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"THE IMPLICATIONS OF MIGRATION FROM THE DURHAM COALFIELD
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY"

by

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph D.

The University of Durham

1966

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"If these improvements are to be achieved, large numbers of men and women will have to move out of firms and industries which can release labour and into other jobs. While the development of the less prosperous regions will tend to reduce inter-regional migration in search of employment, other forms of labour mobility - between jobs in the same area, and within regions, to take up jobs in areas where employment is expanding more rapidly - are likely to continue to be necessary on a large scale".

THE NATIONAL PLAN. p.39

"To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognised need of the human soul. It is one of the hardest to define. A human being has roots by virtue of his real, active and natural participation in the life of a community which preserves in living shape certain particular treasures of the past and certain particular expectations for the future. This participation is a natural one, in the sense that it is automatically brought about by place, condition of birth, profession and social surroundings".

Simone Weil "THE NEED
FOR ROOTS" p.41.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The present landscape of the Durham coalfield reveals many signs of decline. The grass covered pit-heaps and disused pit-head buildings, the derelict chapels and the deserted colliery rows are all evidence that, judged from its own past, the coalfield is now in decline

Since the early 1930's migration away from the area has been a recurring feature of this decline, especially in the Western part of the coalfield, which is estimated to have lost nearly 120,000 people since 1921 (1)

There have been a number of studies of this migration by Geographers and Economists. These studies are alike in three ways they normally deal with migration at a County or a Regional level, they are concerned with migration over long periods, and their interests are restricted primarily to the demographic aspects of migration. By contrast, the present study is limited in scale but has a wider interest in migration

This study is limited to an examination of migration from five villages in the Western part of the coalfield. It is further limited to the period between April 1962 and December 1965, and is finally concerned with 240 mining families who left the five villages during this period for expanding coalfields further South.

The restriction in scale was deliberate, and was considered necessary in order to examine the diverse effects of migration on the lives of the people concerned. The choice of this level for study permitted the fieldworker to pose, and to answer, such questions as, Who Goes?, Why?, Do they return to Durham? and What effect does their migration have on parents and siblings? At this level, terms like "Depressed Area" and "Migration", which have "a high level of use and a low level of meaning"⁽²⁾ with many writers, are given meaning in terms of what they involve for the men and women concerned. Therefore a description of the Western part of the Coalfield as a "Depressed Area", is a description of the limited employment opportunities for a son or a daughter leaving school, and living conditions almost unchanged since the last century so that wives and mothers often have to manage in a two-roomed house without any of the accepted amenities of modern living. It is a description of the numbers of old people to be seen on the streets and the companionship they seek in each other since their children have left the village. Similarly, "Migration" becomes a shorthand expression for the thousands of individual decisions to secure better conditions, and in so doing, to leave parents and siblings, neighbours and friends. (For many husbands and wives, migration has meant the fulfillment of ambitions for themselves and their children, for others, departure from the emotional security and known-ways of the village has resulted in considerable stress and unhappiness.)

In this respect the study may be regarded as illustrating the conflicting views expressed on the frontisiece (It is a study of families who have responded to the needs of the economy, who have, in the words of the National Plan, moved from a "less prosperous region . . . to areas where employment is expanding more rapidly".) It is also a study of the families who did not move and the migrants who returned, people who, in Simone Weil's words, experienced "the need for roots".

From a theoretical viewpoint the study has two main orientations. It is primarily interested in migration as a Process, secondary interest focuses upon the part played by migration as a factor of social change in the five villages.

By Process is meant the factors involved in and the steps taken towards deciding to move, the decision itself, and the factors and stages involved in adjustment in the new area. Migration is therefore considered as an on-going process of decision-making, in which there is conscious or unconscious choice between the known ways and tried values of a Durham mining village - of a traditional face to face community - and the attractions of a new house, economic security, opportunity for the children and a greater variety of life in Somerset, Wales, Yorkshire or the Midlands. The process begins with a man and/or his wife finding the life and prospects of the village inadequate, and usually ends with husband, wife and children feeling at home in the new area

In considering migration as a factor of social change this study is concerned with its catalytic effect rather than with trying to isolate its influence from all other influences on the West Durham mining village. Like small communities everywhere, the West Durham village is increasingly affected by large-scale social and economic changes. The present migration is assessed within the context of these changes and as part of them.

Chapter 1 is deliberately lengthy and is intended to provide the essential background to a study of migration. West Durham, the area most affected by past and present migration, provides the first framework and a historical and geographical description of this area is followed by an account of the five villages chosen for study. The economic and social viability of the five villages is assessed, and they are compared in this respect among themselves and in terms of a generalized process of transition observed in all mining villages. The following section, "The West Durham Mining Village", generalizes on the persisting sentiments and activities common to all five villages. These separate frameworks therefore provide the geographical, historical and cultural context out of which the decisions to migrate finally crystallized. The final framework, "The Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme", requires explanation. From its inception in October 1963 the study restricted its interest in migration to the migration of miners.

and their families. This restriction was the result of practical considerations. The National Coal Board had recently (1962) reintroduced a Transfer Scheme whereby Durham miners could, if they wanted, transfer to expanding coalfields further South. As the National Coal Board kept names and addresses (both old and new) of all Transferees, it was decided to utilize the Scheme as a means of organizing the sample group. Therefore a description of the Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme provides the fifth Study Framework

Chapter 2 begins the study "proper" with an attempted reconstruction of the decision confronting families in all five villages. Two confrontations are described, one between life in the village and life "down there", the other between two stereotyped images of life "down there"

Chapter 3 poses the question "Who goes?" and its first section contains a number of subjective assessments of the migrant-type by people still living in the five villages. This is followed by a series of objective tests for significant differences between all migrants from one village⁽³⁾ and a matched group of non-migrants.

Chapter 4 analyses the various motives involved in migration, and proceeds from this analysis to a classification of all migrants according to four basic "motivational structures".

Chapter 5 describes the decision-making process itself, which in turn provides information to supplement the previously defined migrant types

The adjustment of migrants to the new area is described and analysed in Chapter 6. A mining sub-culture is identified and is shown to facilitate adjustment. However, there are regional differences and tensions between the migrants and the "host" populations which hinder adjustment, these are described in the concluding section. Other sections deal with the migrants' arrival, the changes they experience in housing, wages, the cost of living and the journey to work, their contracting social life and an emerging partnership between husband and wife. Also discussed are the continuing contacts with Durham and the way in which migrants react differentially to the new environment.

Of course, some migrants were unable to adjust, and Chapter 7 studies the return to Durham of a number of migrants originally from the five villages.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the effects of migration on the migrant's Primary Group and on the village as a whole. House changes associated with the migration are studied, and the Chapter concludes with a discussion of migration as a factor of social change in the West Durham village.

Chapter 9 presents some conclusions deduced from the study. These are made in relation to the migrants themselves, to the West Durham village and to traditional working-class communities throughout Britain.

Notes

1. DAYSH, G.H.J. (1953) For inter-war period, for the post-war
HAMMOND, E. (1963) period up to 1961 see
2. MACIVER, R. M and (1949) Pp. 3-4
PAGE, C. H.
3. Migrants only, Returnees are excluded

M E T H O D O L O G Y.

From its conception in October 1963 this study has relied on an eclectic approach to the central problem of migration. In part this is the result of the fieldworker's own training. This training has its roots in Human Geography as taught in the Honours School of Geography in the University of Durham, and with contributions from Social Anthropology developed into a present overall interest in Social Structure and Social Process. Eclecticism also results from a fundamental sympathy with Karl Popper when he writes, "A so called scientific subject is only a delimited and constructed conglomeration of problems and attempts to solve them. What really exist are problems and the scientific tradition".⁽¹⁾ There is also a favourable response to Banton⁽²⁾ when he warns against "tidy minded attempts to define and delimit subjects". He continues, "The justification of Social Anthropology lies not in any claim to a distinctive subject matter, but in the significant problems it has discovered and the lines of explanation it has opened up it is not possible to characterize this collection of problems in any tidy fashion because intellectual traditions are unruly things blown hither and thither by vagaries of personality and University policy".⁽³⁾

This study therefore contains the initial assumption that the nature of the problem of necessity determined the methodology, and not vice versa. Consequently there has been much "borrowing" of techniques

and concepts from other, related, disciplines. This "borrowing", or "incorporation"⁽⁴⁾ involves certain problems,⁽⁵⁾ but it is considered that the extra insight it provides more than compensates for any naivety on the part of the fieldworker

The study Framework relies on the previous work of Geographers. The chapter on decision-making acknowledges the work of a number of Social Psychologists, and there is, of course, considerable "borrowing" of Sociological techniques and concepts. The use of questionnaires is traditionally associated with Sociology, and there are many references throughout the study to studies by Social Scientists who are normally referred to as Sociologists. The detailed findings of specialists in these disciplines often appear to offer supplementary explanations to findings in the present study, and the fieldworker was frequently tempted to "follow-through" with an explanation. He has for the most part resisted this temptation in the attempt to maintain a central focus on the migration itself, however, an interpolation is offered to illustrate the supplementary nature of findings in related disciplines. Two examples are given, the first makes reference to detailed findings by Psychologists, the second, to the work of a number of Sociologists.

The differences which emerge from the comparison between migrants and non-migrants in Chapter 3 may well be explicable exclusively in terms of social facts, but they may not, and our knowledge of non-migrants may be supplemented by the studies of "Mental Rigidity" and "Intolerance

of Ambiguity", made by Frenkel-Brunswick⁽⁶⁾ and Rokeach⁽⁷⁾ respectively. The Craghead woman who said of her husband, (a non-migrant) "He doesn't like changes, I don't think he'll ever move away" surely provides a useful illustration of the possible application of these psychological characteristics. At a social level the woman's admission is explained by the fact that her husband's experiences are "Durham-Bound" But is this sufficient explanation? If his intolerance and mental rigidity (assuming for the moment that he exhibits these characteristics, which empirical evidence suggests is true of many non-migrants) are proved to be the result of his being born in Craghead and never having been away except for holidays, then the social explanation is sufficient. It is suggested that in some cases it may not be and therefore that the possibility of other explanations has to be acknowledged.

There have been implicit references throughout this study, but especially in Chapter 2 and in the distinction between Dissenting and Resultant Migrants, to the concept of "Status-Assent" and "Status-Dissent" This concept has been used by a number of Sociologists,⁽⁸⁾ but is perhaps expressed most explicitly by Mogeay. He writes, "This status-assenting section of the population is far less vocal than the others, accepting habits, standards, word usage, and values which are typical of the area and of the streets, they talk little about the problems of class conflicts, trade unions, work or any other general topic. They

are interested in specific persons, in details of daily living and make no general observations other than cliches or headlines from recent newspapers. They are not worried about the future, or engaged in making plans for their children. The remainder of the St Ebbe's people we may call, by contrast, status-dissenting. They speak about the working-class, they show signs of aspiration to move higher in the world, occasionally they recognise that this is impossible for themselves and desire to advance their children .. They are very conscious of the distinction between themselves, that is the "respectable" or "nice" groups, and the others who are variously described".⁽⁹⁾

This concept has considerable relevance for the study as a whole. The non-migrants, as typified in "George", (see page 124) are seen as "Status-Assenters", the migrants, especially the Dissenting and Dislocated sub-types, are "Status-Dissenters". The Returnees can be viewed as "status-assenters" who made the mistake of moving away. Had a majority of migrants been found to be Dissenting instead of Resultant, the concept of "Status-Assent" would have been crucial, as it is, it provides important supplementary insight.

This lengthy interpolation must serve to illustrate the usefulness to the present study of some findings in related disciplines, and in doing so, provides an additional justification for eclecticism.

The necessity to see many people in a variety of settings during the fieldwork made the use of questionnaires inevitable, the use of

quantitative techniques follows almost automatically. The nine separate questionnaires used in the study are to be found in Appendix 4, and even a cursory glance is sufficient to show that they are mainly composed of "Open-ended" rather than "Pre-coded" questions. With most respondents the questionnaires were only used as guides to structure the interview. Questions were rarely posed in sequential order, more often they arose naturally during conversation, and no respondent objected to the fieldworker writing details of the interview on the questionnaire pad. There follows a brief account of each questionnaire used -

No. 1 A six item "Perception Study" used in interviewing a randomly selected 10% from the Electoral Registers in all five villages.⁽¹⁰⁾ The study attempted to estimate community awareness of the migration, the influence on face-to-face relations and on organizational life, continuing contacts with the migrant and the attitude of the community towards the migration. Interviewing took about 5 minutes and was normally conducted on the doorstep. In the five villages 901 people in all were interviewed with this questionnaire.

No. 2 A sixty-six item, "Migrant Group Study", used in interviewing all 240 migrants from the five villages. The questionnaire deals with eight main topics - personal history (family life and ties), work history, residence history, social life, the decision-making process, adjustment to the new area, and continuing contact with Durham. The questionnaire

normally took about one hour to complete, although in many cases the interview went on for much longer. Interviewing took place in the migrant's own house and at a previously arranged and mutually convenient time.

No. 3 A Forty-one item "Matched-sample Study", used in interviewing the 49 Esh Winning men who were under the same threat of redundancy as were the migrants. They were eligible for transfer under the I.D.T. Scheme but decided to stay in the village. The questionnaire contains the same topics as the first five in questionnaire 2, together with a number of additional questions on the implications of the decision to stay. The questionnaire took about 40 minutes to complete, again by a previously arranged appointment in the non-migrant's own home.

No. 4 A Four item "Impact Study", used in interviewing a randomly selected 100 local people in each "host" area.⁽¹¹⁾ This study attempted to assess the locals' awareness of the Durham migrants, the nature and extent of contacts with them, and to collect a number of subjective assessments of the differences between the local people and the Durham migrants. In each area, Wales, Somerset, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire and the Potteries, interviewing was conducted in a conveniently located Co-Operative Supermarket. The interviews lasted only 3-4 minutes, and while individual responses varied considerably, the overall study provided a number of valuable Anthropological insights.

Nos 5, 6, 7 and 8 are "Follow up" studies used in interviewing members of the migrants' Primary Group. Parents, Siblings, "Best Friends" and Neighbours of each migrant couple were interviewed in an attempt to estimate the influence of migration on these relationships. Questions also dealt with the extent to which the migrants were socially replaced. In some cases these interviews were conducted relatively quickly (5-10 minutes) on the doorstep, more often, when the relative, neighbour or friend heard that the fieldworker had been to visit the migrant concerned, the interview continued inside the house. Only members of the migrant's Primary Group still living in the village of departure were interviewed, yet in the five villages, 474 people were interviewed using these questionnaires.

No. 9 A Seventy-Four item "Returnee Study". Returnees were asked about all the topics listed in the main Migrant Group Questionnaire (2) In addition, they answered questions concerning their decision to return, and the various implications of their return to Durham. Only 34 Returnees could be interviewed in the five villages. The various limitations of the study are reported elsewhere (see page 242) In all interviews with Migrants, Non-Migrants and Returnees, an attempt was made to interview husband and wife together. With members of the Migrant's Primary Group, and the Perception and Impact studies, any adult member of the household was interviewed, with preference given to male adults.

In addition to the Questionnaires, essays were set for school-children over the age of 13 at selected schools in each host area. Durham children were asked to write on their impressions of the new area, while "native" children were asked to write about the Durham people. Local schoolmasters, with only one exception, were willing to co-operate, and over 600 essays were received. Content analysis of these essays provided surprisingly perceptive information on a number of topics, including the difference between Durham and the new area and between Durham people and the "natives", the nature of first contacts between the two, and the continuing zones of tension. The essays provided information on the children's own adjustment but they were additionally useful in that the attitudes which the children expressed were a sure guide to parental attitudes only expressed in the privacy of home and family.

Much information was also gained from interviews with Colliery Managers, Deputies, Training Officers and Union Officials in all National Coal Board Areas

Information of a more general and unorganised nature came from 9 months residence in a West Durham Mining village, and from a total of 3 months lodging experience with transferred Durham families in each of the host areas. In addition, informal contacts were made in all five villages, chiefly through the Labour Movement, and in all villages except Burnhope, the fieldworker made regular use of the Workingmen's

Clubs. It was only through this variety of informal contacts that the fieldworker gradually appreciated the sentiments and activities common to the West Durham mining villagers.

If the theoretical roles for fieldwork can be said to stretch from Complete Participant through Participant as Observer and Observer as Participant to Complete Observer,⁽¹²⁾ then this study can claim to have utilized all positions. As a friend and fellow Labour Party sympathiser the fieldworker was able to participate completely in certain events, and with certain people in each village. As a Social Anthropologist utilising questionnaires, he was a complete observer, viewing and recording from a position of comparative detachment and empathy.

The structure of the study itself ensured that there was never the complete detachment which often characterises studies which rely on questionnaires. The intentional limitation to five small villages allowed the fieldworker a degree of intimacy with people and events. This intimacy with the village of origin softened the relationship between interviewer and interviewee in the receiving areas. In return, the experience of interviewing the migrants in their new surroundings provided the fieldworker with information which served to establish immediate rapport with members of their Primary Groups remaining in Durham.

Looking retrospectively at the methods employed, and especially at the questionnaires, a number of small changes would now be made,

but the study was conducted on the methods as they are presented here, and their effectiveness is finally judged only in the light of the findings which are presented in the following pages.

Chapter 2. Notes to Text and references.

1. As quoted in BANTON, M. (1964) p 96
 2. op. cit p.97
 3. op. cit. p.109.
 4. Term used by GLUCKMAN, M. (1964) Pp. 169-173.
 5. op. cit. Pp. 158-261.
 6. FRENKEL-BRUNSWICK, E. (1949-50)
 7. ROKEACH, M (1948)
 8. KUPER, I (1953) Pp. 30-82.
STACEY, M. (1960) p 153.
WILLMOTT, P. (1963) Pp. 72-73
JENNINGS, H. (1962) P.221
- and for a useful summary see
- KLEIN, J (1965) Pp.238-246
 9. MOGEY, J.M. (1956) p 140
 10. KENDALL and BABBINGTON-SMITH. Random Tables were used to select 1 in 10 of the population enumerated in the Register of Electors for each village.
 11. The interviewing was conducted in Co-Operative Society Supermarkets situated close to estates where there were sufficient numbers of Durham migrants to have made some

impact. In each area the first 100 "natives" to enter the shop on the afternoon chosen for interviewing, were approached by the fieldworker, and asked to co-operate in answering four questions about the migration.

12 JUNKER, B.H (1960) p.42.

CHAPTER 1.

THE STUDY FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Migration does not take place in vacuo and, by definition, it constitutes movement from one place to another.) The origin rather than the destination of the migrants is the "place" of most interest for this study. Consequently, it is necessary to describe in some detail the origins - geographical, historical and cultural - of the present migration. These origins provide the study with a number of frameworks.

