney's gonna fall down, you know. That is a standard commitment... What are you supposed to do, sell it and move back into a bedsit?... Unless I earned about a hundred and fifty pounds a week, and I actually brought home a hundred and ten pounds a week that wouldn't even pay my bills, mortgage, rates, and gas and electricity, and then there's clothes and other things, so I'd have to bring home about a hundred and fifty pounds just to survive.

MIKE: Well I'm just in rented accommodation, which isn't too bad. I haven't got any mortgage commitments, which is a relief...(RG.7)

These are the stories of human tragedy which lie beneath statistics of increasing mortgage arrears and building society repossessions. As government housing policy continues to reflect entrenched political ideology which seeks to encourage home-ownership to the detriment of alternative tenures, then larger numbers of households will be forced into taking on inappropriate long-term financial commitments, and entrapment both in owner occupation and location is liable to become more evident.

Ironically, even rapid increases in personal capital among home owners in buoyant housing markets can act as a disincentive to movement. They create a reluctance to get off the gravy train which ensures that some households enjoy higher financial returns through simply living in the right area than they can through their work.

JOHN: I've got a three-bedroom semi-detached centrally-heated new house, and I like it. It backs on to the lake and the fields and it's not on a busy road. It's ideal... I paid four thousand three hundred and sixty-five for it. It's ridiculous what it's worth now, I mean twenty five to thirty you can get for it. That's five or six times what I paid...So I'm settled there, that's what it boils down to. (RG.1)

For some, the sudden and sometimes quite unexpected accumulation of capital may open new doors. Those home owners living in areas of high house prices, who have few practical or sentimental reasons for remaining in those areas, are presented with new possibilities for movement to similar properties in cheaper areas, thereby releasing some of the capital accumulated.

FRANK: It's amazing what people will pay for property in this area, it really is. It surprised me.

TONY: But then again Frank, in your case, I suppose if you got a good price for yours, at your age now, you're nearly thinking of retiring. Well then you could possibly buy something else outside this area, say Weston-Super-Mare, where you could get one a lot cheaper, and still have money in the bank. (RG.3)

Such strategies are especially relevant to those home owners who are retired or approaching retirement, and who originally moved in response to the location of employment.

The ability to release housing capital may also be an incentive to movement for those households wishing to start up small businesses. Indeed, research into the links between geographical and social mobility suggests that the South East is the major origin of those moving to other regions who have moved into self-employment over the same period (Fielding, 1988).

For those home owners in areas of high house values who wish to release some of the capital they have accumulated, and do not intend to stay put in anticipation of further gains, moving away to a cheaper area is an attractive option when the household can perceive no future need or desire to return to the area at some future date. However, when this is not the case, living in an area where house prices are increasing rapidly can be a disincentive to migration to areas where increases are less rapid, since this may render future re-entry into the local owner-occupied market particularly difficult.

PETE: I wouldn't want to move because even if I did find a job in another area, you never know how secure that job is going to be. If I moved out and left my house then I wouldn't be able to get back into Reading again later. I'd have to go into temporary accommodation or something...I wouldn't try it. (RG.2)

BRIAN: Well I'd move anywhere really. I would move you know, even sort of selling up home. I mean I was born here, and I don't really want to leave the area after forty-three years, but if it meant that I could get a job, and it was secure, you know. I mean I would love to move up to where Edward's friend is [Nottingham area]. I'd move up there tomorrow, but if I ever wanted to come back, I just couldn't. (RG.7)

The reluctance to 'burn bridges' and foreclose the avenues of re-entry into a local owner-occupied housing market illustrates the importance of placing migration decisions within a longitudinal framework, encompassing future aspirations as well as current circumstances. This concern is likely to be more prevalent among the low-skilled for a number of reasons. First, they are more likely than non-manual and professional workers to be concentrated at the cheaper end of the owner-occupied housing market. Second, they are more likely to be moving to jobs with uncertain long-term prospects which are not

part of an occupational career associated with upward progression. Third, they are less likely to be moving within an employer's internal labour market, with access to financial relocation packages. Finally, they are more likely to wish to return, since they will often have been born and bred in the area, have all their family and friends there, and require the assistance of their local informal networks.

Reluctance to burn bridges is not confined to owner occupiers. Such sentiments were echoed by council tenants in both areas, but most loudly in Liverpool.

Since the opportunities afforded by different housing tenures are related to one another within local housing markets, the range of opportunities available in areas of economic decline in the local authority sector may be better than in those areas of economic prosperity where house values and their rates of increase are higher.

It has been suggested that those households which move within the local authority system, unlike those in other tenures, do not accumulate capital or do so only minimally (Forrest, 1987). It was demonstrated in the last chapter that this may be true in strictly financial terms, but that the nature of local authority allocation procedure means that these households do accumulate a form of non-financial capital within a particular local authority system, through length of residence and household changes which bring higher points ratings. These points ratings are well reflected in the size and quality of the housing occupied, but in some cases they are not wholly

tangible, being represented by a household's chances (or perceived chances) of being moved into superior accommodation in the near future. Even when a household is able to utilise mechanisms which enable transfer between local authorities into housing of comparable standard it is not always able to realise its hidden non-financial capital by so doing.

For example, a young family in Liverpool which has been living in a small local authority flat for several years may be next in line for a move into a semi-detached house with a garden in the local area. Transferring to another local authority may enable the household to move into a similar flat, but it may slip down several hundred places in the queue for superior accommodation in the destination area. It has already been shown that households in the interview survey were acutely aware of their strengths within the local authority system, and of their immediate and long-term prospects for rehousing. This was strikingly evident in Liverpool, although the area was rather special in that at the time of the survey it was still engaged in ambitious and extensive house building programmes initiated by the Militant city council at a time when such activity in other cities had ground to a halt as a result of legal and financial constraints. Part of the inner city local authority housing area of Liverpool (survey area L2) contained a few new crescents of semi-detached houses with gardens, many of which were still under construction. They were being built to rehouse tenants from a low-rise tenement block built around an open courtyard. The tenants of the flats had been involved with the rebuilding plans for many years, had watched the new houses being built

from their windows;and were aware of their position in the group being gradually decanted from the old flats to the new houses. Some households in the flats had been waiting for two generations to improve their housing, and had recently moved into the new homes or were on the verge of doing so. Under such circumstances, the hidden capital would be sacrificed on moving to another area.

In addition to the loss of hidden capital, movement to another area from local authority housing, either within the tenure or into alternative tenures, carries with it the same dangers of foreclosing the ports of re-entry at some later stage. This was clearly evident in both areas.

PHIL: I live in a council house, but it's the same for me. If I move away and give my council house up, two weeks and it'll be gone. So say my job didn't work out. No way could I come back.

DAVE: You'd be back on the bottom of the waiting list again.

STEVE: You've got to keep it on while you go down there.

PHIL: It wouldn't be so bad if the Social Security would keep that house for me while I was down there for the the six months.

DAVE: Well that's another thing which should possibly be done by the government. (LG.2)

PAUL: Yeah I am [living in council accommodation]. That's a problem that. What I've heard if you go to other areas. I mean I've got a friend who went to Leicester. He had a council house here and he wanted one there, but he said he had to go on the waiting list. The list is probably dead long anyway, a couple of years wait, so you'd be waiting even longer.

JIM: I think most people, out of work anyway, haven't got their own houses. It's either council or private landlords. So if you had your own house and you sold it, at least you've got a few bob to put down as a mortgage wherever you went. But the majority haven't. If they leave their house, that's it, and there's nothing. Say, for instance, if John left his corpy house, and did

go down to London, and they had a house down there and okay, but he didn't like it, or his children or his wife didn't like it down there. When he came back to Liverpool, or if he wanted to, he'd have to go on the bottom of the housing list again, and then wait years for a house. So you see, you've got to take all these things into consideration. It's all very well saying 'okay I'll try this and see what it's like for twelve months'. After the twelve months, whether you like it or not, if you want to come back to Liverpool you wouldn't be able to go back to your old house.

PAUL: And if you do move somewhere else then you're a really low priority like, bottom of the list.

STEVE: And then you've got to start all over again when you come back. (LG.1)

The concept of hidden or non-transportable capital accumulation in the local authority sector as an influence on mobility is analogous to the concept of non-transportable capital associated with certain occupation groups, which helps to explain why they are less mobile than their socio-economic status would suggest (Ladinsky, 1967).

Hidden, or non-transportable capital is really vested interest. It is perhaps easier to conceptualise in labour and housing market terms than in social and community terms, but it is clear that households have many vested interests in staying put which are likely to increase the longer they live in a particular area and the more diverse the demands which the household members make on their local social networks.

It has already been shown that social networks play an extremely important role in providing information on and access to jobs, housing and other opportunities, and that the low-skilled tend to rely more on informal local systems than those in higher socio-economic groups. For

the low-skilled manual household movement between two areas thus involves movement between different local systems. In such cases, it is the extension of the network into other areas which provides a supply of information and a means of access. Contacts elsewhere provide initial information on those areas, a base for speculative visits and holidays, and accommodation on a long or short-term basis.