WEST DURHAM

West Durham consists of a plateau deeply dissected by the valleys of the Derwent, the Tees and the Wear, with its tributaries, the Browney and the Gaunless. The plateau slopes gently from West to East and is composed almost entirely of carboniferous series (1)

Daysh and Symonds divide the whole area into four sub-areas North West (Northern), North West, South West and South West (Pennines) The County Development Plan⁽²⁾ recognises three sub-areas, North West, West and South West. For the purposes of this study, West Durham is considered to be that area bounded by the Tyne on the North, the Wear on the South and the A.1 Trunk Road on the East. The Western boundary

coincides with the western limits of coalmining. As such, it includes the Urban Districts of Blaydon, Pyton, Whickham, Consett, Stanley, Brandon and Byshotfles, Crook and Willington, Tow Law and Spennymoor, plus the Rural District of Lanchester and parts of Sedgefield Rural District and Bishop Auckland Urban District.

This area derives considerable unity and character from its historical experience, an experience which is predominantly one of Nineteenth Century expansion followed by Twentieth Century decline

The present industrial landscape is largely a product of changes over the period 1830-1880. In this fifty years the rapidly growing demand for coal led to the opening of numerous small pits and drifts which could easily be driven into the deeply dissected plateau. In this respect, conditions were easier in West Durham than elsewhere in the county, and pits were "won" almost every year. In the Stanley area alone 16 pits were sunk between 1832 and 1883⁽³⁾ (only 2 of these pits remain working in 1966, the other 14 had an average working life of 77 years). Pits were sunk so fast that the rate of change among local men from farming to mining could not provide an adequate labour force, and there was a consequent demand for "foreign labour". Men came especially from the neighbouring counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Yorkshire, attracted by the prospect of earning up to £1 per week in the pits at a time when agricultural work paid only 7s. 6d per week⁽⁴⁾. Men also came from the worked-out tin mines of

Cornwall and Derbyshire and from East Anglia, which suffered from the agricultural depression at the end of the Nineteenth Century. Families came from the textile areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire. A contemporary⁽⁵⁾ suggested that many parents came from these counties to find employment for their children as the 1833 Factory Act had prohibited child employment in the factories. Lawson⁽⁶⁾ records that Peter Lee's parents journeyed on foot from Lancashire in the 1860's. Welshmen and Scotsmen arrived throughout the period, and of course, the Irish came in large numbers, especially after the Potato Famine of the 1840's⁽⁷⁾ As soon as the miners began to organise themselves, the owners began to import outside workers to break strikes⁽⁸⁾

West Durham during the 1860's and 1870's has rightly been described as "a melting-pot".⁽⁹⁾ In the Stanley area "Paddy's Market" was a weekly affair, clog dancing was popular and regular contests were held. The Irish Literary Institute held meetings in the Hibernian Hall with 500-600 members.⁽¹⁰⁾ At Crook there was an active - too active for the Guardians of the Peace - Society of Orangemen⁽¹¹⁾ At Chilton, Welsh was the spoken language⁽¹²⁾ Remembering his childhood in the Stanley area, Lawson was able to write, "Our neighbours on the one hand were a dear old Irish couple with the real brogue, and on the other, a kindly Northumbrian with a 100% burr. Opposite were Cumberland and Lancashire people and behind Wales, Cornwall and Ireland were represented".⁽¹³⁾ Present evidence of this massive immigration can be

read at leisure on the gravestones in any West Durham churchyard (For example, in St Thomas' Church, Craghead, there are Ridsdales, Gills and Metcalfes from Yorkshire, Montgomery, Welsh, Griffiths and Hughes from Wales, Kelly, Tooke and O'Kane from Ireland, Stewart, Chisholm and Bruce from Scotland and the Jeffereys and Burridges from Cornwall). The immigration is shown quantitatively in the first part of Table 1 (14)

This immigration, coupled with the rapid sinking of new pits, resulted in what may be called a "fungoid growth" of mining villages. It would seem that the colliery owners and builders had only three objects, to build as many houses as possible in the shortest time for the lowest cost. Reports of the Medical Officers of Health after the 1872 Public Health Act refer with great regularity to unsatisfactory sanitary arrangements, open drains, poor building materials, hasty conversions, (15) and inadequate water supplies. Cholera, Typhoid and Scarlet Fever assumed epidemic proportions and infant mortality rates were very high. (Even as late as 1907, of the first 100 entries in the Burial book of St Thomas' Church, Craghead, 48 died before the age of 2)

The development of the villages was everywhere the same. The pit-winding gear and the beginnings of a pit-heap dominated rows of colliery houses. A few enterprising men converted front rooms into small shops. Alternatively the colliery company had its own shop and public house, it might also provide a school for the growing numbers

TABLE 1

POPULATION CHANGE IN WEST DURHAM

YEAR	POPULATION	INTER-CENSAL TREND	YEAR	POPULATION	INTER-CENSAL TREND
1801	33,921		1861	195,833	+ 21 2
1811	36,645	+ 8 0	1891	213,240	+ 8 9
1821	42,463	+ 15 2	1901	269,547	+ 26 4
1831	50,272	+ 18 4	1911	332,704	+ 24 3
1841	61,937	+ 23 2	1921	340,962	+ 2 5
1851	86,370	+ 39 4	1931	321,733	- 5 6
1861	121,014	+ 40 1	1951	304,574	- 5 3
1871	160,608	+ 32.9	1961	295,825	- 2 9

of children. By the 1870's or 1880's (earlier in the Northern Areas) the Methodists had built their Chapels. Soon the Chapels were joined by the Co-Operative Branch Store and by the late 1880's the Miners' Unions were sufficiently organised to build Miners' Institutes. Thus by the end of the century many of the villages were much as we know them to-day.

West Durham's Twentieth Century experience is one of gradual decline, a decline interrupted by two world wars and postponed by the 1945 Distribution of Industry Act.

From Table 1 it is evident that the intercensal increase suddenly dropped between 1911 and 1921, and in 1931 West Durham registered its first absolute decrease in population. This decrease is shown in greater detail in Table 2.⁽¹⁶⁾ Writing of the inter-war period (1921-1939),

TABLE 2

POPULATION CHANGE BY LOCAL AUTHORITY AREAS
1921-1939

LOCAL AUTHORITY	% CHANGE	LOCAL AUTHORITY	% CHANGE
Great Britain	+ 8 5	Low Law U D	- 20 2
West Durham	- 13 1	Crook & Willington U D	- 20 4
Whickham U D	+ 12 0	Spennymoor U D	- 18 1
Ryton U D.	- 5 8	Bishop Auckland U D	- 21 2
Blaydon U D	- 9 0	Shildon U D	- 23 0
Consett U D.	+ 8 3	Lanchester R D.	- 22 7
Stanley U.D.	- 14 5		

Daysh and Symonds state that "it is not possible to give more than an outline of the nature of migration which took place from West Durham since much of the movement was undertaken through personal initiative and private decision and did not, consequently appear in any records". However, they do suggest that between 1921 and 1939, 88,000 people left West Durham (17)

After 1928, movement of labour became official policy, (18) and men were moved to jobs further South. The National Transfer Board was unsuccessful at first, but was especially active between 1936 and 1938 - a period for which official figures exist. Details of this transfer scheme, which in some ways anticipates the Scheme under study, are given in Table 3. (19)

TABLE 3

TRANSFERENCE from DURHAM & TYNESIDE Special Areas
Sept 1936 - Sept 1938

SCHEME	MEN	BOYS	WOMEN	GIRLS	TOTAL
Ministry of Labour Adult Transfer	10,725	-	4,152	-	14,877
Ministry of Labour Juvenile Transfer	-	2,638	-	3,341	5,982
Voluntary Scheme with Min. of Lab Grant	1,366	45	3	183	1,597
Land Settlement Association.	658	-	-	-	658
TOTAL	12,749	2,683	4,155	3,527	23,114

In considering migration at this time, Daysh and Symonds pose themselves the interesting question, "Who were the 38,000 people who left the area before the Second World War"? They would suggest that the following types were most likely to be migrants -

- (1) a minority whose present accommodation is hopelessly inadequate.
- (2) people adequately housed but who want some extras, e.g bath, flush lavatory, street lighting, garden etc
- (3) families where one parent is not a North East native, or where the father has worked outside the County or have relatives away
- (4) those with a little saved capital, i.e. semi-skilled workers
- (5) certain working-class families, with apparently the same social and economic background as their neighbours, are definitely "superior".

They save, they maintain a high standard of material comfort in their homes and they value education. As the second generation grows up they begin to see neighbours as a rough lot. Such families are likely to consider moving to a more congenial social climate" (20) These suggestions have been reported in full, not only because they introduce a qualitative dimension into the inter-war migration from the area, but also because they anticipate precisely the considerations involved in the present study.

By 1938 then, migration was an established feature of West Durham life. The movement away declined during the Second World War as there was a vital national need for coal. (Since the War migration away from the area has continued. Between 1951 and 1961, "Durham West of the A.1. Trunk road has lost population, with a net outward movement of 16,000". (21) This continued population loss is partly a result of the closure of pits.) The number of Durham miners has dropped from 110,000 in 1947 to a present (1965) 68,213. (22) (West Durham has been affected by closures more than any other area in the county, and since Nationalisation, the area has experienced closures, partial closures and reorganisation schemes involving 15,654 men (23) Since 1947, 33 pits or drifts have closed in West Durham. Of course, only a small percentage of men became redundant, many were offered alternative employment in other Areas, some transferred to other Divisions, others left the industry and yet others retired.)

This decrease in the number of working pits has been accompanied by an increase in the number of jobs available in a variety of alternative industries. The 1945 Distribution of Industry Act and the North-Eastern Development Board (forerunner of the North Eastern Development Council) brought a number of trading estates into and within reach of West Durham. Within the area, small industrial estates have been established at Ryton, Castleside, Crook, West Auckland, St Helen's Auckland, Shildon and Spennymoor. Outside the area, but within easy travelling distance, there are large estates at Team Valley, Durham City (Dragonville) and Newton Aycliffe.⁽²⁴⁾ By 1951 Daysh and Symonds suggested⁽²⁵⁾ that from Blaydon and Dunston areas about 1,000 men travelled daily to Team Valley, while ~~8~~^{5,000} - 6,000 made the journey to Tyneside. From the Stanley area about 1,700 went to various Tyneside factories, and about 600 to Team Valley. From the Consett area about 1,300 were reported as travelling to Tyneside and about 100 to Team Valley. Over the last 10 years this commuting has increased, especially in the South Western area where the Spennymoor and Newton Aycliffe Industrial Estates have undergone considerable expansion.

The 1951 County Development Plan and the 1963 White Paper for the Regional Development of the North East gave official recognition and sanction to the trends which have characterised West Durham over the past thirty years. Within the area a number of "growth points" have been located - the principal being:- Stanley, Consett, Lanchester,

Spennymoor, Crook, Shildon, Bishop Auckland and Newton Aycliffe, and a long term programme of "regrouping" has started, which involves the gradual "rundown" of settlements away from these "points". To this end, settlements have been provisionally grouped into four categories - A, B, C and D - according to their population expectation, to expand, to remain stable, to be held at a reduced level or to go on decreasing. Meanwhile, a large area of East Durham has become a "growth zone". Therefore men living in Category 'C' and 'D' villages in West Durham, will increasingly have to travel to nearby "growth points" for work, or across the A.1. into the "growth zone". Their children will have to make the same choice between "growth points" and "growth zone" if they want a new house. This regrouping policy has been in operation for a number of years now, and while it is still met with local opposition, it seems inevitable that through such policies, West Durnam will continue to contract both economically and socially and will increasingly look eastwards across the A.1 for housing and for employment

THE FIVE VILLAGES

The choice of a number of villages for study rather than a single community resulted initially from the desire to achieve a comparative dimension in studying the implications of migration. This approach became obligatory when it was found that no single village had lost more than sixty migrant families so that a useful-sized sample from

any one village was impossible. The choice of particular villages was determined by four factors.

Firstly, the village had to be small enough to be comprehended and appreciated as a 'whole' It should be possible to see the village as a separate unit, to know its streets, shops, pubs, clubs, its historical experience and its own self-image It was considered advantageous to select villages where there might be an overall awareness of the migration and knowledge of the families who moved away and of their relatives left behind. These considerations suggested a maximum population of about 3,000.

Secondly, each village should have experienced considerable numbers leaving on the Transfer Scheme. (See Pp 66-76) The greater the movement away the greater likelihood of community awareness.

Thirdly, the villages selected should be collectively representative of the range of villages in West Durham They should represent this range in the following respect - size, age, distance from "growth points" and stage reached in the process of decline. Collectively then, they should constitute a kind of "West Durham Mining Village Spectrum".

On the basis of these pre-requisites the following villages were chosen as suitable communities in which to study the implications of migration - Burnhope, Craghead, Dean Bank, Esh Winning and Waterhouses (see Location Map page 33) There follows a brief geographical/historical description of each village.

BURNHOPE is situated 800 feet up on the West Durham plateau, 5 miles south of Stanley, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Lanchester and 9 miles from Durham City.

The main feature of Burnhope is the long main street which contains all the shops and community buildings. This street, plus an appended inter-war housing estate, constitutes Burnhope. The first pit, the Fortune, was sunk by Ritson and Sons Ltd in 1844, the Annie and the Fell followed in 1868. By 1874 there were 164 houses (77 one-roomed, 55 two-roomed and 32 three-roomed)⁽²⁶⁾ situated between the Church (1869) and the Fortune pit. West, Pavillion, Langley and Whitehouse Terraces were added between 1880 and 1890. Thus by 1900 Burnhope's main street was established. Lanchester Rural District Council added the Greenwood Avenue Estate between 1928 and 1935, and after the war pulled down the original 164 cottages to erect pre-fabs (Parkside) and orthodox council houses (Vale View)

On St Patrick's Day 1959 the Miners' Hall burnt down and since then there has been no large hall for weddings and dances. There remains a Church Hall which holds 100 but this is in a poor state of repair. There is also a Parish Hall and a Social Services Hut, but these can only accommodate 30 and 50 respectively. In addition to these community buildings, Burnhope has a vast emporium-like Co-Operative Branch Store, again in poor repair, 8 small shops (six general stores, one paper shop and one fish and chip shop), two Betting 'Huts', a pub, 2 workmen's Clubs and a Primary and a Secondary School. Part of the old pit-head

workings have been adapted for a wood factory employing 8 - 10 local men, and this represents the only local employment. The 1965 population was estimated to be 1,905.⁽²⁷⁾

In 1947 the Annie pit closed (the other two had finished during the War) and most of the 696 Burnhope miners were transferred to the Lanchester and Fenhall drifts, some 2 - 3 miles away. Daysh and Symonds were studying West Durham at this time and after visiting Burnhope suggested that "an intensive study of Burnhope, begun at once and pursued over the next two to three years might produce material which would ease the future of other Burnhope's of North West Durnam It would be instructive to know how long the social institutions of the village managed to maintain themselves, what factors put a brake on the idea of migration, and who are the first to move off".⁽²⁸⁾

Between 1963 and 1964 both local drifts closed and Burnhope men were faced with three choices, travelling to other oits, travelling to jobs in other industries, or movement away through the Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme (see section 5)

Table 4 illustrates the present occupational structure of Burnhope ⁽²⁹⁾
The outstanding factor revealed in this sample is the precarious numerical balance between active workers and inactive dependents. It is also significant that only five men actually work in Burnhope, (marked in Table 4 with a B) all others have to travel daily - the majority going to Stanley (the Morrison Busty pit and Ransome and Marles factory) and

TABLE 4

BURNHOPE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
10% SAMPLE

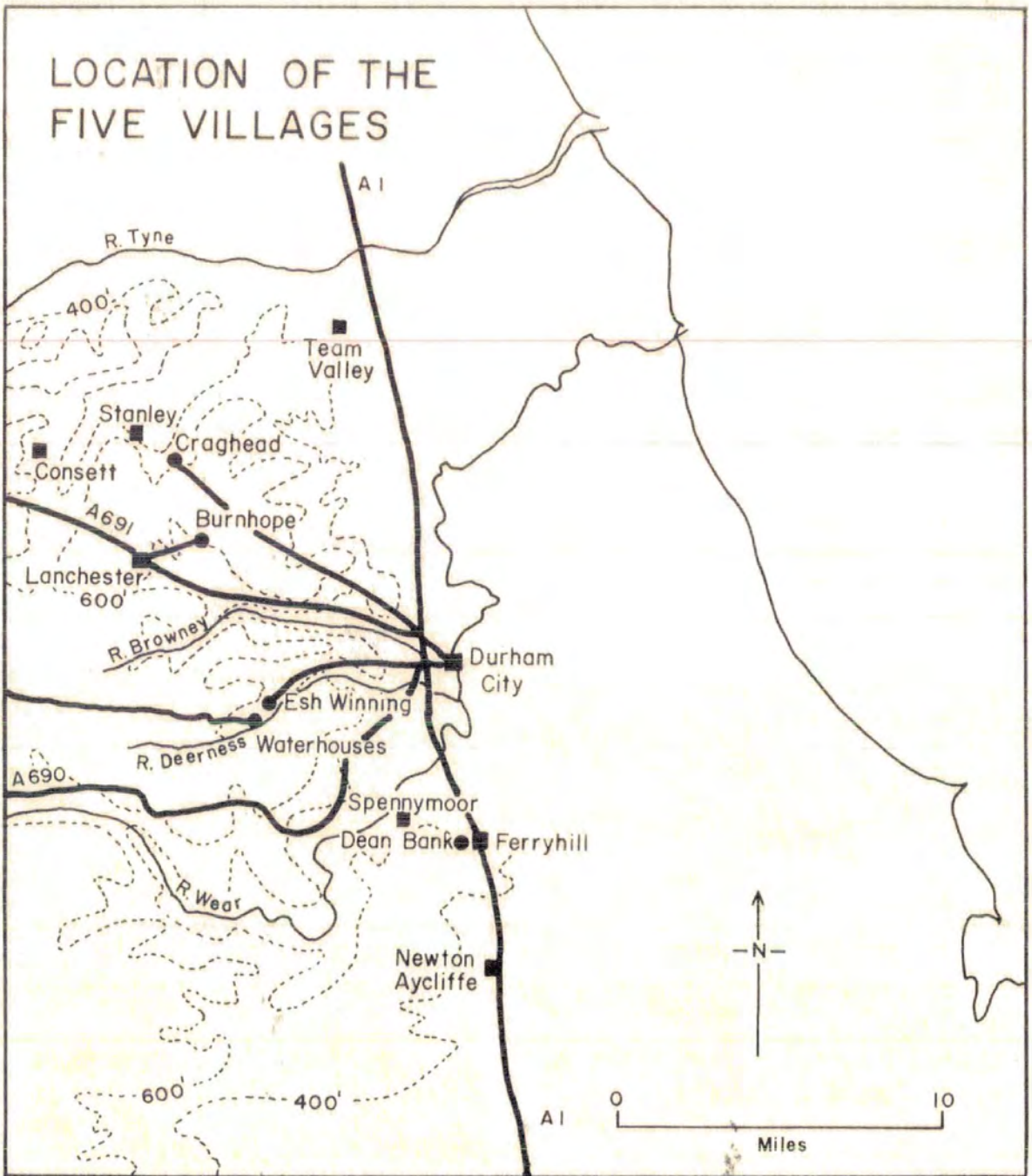
OCCUPATION	No.	%
Miner	33	25.9
Consett Iron & Steel	7	5.4
Building Works	5	3.8
Wood Factory (local)B	5	3.8
Council	2	1.7
Bus Driver	2	1.7
Haulage Contractor	2	1.7
Electrical Contractor	2	1.7
Shopkeeper	2	1.7
Railway Worker	2	1.7
Hospital Orderly	1	.7
Gardener	1	.7
REDUNDANT	6	4.7
INJURED/COMPENSATION CASE	10	7.8
WIDOW/SPINSTER	15	11.8
OLD-AGE PENSIONERS	32	25.2
TOTAL	127	100

ACTIVE
50.5%

INACTIVE
49.5%

COLLIERY	No.	%
Morrison Busty	17	
Kimblesworth	4	
Byer Moor	3	
Craghead	4	
Tanfield Lead	2	
Westoe, Langley Moor & Bearpark	3	
Miners as % of active popn		52

LOCATION OF THE FIVE VILLAGES



Consett (the Consett Iron and Steel Company).

The necessity to commute is made difficult by a poor bus service. The journey from Durham to Burnhope costs 3/6d return and requires two changes. Burnhope to Consett (2/1d return) also requires two changes. Burnhope to Stanley involves only one change at Maiden Law. All services operate hourly. Burnhope is not easily accessible - a fact which probably accounts for its much used nick-name "PLATE-ENDS".⁽³⁰⁾

It is a depressing village with its long, and now mostly deserted, main street. Houses in West Terrace are boarded up and the Co-Op Branch Store and the Methodist Church Hall both exhibit signs of neglect and decay. Away from this main street is the exposed and windswept Greenwood Avenue Estate and the "old people's quarter" of the Gables the Haven and Pleasant View.

Craghead is also situated near the edge of the plateau though considerably lower than Burnhope. The village straddles the main Stanley-Durham Road 3 miles from Stanley, 10 miles from Durham. For all external purposes Craghead is one village, but within the village, three different areas are identified. The "top-end", situated on higher ground round the pit, "The Font", consisting of five streets built during the Boer War, (one of which is named Bloemfontein Terrace - hence the "Font"), on flat ground the other side of Ousterly Beck, and "the Middles", an Inter-war council estate situated, appropriately, between the two

The William pit was sunk in 1839 by William Hedley and Sons and was followed by the sinking of the Thomas (1841) the George (1854) the Oswald (1878) the Edward (1909) and the Busty (1916). All these sinkings were made within about 500 yards of the present pit. Only the Oswald, Edward and Busty survived the 19th century, the former closed during the First World War and the Edward is now used as an air-shaft for the Busty. The first streets, like the shafts, were named after Hedley's sons and were built between 1850 and 1880. They now constitute the "top end" - Oswald, John, William, Thomas and George Streets plus Wylam Street and Callerton Terrace (Thomas Hedley's Northumbrian birthplace and residence respectively). Hedley also built two schools, (1877 and 1887) and the Miners' Hall - the Hedley Memorial Hall - resulted from his death. The Co-Operative Store (1888), the Durham Road Primitive Methodist Church (1897), and St Thomas' Parish Church (1912) completed the "top end" The only new building since 1912 was the Spiritualist Church (1930) and the Doctor's House (1958). As Craghead is scheduled Category 'C', the Doctor's House may well be the last building ever to go up in the village. The 'Font' was built for the opening of the Busty between 1902 and 1905. Each terraced house is divided "one up and one down" into two three-roomed residences. The Colliery finally built six streets of four-roomed houses between 'the Font' and the 'top end'. They were erected immediately after the first World War and are now known as 'China-town'.⁽³¹⁾ The council estate (Oak, Lime, Ash, Palm etc.) was built between 1928 and 1932.

Garden Terrace North and South (mostly pre-fabs) represent the Council's attempt to house the post-1945 population bulge.

Craghead has a Co-Operative Store and Branch and twenty two small shops (mostly small general stores, but including two post offices, two fish and chip shops, a newsagent, a chemist, and two hair dressers). There are two Workmen's clubs, three pubs, three betting shops, three functioning churches, a Social Services hut and a Welfare Hall. An industrial garments factory (Webware) was established in 1945 and now employs 300 - mostly teenage girls. The 1965 population of Craghead was estimated to be 3,574

In 1963 Craghead pit underwent a major reorganisation and 400 men were made redundant - of these a large number were old and near retirement age, the others had to find alternative jobs. Like the men at Burnhope, some chose to travel to other pits, others to jobs outside the mining industry. This large redundancy gave many of the 970 men left at the pit the feeling that "it could be us next". It was mainly these men who responded to the N.C.B. recruiting campaign, and 52 decided to leave the village through the Scheme

The present occupation structure is shown in Table 5. It can be seen that Craghead remains largely dependent on its own pit, and few men travel to other pits in the area. Travel to and from Craghead is particularly easy. There is a quarter hourly service to Durham, Stanley and Chester-le-Street, and a half hourly service to Newcastle. These

TABLE 5

Craghead Occupational Structure
10% Sample

OCCUPATION	No.	%
Miner	84	35.6
Ransome & Marles	12	5.2
Team Valley	7	3.1
Shopkeeper	5	2.1
Consett Iron & Steel	5	2.1
Building Works	5	2.1
Local Council	5	2.1
Mechanic/Engineer	4	1.7
Shop Assistant	2	.8
University	2	.8
Railway worker	2	.8
Driver/Conductor	2	.8
REDUNDANT	8	3.4
INJURED/ COMPENSATION CASE	8	3.4
WIDOW/SPINSTER	27	11.4
OLD-AGE PENSIONER	58	24.6
TOTAL	236	100

ACTIVE
57.2%

INACTIVE
42.8%

COLLIERY	No.	%
Craghead	71	85
Beamish Mary	4	
Morrison Busty	3	
East Tanfield	2	
Sacrison	2	
Pelton	2	
Miners as % of Active Popn.	61	

frequent bus services have resulted in a strong tradition of travelling for shopping and entertainment - particularly to Stanley and Chester-le-Street. Compared with Burnhope, Craghead is a lively village and the narrowness of its terraced streets gives it an urban quality stronger than could ever be imagined in what are essentially rural surroundings. But in Craghead too, the process of decay is evident in the closed and boarded shops, the uncared-for war memorial and the massive Co-Operative store which is now obviously too large for local needs.

DEAN BANK is situated high on the limestone outcrop known as the Butterknowle Ridge, about 500 yards west of Ferryhill. It is separated from Ferryhill by the A.1. Trunk road. Dean Bank consists of eighteen compact streets containing 875 houses and is probably what a Geographer would describe as a neighbourhood unit,⁽³²⁾ it is known locally as "the village". The village is connected to Ferryhill by two bridges which span the A.1. and is remarkable for its drab procession of identical streets. At the western end these streets give way to allotments and Aged Miners' Bungalows.

Dean and Chapter pit was sunk between 1902 and 1904 by Bolchow Vaughan and Co. Ltd. and the Company completed the 875 houses between 1902 and 1907. A school (486 boys, 468 girls and 480 infants) was added in the latter year, a Miners' Institute followed in 1911 and the Dean Bank Mission Church in 1912. After the first world war, two small

streets (Blandford and Owen) were built alongside the newly completed Co-Operative Branch Store. In 1946 the Ferryhill Manufacturing Company occupied a redundant church hut in the centre of the village and with company expansion this hut was pulled down and built over in 1951. After a fire in 1961 the present building was completed in 1963. The company makes dresses, and employs 25 men and 289 women.

Since 1962 the Dean Bank pit (Dean and Chapter) has undergone a three stage redundancy scheme involving over 500 men. Throughout this period there has been the constant threat of closure, and as a result many Dean Bank men have considered alternative employment. Of those who sought alternatives, 60 families moved away through the Transfer Scheme

The present occupational structure reflecting the condition of the estimated population of 2,475 is shown in Table 6. Dean Bank clearly remains a mining community but with many men working at other pits.⁽³³⁾ The relatively small number of non-miners is a result of the few (two streets only) private houses in the village rather than any lack of alternative employment. The large A.E.I. factory at Spennymoor and the Black and Decker Factory at Rushyford are both within five miles of Dean Bank, and bus services are excellent between Ferryhill and Durham, Darlington, Newcastle and Spennymoor (all half hourly except the service to Spennymoor which runs every 20 minutes).

TABLE 6

DEAN BANK OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
10% SAMPLE

		OCCUPATION	No.	%			COLLIERY	No.	%
ACTIVE 61.2%	↑	Miner	93	51.0	⇒	↓	Dean & Chapter	65	70
		A.E.I. Factory	5	2.6			Chilton	7	
		MISC. Incl. Painter, Butcher, Clerk, Driver, Caretaker, Male Nurse.	11	6.0			Washington	6	
		Electrician	3	1.6			Fishburn	6	
INACTIVE 38.8%	↓	REDUNDANT	2	1.1	↑	↑	Cornforth	5	
		INJURED/COMPENSATION CASE	8	4.4			Mainsforth	4	
		WIDOW/SPINSTER	17	9.3			Miners as % of Active Popn.		83
		OLD-AGE PENSIONER	44	24.0					
		TOTAL	183	100					

ESH WINNING lies in the Deerness valley $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles due West from Durham city. Approached by road from Durham, the colliery stands on the right-hand-side surrounded by North, South, East and West Terraces. The road continues past the school and most of the shops to an open square in front of "The Stag's Head" On rising ground behind the pub, the Ridding Wood Estate forms a sharp contrast to the old colliery nucleus.

The pit was sunk in 1859 by Pease and Partners. During the 1860's the Company built North, South, East and West Terraces, a Methodist

Chapel and a Mission Church were added in 1885 and 1873 respectively. By 1894 a contemporary was able to write of Esh Winning - "like its neighbour Waterhouses, a model colliery village, houses built on the South side of the road are all that could be desired".⁽³⁴⁾ A further 80 houses and the school were built in the 1890's and became what are now known as Albert and George Streets and the Bungalows. At the same time private builders were erecting the present Durham Road. Between 1872 and 1899 a total of 18 different individuals built 43 houses, two wash-houses and six shops.⁽³⁵⁾ These houses (and shops) are easily distinguishable from the white 'segar clay' brick of Pease and Partners' houses and from the red-brick houses built by Sir F. Smythe, Bart. on the South side of Durham Road. Smythe's six streets of large, well-designed houses were built between 1900 and 1911 and are now in private ownership. Between 1922 and 1927 the Lanchester Rural District Council built Church, Hill and Wood Views; and the Ridding Wood Estate, built by the Brandon Byskottles Urban District Council, was opened by Aneurin Bevan in 1950.

Esh Winning has three workmen's clubs, one pub, a Methodist, Baptist and Roman Catholic Church, 23 shops (including two fish and chip shops, hairdresser, furniture/hardware store, post office and drawers), a Bank, a Primary School and a garage. A Miners' Memorial Hall (1919) functioned until 1926. After the 1926 strike and lockout it became successively, a community hall, a picture house and a bingo hall,

finally closing through lack of support in 1963. A shirt factory opened in 1960 at the Durham end of the village and now employs 114 girls and 8 men. The 1965 population was estimated to be 2,979.

Esh Winning pit was closed for a total of nine years after the 1926 strike and ever since Nationalisation its number of workers has been gradually reduced. Small redundancies were made almost every year from 1951, with a major redundancy scheme in 1961. From this date onwards the pit has been under constant threat of closure. These regular redundancies and the limited life of the pit are reflected in the occupational structure of the village

Table 7 shows that Esh Winning pit is no longer of vital importance to the village - of the 50% who are miners, nearly half of them work elsewhere. The significant factor is the great variety of occupations represented - 20 in all. Because Esh Winning presents such an equal division between relatively new council houses and old traditional mining houses, Table 8 is included to present the occupational structure by house type. It can be seen that while colliery houses tend to contain a greater percentage of miners and old people (they also contain more injured/redundant men though these are not shown above) the division is not clear cut. However, it does suggest a tendency towards polarization, a tendency upon which many villagers have commented.

Transport connections with Durham City are good - buses run every quarter of an hour, and just as Craghead has a tradition of travel to

OCCUPATION	No.	%
Miner	66	31.0
Building Works	7	3.2
Driver/conductor	7	3.2
Engineer/Mechanic	6	2.8
Consett Iron & Steel	6	2.8
Local Council	5	2.4
Water Board	5	2.4
Insurance	4	1.9
Painter/Decorator	4	1.9
Shop Assistant	3	1.4
G.P.O.	3	1.4
University	3	1.4
Factory	3	1.4
Clerk	3	1.4
Teacher	2	.9
N.C.B. (Office)	2	.9
Railway Worker	2	.9
Baker	1	.5
REDUNDANT	7	3.3
INJURED/COMPENSATION CASE	3	1.4
WIDOW/SPINSTER	12	5.6
OLD-AGE PENSIONER	59	27.7
TOTAL	213	100

ACTIVE
62%

INACTIVE
38.0%

COLLIERY	No.	%
Esh	43	57
Waterhouses	8	
Bearpark	5	
Brandon	4	
Langley	4	
Tursdale & Fishburn	2	
Miners as % of Active Pop		50

TABLE
7

ESH WINNING
OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
10% SAMPLE

TABLE 8	ESH WINNING OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE BY HOUSE TYPE					
	COLLIERY		PRIVATE/ COUNCIL		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
MINER	38	42	28	28	66	35
NON-MINER	17	19	49	49	66	35
O A P'S Widows & Spinsters	36	39	23	23	59	30
TOTAL	91	100	100	100	191	100

Stanley, so Esh Winning has always looked to Durham City for weekly shopping and entertainment.

In many ways Esh Winning is a pleasant village, its setting in the beautiful Deerness valley and its open texture allow it to retain a rural atmosphere everywhere except on the main Durham Road. In addition, its colliery houses are in relatively good condition and the Ridding Wood Estate is generally considered to be a fine example of good architecture and landscaping. Some of these attractions may have influenced county planners in placing Esh Winning within category 'A' type villages - i.e. those which are expected to act as minor expansion points.

WATERHOUSES is Esh Winning's neighbour and lies half a mile further up the Deerness Valley. The main feature of the village is the "E" shaped street pattern enclosing the Drift-mine on three sides. On the open side, and across the Deerness Valley Railway lines, there is an irregular cluster of streets surrounding the Co-Operative Branch Store. The Ridding Wood Estate backs on to Waterhouses at the north eastern end of the square.

Waterhouses' drift was opened by Pease and Partners in 1851, but as the 1857 Ordnance map shows no settlement, the men must have walked down from Heoley Hill Terrace (another half mile up the valley and site of an earlier drift mine) for a number of years. By 1874 the present "E" shaped pattern was established with 55 one-roomed cottages and 96 three-roomed cottages. The Company built a schoolroom in 1864 and two chapels followed in 1871 and 1872, St Paul's Church of England in 1879 and the Miner's Welfare in 1882. Over the Deerness Valley Railway lines (1857) the Railway Company built Station Street and local farmers built Buttons Terrace and Russell Street. The Co-Operative Branch Store opened in Station Street in 1890. Thus by 1890 - only twenty years after the first houses were built - the village existed as we know it to-day. After the second World War the 55 one-roomed houses forming Dale Street and the eastern end of North Terrace were pulled down - otherwise all the original buildings still stand. During the 1930's the Council built College View, and between 1947 and 1963 the Ridding Wood estate encroached further into Waterhouses

The village has two schools, (the secondary modern serves the whole valley down to Ushaw Moor) a Workingmen's Club, a Co-Operative branch store, four small shops and three churches (the two Methodist Chapels each have under twenty regular attenders). The Miners' Welfare Hall, which contained a reading room, a billiard table and a concert hall, closed in 1965 through lack of funds. Since then the Welfare Sports Ground and Pavilion, though unused for years, has finally been relinquished by the miners and its future is uncertain. As a small drift mine, Waterhouses has faced a continual threat of closure over the last five years and as a result of this uncertainty men have left for other industries. Twenty five families have left the village through the Inter-Divisional-Transfer Scheme.

The 1965 population was estimated to be 1,500, this figure includes that portion of the new estate which is in Waterhouses. The same area is included in the occupational structure, (see Table 9) and in an attempt to reveal differences between the two areas, Table 10 presents occupation by house-type. In Waterhouses then, as in Esh Winning, there is the same tendency towards polarization.

As a Category "D" village, Waterhouses is scheduled for complete "run down" by 1981. With the closure of the Welfare Hall and the boarding up of houses as they become empty in North and West Terraces, the abandoned railway siding and signal box, the process is clearly underway.

TABLE 9

WATERHOUSES OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
10% SAMPLE

OCCUPATION	No.	%
Miner	24	22.5
Consett Iron & Steel	3	2.8
N.C.B (Office)	4	3.7
Milk Marketing Board	3	2.8
Team Valley	3	2.8
Building Works	7	6.5
Driver/Conductor	8	7.5
C O O P	2	1.9
Insurance	2	1.9
Grocer	2	1.9
General Dealer	2	1.9
Teacher	2	1.9
REDUNDANT	12	11.1
INJURED/COMPENSATION CASE	4	3.8
WIDOW/SPINSTER	8	7.3
OLD-AGE PENSIONER	21	19.9
TOTAL	107	100

ACTIVE
57.9%

INACTIVE
42.1%

COLLIERY	No.	%
Waterhouses	20	77
Esh	1	
Bearpark	1	
Brancepeth	1	
Sacrison	1	
Miners as % of Total Popn		38

TABLE 10	WATERHOUSES. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE BY HOUSE TYPE					
	COLLIERY		PRIVATE/ COUNCIL		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
MINER	18	37	6	10	24	22
NON-MINER	8	16	30	52	38	35
O.A.P's. Widows & Spinsters	23	47	22	38	45	43
TOTAL	49	100	58	100	107	100

THE FIVE VILLAGES From Maturity to Old Age

(It follows from the extractive nature of mining that a mining village as such must inevitably decline. To Smailes⁽³⁶⁾ this inevitability suggested an analogy with an organism, and he identified three life stages Youth, characterised by immigration and population increase, Maturity, characterised by a decline or falling-off in immigration but continuing population increase, and Old Age, characterised by declining population and emigration. The speed of the progression from Youth to Old Age depends on a number of factors, including general geological conditions, the market for coal and the availability of easier worked, or more conveniently located deposits.