STEVE: Come January I'm thinking of moving down to Surrey. But the only thing is finding somewhere to live if you get a job. My girlfriend will be going with me, and we've got somewhere to stay for about two or three weeks [with my girlfriend's brother], but after that we'll have to find somewhere else quick. I've been told there's a lot of vacancies down there, but you've got to go down there first, get somewhere to live, and then go up... It's easy to get a job once you're there. You don't need no qualifications like you do up here... I've been down there on holiday and I've had a look around, and my girlfriend's brother... he went to live down there and got a job just like that, and he hasn't any qualifications. And my girlfriend's cousin's boyfriend's moved down there... and he's just walked from one job to another. A mate of my Mum's works down there, she's well in her fifties. She's moved down. She'd got no qualifications or anything, and she's just got a job. But it's finding somewhere to live. (LG.1)

JIMMY: I was working in Jersey see. It was only because my sister was already living down there that I had the accommodation. But I had to leave the island in the end because my sister had a child, I had no accommodation, and I couldn't find any. (LG.3)

10.4 The shifting balance of priorities within the process of household development

It was shown in chapters two and eight that young single people and young families are most mobile; that young people are over-represented among long distance movers and that young families are over-represented among short distance movers.

Migration studies which focus on pattern often assume that since young single people display a greater propensity than others to migrate over long distances, then they must by implication, be more willing to do so. This interpretation is based on a theoretical perspective which assumes free choice and that action and aspiration are one and the same. Such a perspective fails to incorporate notions of constraint, be they institutional, social or psychological, within which behaviour may be more a coping strategy than an expression of choice and aspiration. It is particularly important, therefore, to delve beneath the manifest patterns of behaviour, and to understand the feelings behind movement and non-movement. Obviously action is a good expression of aspiration in general terms, but there are some subtle distinctions to be drawn between willingness and ability to move, which are sometimes linked to stage in the life cycle (chapter eight).

Most discussion groups achieved a great deal of consensus over the personal situations, linked to the life cycle, which rendered migration relatively easy for some, and far more difficult for others. In

general, young single people were felt to have fewest practical difficulties.

BRIAN: I think it's easier when you're single, like, because you'll put up with anything. When you're single, there's places you'll live that you wouldn't take a family to...

GARY: When I was single I worked away, for different companies. But now I'm happily married. If I wasn't happily married I'd move out.

JOHN: If I wasn't married I'd be out by now. When I was twenty-four I moved away, and I came back when I was twenty-seven. As he said, you don't give a damn where you sleep.

PETER: It's easier when you're single, and you haven't got the responsibilities of a family. Like you can go down in a gang...Going on your own most of the time you don't know where you're going, but if you've got other people, they might have been down there before. They know what's what. (LG.8)

The idea that migration is easier for young single people was voiced most frequently by those who were not. In some groups, this debate engendered strong argument between people at different stages of their life cycle, about the relative difficulties faced, with young single people vehemently rejecting the suggestion that migration was easier for them.

AHMED: I think for a single person it will be easier than for a married person. Because a married person is leaving his family, his kids and everything, and he has to run a house and completely separate himself, and if his family decides to move too then he has to sell his house, and all that trouble he has to go through. But what about the single person? Okay it's a problem for him, but at least he got less problems than a married person.

PAUL: You see I'm a single person, but what's wrong with a single person having a mortgage?

AHMED: Nothing at all, nothing.

PAUL: So you see single people do have ties and all... and people think because you're single, 'Oh go in a flat over there; just move in there; ah you can live rough'. The Social Security will say to you 'oh well, you can live on just bits and pieces', and

that's what they believe, because you're single; and it's just not on (LG.6).

Alongside such practical ties, emotional attachment was equally evident. When the strategy of moving was raised in discussion, members who were married or had families would generally discuss first the practical difficulties which would have to be overcome (such as the mortgage and childrens' schooling), then their attachments and obligations to family and relatives, and perhaps later the importance of their local social networks and their emotional affiliation to the local community. Among young single people however, mainly in Liverpool, migration as a strategy through which to enter employment was instantly rejected on an emotional level, and then sometimes rationalised in terms of practical commitments after.

MALCOLM: Why should we move though? I mean it's just like going up to Thatcher or someone like that and saying 'here, you move up to Liverpool'... I don't see why I should move. I'm happy here... All right, I know things are bad and all that, but I don't see why you should have to leave, unless you want to move (LG.3).

ANDY: I was gonna give my flat up and go off on the rigs and that... I wouldn't have minded that because it's something I wanted to do personally. But... going down to London... I wouldn't enjoy it... I mean you're not supposed to enjoy work I know, but just going all the way down there to get your eight hours work and your money at the end of the day... I feel there should be work in Liverpool, and not just down south, and I feel bitter. I'm not just going to go down south because there's work in London and there's no work in Liverpool, because then you're doing what Norman Tebbit wants you to do, like, which is get on your bike and look for work. That statement, what he said, I mean that's a load of codswallop, a load of crap. I mean he should never have said that (LG.4).

The bitter rejection by some young people of the suggestion that they should move to find work is due partly to the fact that they

frequently provide the target for such simplistic prescriptions. Yet the strength of personal and emotional ties to an area, among even those who have few housing, employment or family ties, and the suggestion that an individual needs people to move with, implies that lack of tangible ties to an area can coexist with strong needs for personal social networks. Thus for many groups, the lack of personal commitments to an area among young single people was juxtaposed with the greater trauma that movement would entail.

DAVE: I think if you're single you tend to worry more... I'd say it was easier when you're married. I know when you're single you've got a lot of freedom and that, but I think when you're married you know everything is there. You're not gonna worry about anything (LG.4)

YVONNE: Well apart from when I went to Australia, I've lived in Liverpool all my life... I need my family there. I've always been the same way. I'm not married, so unless I was to get married, I wouldn't really consider moving away. It would just be insecurity for me (LG.2).

BARBARA: If you've got someone to move with I think it's easier. Say if I was married and my husband had to change jobs, I'd go with him and find something myself. My sister did that (LG.5).

The picture of the life-cycle which emerges from the household histories and the group discussions suggests that, for the low-skilled, non-employment considerations are of greater importance in the strategies pursued by households attempting to satisfy the multiple demands generated by constituent members than for those of higher socio-economic status. Moreover, satisfying demands in non-employment spheres is also more likely to lead to strategies which do not include long-distance household movement. However, the life-cycle of an

individual household may contain a number of phases where changes within that household may alter the balance between employment and other considerations. This in turn may lead to migration being considered, or adopted as a strategy through which a household can best achieve or retain an appropriate balance of opportunities at such stages. In short, there are stages at which local social networks, the local community and local opportunities in housing, employment and the like may be outweighed by the new opportunities which could be made available through migration.

It has been suggested that local social networks are particularly important for young single people. The household interviews have illustrated that at the point of household formation (often associated with marriage) migration is seen as a means of starting afresh. At such times, the priorities of the individual change. The household itself can assume greater importance relative to networks of family and friends, and better long-term prospects may be offered to the household through movement to another area.

STEVE: My girlfriend's working at the moment, and every time we go out at parties and everything she's the one that's got the money, I haven't got any money, so it's terrible. And we're getting engaged. People keep saying to me 'if you're getting engaged, you'd better move, 'cos you're not gonna get a job here that's worthwhile. So there's nothing else to do... I didn't want to move. I still don't really, but I started thinking about it this summer (LG.1).

The young household is like a young plant. It may be successfully transplanted while it is at an early stage of development. During its phase of expansion, as children are born, it attempts to secure

adequate housing and to enter the owner-occupied or local authority sectors. It may be appropriate for that household to transplant itself to another area where job opportunities are better, housing is more accessible, and long-term prospects for children are preferable.

As the household develops and takes root, perhaps in good quality housing, individuals become established in their jobs, children enter local schools and build their own networks of friends, movement becomes progressively more difficult.

CHARLIE: To me, I'd find it difficult personally [to move]. I've done my flitting around, and now that I'm married, I'd like to think that I could settle in on Merseyside. If I'd have wanted to before I was married, I would have bloody well moved. But the youngest is well settled in school, the eldest is working in the UBO office in Tithebarn street, so he's alright. The missus is not working either, but it's just the upheaval. Everything is settled, sorted and hunky-dory. (LG.2)

JOHN: Well I've got children, they're at school. My wife's got a job. It would be too much for other people, so I won't go away. I won't make upsets for my kids. So I daren't move for a while. (RG.1)

JOHN: ...like this thing with all the kids going to school together. I mean my kids have got scouse accents, so if they're going to school with all the cockneys, they probably would get ribbed. I mean you see it on 'Grange Hill', the scouse kid's always getting ribbed. (LG.1)

If movement does not occur during the early phase when transplantation is easy, the household will develop increasing vested interests in not moving. This cumulative immobility may continue until the stage where children become adults and leave the household, so that

many of the demands which mediate against movement are removed. Parents may then retire anyway.

It has already been demonstrated that low-skilled households will have fewer reasons to move and more reasons not to when balancing their priorities. They also have fewer points where migration is considered as an appropriate strategy, and where it is possible, even if it is desirable. For them too, informal networks are of greater importance in gaining access to jobs, housing and other opportunities, and these assume particular importance under certain conditions, such as becoming unemployed.

Thus far social networks have been conceptualised in fairly narrow terms: as a combination of personal friends, relatives and family which provides information and assistance. Yet the preceding discussion has indicated that the affinity which people feel for a particular social milieu, is more than a product of their own personal contacts. It is related also to their wider interaction with people of a particular locality - the community.

10.5 Community affiliation and the sense of place

The preceding chapters have focussed on housing; social class and the household life cycle as explanations of migration propensity. Yet it is also clear that place plays an important supporting role. The trouble is that the contribution of place is a nebulous concept which

embraces local labour and housing markets, local history and culture, as well as religious and regional affiliations, climate, landscape and urban aesthetics.