This model is useful in providing an overall context in which to place the five villages. They are all undergoing transition from Maturity to Old Age. From Smailes' viewpoint (he wrote in 1938) this transition was characterised by emigration and a declining population, the present transition, as exemplified in the five villages under study, is more complex and involves a number of additional and separate processes. (Government intervention,) especially in the 1945 Distribution of Industry Act described in the previous section, has meant that the transition from Maturity to Old Age is not necessarily inevitable, it can be postponed or completely averted.) Whether any one village declines or averts or postpones this decline, depends on a number of factors in addition to those considered by Smailes (above). Size is important, for the larger the village the more likely it is to receive Local and National Government support often in the form of an Advance Board of Trade Factory. The overall age and condition of its housing also affects the future of the village. If a large proportion of houses is in good condition then the Local Authority is more likely to continue maintenance and renewal work. Similarly, villages with good transport connections to the main "growth points" are more likely to remain viable than are the villages which are relatively isolated.) The difference between Burnhope and Dean Bank or Craghead in this respect has an important influence on their respective occupational structures. Ultimately, of course, the future of many villages depends on local, regional and national planning (and often political) policies.

For the five villages under study it is not possible to say if the transition has been averted or merely postponed, but it is clear that in all five villages men who have become redundant at the village pit do have alternatives to emigration. They can continue within the mining industry by travelling daily to other pits within No. 4 and 5 Areas, or to the long-life coastal pits, or they can leave the mining industry and become workers in the increasing number of Secondary and Tertiary industries now established within the County.

Therefore (transition from Maturity to Old Age is characterised by a change in the occupational structure and an increase in the numbers of men commuting daily to work, in addition to emigration and a gradual ageing of the population.)

The situation is clarified if the Mature and Old Age life-stages are conceived as 'ideal type' mining villages, which for convenience will be called Mature and Veteran. The Mature village is characterised as having a predominantly young and active population, where the village pit provides work for all, with the corollaries that all men are miners and all men work in the village. The Veteran village is characterised by having a predominantly old and dependent population. The village pit has closed. Consequently few men are miners and virtually all men travel to work outside the village. The transition from Maturity to Old Age therefore refers to an increase in Veteran-type features and a decrease in the features associated with the Mature Mining village

Occupational structures have been presented for each village/ (Tables 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9), ^{and} from these it is possible to assess the relative positions of all five villages in the transition from Maturity to Old Age.

The percentage of adult dependents (Old Age Pensioners, widows, spinsters, unemployed and sick men) provides an overall index of each village's viability. With 49% of its population classified as Adult Dependents, it is clear that Burnhope is the least viable of all five villages. Esh Winning and Dean Bank have the smallest percentage (38), while Craghead and Waterhouses, with 42% of their populations classified as Adult Dependents, occupy an intermediate position.

The occupational structures provide two further indices of the transition, the percentage of non-miners and the percentage of commuters in each village. The proportion of non-miners varies considerably, from Dean Bank with only 17% to Waterhouses with 62% of their working populations classified as non-miners. The figures for Burnhope, Craghead and Esh Winning are 48%, 39% and 50% respectively.

The number of commuters in each village equals the number of non-miners (for there is virtually no alternative employment for men in any of the five villages) plus the number of miners who travel daily to other pits. Burnhope clearly emerges as a commuting village, 96% of its working population travelling daily to work outside the village. The remaining four villages are characterised by the daily commuting to work of over 40% of the working populations. (The figures are Dean Bank 42%,

Craghead 48% and Esh Winning and Waterhouses both 67%).

The five villages can be arranged in rank order according to these three indices. Therefore the village with the highest percentage of Adult Dependents, Non-miners and Commuters receives the notation 1, the village with the second highest percentage 2 and so on. The situation is clarified if the "rank-digits" are added to give an overall index of the transition from Maturity to Old Age. Table 11 gives the result of ranking and shows Burnhope and Waterhouses to have the most pronounced Veteran features. Dean Bank and Craghead remain closest to the mature mining village and Esh Winning occupies an intermediate position. The use of these three indices of the process of transition from Maturity to Old Age provides perspective in two ways, the five villages can be assessed in relation to each other and also in relation to the overall direction of change in mining villages generally. This perspective gives the study of migration a dynamic framework.

/ THE WEST DURHAM MINING VILLAGE A

The foregoing pages have been concerned with five villages and have indicated the existence of a good deal of variation among them. This section concentrates on their common characteristics in an attempt to outline some aspects of what might be called "the culture" of the West Durham Mining Village

VETERAN FEATURES BY RANK ORDER

TABLE 11	ADULT DEPENDENTS		NON-MINERS		COMMUTERS		CUMULATIVE INDEX
	%	Rank Order	%	Rank	%	Rank	
BURNHOPE	49	1	48	3	96	1	5
Craghead	42	2	39	4	48	3	9
DEAN BANK	38	3	17	5	42	4	12
ESH WINNING	38	3	50	2	67	2	7
WATERHOUSES	42	2	62	1	67	2	5

Fully to understand "the culture" a study such as "Coal is our Life"⁽³⁷⁾ would have to be conducted in a West Durham Village, and certainly, many of the features observed in Ashton could be expected in, say, Craghead or Esh Winning. But this kind of full community study is clearly beyond the limits of this research and the problem of capturing the essential character of the West Durham Mining Village must be solved in another way.

Frankenberg⁽³⁸⁾ suggests a possible solution. Taking his inspiration from Gluckmans⁽³⁹⁾, "use of a bridge-opening ceremony as a way into the analysis of the complexities of modern Zululand", Mitchell's analysis of "The Kalela Dance"⁽⁴⁰⁾ and Turner's concept of "the social drama"⁽⁴¹⁾ he suggests that, "Crises and ceremonial (in the broadest sense) give us the opportunity to observe in microcosm and dynamically, the often slow moving and diffuse processes of complex industrial society".⁽⁴²⁾

With reference to the West Durham village then, Frankenberg might suggest that the description and analysis of a particular event or ceremonial may provide a valuable insight into the "total culture" of the whole village. Within the West Durham Mining Village by far the most important institution is the Workingmen's Club. There are usually two in every village and between them they claim most of the local men as members. At weekends the majority of adults are likely to find their entertainment in the clubs. The Club - Saturday night, or Sunday night for that matter, can be regarded as an important recurring ceremony of this institution. As a ceremony it is characterised by near-universal participation, regularity and punctiliousness, people in daily face-to-face contact coming together for "a good time" invested in recognised forms of behaviour, set aside from those of the normal working week.

There follows a detailed description of a particular Saturday night in one of the two clubs in Craghead. The events described occurred in the concert-room of the club which is situated upstairs above the bar and the small lounge. From the account it is clear that the fieldworker occupied the role of Observer as Participant. He knew seven people in the room and conversed with them on a variety of "neutral" subjects, he also participated in drinking - in "buying his round" and in playing games of Bingo. However, he was there primarily as an Observer, intent on recording his "multitudinous impressions",⁽⁴³⁾ and certainly, in the eyes of most people in the room, he was clearly perceived to be an observer - "That chap who's writing a book"

Saturday-night at the Club.

Soon after 8 p.m. people began to gather in the Concert room. It is a long room with a raised stage at one end. Round the far side and bottom end there is a long foam and plastic covered bench and two shorter benches at each side of the main swing doors. The bar is situated in the far corner opposite the piano, and the floor space is taken up with 20 small formica-topped tables.

Early arrivals "made for" the far bench, and the centre tables were only taken up when there were few spaces left round the walls. The fieldworker, who had been standing at the bar, was invited over to sit with Mrs C (Mrs C has a daughter, Mrs T, with whom he had lodged in Staffordshire). Mrs C proceeded to tell him how she had expected her daughter "and our Sharon (grand-daughter) up this week-end", but that Jackie (son-in-law) had started saving for a car - "So now they are wanting me down there for Easter" Mr C. came over from the next table and asked "how the book was going". He was preparing to act as M.C. because the regular man was sick (he later turned up and assisted Mr C. in keeping order)

By 8 30 p.m. there were 73 people in the room, 67 sitting down and 6 men standing at the bar. Of the 67, only 27 were women and many of these, like Mrs C., were sitting alone or with another woman. There were about 15 young people mainly in couples of the same sex. The two tables nearest the bar were occupied by men only.

The men, with hair well greased, were wearing dark suits, hand knitted pullovers, wide (almost bell-bottomed) trousers and highly polished, pointed shoes. Only 11 men, mainly the older ones, were sitting in flat soft caps. The women, heavily made up and with their hair obviously set for the occasion, kept their coats on and their handbags beside them. Almost without exception, the men were drinking pints of Federation Bitter and the women bottles of Cream-Label stout.

Just after 8.30 p.m. the artists began to arrange themselves on the stage. They were introduced by the M.C. as the "Good Pals" from Hetton, and comprised a man playing an electric organ, a drummer, and a singer who also whistled, played a mouth organ and an electric guitar. When they were ready the M.C. shouted for the "Best of order please" and the singer offered his first song. It was unknown to the fieldworker and its name had temporarily eluded Mrs C's memory but she did know "it's Jim Reeves' song". For his next song, "Alan" took his electric guitar and mouth organ to offer "Walk Tall" Both songs were well received, "as long as they're not too noisy that's the main thing" concluded Mrs C. who had now been joined by a friend. Mrs C. apologised for not having been able to secure a seat over on the far bench

During the singing the women sat with folded arms and the men looked down at their drink. The M.C. stood by the door to prevent movement in and out, and in between the songs he repeatedly shouted "order - order please". After the second song the men rushed to the bar and downstairs

to other rooms and returned with small tin trays carrying pints and bottles of stout. There was much movement in and out, but the greatest activity was round a table in the middle of the room where Bingo cards were being sold. (They were sold in sets of three - one set for a shilling). While these cards were being sold the M.C. placed a cellophane covered box of groceries* on the stage and he then proceeded to sell tickets for a raffle on the box in aid of the old people. Mrs C. bought five tickets (at 5 a 1/-) "must patronise them you know, its us next week" (Mrs C was a member of the Ladies Darts Team which was to benefit from the raffle the following week). The M.C. then called order for the first nouse of Bingo. Mrs C 's friend had bought six cards which she clipped to a soecially prepared board she had taken from her handbag. Both she and Mrs C persuaded the fieldworker to "try his luck", and after the last minute selling of tickets, the M.C. took his bag of numbers and proceeded to shout - "Pension time 65" . "Chopping sticks No.6" .. "Bed and Breakfast 2/6" . "No 10 Downing Street" ... "All the varieties Heinz 57" . . "Dirty Gertie Blind 30" .. He was interrupted with shouts of "Shake 'em up Geordie" and "Come on you're not trying" and finally someone shouted a triumphant "House" for a completed line (20/-). Mrs C. recognised the voice "Eh' Betty's getting lucky she

* Containing Tea, Baked Beans, Lard, Tinned Tomatoes, Corned Beef, Custard Powder, Suet, Stork, a "Christmas Pudding" and a Packet of Rice Crispies.

won last week" ... "Eyes down now for a full house" and the M.C. continued "P.C. 49 . Kelly's Eye No 1 . . Dixie Dean 17 until "House" was called for the completed card. Again Mrs C. identified the voice, "That's Jackie Tuck". For his full house Mr Tuck won £3 After much card-analysis of the numbers still needed . "I only needed two"

. "I've been waiting on No.17 for the last half hour . " there was another rush for the bar and downstairs to the toilets. Inside the men's toilet the talk was free with much good natured teasing and swearing. A pit deputy came in and the man next to him shouted up "We've got the worst set of b ... deputies in Craghead now that we've ever had".

Back in the concert room the artists were offering "Little Tin Soldier" which was followed by a selection of Al Jolson's songs and their second "spot" finished with a Sinatra-like "San Francisco". By this time conversations were louder and the women had taken their coats off. At first the words of the songs were mouthed, but soon men and women were joining in and continuing with the refrain after the artist had finished. By 9.30 p.m. it was very noisy, empty bottles and crumpled Bingo cards littered the tables (The Bingo cards are signed and saved until the end of the evening when an old man comes round with a cardboard box to collect them up. One ticket is drawn and the identified owner gets 7/6d - the old man gets 5/-). Pies were brought in and again there was walking to and from the bar. A woman went up to order a drink and provoked a comment of censure from Mrs C to her friend, who explained to the

fieldworker, "we're not supposed to do that, we're only members to save us signing on every week, we should still have a man to order for us". Mr T , the Barber and a friend of Wilf. H. who left the village for Stoke-on-Trent, came over to ask the fieldworker if he was enjoying himself. He was followed by Billy W who brought the news that "Our Ray is trying to get on up Warwickshire or somewhere". (His brother Ray had moved from the village to Somerset where he had been visited by the fieldworker. He had left the pit there and now wanted to re-enter the industry in the West Midlands after having failed to get back into Craghead pit) "He's rued,* I don't care what he says, but I'm settled here till they put me on the dole". He deposited a pint on the fieldworker's table. "Sup up, enjoy yourself, forget that book for a minute", and later he refused a whisky on the grounds that it wasn't Christmas or the New Year. By this time the second house of Bingo was under way but the M.C. was having difficulty keeping order. Gestures were becoming more animated, and as the "Good Pals" came on for their last songs - "Maybe" and "My Prayer" - they were accompanied by conducting arms all over the room. Chairs were scraped round to allow even more people into the expanding circles and to facilitate conversation with neighbouring groups. At about 10 p.m. two Salvation Army girls entered and found no difficulty in exchanging copies of "War Cry" for sixpenses and threepenny

* made a mistake.

bits Mrs C. bought one, claiming, "Its my supper that" and pointed to the back page crossword. About this time the fieldworker asked Mrs C. if she knew any of the people on the next table to the left "Oh yes - know them all. The man with the glasses works with George (husband) and that woman next to him, her father-in-law, lives up our street, another two live at the top of the street and I know the other man because I went to school with him".

And those at the next table to the right? "Her with the blue coat, I just know her from coming here, the other couple we've been friendly with for a long time but when it gets further down I don't know them".

And those at the table opposite? "Yes, they're all Craghead people, Mr and Mrs C. known them a long time - he originally came from Liverpool, they live along Thomas' Street, and that's Jimmy W's son, they used to live in the same yard as us at the 'Font' , and Mr and Mrs Y., they live in Thomas' Street too, just know them from coming in here".

By about 10.15 p.m. the M.C. was doing his best to sell some final tickets for the box of groceries and for the fourth and last game of Bingo. Finally, he made the draw and announced the winner of the box of groceries (499 tickets were sold during the evening in this raffle) The final game of Bingo was played, and amid the rush for last orders, "the old man" walked round collecting the used Bingo cards. The M.C. picked one of these (780 were sold during the evening) and announced the winner of the 7/6d 'Lucky Dip'. His final duty was to tell everyone that on the next

day, Sunday, there would be the "Ideal Concert Party" from Stockton, and next Saturday everyone "would be pleased to hear" that the entertainment would be provided by the "Count Seven Combo" from Willington.

The overriding impression after attending such an evening is one of uninhibited enjoyment, conversation, music and alcohol all contribute to an atmosphere of noisy indulgence. The fieldworker was pressed to take drink after drink "Sup up, enjoy yourself, its Saturday night" To enjoy yourself i.e. to drink, talk, and try your luck at Bingo is the order of the evening, no other considerations intrude. If, as Hoggart⁽⁴⁴⁾ suggests, "having a good time" and "enjoying yourself while you can", are sentiments common to the whole traditional working class, they surely reach their apotheosis in the concert room in a mining village on Saturday night. Dennis et al⁽⁴⁵⁾ use the words "vigorous" and "frivolous" to characterise leisure in Ashton and suggest that this situation results from the basic insecurity of mining as an occupation. There is the continual danger to life and limb, and insecurity is also fostered by the miners' previous experience of unemployment and the knowledge that as he gets older so his earnings will get less. There is also the work itself, with its system of bargaining for wage rates and the irregularity of shifts. All these factors contribute towards a feeling of insecurity and so suggest a hedonistic philosophy, well illustrated in the conclusion to the following Durham Mining ballad

"Oh let's not think of to-morrow lest we disappointed be,
Our joys may turn to sorrows as we may daily see,
To-day we may be strong and healthy but soon there comes a change,
As we may see from the explosion that has been at Trindon Grange"⁽⁴⁶⁾

This insecurity, coupled with "the consciousness of the limitations of his way of life"⁽⁴⁷⁾ are the reasons Dennis et. al suggest for the heavy drinking and gambling which also characterise mining life.

Certainly, in this one evening there was much drinking and an overall pre-occupation with chance. Throughout the evening the ticket selling table was the centre of activity and, whatever the intention, it was as if the Bingo was interrupted by the "Good Pals", rather than providing interval entertainment. There were four games of Bingo for which 780 tickets were sold, and £13 17s 6d was paid out to nine prize winners. In addition there was the raffle for the Box of Groceries in which 499 were sold, and throughout the evening a "Fruit Machine" (situated just outside the main doors) was in constant use. Both Mrs C. and her friend kept persuading the fieldworker to "try another one" on the grounds that he "might be lucky next time", and it will be remembered that the friend had a special Bingo pad on which she clipped her six cards. Thus the evening's gambling may be considered to give a true reflection of its prominence in the village as a whole - a village where there are three Betting shops and where every social evening includes at least one draw or raffle.

Throughout the evening the fieldworker had the impression of intruding on "a stable field of structured behaviour". There was an

overall conformity. In dress, the men were all in suits and the women kept their coats on until halfway through the evening. In drinking, no man was seen to drink anything other than a pint and one of the barmaids confirmed that it was mainly ordinary Federation Bitter, the women drank stout. The fieldworker offered Billy W a whisky to get the reply "never touch the stuff except at Christmas and the New Year" The routine is also suggested by the "favourite seats" - Mrs C apologised to her friend for not getting on the far bench, by the War Cry Crossword, which accompanies Mrs C's Saturday night supper, by the unwritten rule which requires men to order the drinks, - and by "the old man" who collects the Bingo tickets for his 5/- They are all indications of regular custom - bound behaviour - "A set of rules of the Saturday Night game".

In the village itself there is also a set of rules "When to speak", "How to treat your wife", "What to wear at the weekend", "How to furnish your house", "How to 'pop in' to the neighbours without 'living on top' of them", "How to be 'respectable' without being 'stuck up'", and so on, until every item of behaviour is covered. Perhaps the strongest "rules" refer to the relationships between man and woman, husband and wife.

From the respective members present in the Concert Room it is obvious that the club is primarily a male institution for during the evening there was a ratio of about three men to one woman (and some of the women were left sitting in two's while the men occupied themselves

downstairs or at the bar). Reference has already been made to the comment of censure aroused by a woman going up to order a drink, and it is significant that many of the village men who have migrated South strongly disapprove of the "Southern" practice whereby women go to the clubs unattended and order and pay for their own drinks. The club practice reflects the true masculine character of the Durham Mining village. Studies in all traditional working-class areas comment on the pronounced sexual division of labour and it is suggested that this results from the sharp dichotomy between work and leisure, pit and home. The miner is "at home" with his mates at the pit - where few women have ever been and have very little idea about conditions. His responsibility ends with handing over his wage packet. The women's world is the home and her responsibilities are mainly centred here, keeping it tidy, decorating, deciding on its furnishing, and of course cooking, washing, ironing and "doing for" her husband and the children. Even leisure hours are often pursued separately. The man has his own friends, his 'marrers' or pit mates, they have their own language and conversation, "pit talk", and they retire to the all-male institutions of the pub, the working-men's club and the allotment, into which the women come only by invitation. The woman spends her "spare time" with her mother, her sister, the children and the neighbours, and outside the house and the back yard, the shop is the only female institution.

These portraits are of course exaggerated. There is much individual variation, and young married couples do tend to co-operate more than their parents did, but it remains true that the gradual move towards a companion-type relationship is less in evidence in the West Durham Mining village than elsewhere in the country.

Finally, and in a more general way, this feature of a "culture-lag" is seen to be an overall characteristic of the West Durham Mining village. The men's suits (often double breasted) and wide trousers have already received comment. The songs sung during the evening were for the most part 5 - 10 years old. The Bingo calls - "Doctor's orders No. 9 ... Kelly's eye No 1 ... Dixie Dean 17 ... Bed and Breakfast 2/6 .. P.C.49 . and even 77 Sunset Strip", are "left overs" from 10 to 50 years ago. In the village itself there are many such left overs - reminders of the "Age of Austerity" and beyond to the inter-war depression years - the uniformity of the terraced houses, the conspicuous absence of new buildings and new materials, the cloth caps and head scarves.

From the subjective viewpoint of the people themselves there are everywhere signs that judged by its own past the village is in decline - the unused miners' Hall, houses boarded up, closed shops and empty chapels. With all these reminders of "better times" and the relative increase in the number of old people it is understandable that the village seems preoccupied with its past.

However, while young and old would argue that "things are not what they used to be", a majority still has strong feelings towards the

village . "they go away but they'd all come back if they could ."
"There's no place like Craghead" ... In comparison with other villages
and areas it is still "a grand place to be". Clearly, the village's
self-image approximates much more to the Mature than to the Veteran type.
There are recognitions of Veteran type features - "they go away to work
now" and "there are all kinds here" - but in the minds of the people it
remains "a typical mining village".

THE INTER-DIVISIONAL TRANSFER SCHEME

With Coal Nationalisation on January 1st 1947, the people of
Britain inherited some 1,500 collieries and ancillary undertakings.
As managers of this industry the National Coal Board⁽⁴³⁾ was charged
with its efficient development and the social welfare of its workers.
The former obligation led to the closure of unprofitable pits, while
the latter required the Board to provide alternative employment for the
affected men. The Inter-Divisional Transfer scheme was a natural
outcome of this dual obligation.

| In the early 'fifties it had become apparent that the majority of
pits in Northumberland, Durham, Scotland and South Wales were uneconomic
and that Britain's coal needs would increasingly be provided for by the
Yorkshire and Midlands coalfields. In April 1954 the N.C.B. and the
Ministry of Labour co-operated in publicising the better opportunities
and security of the long-life pits in the Midlands and South Yorkshire.

Between 1954 and 1957 10,000 men moved into the Midlands coalfields (49) The Times (14.2 55) commented, "There is little doubt that it was the bait of new houses that brought the miners to the West Midlands rather than closures, or threat of closure, of their own collieries. Many in Scotland, South Wales and the Northernmost English coalfields were living with large families in slum villages" Between 1954 and 1957 the movement was mainly from Durham, Northumberland and Scotland and it continued, though on a lesser scale until 1962.

By 1962 increased competition, especially from oil, intensified the need to close more unprofitable pits, and in April 1962 a revised Inter-Divisional Transfer scheme was introduced to simplify Labour movement. It is still in force and has three main objectives⁽⁵⁰⁾ -

- (a) Avoiding redundancy and potential redundancy in those coalfields where man power will have to reduce,
- (b) To give men in those coalfields priority for available jobs in expanding coalfields in the Midlands and South,
- (c) To see that arrangements try to suit the convenience and needs of the men concerned and give them some financial help.

The Scheme offers the transferee many allowances covering transport, lodgings, removal expenses and rent (see Appendix 2 for full allowances)

In 1964 the N.C.B., with the Ministry of Labour, inaugurated a Long-Distance-Reentrant-Scheme which offered similar opportunities to unemployed ex-miners and reentrants to the industry from other employment.

The Scheme is well publicised. In the North-east regular advertisements appear in the local papers and Tyne-Tees Television has been used to achieve maximum coverage.

Potential transferees approach the scheme in a number of different ways. The most usual is to ask the Colliery Training Office for a Transfer Form (Form C170 see Appendix 2). On completion this is returned to the Training Officer and sent to the receiving Area of the transferees choice. Anyone interested can also contact recruiting officers from the receiving Areas, this can be done either at pre-arranged and publicised meetings or at mobile caravans. Transferees who apply in such a way are given the C170 form to fill in on the spot. The intending transferee can also return the enquiry form contained in each newspaper advertisement and obtain a C170 form in this way. Finally, some potential transferees visit the receiving Area at weekends or holiday times on their own initiative, and fill in the C170 form at the local man-power office.

Once the C170 forms are received by the importing Area working records are checked with the last colliery and the application is accepted or rejected. (Rejections result from bad working records or insufficient training for the advertised jobs, but the increase in man-power shortage in Areas like the West Midlands makes for few rejections). If a man is accepted an offer of employment is made to him, subject to a medical examination. The transferee then receives details of travel

The expanding
Yorkshire Coalfield
offers security

EX-

MINERS

SPARE PIECEWORK WITH GOOD
PROSPECTS OF
PERMANENT
PIECEWORK
IN

WORKSOP AREA: With Main, Kitchen Park and
Merry Collieries.

ROTHERHAM AREA: With Main Colliery.

Good Housing is also available.

YORKSHIRE REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE
AT LOCAL LABOUR EXCHANGES

ROTHAMPTON on June 15, 22, 29, JULY 6, 13

CRISTY on June 15, 22, 29, JULY 7, 14

STANLEY on June 17, 24, JULY 1, 8, 15

WILSON on June 17, 24, JULY 1, 8, 15



APPLY TO THE LOCAL LABOUR
EXCHANGE FOR DETAILS

NATIONAL COAL BOARD YORKSHIRE DIVISION

*For a Future in
look at
Cannock
Chase*



NORTH STAFFS

offers ex-miners a job with prospects of £1,000 a year, or more



- HOUSES AVAILABLE
- FIVE DAY WEEK
- RETIREMENT PENSIONS
- SICK PAY SCHEMES

- GENEROUS TRANSFER ALLOWANCES
- FULL WELFARE FACILITIES
- SIX PAID STATUTORY HOLIDAYS
- TWO WEEKS' PAID ANNUAL HOLIDAY

AND NOW UP TO 7 ADDITIONAL REST DAYS PER ANNUM WITH PAY

Immediate vacancies exist at Collieries in NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE for trained Coal Face Workers and Young Men to be trained for coal face work.

Fill in this coupon NOW and post to:

**AREA MANPOWER OFFICER,
MINING INDUSTRY OFFICES,
LEEK ROAD, STOKE-ON-TRENT**

or call and talk it over with the North Staffs. representative at the N.C.B. Caravan, British Railways Central Station, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Open until December 11th.

This is a highly mechanised coalfield. Any necessary training given.

TO THE AREA MANPOWER OFFICER, MINING INDUSTRY OFFICES, LEEK ROAD, STOKE-ON-TRENT.

I am interested in employment prospects in the North Staffordshire coalfield.

Full Name

Address

Age Married/Single

Present or previous colliery

If security is your aim
**COME TO THE
 ROBIN HOOD COUNTRY**



**A BOOM
 CENTRE
 FOR WORK
 OR PLAY**

FINE SHOPPING CENTRES.

**EXCELLENT INDUSTRIAL
 PROSPECTS FOR ALL THE
 FAMILY.**

**MANY BEAUTY SPOTS IN THE
 SURROUNDING COUNTRYSIDE
 OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE,
 DERBYSHIRE AND
 LEICESTERSHIRE.**

**SEASIDE RESORTS AND
 HOLIDAY CAMPS ON
 NEIGHBOURING EAST COAST.**



Tram Bridge from Victoria Embankment



Nottingham Castle



Nottingham Forest Recreation Ground



Dear in Wollaton Park



Open-air Bath, University Park



The Japanese Garden, Newstead Abbey

**A MECCA
 FOR THE
 KEEN
 SPORTSMAN**

**PLAYING FIELDS AND
 FACILITIES FOR ALL KINDS OF
 SPORT, INCLUDING SWIMMING.**

**A CENTRE DESIGNED FOR
 AMATEUR AND PROFESSIONAL
 CRICKET AND GOLF.**

**GRASS OF FIRST DIVISION
 AND OTHER LEAGUE FOOTBALL.**

**ANGLING, SAILING, ROWING
 ON THE RIVER TRENT.**



THE EAST MIDLANDS DIVISION
One of Europe's leading coalfields



arrangements and a housing application form (see Appendix 2) Meanwhile, the receiving Area arranges lodgings and passes the housing application form to the appropriate local authority On arrival the transferee is usually given a meal and a talk on local pay, housing and work conditions. The next day he is shown round his pit and he usually begins work on the third day. While he is in lodgings he usually travels back to Durham every weekend. When a home becomes available his family and furniture are moved, and after about three months the Household Settlement grant of £50 is paid (51)

From informal contacts with men who have transferred, men who have considered transferring, and men who transferred but returned to Durham, it is almost unanimously considered to be a good Scheme When asked, "What do you think of the scheme?" the usual response is unqualified praise with the conviction that no other industry would, or could, do so much for its workers.

From the beginning of the Scheme until mid-1965 approximately 7,800 men have been transferred. The majority have come from Scotland, Northumberland and Durham, and of the 7,800, 33% went to the West Midlands, 32% to Yorkshire (chiefly South Yorkshire), 23% to the East Midlands, and 12% to the South Western Division (mainly to the Swansea area). (52)

The destination of the 240 families from the five villages in West Durham is shown in Table 12. The destinations are also shown on the map on page 75.

TABLE 12

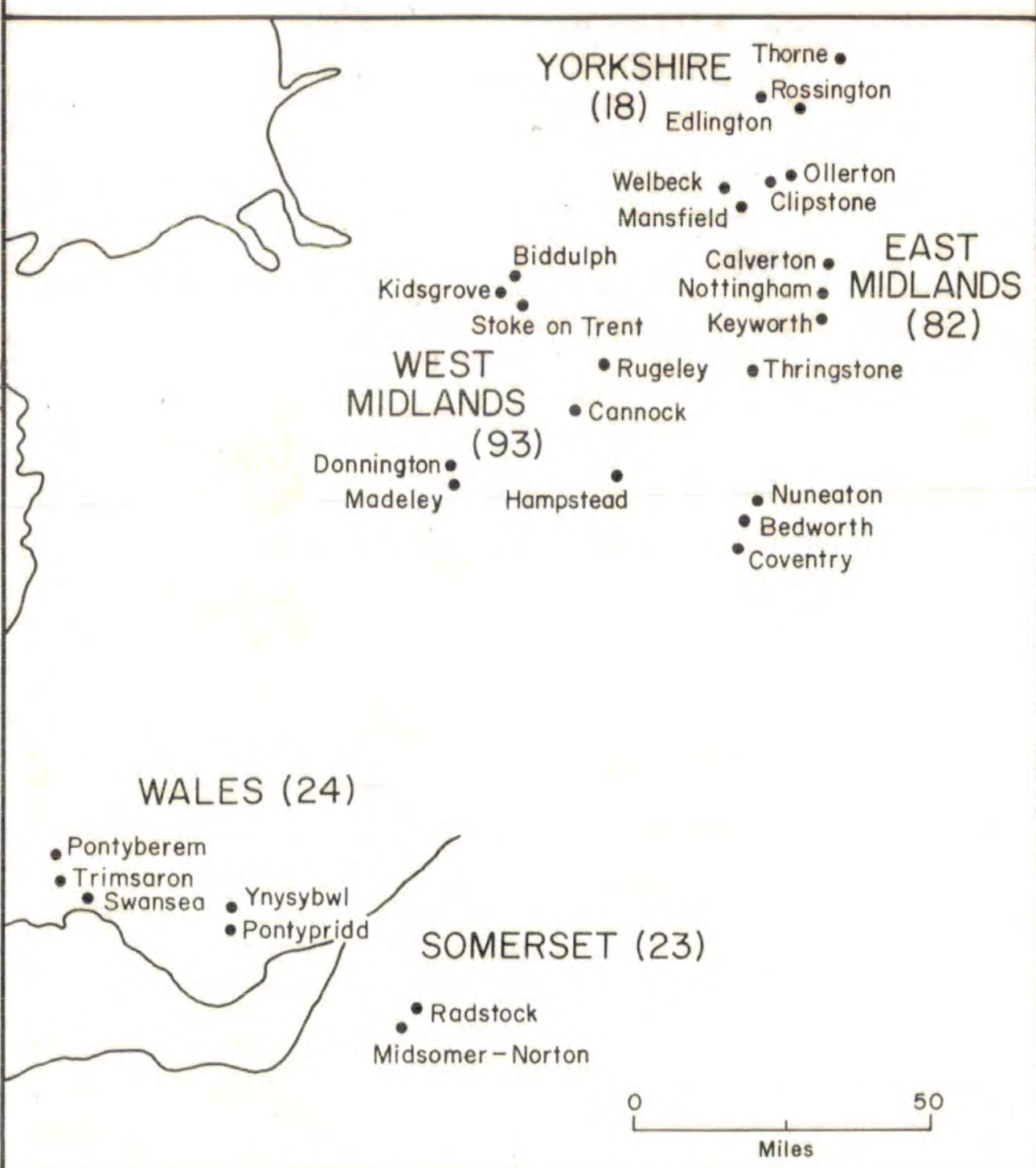
DESTINATIONS OF FAMILIIS FROM FIVE VILLAGES

DIVISION	AREA	BURN- HOPL	CRAG HEAD	DEAN BANK	ESH WINNING	WATER- HOUSES	TOTAL
WEST MIDLAND	North Staffs	6	36	8	10	4	64
	South Staffs			3	8	6	17
	Shropshire			7	5		12
EAST MIDLAND	Nottingham	12	11	24	24	5	76
	Leicester	6					6
YORKSHIRE	Doncaster	9	1	6		2	18
SOUTH WESTERN	Wales	5	1	11	5	2	24
	Somerset	7	3	1	6	6	23
TOTAL		45	52	60	58	25	240

The usefulness of the Inter-Divisional Transfer scheme as a study framework was only fully appreciated as the work developed. On a practical level the Scheme provided exact information on the number of men who had left each village (this facilitated the choice of five villages). It also provided the home address and the destination of each transferee, and with this information, interviewing, both in the five villages and in the receiving areas, could be planned with a degree of exactness otherwise impossible.

In a different way the Scheme was useful in providing "ready made" sample groups. For each village it was possible to compile a list of men who transferred, a list of men who applied but later withdrew, and from Inter-Area Transfer figures, a further list of men who had recently gone to work in the coastal pits. These three groups may be said to isolate three different attitudes towards movement away from the village.

DESTINATIONS OF THE 240 MIGRANT FAMILIES



The transferees were in favour of movement, those who applied and withdrew presumably had mixed feelings - first attracted by the idea of movement but later deciding it was not for them. Finally, those who went to the coast presumably preferred daily commuting to movement away.

Most important, however, was the way in which the Transfer Scheme provided an introduction and a focus for the thousands of interviews and conversations involved in this study. Because of the widespread publicity and the high esteem in which the Scheme is held, the aims of the study were easily understood and sympathetically received, and once doors were opened (literally) the scope of the enquiry could expand.

Chapter 1. Notes to text and references

- (1) DAYSH, G H.J. and SYMONDS, J.S. (1953) p.11.
- (2) COUNTY DEVELOPMENT PLAN, Durham 1951 Written Analysis.
- (3) WADE, F. (1956) p 15
- (4) TEMPLE, A. (1940) p.123
- (5) BEDDOE, J. "Modern Migrations in Great Britain".
British Association Handbook 1874. p.145.
- (6) LAWSON, J. (1949) p.7.
- (7) HOUSE, J.W. (1954) An excellent Monograph.
- (8) HAIP, T.H. (1884) p.40. A case is reported concerning the employment of lead miners from Cornwall to break a strike at Waldridge pit. Fighting broke out between the local men and the 'foreign workers' and all production was stopped.
See also HOUSE op. cit p.40 where it

is reported that Harton Colliery recruited men from Wales, Staffordshire and Nottinghamshire paying travelling expenses of £6 - £7 per family.

- (9) LAWSON, J (1949) p.36
- (10) WADE, F. op. cit. p.35
- (11) LLOYD, E. (1916) pp 32-35.
- (12) TEMPLE, A. (1940) op.cit p.122.
- (13) LAWSON, J. (1949) op.cit p.37
- (14) DAYSH and SYMONDS. op.cit. p.45. Brought up to date.
- (15) For example, a case reported in the Lanchester Rural Sanitary Authority Minutes 3/6/86. A plan was approved for conversion of a stable into two dwelling houses at Esh Colliery, the Habitation order was given less than one month later on 1/7/86.
- (16) DAYSH and SYMONDS op.cit. p.49. Slightly modified
- (17) op. cit. p.47.
- (18) Industrial Transfer Board. Statement of Policy, 1928, "from now onwards the first aim of policy should be the dispersal of the heavy concentrations of unemployment by the active encouragement of movement away from the depressed areas of this country and overseas" as reported in DAVISON, E. (1932) p.4.
- (19) Table compiled from the Report of Commissioners for Special Areas in England and Wales for the year ended 30th September 1937. H.M.S.O. 1937 and from Table 5 in DAYSH and SYMONDS, op. cit pp.47.
- (20) DAYSH and SYMONDS op. cit. pp 108-110
- (21) HAMMOND, E. (1963) p.5.
- (22) Durham County Mining Federation. Manpower Profile 1965
- (23) Calculated from Manpower Profiles 1962-1963, 1964 and 1965 for N.C.B. areas No 5 and No.6 and part of Area No 4 West of the A.1.