The meaning of working away from home was clearly very different to the working class populations of Liverpool and Reading. It is perhaps an obvious statement, but Liverpool is clearly a very different place to Reading, and two households which display identical socio-economic or other characteristics may behave very differently by virtue of the place in which they were born and bred. Despite its economic problems, Liverpool remains a place with which people identify strongly and feel proud to belong to. It is a place which many people feel bitterly reluctant to leave. Many of those who have left maintain their affection for the city, and harbour desires of a future return. It is easy to start people talking about what Liverpool represents to them; to list the many points in its favour; its humour; its honesty and its friendliness. It is a city which evokes strong reactions. It is difficult to say such things of Reading, despite the employment opportunities and material wealth it offers, and its convenient proximity to both the capital and the surrounding countryside.

It is trite to state that Liverpool and Reading are very different places. Trite but true. The preceding discussion has demonstrated how the interrelationships between the respective labour and housing markets affect migration-related decisions, and the ways in which these must be balanced against other differences in social networks and local attachments, a balance which changes over time with the development of

a household life-cycle. However, the expressions of affinity for an area indicate that there are forms of attachment which lie beneath the opportunities and constraints of the local labour and housing markets, beneath the network of personal contacts, family and friends, and beneath the changing composition of the needs of household members. In short, people in Liverpool were different to those in Reading in a number of respects not evident from the profiles of the two cities presented in chapter six.

These differences appear most acute among those of lower socio-economic groups who seem to identify more closely with a particular geographical area than their counterparts in higher socio-economic groups. Among the latter, past parental and family mobility is more likely to have weakened their attachments to an area, and diluted outward indications of regional identity like their accents. Yet people from different regions have always displayed differences in behaviour, attitudes, priorities and lifestyle preferences which cannot be explained in terms of differential class composition (see chapter one). These differences are continually reinforced through a variety of popular and media stereotypes.

At the risk of creating new stereotypes, this section demonstrates some of the real and perceived differences between the groups from each location. It illustrates the ways in which these differences are expressed in feelings of affinity for the home area, and feelings of acceptance or alienation in other areas, and explores the ways in which such feelings inform migration attitudes and migration behaviour.

There is little doubt that Jobclub members in each are felt themselves to be different to people in other regions in a number of respects, though these differences were far more evident in Liverpool than in Reading. For some, these perceived differences were so severe that they were presented as differences in race or ethnicity.

JOHN: The South East has always been the most prosperous because racially speaking, they're the Anglo Saxons, and they raped the country of the Celtic population, and they sent the Celtic population as slaves to the old colonies. The vast majority of the old colonies were of ethnic origin. They're not English. (LG.5)

Perception of differences between peoples from particular regions is constructed through a variety of personal contacts with such peoples, experience of visiting and living among different people in other areas, and reinforced by popular stereotypes and local group consensus. It is difficult to conceptualise the qualitative factors which make an individual feel an attachment to an area or an affinity with a community, since these factors are a product of diverse personal experiences. Yet many common themes emerged in the course of the group discussions. In Liverpool, for instance, one popular expression of such affinity was the power of local humour. Moreover, this was not confined to those who were Liverpool born and bred.

AHMED: There's a lot of sense of humour in Liverpool, and no matter whether you're a foreigner or no matter where you come from outside, you'll never be lonely in Liverpool. You come into a pub and you'll find someone who'll tell you a lot of jokes and make you laugh. And I think that kind of humour is not there in other places. I'm familiar with London, and it's certainly not there in London.

JOHN: You've gotta have that humour haven't you, to try and break the monotony.

AHMED: Yeah. You've gotta have that to survive... I think if you've been here for more than about ten years then the humour

grows into you, and it becomes part of your life... And suddenly if all that is gone, then I don't think you can manage, and so I think sooner or later you're gonna come back to Liverpool. (LG.6)

The pub is one of the most powerful gauges of a local community. Feelings of welcome, acceptance and belonging in the pubs of Liverpool were juxtaposed with feelings of alienation and rejection in those in other places, particularly 'down south'.

DAVE: I'm not criticising southerners, 'cos you're one yourself, but they're not the friendliest of people when you first go down there... If you want a place in a crowded bar, all you've gotta do is walk in there and say 'hello there! Isn't it nice weather?' and I'll tell you, you'll get fifty people either end of the bar and a hell of a big gap in the middle. (LG.2)

JOHN: I worked in a place for about five years in Buckinghamshire, and it took three years till the locals started speaking to you. I mean they'd just look like.

AHMED: Well that is the attitude they have.

JOHN: I knew a lot of people from another hotel 'cos we used to have darts matches against them and whatever, and they'd just turn their back on you when they're having a drink. Especially if they know you're from Liverpool. (LG.6)

In Reading there were far fewer chips on the shoulders and less sense of community. Even among those who were born and bred in the area, there was criticism of local attitudes and local facilities, mixed with a perception that the social environment was often preferable in other areas.

BRIAN: I've lived in Reading all my life, but I don't particularly like the place. If it wasn't for my job and the house and that, I'd be happy to leave tomorrow... I mean I'm not a youngster any more, but for youngsters' entertainment. You go anywhere up north, and there's loads of clubs kids can go to. There's discos. There's nothing in Reading like that at all.

MIKE: Not even a skating rink. You have to go to Oxford to skate.

BRIAN: That's right.

EDWARD: But I don't think they want to. Because I helped a friend run a disco, and I had one hundred and fifty people come, and I had a thousand tickets for sale. And I thought that was gonna take off, because people are always grumbling about there's nothing to do. And when you give them something to do they'd rather roam the streets or something like that.

BRIAN: I must admit. I've been in business for eighteen years. I came into contact with a lot of people who had restaurants and things like that. And Reading even eighteen, nineteen years ago was regarded as a Friday night Saturday night town. You would get the restaurants filled, the discos filled, the ten-pin bowling alleys filled. They'd all be packed out on a Saturday night. But nobody seems to do anything except sit at home watching television during the week (RG.7).

When listing the things which bind them to an area, groups in Liverpool generally focussed on intangible factors such as the humour, the friendliness and the compassion of the local people. Group members were often very keen to identify themselves with the area, even if they were not from it.

CHARLIE: I wasn't born in Liverpool, I was born in Derby... I moved here when I was three, so since the age of three, except for the six-odd years I was in Canada, I've always been on Merseyside, always in Liverpool. So I count myself a Liverpudlian, except I wasn't born here. I mean my family are from here... even if the name doesn't sound Liverpudlian. (LG.2)

Despite the area's economic problems, many expressed intense pride in their city, its achievements and its people, and long term optimism with regard to a more prosperous future.

Groups in Reading, by contrast, were more likely to focus on employment or housing, or on their particular family circumstances when expressing the factors which bound them to the area. Many were eager to dissociate, and to link themselves instead with communities and places

elsewhere. Despite the area's economic growth and prosperity in recent years, negative feelings about its people and its future were commonplace.

BOB: I was born and bred in Battersea, London...

LES: I've always lived in Reading, but I've done a lot of travelling. I came from Preston originally, but I couldn't get any work down there so I moved down here... I was too young to argue with my parents when we first came to Reading. If it had been my choice I'd have never stopped here. Even though I got a job the day I arrived here, I've never liked the place. It's too cosmopolitan. Nobody wants to know you really.

JOHN: I was optimistic when I first came to this area, because everything was growing. But it's not now, it's dying. (RG.1)

In Liverpool, most groups agreed that their city was the best place to be for the people and the community. In Reading, very few identified themselves strongly with the local community, and some harboured strong desires to return to other areas in which they or their families had lived in the past. Others wished ultimately to move to areas where the pace of life was slower, where people were less aggressive, and where the community was less impersonal. A surprising number cited other areas to which they felt a stronger emotional bond than Reading.

PETER: Well when I went to Nottingham about ten year ago I enjoyed it. You just get that feeling...you know, like when you bet on a horse and you just get that lucky feeling and then you've got a winner. I just fell in love with the place and I enjoyed it, but I've never had that feeling here. (RG.4)

There is a multitude of forces which constitutes the sense of place or sense of community, and individual responses to these. Such responses are also dependant on an individual's own background,

experience and aspirations. There are many quantitative differences between Liverpool and Reading which may be built in to an understanding of their different communities. Liverpool is a bigger urban centre than Reading, and has greater significance in labour market terms than Reading, which is inextricably connected with the London labour market. The social reality of geographical boundaries is also far more appropriate. Most respondents in Liverpool knew instantly whether, for example, their place of birth was within or outside 'Merseyside'. The precise boundaries of 'Berkshire' by comparison, were far less well known.

The people of Liverpool had different geographical origins, religious affiliations and political attitudes to their counterparts in Reading. The two areas also displayed quite different social class compositions (see chapter six). In Reading, fewer people were born in the area than in Liverpool, fewer could trace their families back over generations within the area and fewer were composed entirely of members born within the local district. In short, Liverpool's period of birth and expansion is long behind it, as it has experienced several decades of population decline, whilst Reading has only become a large urban centre over the past few decades, and is still growing rapidly. The populations of the two areas share very different histories. In Liverpool, these histories are more likely to stretch back for several generations within an urban working-class culture, and for many, run back to emigration from Ireland during the last century. In Reading, people do not share so much of their personal and family histories, which were more diverse, and were commonly linked with London or other

urban centres, or with the surrounding countryside of the shire counties.