- (24) Exact figures of "job creation" are not published for West Durham as a separate area. However, by 1955 the Board of Trade's Development Area Policy had attracted to the North Eastern Industrial Estates 310 firms, employing a total of 49,000 workers, by 1960 the number of firms had risen to 326 and the number of workers to 57,532. In the period 31st March 1960 - 31st March 1964 an additional 31,193 jobs were provided in the Development Areas within the Northern Region. Figures from the Report of the Estimates Committee H.M.S.O. 1955 p.vii and 1963 p.243 Also from Annual Reports of the Board of Trade H.M.S.O. 1961, 1962, 3, 4 and 1965
- (25) DAYSH and SYMONDS op. cit. pp. 87-88
- (26) Durham Coal Owners Association Accession No.55 Archives Collection. County Hall. Durham.
- (27) For procedure used in calculating village population see Appendix 1.
- (28) DAYSH and SYMONDS op. cit p.104
- (29) For method of sampling see discussion in the section on Methodology
- (30) An analogy with the PLATE^E ENDS or BUFFERS at the end of an underground railway line therefore Burnhope is to the outside world what the plate-end is to the railway line.
- (31) Two local explanations are offered. The most common is that they were four-roomed, therefore meant for large families, hence Chinatown. It is also suggested that the name derives from the fact that these houses were the first to have electricity installed, and in the first few weeks paper shades were made to cover the naked bulbs, thus giving an oriental effect - hence Chinatown.
- (32) SMAILES, A E (1960) page 194, describes Dean Bank as a typical "modern colliery colony".
- (33) The sample on which this table is based was made in June 1965, it has recently been announced that Dean and Chapter pit is to close completely by April 1966 The sample (and the conclusions drawn from it) is therefore historical evidence rather than contemporary description.

- (34) WHEELAN, F. and FORDYCE, W.M. (1894) p.273
- (35) Lanchester Rural Sanitary Authority minute book 28/8/1872 -
1/9/1881 and Lanchester Rural District minute book
1881 - 1899
- (36) SMAILES, A.E (1938)
- (37) DENNIS, N., HENRIQUES, F. and SLAUGHTER, C. (1957)
- (38) FRANKENBERG, R (1966)
- (39) GLUCKMAN, M Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand.
Rhodes-Livingstone paper No 28⁸ Manchester 1958
- (40) MITCHELL, J.C "The Kalela Dance" Rhodes-Livingstone paper
No.27 Manchester 1956
- (41) TURNER, V.W "Schism and Continuity in an African Society".
Manchester University Press. 1957
- (42) op. cit. pl.49
- (43) RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A.P. "The Andaman Islanders" Free Press
1948 Pp.230-232
- (44) HOGGART, R (1962) Pp.132-166
- (45) op. cit Pp.130-137.
- (46) LLOYD, A A "Come all ye Bold Miners" London 1952
- (47) op. cit. Pp.137
- (48) Referred to hereafter as the N.C.B. \ x
- (49) WIGNALL, E H. "Migrant Miners". New Society. July 1965 p.13.
- (50) The N.C B. Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme Outline of oppor-
tunities and facilities available N.C.B. publication
1962 See Appendix 2 for this and other documents
relating to the scheme.

- (51) This procedure is generalised as there are slight differences between each N.C.B. division. See Manpower Survey Report No.11. Industrial Relations Dept N.C.B Publication 1965 Privately circulated. The procedure also refers to I/D/T men and there are again slight differences with Long Distance re-entrants.
- (52) Industrial Relations Department. Hobart House, private communication

CHAPTER 2.

CONFRONTATION

"I don't believe in all this shifting round the country - better to stop with the devil you know" (Dean Bank - man)

"You get a bit bored living in a place like this, there seems to be more to do down there" (Burnhope - woman)

(From April 1962 onwards the question of transfer to coalfields further South confronted most miners in West Durham The Transfer Scheme was constantly advertised in local papers and on Tyne-Tees Television, and N.C.B. mobile recruiting centres spent much time at prominent locations in Stanley, Chester-le-Street, Crook, Bishop Auckland and Durham City With this widespread 'coverage' it is certain there was a great overall awareness of the scheme throughout West Durham) (see plates 1 - 4)

(Within the five villages this awareness was accentuated by local reorganisation and closure schemes, and caused many families to consider moving) In Dean Bank and Esh Winning this 'forced choice' presented itself mainly in 1962, in Burnhope and Waterhouses it was 1963, and in Craghead it was 1964, when the majority of families choosing to leave did so It was only in Craghead then that the initial impact and discussion of movement coincided with the research period and therefore

events following the announcement will be described for Craghead alone, though it is believed that in all five villages the events under discussion were substantially the same.

For Craghead the news of redundancy was first reported in the Northern Echo on the 9th October 1963 (see newspaper cutting page 83) This report produced a frenzy of activity among N C B. officials and what could only be called 'a climate of mobility' throughout the village.

At the pit head the following day there were notices of vacancies in Wales, Doncaster, Barnsley and Wakefield, places for 221 pieceworkers in all. On the 13th October the Lodge Secretary returned from a three-day visit to the Stoke-on-Trent area to report to his Lodge and the Press that "any grumbles about conditions in the Midlands were unfounded". He went on to say "I have seen wage slips and they are as good as anywhere in the country, at his worst a miner can still earn £15 per week" On the evening of the 16th October an advertised meeting took place in the Miners Welfare Hall to allow the Recruiting Officer for North Staffordshire to outline the attractions of transfer to that area.

The meeting had been arranged for 8 p.m but it was 9.15 p.m. when the Recruiting Officer, the Craghead Lodge Secretary and a Durham Division Welfare Officer mounted the stage at one end of the hall. By this time there were 63 men and 12 women present. The Lodge Secretary opened the meeting by stressing that 'taking up roots' was probably the biggest decision of a lifetime and that it was vital 'to know what you

Village fears life on dole

Our Stanley reporter

SEPTEMBER 10

9 10.03

Craghead is expecting the worst. Families that refuse to migrate have already reconciled themselves to a life on the dole. There was little hope yesterday of reprieve for any of the 400 jobs that will end by June.

More frustrating is that men will see comrades sacked not knowing if their turn will come next. The majority have worked at the pit since leaving school. With unemployment in the area already over 5 per cent there is little hope of finding work.

It is cruel to make men go away. My man has been at the pit since he was a boy. Where will he get a job now it is asked Mrs Elizabeth Morris of Wistal Terrace yesterday.

Mr John Johnson, father of seven of Ousterley Terrace said: "If I'm one of the unlucky ones I'll just have to find another job. It would not be easy moving my family south and waiting for accommodation. If the worst does come to the worst I'll never take another job in mining."

Seven bans

There is a great reluctance by men to migrate. Vacancies in other divisions are posted on the pits notice board but so far there have been only 30 inquiries.

Mrs Jenny Johnson said: "With seven bans I would move away but what are the prospects? Mining is going down everywhere. The chance of living on the dole from next year is a big worry but we are staying."

Coming out of Craghead colliery yesterday three miners thinking about their future assessed their chances. Mr John Hall of Etrick Terrace said: "We can only look on the dull side. If I keep this job it will be a bit of luck."

Mr James Siver of Hazel Terrace said: "I've been here since before the war and I don't think they want the older men in the pit. If they come and tell me I have no job there's just nothing I can do about it."

Mr Terry Wright of Holmeside Terrace said: "I'm a young man. I hope they'll keep me on. It is anybody's guess who will be picked out."

Watching the men leave was 65-year-old Mr John Jefferson of Holmeside Terrace who retired last year after 51 years in the pit. "I think I got out just in time. The best of the coal in Durham is gone. I don't think there will be anything like the Depression but a village on the dole is bad enough," he said.

Craghead has a population of 1,300. It is estimated that of the sacked men 300 will be from the village. It has only one other industry, a knitwear factory employing young girls. During the past year the pit has fallen short of its 8,000 tons a week target—sometimes by as much as 1,000 tons.

were going to do' Accordingly he hoped that his presence, and that of the Durham Division Welfare Officer, would ensure that 'nothing would be hidden'. His manner was serious and this seemed to communicate itself to the audience who received the following information in reverent silence. The Recruiting Officer began by saying that he was recruiting piece workers for seven out of the eighteen pits in North Staffordshire, and went on to give details of the size, output, heat, degree of mechanisation and height of the seams in each of the seven pits. He spent some time outlining wage rates and then went on to give details of the housing, with the aid of large-scale maps and quarto-size photographs. For the women present he stressed the large windows, the french windows in the lounge-dining room, the partial central heating and the different styles of houses available. He continued by stressing that Staffordshire 'wasn't a depressed area' but that it offered a great future - "schools of every kind, training for apprentices, good shopping facilities and parks, cinemas and swimming baths". It was also beautiful countryside and within one hour of Manchester, one and a half hours from Birmingham and two hours from Blackpool. He did admit that club-life was not as good as it is in Durham, but suggested that this gave the Durham people a chance to 'get things going'. He concluded by saying that he was looking for the young type of man, "A good worker who could settle well".



Esh Winning

The first question came from one of the wives who wanted to know more about the houses. This was followed by eleven questions from men on various aspects of wages, and working conditions. It was one of these questions on the Staffordshire 'Butty' system* which aroused most interest. Comparisons between the Durham and the Staffordshire systems were offered from the floor - "In Durham we share and all muck in" "Down there they work on their own and don't muck in". This criticism commanded great support with cries of "What do you say to that?" The Recruiting Officer tried to defend the 'Butty' system, but it was the Lodge Secretary who finally diverted attention by asking if any of the wives had further questions. A mother asked what the prospects would be for her children and what chance she would have of getting a job. After three further questions on wage conditions and local practices, the meeting broke up at 9.30 p.m. Five men and three couples stayed behind to fill in the Transfer Forms. Within the next three weeks a similar meeting was held in the same hall by the Recruiting Officer for the Swansea area, and at Stanley, only three miles away, meetings were held for the Doncaster, Nottingham and Somerset areas.

At an informal level the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of moving continued throughout the winter until the middle of January, when men started to leave every Monday morning. This regular

*System of working whereby miners work alone on an individual task rather than as a team with a team task.

weekly departure increased the discussion, with the growing numbers of 'ex patriates' in the village at weekends providing first hand information on the relatively unknown alternative of "life down there". It is this alternative which will be discussed in an attempt to understand the meaning and value attached to a phrase like "going down to the Midlands" by men and women in five West Durham Villages.

"LIFE DOWN THERE"* /

"If your next door neighbour died you'd know now't about it, that's what they're like down there" (Burnhope - man).

"They're all monied down there - and when they get money they keep it" (Waterhouses - woman).

"It's all rush - women go out to work, come in, and rush meals to get out at night - no family life - children out on the estates all night - its what we call town life". (Waterhouses - man)

These selected views illustrate the two most mentioned characteristics - the unfriendly people and the urban quality of "life down there".

Almost without exception the people were reported to "keep themselves to themselves", neighbours did not have the habit of popping-in, but rather spoke to each other in the street only. Shopkeepers, doctors and teachers were considered to be without understanding and unco-operative.

*No attempt is made to quantify the images and attitudes expressed, neither is there any geographical precision. For most people "life down there" was automatically interpreted as "the Midlands" - as this area was the destination of 70% of the migrants from the five villages it was not felt necessary specially to ask about areas like Somerset and Wales.



A modern estate at Ollerton, in the heart of the Robin Hood country, provides housing for men moving to OLLERTON, THORESBY & BEVERCOTES. A number of the houses are centrally heated and tenants of these receive an allowance of £47 17s. 0d. per year, in lieu of concessionary coal, for the purchase of smokeless fuel. Most of the houses are three-bedroomed but there are a number of four-bedroomed types for the larger families. Garages are available.

Shopping Facilities

Ollerton offers good shopping facilities and there are 'bus services to Mansfield and Nottingham, which cater for every need.

Social Amenities

The new Ollerton-Bevercotes Miners' Welfare Institute offers the best in accommodation and entertainment and is popularly known as the "Palladium of the Midlands". There are ample facilities for sport. Ollerton has its own cinema, a new library, and good youth clubs.

Welfare Services

The Nottinghamshire County Council provides comprehensive maternity and child welfare services at Ollerton.



Lounge & Bar



Ollerton Miners' Welfare

The Dukeries Comprehensive School, Ollerton



Schools

Infant and junior schools adjoin the housing site. For older children there are secondary schools and the recently-completed Dukeries Comprehensive School at Ollerton. The West Nottinghamshire Technical College, Mansfield, Nottingham University, and other further education establishments, offer ample scope for advanced studies.

Churches

Ollerton has Anglican, Roman Catholic and nonconformist churches including a Salvation Army Corps.

In general it just seemed as if "people don't want to know you down there" Instead of being friendly they were "stand offish", "on the snobbish side", "proper sedate sort of place they're all stuck up". In addition, many Durham people considered them unable to cook and to bake, unable to look after their children, their houses and their wives They were also unable to enjoy themselves - just not knowing "how to have a good time".

In content and tempo the life was invariably described as "Town Life" - "its too big and massive just one big jungle of estates Down there its town life, you mightn't see your neighbour for two to three weeks, and you're only invited in when its convenient" - "It's all rush down there, getting on and off the buses you have to hurry and crossing the road is terrible, its murder". In addition, "there are coloured people living amongst them, and Polish and other nationalities" in fact, "Some of them places down there are like the United Nations".

Even what might be considered as obvious attractions were presented in such a way as to minimise their desirability This was particularly true of the houses They agreed they were nice houses, "but what rents they have to pay", nice big 'modern' windows "but what privacy have you with windows that size?" True, some of the houses had central heating "but you've got to pay for it all the time and you can't ever get warm again when you step outside". Similarly they all seemed to have a car, "but the wife has to go out working to pay for it". The children

went to modern schools and the wives to modern supermarkets "but the teachers and the shopkeepers aren't the same".

For a minority, however, "life down there" was without these disadvantages. Instead, it was characterised by the manifestations of a higher standard of living. "They've got pots of money, big cars, centrally heated houses with big windows - even a french window on to the garden". It was certainly the modern houses which were foremost in the minds of those favourably disposed towards "life down there". "Lovely houses, everything modern, nice lavatory, separate from the bathroom, and kitchenette all tiled, no floor covering to buy" But they were also aware of nicer surroundings. There were no "dirty black streets", "no necessity to wash the curtains every three weeks" - instead it was "nice and open with parks and gardens". They also mentioned the good shops, bowling alleys, swimming pools and "tons and tons of recreation and places to go". There even seemed "more life down there, more central and more places to see" In addition of course there was a background of security for the worker, and more opportunities for his wife and children.

This suggestion of a majority and a minority view does simplify the overall "image". In reality many of the villagers hold muddled and contradictory images and attitudes based on inveterate prejudice, second hand information, and only in a few cases on personal experience Nevertheless "life down there" assumes a definite form and quality to



Mother and Son, Esh Winning



Father and Sons, Cannock

most people in the five villages in West Durham. For the majority it suggests an unfriendly town life for which economic security and a higher overall standard of living are not sufficient compensation. For the minority the manifestations of this comparative affluence are viewed as desirable ends in themselves, which, in turn, completely dominate their perception of "life down there".

In all his discussions with parents, brothers, sisters, neighbours and workmates, the intending migrant was confronted with these stereotyped images and attitudes. It is suggested that these opposing stereotypes are manifestations of an underlying confrontation between two ways of life, the one, known intimately from childhood for most people in the village, the other, known mainly by hearsay, yet assuming a definite form. At this level, such a confrontation may be expected to result in the emergence of two groups of people with opposing values. The majority find satisfaction in the known and tried way of the village (as these were symbolised in the account of Saturday-night at the Workmens' Club) with the corollary that they deprecate^e any alternative. The minority, however, find the same village dull and frustrating and so welcome and extol the alternative. Therefore the people who perceived "life down there" to be "unfriendly and hurried", perceived life in the village as being somehow, "safe and manageable". Certainly the man from Craghead felt this about his village who said "When I go up to work to-day if I meet 150 men 149 will have something to say, I work

my week and have a couple of days off at the weekend and wherever I go I'm known and welcomed" A woman in Waterhouses expresses the same sentiment, "You're brought up in one place and you know people and you're just sort of content. Everyone knows you in the street. You have your routine week after week, year after year - if you go away you've got to start all over again". For many it's a case of, "I'd rather stay here on the dole and be happy than go away for a big wage and be unhappy" The apotheosis is reached and simply stated by a Craghead man - "The greatest thing in life's contentment and I'm contented here - there's no place like Craghead".

Similarly, people who felt that "life down there" was characterised by new houses, modern schools, bowling alleys, swimming pools and 'tons of entertainment', found the village "a bit of a dump - a backwoods" and "would like to give the children something different". This was the attitude of a Burnhope couple, "We came from Stanley five years ago and we've never really liked Burnhope, it's too quiet, no amusements for us because we don't drink. It's the same thing day after day, you get bored with it all, it would be nice to get to a place where things might be a little different". A Dean Bank man found he couldn't get any further "Up here I'm top of the tree", and a Burnhope man expressed a more general discontent, "Burnhope - this is the place God forgot to finish".

At a fundamental level these opposing views represent a confrontation between the character orientations of Assent and Dissent. The Assenters

find comparative satisfaction in village life, the Dissenters find the same life inadequate and often irrelevant. This concept provides a basic model for use throughout the study and will be developed further. It is introduced here because perception is seen as one of its dependent variables, and because it provides the full context out of which the decision to migrate finally crystallised.

CHAPTER 3.

WHO GOES?

Introduction.

For men in the five villages, transfer to pits further South has been an alternative to staying in Durham since April 1962. Until late 1964 'staying in Durham' offered three alternatives (i) continued employment at the village or neighbouring pits, (ii) redundancy, or resignation at the pit and employment in another industry, and (iii) redundancy. After late 1964 there was the added alternative of travelling daily to the coastal pits.

All miners still living in the five villages renounced transfer in preference for one of these alternatives, while 240 men renounced the alternatives in favour of transfer. This choice has already been referred to as a "forced-choice", but this phrase exaggerates the element of compulsion. The "choice" is properly assessed in relation to two facts. Firstly, only 12 out of the 240 migrants were redundant at the time of deciding to move, and secondly, only 29% considered another job or another pit as an alternative to movement. Finally, it is suggested that the whole idea of "compulsion" should be tempered by that of perception. Throughout 1962, 1963 and 1964 all men at Craghead, Esh Winning and Waterhouses, and the Dean and Chapter pit, worked under

a threat of redundancy. The manner in which they perceived this threat and the alternatives posed, decided 'who went' The migrants, it is suggested, are characterised by a quicker reaction to the adverse conditions. Stated in another way, it may be said that the economic pressures which operated to "push" people out of the five villages were exerted gradually enough to allow selective factors to operate.

SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENTS of the MIGRANT TYPE

At an early stage in the research it became apparent that the people left in all five villages were aware of selectivity, they felt that a certain kind of person had left. This emerged most clearly in the way they described friends and relatives who had moved away - "Billy's the type who couldn't be idle - he could have stopped here because he was injured but not Billy, he was always on the go. He could turn his hand to anything He mended that pit tractor beautiful, he made machines work where experts failed" (Dean Bank man speaking of his friend). "He wasn't here too long, but he was a good worker, the pit wouldn't run without him - big headed he was too mind you - like Cassius Clay - he was the kind of man who would get on". (Esh Winning man of a former workmate). "Hewas a steady type, but she was from down there anyway - she was always talking about London - all the streets were paved with gold to hear her talking" (neighbour of Burnhope family who moved) Finally, there is the case of the Craghead man describing his brother-in-law

who had gone to Coventry - "He wasn't a good miner - not a five day miner, what I would call a good miner. He was only interested in money he wanted to make money all the time. He says you can only make it when you're young, I say you can't spend it when you're old. He's the type who'd pack in pit work to-morrow if he could get 10/- extra in another job. He doesn't spend his money either, doesn't drink, doesn't smoke, but I will say this for him he had a lovely house at Stanley, beautiful lawn and garden. He had his own car before he left and now he has bought a new bungalow in Coventry. He is a devil for money, but he is welcome to it, he has no time to enjoy it".

People questioned were also able to generalise on the kind of person who left -

"People who've been in the Forces and haven't really settled down".

"People who are willing to take a risk, the same type of man would take a risk at the pit. People who're not content like we are".

"They wanted to get on, to better themselves, not content to sit and let things come over them".

Shopkeepers and professional people in each of the five villages were also aware of this selectivity -

"Family people, ambitious, good workers, thinking of their children".

(Grocer - Esh Winning).

"Always felt they were the better types - less typical of the

1920-30 mining mentality - people who don't look and talk and behave

like the typical Durham Miner" (Doctor - Esh Winning)

"I should say the sensible ones - men with families, looking to the future". (Grocer - Dean Bank)

"Pioneers that went, they had spirit. The people who stay can't see the village has no future". (Confectioner - Craghead)

Perhaps significantly, the Manager of a Betting Shop in Burnhope observed -

"Don't know who's gone - all our best customers are still here"

In all five villages, exploratory questioning revealed the same kind of answers. Accordingly one out of every ten adults* in each of the villages was asked the question, "What kind of people have left?" in an attempt to achieve an overall quantitative estimation of the way in which migrants were characterised by their residual group. Table 13 gives the number of times the most-mentioned characteristics were used to describe those who left. The seven individual characteristics emerged only in analysis and were in no case offered as alternatives by the interviewer.

Clearly, the most suggested characteristic is that of "Wanting to Better Themselves". This contains an element of ambiguity because it could be offered as a reason for leaving as well as a characteristic of those who left and some people may have used it in the former sense. However, the very fact that they wanted to better themselves and believed

* See page 12 for details of Methodology

TABLE 13

Answers to the Question, "WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE LEFT THE VILLAGE?"

No and % mentioning CHARACTERISTIC	BURNHOPE		CRAGHEAD		DEANBANK		ESH WINNING		WATER- HOUSES		ALL FIVE VILLAGES	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
"SENSIBLE"	-	-	9	5	12	10	9	7	5	14	35	6
"WANTING TO BETTER THEM- SELVES"	41	44	33	20	44	35	29	23	9	25	156	29
"GOOD WORKER"	14	15	27	16	16	13	18	14	6	17	81	15
"RESPECTABLE - DECENT"	7	7	44	27	9	7	22	17	2	5	84	16
"ADVENTUROUS - RESTLESS"	15	16	11	7	16	13	30	23	6	17	78	14
"GOOD MIXER"	10	11	16	10	18	15	12	9	6	17	62	11
"ORDINARY/ AVERAGE"	7	7	25	15	8	7	9	7	2	5	51	9
TOTAL No & % of MENTIONS	94	100	165	100	123	100	129	100	36	100	547	100

that moving away would accomplish this, does suggest that they are also characterised by the same desire for self improvement. Therefore instead of invalidating, the ambiguity is seen to corroborate the overall perception.

The table does suggest two "clusters" of similar characteristics. When people describe the migrant as "wanting to better himself", "A good worker", "Sensible," and "Respectable and decent", they are referring to the same kind of character orientations. The individual characteristics

become attributes of the overall characteristic of ASPIRATION.

A second "cluster" emerges from a combination of the characteristics, "adventurous", "restless", and "good mixers". These individual characteristics supplement each other in suggesting a person who is confident and perhaps experienced, with the overall characteristic of being OPEN or RECEPTIVE to new situations

Therefore to people remaining in the five villages, the migrant, or the migrant family, is characterised by an openness and an aspiration towards new situations that are likely to improve their conditions.

Finally, two further characterisations augment this awareness of selectivity. Firstly, many people used a comparative approach to characterise the migrants, and in doing so, made admissions of personal unsuitability which ultimately provide a further dimension of awareness - "The L. family were people who could mix with anyone - not like us, we're quiet".

"Wish we could do it as easy, he would go, its me that's the big drag - I'm an only child"

"We haven't that kind of push", and a man describing his migrant brother, "He's a better mixer than me, I'm more contented".

This feeling of personal unsuitability was expressed graphically by an Esh Winning man, "It takes some doing to go away from a place you were born and bred in, its just like being born again Like a little bairn learning to walk".

Secondly, the migrants themselves found no difficulty in characterising those remaining in the five villages - "Scared, afraid to take the plunge". "Ones set in their ways - I could give you a list of names and tell you where they would be tomorrow and in six months time, I can even tell you which tables they'll be sitting at". "Blokes set in their ways. A bomb wouldn't move them" "Them that's content to stay on the dole, types with friends in the Legion (club) only interested in themselves". This overall awareness of selectivity compels an objective comparison between migrants and non migrants.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN ~~NON~~-MIGRANTS and NON-~~M~~IGRANTS

The wider interests of this study do not permit a full comparison in which every migrant is compared with a non-migrant. Instead, all migrants from one village, Esh Winning, are compared with men still living in the village. Esh Winning was chosen because all migrants from this village are "normal", i.e. there are no redundant, newly married or Epiphenomenal⁽¹⁾ migrants to complicate certain aspects of the comparison.

The migrants are matched with men still living in Esh Winning in terms of age, marital status and pit job. ("Datal" or Day wage Surface Worker, "Piece", or face worker and Craftsmen). The matching of age and job is referred back to the migrants departure, therefore at the time of interview some of the non-migrants were in other occupations.

All non-migrants interviewed had a knowledge of, and were eligible for, the Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme. The two samples, each of 49 families are compared in the following six respects -

- (i) The extended family
- (ii) The nuclear family.
- (iii) The conjugal relationship
- (iv) Social life
- (v) Housing experience
- (vi) Employment and travel experience

Detailed results of the comparison are contained in Tables 14-31, presented below is a summary and comments on the findings in the same order as the above six areas of interest

(1) The Extended Family (Tables 14-18)

Migrants are clearly less indigenous than non-migrants. The migrant husband, his parents, and his grandparents are all less likely to have been born in the village than is the non-migrant and his forebears. As a corollary the migrants parents and grandparents are more likely to have been born outside County Durham than are their non-migrant counterparts. This differential applies mainly to husbands, only in one case - that of wife's grandparents - are migrant wives significantly different from non-migrant wives

As a sample-group the migrants have experienced considerable mobility, the case of Mr and Mrs S., who left Esh Winning for Wales, is illustrative.

TABLE 14

	BIRTHPLACE OF HUSBAND		BIRTHPLACE OF HUSBAND'S PARENTS				BIRTHPLACE OF HUSBAND'S GRANDPARENTS			
	VILL-AGE	ELSE-WHERE	VILL-AGE	ELSE-WHERE DURHAM	DURHAM	OUTSIDE DURHAM	VILL-AGE	ELSE-WHERE DURHAM	DURHAM	OUTSIDE DURHAM
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	26	74	13	87	87	13	6	94	76	24
F-M	54	46	35	65	95	5	20	80	85	15
	$\chi^2 = 8.2$ P < .01		$\chi^2 = 15.1$ P < .001		$\chi^2 = 3.1$ Not significant		$\chi^2 = 16.9$ P < .001		$\chi^2 = 4.7$ P < .05	

TABLE 15

	BIRTHPLACE OF WIFE		BIRTHPLACE OF WIFE'S PARENTS				BIRTHPLACE OF WIFE'S GRANDPARENTS			
	VILL-AGE	ELSE-WHERE	VILL-AGE	ELSE-WHERE DURHAM	DURHAM	OUTSIDE DURHAM	VILL-AGE	ELSE-WHERE DURHAM	DURHAM	OUTSIDE DURHAM
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	17	83	8	92	89	11	8	92	75	25
F-M	24	76	17	83	94	6	10	90	85	15
	NOT SIGNIFICANT		$\chi^2 = 3.3$ NOT SIGNIFICANT		NOT SIGNIFICANT		NOT SIGNIFICANT		$\chi^2 = 4.6$ P < .05	

TABLE 16

	LOCATION OF HUSBANDS SIBLINGS				LOCATION OF WIFE'S SIBLINGS						
	VILL-AGE	ELSE-WHERE	DURHAM	OUTSIDE DURHAM	VILLAGE	ELSE-WHERE	DURHAM	OUTSIDE DURHAM			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
MIGRANTS	22	78	69	31	16	84	74	26			
NON-MIGRANTS	43	57	88	12	16	84	83	17			
$\chi^2 = 16.8$ $P < .001$				$\chi^2 = 18.7$ $P < .001$				SAME DISTRIBUTION $\chi^2 = 5.4$ $P < .02$			

TABLE 17

LOCATION OF HUSBANDS PARENTS		LOCATION OF WIFE'S PARENTS		HUSBANDS RELATIONSHIP WITH PARENTS			WIFE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH PARENTS		
VILL-AGE	ELSE-WHERE	VILL-AGE	ELSE-WHERE	INTIMATE	EFFECTIVE	NON-EFFECTIVE	INTIMATE	EFFECTIVE	NON-EFFECTIVE
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
53	47	19	81	41	18	41	49	18	33
65	35	41	59	60	20	20	59	29	12
$\chi^2 = 4.4$ $P < .05$		$\chi^2 = 6.8$ $P < .02$		$\chi^2 = 5.4$ $P < .02$			$\chi^2 = 5.9$ $P < .02$		

TABLE 18

	HUSBANDS' PARENTS		WIFE'S PARENTS	
	LIVING	DEAD	LIVING	DEAD
	%	%	%	%
MIGRANTS	58	42	54	46
NON-MIGRANTS	67	33	75	25
NOT SIGNIFICANT			$\chi^2 = 7.2$ $P < .01$	

TABLE 19

	LIVING-IN EXPERIENCE		RESIDENCE PATTERN	
	YES	NO	MATRI-LOCAL	PATRI-LOCAL
	%	%	%	%
MIGRANTS	53	47	48	52
NON-MIGRANTS	39	61	70	30
$\chi^2 = 3.2$ NOT SIGNIFICANT			$\chi^2 = 2.7$ NOT SIGNIFICANT	

Both Mr S. and his wife were born in the village His mother was born in Durham City, his father in Newcastle. His parental grandparents both came from South Wales, and his maternal grandfather came from Gloucester and married a Durham woman. Mrs S's parents were both born in the Deerness Valley but her paternal grandparents both came from Staffordshire and her maternal grandparents from Yorkshire. There are similar cases to be found among the non-migrants, but Mr and Mrs S. are more typical of the migrant sample-group, and it is ironic, if not significant, that some migrants are returning to areas their grandparents left at the end of the last century.

Compared with non-migrants, migrant wives are more likely to have lost one or both parents. There is no similar differential for husbands, and these two findings substantiate the popular opinion that it is the relationship between the wife and her parents, particularly with her mother, which is the vital deciding factor in many migration plans.

The location of living parents shows a significant migrant/non-migrant differential. Both the migrant husband and wife are less likely to have lived in the parental village than are non-migrants. This is especially true for wives, (both migrant and non-migrant), indicating a clear patrilocal residence pattern. All these findings suggest that the experience of a limited geographical separation from parents makes it easier to decide on a more permanent separation. The advantage of this initial break would seem to be felt most strongly by the wives since the migrant/non-migrant differential for parents living in the

village is greater for wives than for husbands.

Associated with these differences in the location of parents there is a difference in the quality of the parent/child relationship. Both migrant husband and wife are less likely to have an Intimate⁽²⁾ Relationship and more likely to have a Non-Effective relationship with their parents than are non-migrants. It is difficult to estimate the cause/effect relationship of this finding to the previous facts of location. A migrant may have chosen to live away from parents because of a deteriorating relationship, or his relationship may have deteriorated because of geographical separation. Either, or both explanations may have applied in certain cases, but in every case the end result has been a weakened relationship.

Finally, there are significant differences in the location of the siblings of migrants and non-migrants. Migrant husbands are less likely to have brothers and sisters in the village than are non-migrants, and are more likely to have siblings outside County Durham. Migrant wives are also more likely to have siblings outside County Durham, but there is no significant difference between them and non-migrants in the location of siblings within the County.

The fact that migrants are more likely to have siblings outside Durham again suggests that propensity to migrate may be a family rather than an individual characteristic. To suggest that migration may be a family characteristic is not to suggest an inherited propensity, it

is instead a recognition of the influence of accumulated social experience. The presence in many migrant families of a precedent, conceivably makes migration more of a reality, and more important there is the likelihood of a regular and reliable source of information on opportunities in other areas. Having relatives in other areas of the county also facilitates first-hand knowledge of other areas. This study reveals the fact that many migrants made their first acquaintance with their future destinations when on visits to brothers and sisters, and even more significant was the number of migrants who had made this first acquaintance when on holiday with uncles and aunts who had left Durham in the 1920's and 1930's.

In terms of the extended family, then, the outstanding characteristic of the migrant is one of "dislocation". His relationship with his parents is dislocated by death, geographical separation and a deterioration in quality, and compared with the non-migrant, he is less indigenous to the village and the County and is more likely to have connections of kinship with other areas of the country.

(11) The Nuclear Family (Tables 20 and 21)

There is no significant difference either in the number or in the age of children in the migrant and non-migrant nuclear families. A difference might have been expected in the ages of the children. It was thought that the migrants might have more children of school age, especially as many gave opportunities for children as a reason for

TABLE 20

	AMBITION FOR CHILDREN	
	VAGUE	FORMU-LATED
	%	%
MIGRANTS	20	80
NON-MIGRANTS	52	48
$\chi^2 = 15.0$ P < .001		

TABLE 21

	NUMBER OF CHILDREN			AGE OF CHILDREN		
	NONE	1 - 2	3 and over	Pre-School	School	Post School
	%	%	%	%	%	%
MIGRANTS	6	54	40	25	55	20
NON-MIGRANTS	6	46	52	28	54	18
NOT SIGNIFICANT				NOT SIGNIFICANT		

movement. However, while migrants do not have more children of school age, they are more likely to articulate formulated ambitions for their children. Most migrants with children of school age not only had some definite ambition for their children, ^{but} they also gave the impression that they knew something of the child's abilities and interests. The non-migrants were more likely to give a "wait and see" answer, like the Esh Winning father who said, "We'll worry about that when we come to it, they'll be building factories or something, they can't let everybody go on the dole". Some non-migrants also had definite ambitions for their children but admitted ruefully that these could not be realised without big improvements in West Durham.

Therefore while there are no significant numerical differences in the number and ages of migrants and non-migrant's children, there is an important difference in the parental responsibility and concern for their future.

(iii) The Conjugal Relationship (Tables 22 and 23).

There is a number of significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in their interpretation and practice of the conjugal role. Non-migrants are more likely not to offer any help of any kind in the house, migrants do help, especially in making meals and washing up. Similarly the migrant husband is less likely to have regular nights out alone, and compared with the non-migrant, is more likely to allow his wife to go out. The migrants are more likely to go out more together than are non-migrants.

TABLE 22

	HUSBANDS REGULAR NIGHTS OUT ALONE		WIFE'S REGULAR NIGHTS-OUT ALONE		REGULAR NIGHTS- OUT TOGETHER	
	None	1 and over	None	1 and over	None	1 and over
	%	%	%	%	%	%
MIGRANTS	40	60	48	52	38	62
NON-MIGRANTS	22	78	78	22	65	35
	$\chi^2 = 4.0$ P < .05		$\chi^2 = 8.6$ P < .01		$\chi^2 = 7.6$ P < .01	

TABLE 23

	DOMESTIC HELP FROM HUSBAND		HELP WITH MEALS		HELP WITH WASHING-UP		HELP WITH SHOPPING	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MIGRANTS	20	80	39	61	39	61	39	61
NON-MIGRANTS	52	48	72	28	62	38	78	22
	$\chi^2 = 15.0$ P < .001		$\chi^2 = 9.1$ P < .01		$\chi^2 = 6.6$ P < .02		$\chi^2 = 3.06$ NOT SIGNIFICANT	

All these findings suggest that the migrants enjoy a measure of partnership, where the husband and wife share domestic tasks and find pleasure in each other's company. This contrasts with the non-migrant couple who have more of an institutionalised relationship, where husband and wife have specialised roles and interests. Reference has already been made to the pronounced sexual division of labour in the West Durham Mining Village. This division is enshrined in the belief that the woman's place is in the home looking after her husband and her children, while the man does a man's job at the pit, and after his work seeks recreation among fellow workers. It is among the non-migrants where there is greatest conformity to this belief, and it is in the sphere of domestic help where it is held most vigorously. The whole attitude is expressed graphically by a Craghead non-migrant who answered the question "Do you ever help out in the house?" by saying "It's no good keeping a dog and barking yourself".