There are thus many reasons why groups in Reading were often very different to those in Liverpool, why they shared less common history, why there was less sense of a distinct community identity, and why individuals were less inclined to relate themselves to the place or the community. In Liverpool, interview respondents and group members alike were often very proud of being 'Liverpool born and bred'; to regard themselves as real 'scourers'. There was no equivalent in Reading.

Feelings of affinity for the local community and feelings of acceptance or rejection in other communities influence the likelihood of looking to other areas, the areas chosen as potential destinations, and the likelihood of moving to and remaining in other areas.

STEVE: You've gotta make sure you get on with the people as well if you move haven't you? 'Cos a lot of people do not like Liverpudlians.

JIM: That's a fact isn't it?

JOHN: It's the same for me if I go just to Manchester, 'cos it's got that way in the football and in the press and all that... I don't think a lot of Mancunians would take to me personally, being a scouser, even if I never went to football.

STEVE: I used to think it was just young people, but it isn't. Two fellas I know work in London doing something with the lifts. They come home every weekend, and they're bloody big fellas, they're bigger than you. And they came back one weekend, and two other fellas had attacked them. Just because they were scousers. And they're not kids, they've got families and all.

JIM: ...that's why a lot of people won't move. The people don't like the people they're gonna have to live with - the community. It's a different setup altogether.

STEVE: My brother's worked in Manchester, and he got on alright. He's worked there for eight years.

JIM: But you can class it [Manchester] in a way, like Liverpool, can't you. They speak the same really. But you go to York...

STEVE: I think geordies are the nearest thing to scousers. I always get on really well with them like at football matches.

PAUL: Yes I do. (LG.1)

Although many clearly do respond to job opportunities located among communities in which they feel alienated, feelings of alienation do contribute towards reluctance to settle in such areas on a permanent basis, and reluctance to remain there once the principal reason for going is removed, or overshadowed by other considerations. Unfortunately for many labour economists, the areas to which low-skilled and unemployed job seekers are least reluctant to move for work reasons are frequently those whose local labour markets are similar to those which they are moving from, since it is in such areas that the community itself is likely to be most similar.

RON: Saint Albans seems to be the borderline between us and them.

GARY: Manchester's in the same boat as us isn't it, same as Newcastle.

BRIAN: So is Ireland.

GARY: Yeah, Yorkshire, the Isle of Man. I mean something like seventeen or eighteen per cent of the island is unemployed, and yet you get people from here going over there and getting a job (LG.5).

Thus far the sense of community and its importance in shaping place preferences has been discussed in very general terms. Yet the importance of the community means far more than feelings of acceptance in a local pub. The community can constitute a very important resource

from which the individual may draw support. It is particularly important in times of greatest personal hardship. This is now illustrated by comparing the experience of being unemployed in each of the two communities; the ways in which a community's response to the unemployed can alleviate or aggravate the personal trauma of the experience, and the ways in which such interactions will affect feelings of attachment to particular places.

10.6 Different communities and the experience of unemployment

It has been demonstrated in previous chapters that the experience of unemployment is more extensive in Liverpool than in Reading. Both in the sample, and the population from which it was drawn, a greater proportion were unemployed in Liverpool than in Reading. It follows that the experience of being unemployed for the individual may also be different. In Liverpool the likelihood of having been unemployed in the past was higher than in Reading, as was the likelihood of personal contact with unemployed friends, relatives and family and household members. In the household survey 41 out of a hundred households in Liverpool had at least one member who was unemployed at the time compared with eight in Reading. These differences are compounded by the social composition of the two districts. In consequence the experience of being unemployed is different for the individual in the two cities and the understanding of it different within the two local communities.

In Reading, being unemployed was far more likely to be perceived by those in employment as the fault of the individual. Evidence for this was provided by household interviews and the local press (chapter six). This perception was acutely felt by the unemployed themselves, who conveyed feelings of alienation, of being misrepresented, and of being regarded as in some way abnormal.

EDWARD: At least if you could get to the interview then they'd see that you're a human being with two legs and two arms and a head, with a brain in it. Do you know what I mean? And that you were fit and able to do the work. But they don't get you to that point. (RG.7)

The experience of being unemployed in Liverpool for the individual meant that although the ratio of job-seekers to jobs, and hence the probability of remaining unemployed, was higher, far more people were in the 'same boat'.

JOHN: Like I say I've wrote two hundred letters. Same with Paul, he's wrote just on two hundred letters, and we've only had a quarter of them have actually replied to us. And now the post has gone up we'll probably get even less replies... But like she [a prospective employer] says at 'C.J.'s', she gets thirty to forty letters a day, spec. letters like we were writing, and the more Jobclubs that are opening up, the more these firms are just getting bombarded, and they probably don't read half of them now. They probably just go straight in the bin. But there's that many people in the same situation as us (LG.1).

Part of the early process of confidence building which the Jobclub training programme incorporated helped individuals to rationalise their unemployment, and to externalise the situation. Thus few group members blamed their continued unemployment on personal shortcomings, but instead focussed on external factors. The differences between the two

locations in this respect were profound, and engendered a far greater feeling of solidarity in Merseyside than in Berkshire.

In Liverpool, the inability to find work was perceived as a product of a general lack of jobs in the area, and indeed throughout the region - a product of geographical location. By comparison, the structure of the local labour market, low wages, and rapid technological changes which rendered certain skills and experience redundant, were more common reasons for unemployment in Reading. In Liverpool, respondents felt they were unemployed because they were from Liverpool, or from the north, because the government was discriminating against their city and their region.

JOHN: The same thing could happen as what's happened here. There's no guarantee.

JIM: No it won't John, not in London, no. Margaret Thatcher has got the map of England and put a line up from about Bristol and said 'forget them, they don't count, this is what counts'. (LG.1)

In Reading, by contrast, group members did not feel the same solidarity with those of their city or region, but were more likely to identify with a particular sub-group within that area on the basis of common characteristics such as age, or the possession of traditional skills which were not valued by the new high-tech industries responsible for the creation of job opportunities in the area.

BRIAN: I think age is a predominant factor here... I find most of them don't want to know. You can't get an interview if you're over thirty-five in many cases...

EDWARD: Brian and I are in the same position you see... I think it's also part of the philosophy, that a lot of people who are in the position of employing you now are young people themselves. And

I think they look at older people, and I don't know what they see us as (RG.7).

The identification with the whole community of an area in Liverpool, but with a sub-group within that community in Reading, was particularly evident in the different ways in which issues of race surfaced within the group discussions in the two areas.

PAUL: I think the big problem is if you're a scouser, straight away-'trouble!', and if you're a black scouser it's even worse (LG.6).

DAVID: It's really hard to find work around here. A lot of the firms in Reading are just Pakistanis you know... I've lived in Reading all my life, but have you asked how long people have been living here? 'Cos I think it's all since about 1980, the population increase. I'm not just talking about Reading, I'm talking about three million unemployed. I think the root when you get down to it is all this immigration since about 1980. (RG.2)

Such differences in the degree of identification with a particular area have complex and contradictory implications for migration. Whilst groups in Liverpool generally agreed that for most of them, there were better opportunities in other parts of the country, usually "down south", those in Reading generally felt that they were in the best place to find work, and that if better job opportunities did exist in other areas, then it would be in proximate ones including Oxford, Slough, Thatcham, Windsor, Newbury and London. However, stronger identification with a particular area meant that group members in Liverpool were bitterly reluctant to have to consider moving for job opportunities, and would have been very unlikely to do so if they were to find suitable employment locally. Their counterparts in Reading seldom displayed such emotional attachments to their area, although

they often felt that moving away was not a viable option, since job prospects would be no better elsewhere.

Although unemployed individuals in an area of relatively low unemployment may have advantages over their counterparts in high unemployment areas when it comes to finding work, they may also be relatively disadvantaged in other respects. First, since more prosperous areas are likely to be associated with higher house prices and living costs, benefits (which are standardised nationally) are worth less. Furthermore, since housing costs and general living costs vary more than wage rates between regions, it is likely to be more difficult for an unemployed individual in a prosperous area to find work with a wage which exceeds total household benefits entitlement. This is compounded by the fact that such areas may have a smaller stock of local authority housing (which is cheaper than renting privately or buying), and more expensive private housing to rent or buy.

Besides such practical and economic differences, the groups also provided evidence that greater understanding of unemployment in Liverpool had engendered a more compassionate response from the local community which acted as an important support mechanism for the individual who had fallen upon hard times.

JIM: But Liverpool is different to any other city. You can't find another that matches Liverpool anywhere else, and I mean it's not even my city. I've only been here seven years.

DAVE: That's right. And it's not just those other people. Two fellas I go fishing with for instance, they were both out of work when I was working. I was on decent money, so I'd go down and say 'come on, do you want to go and have a bevv?' And they'd got no money, so I'd take them out. And now I'm out of work, they see me

all right. But I mean it doesn't seem to happen so much anywhere else. It just seems to be that sort of attitude... I think people are like that because it's born of hardship over the years.

JIM: Yes it is a hard city. Well it's always been a hard city, Liverpool. I mean its history is hard. It's the same as Glasgow. It's a hard shipbuilding city. And when the shipbuilding goes, and the industry goes, what have you got left? All you've got left is the people. And the people survive. Put it this way. I don't know another city, apart from Glasgow when I was young....where you can go into a shop where you've been going into for a few years, they know it's the day before giro day. You go in and you've got like fifteen pence and they'll turn round and say 'don't worry love', and they'll just get the loaf of bread and they'll just drop it in...they won't see you starving in the street...I don't know how many cities like Oxford that do that. I've seen them standing there and they're all sort of very socialistic - the 'okay yah' brigade. But when it comes down to it, the scousers put there money where their mouth is". (LG.2)

The community was far less in evidence as a support mechanism in Reading. Such support was more often found through contact with other unemployed people (such as through Jobclub), or through family.

TRACEY: I get by through borrowing off my mum. I always make sure I pay her back, but that's the only way I manage to get by.

FRANK: I get a small pension from my last company. But at my age I do without a lot of things I used to do. I have a hobby of photography which I don't do very often now because it's quite expensive...My daughter's still at home, and she's in the civil service, so she's quite good to me. Also my brother-in-law is quite good...for instance last year he paid for my holiday and things of that nature (RG.5).

It is ironic that those areas with the highest rates of unemployment, where the unemployed individual stands least chance of finding work, are also the areas where that individual feels most accepted, by virtue of the same factors. Further support for this is provided by research among the unemployed of Kirby - one of Liverpool's outer council estates.

"Because people have experience of unemployment, directly or through family and neighbours, the economic divide does not easily translate into a social divide. The employed people we spoke to could identify, all too easily, with the plight of the unemployed; consequently unemployment does not carry the stigma it retains in other areas." (Meegan, 1988, page 14)

10.7 Conclusion: balancing aspirations opportunities and constraints

For many low-skilled unemployed, job-search is undertaken within a web of bureaucratic institutional constraints. Often the wages on offer locally are insufficient to meet basic household living expenses. This is most evident in those areas where job opportunities are plentiful, since these are also the areas where living expenses are highest. Sometimes remaining unemployed makes financial sense, even in the face of available opportunities.

DAVID: Well let's face it, it's a struggle being unemployed. You don't want it to be even more of a struggle when you're working. (RG.2)

BRIAN: I went out in the early part of the year and got a job down at National Couriers as a driver. Absolutely no problem getting work. That was just a temporary job... I went in one week and they offered me a standard job, but the maximum he could offer me was a hundred and nineteen pound a week, which is ridiculous. I did it just to have a job, but in the end I said to him 'look I'm sorry, but I just can't work for that sort of money'...

MIKE: ...This is the reason why there are so many people out of work. Because they will not accept the paltry money which is being offered by certain firms. They'd rather stay on benefits (RG.7).

The complexity of unemployment; housing and other benefits means that unemployment can often feel like a full-time occupation in itself.

Once a household has established its right to particular benefits (many of which are only available after six months of unemployment) re-entry into the labour market must be through a job which offers both sufficient remuneration and long-term security.

JOHN: A twelve month scheme [Community Programme] to me is not really worth it, you know. All the hassle with the rent, the dole, the social, and all the benefits I'm getting. Changing them over just for twelve months, and then going through all the red tape again you know, it's just not worth it... [Moving away] is a risk as well... you could just find yourself in twelve months, two years unemployed again up there. I'd just as soon be unemployed in Liverpool with all me mates and the darts and the football and everything than go down there and be unemployed (LG.1).

The unemployed job seeker must balance a complex range of factors. Sometimes, even that work available in the local area will not tilt the balance to the point where the individual re-enters employment. In such cases the prospect of moving to another area for work is extremely remote. The short- and long-term opportunities which are offered by a particular job must be weighed against the loss of benefits. The prospects offered by a job in another area must also be weighed against possible sacrifices in housing; household disruption, dislocation from family, friends and social networks and "a complete change and readjustment of the community affiliations" (Bogue, 1959, page 489).

For the low-skilled the 'package' offered by a job is likely to be a less important counterbalance to non-employment considerations, than for those of higher socio-economic status, for whom such 'packages' are more rewarding. Hence the probability that the balance between work and other considerations will be tilted to a degree where migration is undertaken is lower for the least skilled. Even for those who are

unemployed with few prospects of finding work locally, staying put may still be perceived as the most appropriate option.

MARK: It just doesn't seem worth moving your whole life somewhere else, just to get a job (LG.2).

Note

- 1 All excerpts from group discussions are direct quotations. Some words and small sections have been edited out (indicated thus: '...') where this does not alter the meaning of the dialogue. Names have been changed where requested by the individuals concerned.

Chapter Eleven

CONCLUSION

In the face of continuing regional disparities in job opportunities, the low-skilled, and especially the unemployed, are far less likely than those with higher levels of skill and those already in employment to be among labour migrants, despite economic theory which suggests they should, and government exhortations which seek to encourage this.

In such cases, low migration propensities have generally been interpreted as psychological unwillingness to move or inability to do so due to the existence of certain 'barriers', for example in housing. This is the philosophy based on economic theory, and on a migration theory developed through the study of successful movers who have, by definition, chosen to move and been able to do so. Moreover, the theoretical approach commonly adopted - partly attributable to the nature of existing data sources - sets migration within a static framework, emphasising differences between groups at a given time. Such an approach fails to recognise that changes within an individual household though time are often more significant than differences between it and other households at a given point. The emphasis on observed patterns of movement at the expense of processes which form attitudes and lead to decision-making, means that the causal link between attitudes to migration and migration behaviour are studied in

reverse. Hence the motives for migrating are assessed after a move has taken place, and the motives for not migrating are often inferred from these.

The explanations which have evolved thus draw considerably on the balance of priorities exhibited by those who employed a strategy of migration. Those who do not chose such strategies when it appears they have much to gain by doing so in economic terms, are thus assumed to be either unwilling to move per se, or else unable to do so due to an inability to surmount the various obstacles associated with migration. This thesis has attempted to illustrate some of the parallel reasons for not moving, even for those who appear to have least to lose and most to gain from an employment perspective.

The weight which is given to employment relative to other considerations is very different for successful movers and frustrated potential migrants than for the majority who chose not to go. A theoretical approach which starts with behaviour at the point of movement fails to set the migration decision within a longitudinal framework, linked to changing jobs, changing houses, and changing household composition, reflected in changing household priorities.

This thesis has taken as its starting point immobility. It has attempted to identify the combinations of conditions which promote the consideration of migration, and the way in which competing factors are balanced against one another in this decision-making process. It has attempted to show how that balance will be different for different

households in different labour and housing market situations, and at different stages of development. It has also shown how the balance changes within a household through time, as other factors such as household composition also change. Moreover similar conditions may lead different households to very different strategies, depending on the attitudinal differences of the individuals involved, on their assessment of those tangible and intangible factors to be balanced against one another, and on their personal experiences and future aspirations. It has also shown that different households in very similar positions may behave differently by virtue of the community in which they live, and which has shaped their lives.

The picture which emerges from this discussion of the immobility of the low-skilled and unemployed, is a system of migration actions and decisions in stark contrast to that associated with middle class 'careerists', progressing in tandem up local and national housing ladders.

For most households in the survey, aspirations were satisfied within local labour and housing markets. Employment histories revealed an absence of any order whereby one job is linked to another in a logical career progression. Rather, such histories were characterised by diversity and uncertainty, with enforced periods of idleness between jobs. In general, promotion was achieved through seniority and on-the-job experience, favouring the absence of movement. The search for an alternative job was rarely undertaken whilst the respondent was still employed in a reasonably secure position. Job search procedures were

highly localised and were dependent upon a variety of local information sources and informal contacts. Where migration was considered, job-search was still focussed on very localised areas in alternative labour markets, often dictated by the location of existing contacts or past experience.

Set against the uncertainty of many low-skilled jobs, the chance of secure housing provides a reassuring cushion. For this reason local authority accommodation was often preferred to buying or renting from a private landlord. 'Ladders' in the owner-occupied sector rarely extended beyond the first rung. 'Ladders' in local authority housing were more evident, though the patterns of household development which were likely to ensure rapid progression up these ladders provide a contrast to those associated with better-off home owners. Strength in the local authority market is achieved through long periods of residence in the local area, overcrowding or rapid family growth, and (sometimes) low pay and unemployment. Moreover, the factors which enable progression through the local authority system are precisely those factors which mediate against geographic mobility.

Once a particular household has achieved a strong position in the local housing market and rooted itself firmly in the local community, it is often reluctant to relinquish this for the uncertain prospects of better employment opportunities elsewhere. In consequence, strength in the housing market is often balanced against weakness in or even exclusion from the local labour market.

Generally, the households interviewed were best able to balance their housing needs and preferences with the employment needs of their constituent members by not moving, or by doing so only locally. Of the households which did try to migrate at some stage, there were many which were unable to realise these aspirations. Among those which were able to move successfully, local housing processes were often of paramount importance, and employment opportunities merely needed to be in accordance. For most low skilled and unemployed households, however, it is clear that the housing, employment and household considerations which they must balance are likely to entail strategies which involve movement only within a local employment and housing market. Hence the rationale for mobility cannot be fully understood without insight into this parallel rationale for immobility.

The central conclusion of this thesis is that for most households, during most of their life-cycle, the most appropriate strategies through which the immediate and long-term needs of their constituent members may be met do not involve migration. Moreover, this is true for more low-skilled households for more of the time. In many cases immobility is the most appropriate strategy even where economic theory and government philosophy would suggest otherwise. Sometimes those location or particular phases in a life-cycle where individuals or households are most vulnerable in the labour market may be the same locations and phases in which they may attain greater strength in other spheres.

This thesis began with a discussion of spatial disparities evident in the north-south divide, and of government policy with regard to such disparities, since this constitutes the overarching framework within which individual migration decisions are set. The research has been concerned primarily with the decision-making process itself, as a neglected aspect of migration study among the low-skilled and unemployed. Nevertheless it is pertinent at this point to state the main implication of the research findings for that policy.

The fundamental aspect of current government philosophy with regard to regional inequality is that liberalisation of the mechanisms of the market will engender greater rates of migration from depressed to prosperous regions. Policy aimed at freeing these equilibrating mechanisms are evident in housing and employment legislation.

In the labour market, attempts to break down the process of national wage bargaining have been aimed at increasing regional differentials to a point where labour will move and hence even out these rates. At the same time, however, the gradual transition from manufacturing to service industries has been associated with a dilution of union power, a greater proportion of short-term, part-time or seasonal work, with less long-term job security. Thus whilst the financial benefit to be derived from migrating may be increased, so may be the risk involved.

In the housing market the preference afforded to owner-occupied housing has squeezed private renting further in areas where it is in

greatest demand. As the stock of local authority housing has shrunk through council house sales, the sector has become increasingly marginalised. Households which have greater difficulty in entering council housing initially will be less inclined to relinquish their position once they have. Similarly, dwindling stock has reduced the opportunities for transfer between areas, whilst the extension of home-ownership to those households whose employment is characterised by instability may lead to further cases of entrapment resulting from the purchase of housing in depressed markets from which they cannot exit.

Differences within and between labour and housing markets at the local level reflect the national and local government policy frameworks within which they operate. For example, the debate surrounding the relaxation of planning permission on Green Belt land around London, the extent to which government attempts to channel investment into deprived regions, and the way in which the UK is integrated within Europe, all contribute towards the creation of spatial differences in labour and housing markets which also impact upon the local community.

This thesis has demonstrated why the central tenet of government philosophy towards labour mobility does not hold for the most vulnerable sectors of the labour force. Often those places where the most vulnerable groups are most likely to be excluded from the labour market are the same areas in which they are likely to have better prospects in the local community. It has also been shown that greater dislocation between ports of entry and exit in local housing markets, and more acute differences in local communities will inhibit movement

in both directions. In short the laissez-faire attitude towards regional development, based on the view that the greater the economic differences between particular locations, the greater will be the rate of migration, is not borne out by the patterns and trends of the past few decades, especially where the low-skilled and unemployed are concerned. This research has indicated why. Since the labour market will interact with both the housing market and the local community of a particular locale, and given the way in which those households most vulnerable in the labour market play to their strengths, greater spatial differences may result in less, not more migration for them.

Appendix One

THE HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Notes:

The interview schedule is reproduced here in reduced scale, single-sided format to meet with thesis regulations.

The schedule presented was that used in Liverpool. The schedule used in Reading was the same, although all references to 'Merseyside' were replaced by 'Berkshire'.

One of the three coloured sections was used for each respondent, dependant on their labour market position (blue for employed; yellow for unemployed and green for retired and others).

Duplicates of page 33 were used as many times as necessary (ie. one for each prior residence recorded).

HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT SURVEY

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
26 Bedford Way London WC1H 0AF
Tel. 01-387-7050

INTRODUCE MYSELF: Stress personal status.
Nature of Survey.

EXPLAIN THE SURVEY: Stress strict confidentiality.

Some of the questions I shall ask may deal with issues that you consider sensitive. If you are in any way unhappy about answering a question, please feel free to say so, and we will move on to the next question.

Date Case Number Category

R. T. KITCHING.

SECTION A: THE HOUSEHOLD.

Person no.	Relationship to	age (write M F in)	WORKING				EMPLOYMENT SITUATION NON-WORKING					B'place	Educ'n.	
			full or part time	Housewife	Unemployed seeking work	Sick	Regia. disabled	F.T. educ.	Retired	Other				
1	RESPONDANT	1 2												
2		1 2												
3		1 2												
4		1 2												
5		1 2												
6		1 2												
7		1 2												
8		1 2												

all5. Where do most of your family and friends live? (Merseyside or elsewhere)

SECTION B: HOUSING.

b220 Type of Property

b221. FACILITIES: Bedrooms
Garage
Garden
Telephone
Pets

b222. TENURE:
 O.O. outright] → Freehold of L'hold (Go b23)
 O.O. mortgage]
 L.A.
 P.R.f.] → Security of Tenure?
 P.R.u.]
 H.A.
 Job Linked
 Friends/Relatives
 Other

b223. Estimate of Value

b224. HOUSING COSTS:
Rent/ Mortgage
Rates (inc. water)
Other (maintenance etc.)

b225. Do you have any assistance with any of these costs?
(Specify)

b226. Estimate of total household income (after tax)

HOUSING SEARCH

b227. What made you choose to live in this particular house?

b228. What made you choose to live in this particular area?

b229. What sources of information did you use to look for this house?

(Which of these successful?)

INDEX OF SATISFACTION

b230. Accommodation 1 2 3 4 5

b231. Location 1 2 3 4 5

b232. Local Amenities 1 2 3 4 5

LOCAL CONNECTIONS:

b233. Neighbours- Friendly? 1 2 3 4 5

b234. Do you belong to any clubs or societies locally?

(Probe/Explore)

SECTION C (1): EMPLOYMENT AND FINANCES (for employed).

CURRENT JOB

c340.	Description		
c341.	Ind./Sector		
c342.	Pay		
c343.	How long for		

c344. Does this job require any specific skills/qualifications?

← NO YES Probe: Formal _____
 Informal _____

c345. Do you have any (other) specific skills/qualifications?

← NO YES Probe: Formal _____
 Informal _____

c346. Are you satisfied with this job?

← YES NO Probe: _____

c347. Have you looked for any alternative jobs since you started this one?

← NO YES Probe: _____

LAST JOB

c353.	Description		
c354.	Ind./Sector		
c355.	Pay		
c356.	How long for.		

c357. Did this job require any specific skills/qualifications?

NO YES Probe: Formal _____
Informal _____

c358. How long ago did you leave this job?

c359. Why did you leave?

c360. Did you have your present job lined up at the time?

YES

NO

c361. How long did you think it would take to find another job?

c362. How long did it take?

EXPERIENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

c363. Have you ever been unemployed? (Apart from info. above)

NO

YES

(Probe for each case if viable)

c364. How long ago _____

c365. For how long _____

c366. Under what circumstances _____

ATTITUDES TO MOVEMENT

c375. Would you consider moving away from Merseyside for employment reasons?

← NO Probe _____

YES

c376. How far would you be prepared to move?

c377. Which areas would you consider moving to? (Why?)

c378. Are there any areas to which you wouldn't consider moving? (Why?)

c379. GOV'T MOBILITY SCHEMES: Probe knowledge/experience.

c380. Would you consider moving away from Merseyside for any other reasons?

← NO Probe _____

YES

c381. How far would you be prepared to move?

c382. Which area/s would you consider moving to? (Why?)

c383. Are there any areas to which you wouldn't consider moving? (Why?)

SECTION C (11): EMPLOYMENT AND FINANCES (for unemployed)

c430. How long have you been unemployed?

< 1 year

> 1 year Explore: GOV'T SCHEMES: Knowledge/experience.

c431. Are you currently looking for work?

← NO Explain _____ (Go c445)

YES

c432. In which areas have you looked for work during this spell of unemployment?

c433. (Active unemployed only)
In which of these are you looking at present?

c434. What information sources have you used to look for work during this spell of unemployment?

c435. (Active unemployed only)
Which of these have you used in the last month?

c458. How long ago did you leave this job?

c459. Why did you leave?

c461. When you left, how long did you think it would take to find another job?

ATTITUDES TO MOVEMENT

c475. Would you consider moving away from Merseyside for employment reasons?

← NO Probe: _____

YES

c476. How far would you be prepared to move?

c477. Which areas would you consider moving to? (Why?)

c478. Are there any areas to which you wouldn't consider moving? (Why?)

c479. GOV'T MOBILITY SCHEMES: Probe: knowledge/experience

c480. Would you consider moving away from Merseyside for any other reasons?

← NO Probe: _____
YES _____

c481. How far would you be prepared to move?

c482. Which area/s would you consider moving to? (Why?)

c483. Are there any areas to which you wouldn't consider moving? (Why?)

SECTION C (iii): EMPLOYMENT AND FINANCES (For retired/others)

LAST JOB

c553.	Description		
c554.	Ind./Sector		
c555.	Pay		
c556.	How long for		

c557. Did this job require and specific skills/qualifications?

NO YES Probe: Formal _____
 Informal _____

c558. How long ago did you leave this job?

c559. Why did you leave?

EXPERIENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

c563. Have you ever been unemployed?

NO
 YES
 (Probe for each case if viable)

c564. How long ago _____
 c565. For How long _____
 c566. Under what circumstances _____

ATTITUDES TO MOVEMENT.

c580. Would you consider moving away from Merseyside for any reason/s?

← NO Probe _____

YES

c581. How far would you be prepared to move?

c582. Which areas would you consider moving to?
(Why?)

c583. Are there any areas to which you wouldn't consider moving? (Why?)

d688. Have any of you close friends or relatives moved away from Merseyside? (Recently?)

NO YES Explore: Who, Where, When.

d689. Do you still keep 'in touch' with them?

← NO YES Explore

d690. What do they say about it?

d691. Has this influenced your attitudes towards living/working on Merseyside or moving away?

d692. What do you feel about the prospects for living and working on Merseyside in the future?

SECTION D: MOBILITY EXPERIENCE AND INFORMATION

d685. Have you ever lived or worked outside Merseyside?

← NO YES Explore:

d686. Have you ever considered moving away from Merseyside in the past? (or since living in the area)

← NO YES Explore:

d687. What about your friends and relatives in similar situations to yourself, does talk of moving away from Merseyside ever occur?

← NO YES Explore:

SECTION II (1): HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT HISTORIES (Current Housing)

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION	Initial	Changes
EMPLOYMENT SITUATION	Initial	Changes
REASONS FOR MOVE (in)		
OTHER REMARKS		

SECTION II (ii): HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT HISTORIES (Past Housing)

LOCATION	(Distance)		
TYPE/TENURE			
DATES	Moved in	Moved out	Total
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION	Initial		Changes
EMPLOYMENT SITUATION	Initial		Changes
REASONS FOR MOVE	Primary		Secondary
ASSISTANCE			
OTHER REMARKS			

SECTION E: PROJECTIONS.

e795. Finally, thinking about your own family/household situation, and thinking ahead say one year from now, where do you think you will be living and working?

How about five years from now:

e796. What would you like to be doing?
e797. Where would you like to be living?

e798. What do you expect to be doing?
e799. Where do you expect to be living?

END. Further 'leads'?

NUMBER CATEGORY SHEETS
DATE TIME TIME TAKEN

KEY NOTES _____

ADDRESS _____

NAME OF RESPONDENT (if applicable) _____
TEL. NUMBER (if applicable) _____

FURTHER ACTION?

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS _____

Appendix Two

HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW SURVEY GUIDE TO VARIABLES, CODES AND RESPONSES

Layout: All variables are divided between files on the basis of topic covered. For each file column one is variable number; column two is file column number; column three is question number on which variable is based; column four is the variable code; column five is the variable name; column six (inset) is description of the code. Figures in square brackets are the total number of coded responses for each variable.

FILE 0: QINTRO.WR1

001	A	*		QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER [200]
002	B	*		LOCATION [200]
			1.	Liverpool
			2	Reading
003	C	*		SURVEY AREA [200]
			1	Liverpool area one
			2	Liverpool area two
			3	Liverpool area three
			4	Liverpool area four
			5	Reading area one
			6	Reading area two
			7	Reading area three
			8	Reading area four
004	D	*		QUESTIONNAIRE CATEGORY [200]
			1	employed (blue)
			2	unemployed (yellow)
			3	retired etc. (green)

FILE 1: QHHGEN.WR1

011	A	*		HOUSEHOLD TYPE [200]
			1	single person (age <60yrs)
			2	couple (one or both <60yrs)
			3	family (all siblings <12yrs)
			4	family (one or more siblings 13-17yrs)
			5	family (all siblings 18yrs and over)
			6	elderly single/couple/friends (all 60 yrs and over)
			7	other/unclassified

012 B * HOUSEHOLD SIZE [200]
 1-n (number of persons listed)

013 C * LOCATION OF MOST FAMILY & FRIENDS [97]
 1 within district
 2 within region
 3 elsewhere in UK
 4 overseas

014 D * CLOSE CONTACTS WITH OTHER AREAS [92]
 1 only district
 2 within region
 3 other places in UK
 4 other places in UK and/or overseas

FILE 2: QPERS1.WR1

021 A * RESPONDENT? [200]
 1 no
 2 yes

022 B * MARITAL STATUS [200]
 1 married/cohabitating
 2 single/widowed/divorced

023 C * SEX [200]
 1 male
 2 female

024 D * AGE [199]
 1-n (in years)

025 E * EMPLOYMENT POSITION [200]
 1 working full time
 2 working part time
 3 domestic/household work
 4 unemployed seeking work
 5 registered disabled
 6 full-time education
 7 retired
 8 other

026 F * BIRTHPLACE [200]
 1 in district
 2 elsewhere in region
 3 elsewhere in UK
 4 overseas

027 G * AGE LEFT FULL-TIME EDUCATION [183]
 1-n (in years)

FILE 3: QPERS2.WR1

031-7 A-G (as QPERS1.DAT)

038	H	*		RELATIONSHIP TO PERSON ONE
			1	spouse/partner
			2	child
			3	parent
			4	other family
			5	friend/colleague
			6	other

FILE 4: QPERS3.WR1

041-8 A-H (as QPERS2.DAT)

FILE 5: QPERS4.WR1

051-8 A-H (as QPERS2.DAT)

FILE 6: QPERS5.WR1

061-8 A-H (as QPERS2.DAT)

FILE 7: QPERS6.WR1

071-8 A-H (as QPERS2.DAT)

FILE 8: QPERS7.WR1

081-8 A-H (as QPERS2.DAT)

FILE 9: QHTYPE.WR1

091	A	b220		TYPE OF PROPERTY [200]
			1	bedsit
			2	flat/maisonette/rooms
			3	terraced house
			4	semi-detached house
			5	detached house
			6	other

092	B	b221		BEDROOMS [200]
			1-n	(actual number)

093	C	----		GARAGE [200]
			1	no
			2	yes

094	D	----		CAR/S [200]
			1	no
			2	yes

095	E	----		GARDEN [200]
			1	no
			2	yes

096 F ---- TELEPHONE [200]
1 no
2 yes

097 G ---- PETS [200]
1 none
2 small/insignificant
3 dogs and larger

FILE 10: QHTEN.WR1

101 A b222 TENURE TYPE [200]
1 owner occupied (owned outright)
2 owner occupied (mortgaged)
3 local authority rented
4 housing association rented
5 private rented furnished
6 private rented unfurnished
7 other

102 B b223 VALUE OF PROPERTY (where appropriate) [200]
1-n (estimated value in £000s)

103 C b224 HOUSING COSTS [164]
1-n (total in £ per week)

104 D b225 ASSISTANCE WITH HOUSING COSTS [197]
1 no assistance
2 costs paid in part
3 costs paid in full

105 E b226 HOUSEHOLD INCOME TOTAL # [54]
1-n (estimate in £ per week net)

FILE 11: QHFIND.WR1 [196]

111 A b227 MAIN REASON FOR CHOICE OF CURRENT HOUSE [196]
1 allocated by local authority
2 family/ friends already here
3 other family reasons (including marriage)
4 employment reasons
5 housing reasons
6 locational factors
7 compulsory relocation
8 other reasons

112 B b228 MAIN REASON FOR CHOICE OF AREA [195]
1 linked to house- allocation etc.
2 family/ friends/ ties already here
3 employment reasons
4 housing factors- price/ size etc.
5 other factors

113 C b229 SOURCE USED TO FIND CURRENT HOUSE [194]
1 friends/ relatives/ personal
2 LA waiting list/ transfers etc.
3 estate agents/ accommodation agencies
4 newspapers/ newsagents/ advertisements
5 through employers
6 other sources

FILE 12: QALIKES.WR1

121 A b230 ACCOMMODATION- LEVEL OF SATISFACTION [200]
1 very happy
2 happy
3 satisfied/OK
4 unhappy
5 very unhappy

122 B b231 LOCATION- LEVEL OF SATISFACTION [200]
1-5 (as variable 121)

123 C b232 AMENITIES- LEVEL OF SATISFACTION [200]
1-5 (as variable 121)

124 D b233 NEIGHBOURS- LEVEL OF SATISFACTION [200]
1-5 (as variable 121)

125 E * INDEX OF COMPOSITE SATISFACTION [200]
1-5 (as variable 121)

126 F b234 LOCAL CLUBS/ SOCIETIES [200]
1 no involvement
2 membership of informal group/s
3 membership of formal group/s
4 (2 and 3)

FILE 13: QJLAST.WR1

131 A c353/4 SOCIAL CLASS OF LAST JOB [192]
c453/4 1 social class I
c553/4 2 social class II
3 social class IIIN
4 social class IIIM
5 social class IV
6 social class V
7 student/unclassified
8 unemployed/retired

132	B	----	SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP OF LAST JOB [192]
		1	1.1 group
		2	1.2
		3	2.1
		4	2.2
		5	3
		6	4
		7	5.1
		8	5.2
		9	6
		10	7
		11	8
		12	9
		13	10
		14	11
		15	12
		16	13
		17	14
		18	15
		19	16
		20	17
		21	18 (student/unclassified)
133	C	----	FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME: LAST JOB [192]
		1	full time
		2	part time
134	D	c3/4/555	PAY FOR LAST JOB # [39]
		1-n	(amount in £ per week net)
135	E	c3/4/556	TIME IN LAST JOB [181]
		1-n	(number of years)
136	F	c3/4/557	SKILLS/ QUALIFICATIONS-LAST JOB [192]
		1	no skills
		2	no skills- learnt on job
		3	informal skills/ past experience
		4	formal skills/ qualifications
137	G	c3/4/558	WHEN LEFT LAST JOB [189]
		1-n	(number of years ago)

138	H	c3/4/559	REASON FOR LEAVING LAST JOB [192]
		1	redundancy- enforced
		2	redundancy- voluntary/ retire early
		3	end of fixed contract/scheme/training
		4	retirement
		5	dismissed
		6	pregnancy/childbirth
		7	other family reasons (including marriage)
		8	bad health
		9	other/ personal
		10	move to another job
		11	left school/further education/armed forces
		12	other
139	I	c360	PRESENT JOB LINED UP? [127]
		1	no
		2	yes
140	J	c3/461	SEARCH TIME ANTICIPATED- FOR JOB [34]
		1	< one week
		2	> one week
		3	> one month
		4	> two months
		5	> six months
		6	> one year
141	K	c362	ACTUAL SEARCH TIME [58]
		1-n	(as variable 140)

FILE 14: QJNOW.WR1 (employed only)

151	A	c340/1	SOCIAL CLASS OF CURRENT JOB [103] (as variable 131)
152	B	----	SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP OF CURRENT JOB [103] (as variable 132)
153	C	----	FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME [102] (as variable 133)
154	D	c342	PAY FOR CURRENT JOB # [102] (as variable 134)
155	E	c343	TIME IN CURRENT JOB [101] (as variable 135)
156	F	c344	SKILLS/ QUALIFICATIONS-CURRENT JOB [103] (as variable 136)
157	G	c345	OTHER SKILLS POSSESSED [102] (as variable 136)

158 H ---- SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP OF OTHER SKILLS [34]
(as variable 132)

159 I c346/7 SATISFIED WITH CURRENT JOB [102]
1 satisfied- not seeking alternative
2 satisfied- seeking alternative
3 not satisfied- seeking alternative
4 not satisfied-not seeking alternative

FILE 15: QJLOOK.DAT (unemployed only)

161 A c430 HOW LONG UNEMPLOYED [37]
1 up to six months
2 over six months and under one year
3 over one year

162 B c431 REALITY OF SEEKING WORK [36]
1 yes
2 yes officially, but given up hope
3 yes officially, but no- other reasons

163 C c432 EXTENT OF JOB SEARCH [33]
1 local area only
2 within district
3 within county
4 within region
5 within UK
6 overseas
7 far but not near

164 D c433 EXTENT OF CURRENT JOB SEARCH [33]
(as variable 163)

165 E c434 MAIN JOB SEARCH SOURCES USED [33]
1 local newspapers
2 local job centre
3 local contacts
4 two or more of the above
5 local and personal national sources
6 local and official national sources
7 variety of local & national sources
8 national but not local sources
9 other combination
10 none

166 F c435 JOB SEARCH SOURCES USED IN LAST 4 WEEKS [33]
(as variable 165)

FILE 16: QJSOUGHT.WR1 (unemployed only)

171	A	c440/1	SOCIAL CLASS OF JOB SOUGHT [25] (as variable 131)
172	B	----	SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP OF JOB SOUGHT [25] (as variable 132)
173	C	*	FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME JOB SOUGHT [33] (as variable 133)
174	D	c442	MINIMUM PAY FOR JOB SOUGHT [27] (as variable 134)
175	E	c445	SKILLS/ QUALIFICATIONS POSSESSED [33] (as variable 136)
176	F	c448	HOW LONG SINCE LAST JOB APPLIED FOR [19] 1 less than one week 2 one week + 3 1 month + 4 2 months + 5 6 months + 6 one year and over
177	G	c449/50	SOCIAL CLASS OF LAST JOB APPLIED FOR [19] (as variable 131)
178	H	----	S.E.G. OF LAST JOB APPLIED FOR [19] (as variable 132)
179	I	c451	PAY OF LAST JOB APPLIED FOR [16] (as variable 134)
180	J	c452	LOCATION OF LAST JOB APPLIED FOR [19] 1 local area 2 elsewhere within district 3 elsewhere within county 4 elsewhere within region 5 elsewhere within UK 6 overseas

FILE 17: QUPAST.WR1 (all except unemployed)

191	A	c3/563	PAST EXPERIENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT [162] 1 no- never unemployed 2 yes- unemployed once before 3 yes- unemployed more than once before
192	B	c3/564	HOW LONG SINCE LONGEST PERIOD UNEMPLOYED [38] 1-n (number of years ago)

193 C c3/565 LONGEST PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN PAST [65]
 1 <one week
 2 >one week
 3 >one month
 4 >two months
 5 >6 months
 6 over 1 year

194 D c3/566 CIRCUMSTANCES OF PAST UNEMPLOYMENT [62]
 (as variable 138)

FILE 18: QMIGATT.WR1

201 A c3/475-8 WOULD MOVE FOR JOB REASONS TO [148]
 1 no- would not move
 2 yes- elsewhere in region only
 3 yes- elsewhere in UK only
 4 yes- elsewhere in UK and/or overseas

202 B ---- CHOICE OF JOB MOVE AREAS [76]
 1 employment
 2 family and friends
 3 housing
 4 environment
 5 other

203 C c3/4/580-3 WOULD MOVE FOR OTHER REASONS TO [198]
 (as variable 201)

204 D ---- CHOICE OF OTHER MOVE AREAS
 (as variable 202)

FILE 19: QMIGKIN.WR1

211 A d692 OPINION ON FUTURE PROSPECTS IN COUNTY AREA [187]
 1 positive
 2 indifferent/mixed
 3 negative

212 B d688 OUT MIGRATION OF FAMILY/ FRIENDS [197]
 1 no
 2 yes- one example or more references

213 C --- DESTINATION: OUT-MIGRATING FAMILY/FRIENDS [105]
 1 within region
 2 elsewhere in UK
 3 overseas
 4 (2+3)

214 D d689 CONTACTS WITH OUT-MIGRANTS [101]
 1 no contact
 2 occasional contact
 3 contact and visits
 4 close contact

215	E	d690	REPORTS FROM OUT-MIGRANTS [70]
		1	positive
		2	mixed/indifferent
		3	negative
216	F	d691	INFLUENCE OF REPORTS FROM OUT-MIGRANTS [63]
		1	no influence
		2	positive influence
		3	negative influence

FILE 20: QMIGPAST.WR1

221	A	d685	EVER LIVED OR WORKED OUTSIDE COUNTY [200]
		1	no- never lived or worked outside county
		2	same home, worked elsewhere in region.
		3	same home, worked elsewhere in UK
		4	same home, worked overseas
		5	lived only, elsewhere in region
		6	lived only, elsewhere in UK
		7	lived only, overseas
		8	lived and worked elsewhere in region
		9	lived and worked elsewhere in UK
		10	lived and worked overseas
		11	other combinations
222	B	d686	EVER CONSIDERED MOVING [199]
		1	no- never considered moving
		2	considered moving elsewhere in region
		3	considered moving elsewhere in UK
		4	considered moving elsewhere UK and/or overseas
223	C	----	REASON FOR CONSIDERED MOVE [71]
		1	employment
		2	to be near family and friends
		3	housing
		4	environment
		5	other
224	D	----	HOUSEHOLD TYPE WHEN MOVE CONSIDERED [65]
		1-n	(as variable 011)
225	E	d687	TALK OF MIGRATION WITH FRIENDS/ RELATIVES [192]
		1	never/ not important
		2	from time to time
		3	frequently

FILE 21: QFUTURE.DAT

- 231 A e795 ONE YEAR FORWARD [190]
 1 no change expected
 2 same area-same house and change job/retire
 3 same area-change house, same job
 4 same area-change house, change job/retire
 5 move area-change house and job/retire
 6 move region or overseas-change house and job/retire
- 232 B e796/7 FIVE YEARS FORWARD- ASPIRATIONS [173]
 1-n (as variable 231)
- 233 C e798/9 FIVE YEARS FORWARD- EXPECTATIONS [172]
 1-n (as variable 231)

FILE 22: QHUNITO.WR1

- 301 A * TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION [200]
 (as variable 091)
- 302 B * TENURE OF ACCOMMODATION [200]
 1 owner occupied
 2 local authority rented (including HA)
 3 private rented
 4 other
- 303 C * LENGTH OF RESIDENCE [200]
 1-n (number of years)
- 304 D * INITIAL HOUSEHOLD SIZE [200]
 1-n (number of persons)
- 305 E * INITIAL HOUSEHOLD TYPE [200]
 1-n (as variable 011)
- 306 F * HOUSEHOLD CHANGE [200]
 1 no change
 2 household developing
 3 household contracting/ dispersing
 4 (2+3)
 5 other changes
- 307 G * SIMULTANEOUS JOB CHANGE [200]
 1 no
 2 yes
- 308 H * INITIAL HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT SITUATION [200]
 (as variable 131)

309	I	*		HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT CHANGES [200]
			1	no change
			2	changes within class
			3	changes- increase in class
			4	changes- decrease in class
310	J	*		REASON FOR MOVING IN [200]
				(as variable 111)
311	K	*		ASSISTANCE WITH MOVE [200]
			1	no assistance
			2	financial assistance from employers
			3	financial assistance from other body
			4	other assistance
312	L	*		LOCATION RELATIVE TO PREVIOUS RESIDENCE [200]
			1	in district
			2	in same region
			3	elsewhere in UK
			4	overseas
313	M	*		SHARING OF FAMILY/ FRIENDS' HOUSE [200]
			1	no
			2	yes

FILE 23: **QHUNIT1.WR1**

321-33 (as QHUNIT0.DAT)

FILE 24: **QHUNIT2.WR1**

341-53 (as QHUNIT1.DAT)

FILE 25: **QHUNIT3.WR1**

361-73 (as QHUNIT1.DAT)

FILE 26: **QHUNIT4.WR1**

381-93 (as QHUNIT1.DAT)

FILE 27: **QHUNIT5.WR1**

401-13 (as QHUNIT1.DAT)

Notes

With each variable, 0 is used to signify that the question was not asked to the respondent as it was deemed inappropriate, and -9 is used where there is no answer, or where the answer has not been coded.

Questions asked in Liverpool only (first 100 interviews)

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