(1v) Social Life (Tables 22, 24, 25, 26 and 27)

There are fewer significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in the content of their social life than may have been expected after hearing characterisations of migrants from people remaining in the villages. Migrant and non-migrant husbands and wives join a similar number of organisations and are equally likely to become officials and committee members within the organisations. They are also equally likely to possess a car. However, there are significant

TABLE 24

	No of REGULAR NIGHTS- OUT HUSBANDS			No of REGULAR NIGHTS- OUT WIVES		
	0-1	2-3	4 and over	0	1-3	4 and over
	%	%	%	%	%	%
MIGRANTS	19	46	35	15	70	15
NON-MIGRANTS	13	70	17	47	43	10
	$\chi^2 = 5.6$ P < .02			$\chi^2 = 11.5$ P < .001		

TABLE 25

	No. of VILLAGE ORGANISATIONS JOINED BY HUSBANDS			No. of VILLAGE ORGANISATIONS JOINED BY WIVES		OFFICIAL POSITIONS (both hu. and w)	
	0	1-2	3 and over	0	1-2	NONE	1 and over
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MIGRANTS	20	50	30	73	27	81	19
NON-MIGRANTS	25	64	11	79	21	79	21
	NOT SIGNIFICANT			NOT SIGNIFICANT		NOT SIGNIFICANT	

TABLE 26

	KIND OF ORGANISATION JOINED		NUMBER POSSESSING A CAR	
	Cultur-ally assent-ing.	Cultur-ally dissent-ing.	Yes	No
	%	%	%	%
MIGRANTS	65	35	35	65
NON-MIGRANTS	83	17	25	75
$\chi^2 = 4.5$ P < .05			$\chi^2 = 1.8$ NOT SIGNIFICANT	

TABLE 27

	HOLIDAYS FREQUENCY			CHOICE OF AREA	
	Never	Irreg-ular	Regular	Tradnl Working Class	Non-Trad Working Class
	%	%	%	%	%
MIGRANTS	23	22	55	40	60
NON-MIGRANTS	39	7	54	80	20
$\chi^2 = 5.8$ P < .02			$\chi^2 = 7.4$ P < .01		

differences both in the quality and quantity of the social life. Migrant husbands and especially migrant wives, go out more than non-migrants, and the organisations they join are likely to be culturally dissenting (A culturally dissenting organisation is one which dissents from the prevailing cultural "climate" In the West Durham Mining Village the workingmen's club, the Leek, Darts and Bingo clubs epitomize the cultural climate, in this context, church organisations, Dressmaking and Icing classes, the Women's Institute and Parent-Teachers Associations are examples of Dissenting organisations. They provide for minority, self improving, interest groups and are often branches of larger, nationally orientated organisations). Reference has already been made to the fact that migrant couples go out more together than do non-migrant couples This fact affects the quality of the social life but has been considered elsewhere as a manifestation of the conjugal relationship. There are significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in the regularity and location of their annual holiday Migrants are more likely to have regular (over three in five years) and irregular (once or twice in five years) holidays than are non-migrants. The greatest difference is in the choice of area. Migrants are more likely to choose a Non-Traditional Working-Class resort than are non migrants. Traditional working-class resorts for North-east miners are Blackpool, Whitley Bay, North Shields, Roker and Redcar Migrants are more likely to go to resorts like Rhyl, Bournemouth, Yarmouth and to tour Scotland and Wales.

The Migrants are prepared to travel further for their holidays than are non-migrants. It is suggested that the preference for different areas results from contrasting attitudes towards planning and "looking ahead". The fact that migrants have a different attitude towards planning has emerged already with reference to the children's future, but throughout the study the migrants evinced a "belief" in planning and showed attempts at putting this belief into practice. "Having a proper holiday" is one example of this attitude. Non-migrants are more likely to "See what happens", to leave decisions until the last minute before they have to be made. With this attitude, "a day at the coast" or "a caravan at Shields" are ideal solutions, while holidays requiring forward planning are less likely.

(v) Housing Experience (Tables 19, 28 and 29)

In their housing experience migrants and non-migrants show a number of significant differences. Migrants are more likely to live in Council houses than are non-migrants, they are also more likely to own their houses and to live in privately rented accommodation. The non-migrants are more likely to live in colliery houses.

In all Durham mining villages there is a degree of housing self-selection, through families making formal and informal exchanges. The council houses are generally considered superior, having inside toilets and fitted baths, but their rents are usually between 30/- and 50/- per week. Colliery houses are rent free but are often without an inside

TABLE 28

	KIND OF HOUSE			NUMBER OF PREVIOUS HOUSES		NUMBER OF YEARS IN LAST HOUSE		
	Coll- ery	Council	Own or private rent	0-2	3-5	1-2	3-9	10 and over
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MIGRANTS	42	48	10	72	28	40	48	12
NON-MIGRANTS	78	20	2	92	8	46	26	28
$\chi^2 = 12.6$ P < .001			$\chi^2 = 6.6$ P < .02		$\chi^2 = 5.8$ P < .02			

TABLE 29

	MAKING IMPROVEMENTS		ADMITTING SATISFACTION		POSSESSING INSIDE TOILET		FITTED BATH		FRIDGE	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	41	59	72	28	51	49	52	48	26	74
-M	12	88	80	20	26	74	52	48	6	94
$\chi^2 = 10.1$ P < .01		NOT SIGNIFICANT		$\chi^2 = 5.8$ P < .02		SAME DISTRIBUTION		$\chi^2 = 7.4$ P < .01		

toilet and a fitted bath. Therefore the migrant/non-migrant differential in house-type suggests that the migrants are more concerned to have a modern house than are non-migrants. This suggestion is corroborated by the fact that migrants make more improvements to their houses. Compared with non-migrants they are more likely to build cupboards, flush doors, tile floors and renew paintwork. Non-migrants are less concerned to improve their houses even though they tend to live in older property. This indifference is further expressed by the fact that, compared with migrants, they are equally likely to be satisfied with their housing situation. Throughout the interviewing it was apparent that migrants were more interested in their homes. Compared with non-migrants they were more likely to have newer and better kept furniture and their kitchens were more fully equipped. This is well illustrated in the greater likelihood of migrants having refrigerators. There are no significant differences in migrant and non-migrant experience of "living-in", however, there is a tendency for migrants not to have lived-in with parents after marriage as much as non-migrants. In pattern of residence after marriage, non-migrants are clearly matrilocal while migrants are as likely to go to husband's as to wife's parents. Both tendencies suggest that migrants compared with non-migrants are more concerned to exert their independence of parental influence - especially that of the wife's parents.

Compared with non-migrants, migrants have lived in a greater number of previous houses and have lived a shorter time in their last/present

house. This greater house mobility is a manifestation of a greater overall mobility which is considered below.

(vi) Employment and Travel Experiences (Tables 30 and 31)

Migrants have worked in a greater number of pits than have non-migrants. Three reasons are suggested to account for this finding. Firstly, the migrant is more likely to have been born outside the village, therefore is less likely to have worked only at the local pit - as have most of the non-migrants. Secondly, having recognised that migrants have a quicker reaction to adverse conditions it is understandable that they should have moved to another pit whenever local conditions deteriorated. Both factors account for a measure of mobility and this initial mobility is exaggerated by the third factor. Since 1947 the N.C.B. and the Durham Union of Mine Workers have agreed that in the event of redundancy at any colliery, the last man to be employed would be the first man to become redundant. This practice, known locally as "last on first off", has a cumulative effect on pit mobility. Any movement begets further movement, a miner who moves to secure better conditions is more likely to have to make another move than is the man who accepts conditions at the first pit. There is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in the number of different jobs held by both husband and wife, but there is a tendency for migrant husbands to have had more jobs than their non-migrant counterparts. Again, it is the migrant's quicker reaction to deteriorating conditions which would seem to account for this tendency.

TABLE 30

	OVER ONE YEAR OUTSIDE DURHAM				PREVIOUSLY CONSIDERED MOVEMENT	
	HUSBAND		WIFE		Yes	No
	Yes	No	Yes	No		
	%	%	%	%	%	
MIGRANTS	45	55	37	63	37	63
NON-MIGRANTS	18	82	16	84	22	78
	$\chi^2 = 7.9$ P < .01		$\chi^2 = 4.2$ P < .05		NOT SIGNIFICANT	

TABLE 31

	NUMBER OF PITS WORKED			NUMBER OF HUSBANDS' JOBS ^b			NUMBER OF WIVES' JOBS ^c	
	1	2	3 and over	0	1-2	3 and over	0	1 and over
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MIGRANTS	26	26	48	49	41	10	18	82
NON-MIGRANTS	68	20	12	68	30	2	30	70
	$\chi^2 = 18.4$ P < .001			$\chi^2 = 2.7$ NOT SIGNIFICANT			NOT SIGNIFICANT	

Esh winning pit was closed for nine years after the General Strike and there have been many temporary "lay-offs" since. During such periods it was the migrant who was more likely to leave mining until conditions improved again

Both migrant husbands and wives are more likely to have experienced long periods outside County Durham than are non-migrants. This experience is the result of service in the Forces and extended work periods. It is impossible to place this finding in any causal sequence with previous findings. Do the characteristics of "dislocation" and "quicker reaction to deteriorating conditions", account for the migrant being more likely to have travelled and worked away, or does this extra-Durham experience account for the observed characteristics? The relationship is reciprocal, and regardless of the sequence, the result is a greater propensity to migrate.

SUMMARY

It is difficult to give a satisfactory summary of all the differences which have emerged between migrants and non-migrants. Migrants are characterised by a sense of 'dislocation' compared with the non-migrants' strong sense of 'belonging'. The migrants "aspire", the non-migrants are "satisfied". This typological treatment gives too precise an impression of the differences and fails to account for the contradictions which inevitably exist. It is suggested that a fuller understanding is revealed in the following biographical reconstructions

of a migrant and a non-migrant.

JOSEPH A Migrant

Joseph is 34 and was born in Ushaw Moor which was also the birth-place of his mother. His father came from Crook and his paternal grandparents both originated in Coventry. His maternal grandfather came from Yorkshire and married an Ushaw Moor woman. His wife and her parents were all born in Crook and her maternal grandparents all came from the same area. Her paternal grandparents came from "over Stanley way".

Both Joseph's parents are alive and living in Ushaw Moor, but since he married he has seen little of them. He has two brothers, one is in Australia, the other, "the one with the brains", is in the County Surveyor's office in Durham. His father-in-law is dead, but his wife's mother still lives in Esh Winning. His wife is very close to her mother and to her sister, who also lives in the village.

Joseph has four children all between the ages of 7 and 15, and gives them as one of his reasons for moving away, "I would like to see them with a better kind of life than here in Durham, an apprenticeship in engineering or something, that's where the future is, not in the pits".

Joseph takes his wife to the club every Saturday and Sunday, "where I go she goes" and he helps her in the home, "We've always done it, ever since we married". For Joseph and his wife social life is restricted to their weekend visit to the club, during the week he occupies himself with his small-holding. They go on holiday every year, alternating between Scarborough and Redcar.

Joseph considers he was lucky in being able to rent two rooms after they married because it meant, "we were on our own from the start". Since then he has had two colliery houses, one in Waterhouses, the other in Esh Winning. In his last house he altered the staircase, flushed doors, built a shed and wanted to put in his own bay windows, but was refused permission by the N.C.B. Even with these improvements they both wanted a modern house. His wife has always "longed for a bathroom and a proper front room".

Joseph was in the army towards the end of the war and admits feeling unsettled in Esh Winning ever since. His wife spent 18 months as a home help in Scotland. They were to have emigrated to South Africa 12 years ago but his wife was expecting a child at the time, "She was born the same day as the boat sailed".

Since he left school at 14, Joseph has worked in a total of five pits. He explained his situation, "I've worked myself up to the top of the tree, I can't get any further". Joseph and his family left Esh Winning on July 8th 1963 for Hucknall in Nottinghamshire. He provides his own summary - "I'm a chap that likes a bit of comfort and I'm willing to work for it - I'm not a backslider, I want to go forward".

(GEORGE. A non-migrant.)

George has never considered movement seriously even though many of his pit-mates have moved away. He is 39 and was born in the village and his parents and grandparents were all born in the Deerness valley. His

wife too, was born in Esh Winning, and all her forebears were either born in the village or in neighbouring laterhouses. His father is dead, but his mother lives in the village and "pops in" every day. George has a brother and four sisters. His brother works at the pit and his sisters are all married and living in the immediate area. His parents-in-law are alive but as they live in Stanley his wife, "only gets through twice a week". (His wife has three sisters all of whom live within the County. George has two boys and a girl aged 15, 11 and 17 respectively. His daughter works at the local shirt factory, and while his eldest son is about to leave school) with no job George is confident that the Labour Government will send more light industry into the area.

Every Friday, Saturday and Sunday George goes alone to the club where he is on the Committee of both the Old People's Treat and the Aged Miners' Homes. His wife rarely goes out. She says she "has no fancy" but George believes "a woman's place is in the home", and affirms "when I come home I like my meals on the table - coming in to no fire and now't ready to eat is no good for a man who's worked down there for eight hours". (George and his wife have only had two holidays in all their married life, they both prefer "to be under their own roof")

After they married they lived - in for five years, since then they have had two colliery houses. They have lived ten years in their present home and have found no need to make any alterations, considering it to be "one of the best little houses in the village".

(Since he left school, George has only worked at Esh Winning pit)
-apart from three months in a factory at Tean Valley His wife worked
in a factory at Birtley before she married, since then George has
refused to allow her to go out to work. (Neither George nor his wife
have ever been away from Esh Winning and they have never considered
moving) Their attitude to movement is summarised by George, "My heart's
here, why should I move, if you can make a living where you've always
lived, what's the use in going to a strange place?"

These biographical reconstructions illustrate the relative nature
of the differences between migrants and non-migrants The differences
must not be exaggerated, they have been shown to be insignificant in
some cases, and with every attribute there are exceptions both among
migrants and non-migrants.

It is clear, however, that the kind of migrant characterised by the
residual group is not contradicted by objective measurements There
remains the difficulty of equating subjective awareness with objective
measurement It may be that when men and women in the five villages
speak of the migrants "wanting to better themselves" they are using a
shorthand expression for the greater likelihood of the migrant making
improvements to his house, his greater concern for his own and his
childrens' future, and perhaps many other attributes which until now,
have been considered separately

While objective measurements do not contradict subjective awareness,
it is suggested that the migrants as a sample-group are not as

different as people left in the village think them to be. This could be the result of an innate tendency for the interviewee to exaggerate and to "glamourise", but there is a further possibility. The findings suggest that the migrant group as a whole may be characterised by a minority who exhibit extreme migrant-type characteristics. This suggestion of differences within the migrant sample-group itself is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 Notes to text and references

- 1 For definition see page 141
2. Assessing procedure explained in Appendix 3.

CHAPTER 4

MOTIVES AND TYPES.

Answers to the questions, "Who goes?" and "Why"?, are not easily distinguishable, so that by analysing the differences between migrants and non-migrants the previous chapter provides a partial solution to the problem of motivation. However, the 240 migrants do not form a homogeneous group as was implied in Chapter 3 and it is therefore necessary to examine individual motives for migration.

It is usual to analyse motivation in terms of "push-pull" factors, where declining socio-economic conditions "push", and opportunity and prosperity "pull". This is essentially an economic model where all motives are adequately subsumed under the assumption of maximising want satisfactions. While this approach may be useful in certain respects, it must be recognised that it has the risk of over-simplifying the process, reducing it to a kind of mechanical balance of external and impersonal forces. At the same time it puts an excessive emphasis on "rational" or "purposive" motivation.

For the Social Anthropologist the problem of this kind of motivation is comparatively novel, and as it involves individual choices and decisions, it is not amenable to classical anthropological models. However, as one Anthropologist has stated, not to study the problem is "unwarrantable defeatism"⁽¹⁾

Being accustomed to relying (in part) on verbal accounts introduces the anthropologist to the difficult problem of "real" and "stated" motives. Festinger⁽²⁾ argues that a decision following consideration of two or more alternatives necessarily leaves some "Dissonance", (incongruity) and this automatically gives rise to "Consonance" which rationalises what has been done. This theory of Cognitive Dissonance, which underlies the whole problem of "real" motives, is well illustrated in the study of migration. Throughout the fieldwork it was apparent that many migrants fall back on what they consider to be an "acceptable vocabulary of motives" (3). Men who had been redundant or had made exhaustive attempts to find alternative work in Durham, would often give the same reasons for migration as men who were in no fear of unemployment and had not considered any alternative to migration. The fieldworker became even more sceptical of reasons like "wanting to better ourselves" after contact with relatives, neighbours and friends in the home villages of the migrants. Apart from any scepticism, it was also apparent from the fieldwork that many migrants were themselves unsure of their motives. Some couples expressed gratitude to the fieldworker for having made them think about the move for the first time.

This difficulty of divining "real" motives must not lead to the conclusion that it is pointless to question the migrant on his motives, on the contrary many useful insights are gained from this approach. It does have the result of putting an extra responsibility on the

fieldworker's perception and interpretation, and of suggesting an alternative means of classification to that of the migrants' "stated" motives.

Three separate typologies have been influential in formulating the classification used in this study.

Mayer,⁽⁴⁾ in the study of Xhosa urbanisation, Touraine and Ragazzi, in their "Ouvriers d'Origine Agricole" and Hobbs in his Pennsylvanian Study of "Specificity and Selective Migration", are all concerned with the problem of classifying motives for migration.

Mayer's⁽⁵⁾ "Aspiring - Satisfied" typology is clearly of fundamental importance. He writes, "in migration there are many choices, the actual course a man takes depends on the aspirations behind the choices", and goes on to pose the interesting question, "but what lies behind the aspirations that lie behind the choices".⁽⁵⁾ He suggests an interplay of many factors which have the effect of making a man satisfied or unsatisfied and lists "personal temperament, property rights, good or bad relations with kin but even these objective factors will depend for their force upon the way in which the individual evaluates them". Mayer concludes "one needs a pair of concepts . . . the Aspiring and the Satisfied".⁽⁶⁾ There has been an implicit recognition of this Aspiring - Satisfied typology in the previous chapters, and throughout the research these concepts have provided the basic theoretical orientation

Touraine and Ragazzi distinguish between "Deplacement" where the

migration is not the expression of a personal and matured design but rather the result of a fortuitous set of circumstances, or occasional pressures, "Depart", where the personal intention exists on a conscious level, and finally "Mobilité", where the migration is motivated by deliberate aspirations.

Hobbs came to similar conclusions after he found that the industrial decline in the Pennsylvanian coalfield was sufficiently gradual to allow selective factors to operate in the migration process. He suggests two kinds of migrants, "Resultant", those who leave as a result of the socio-economic conditions yet still exercise some degree of choice,⁽⁷⁾ and "Epiphenomenal" those who leave as a result of personal factors (and here he lists illness, divorce and family quarrels).

It is clear that Hobbs' use of the "Resultant" category corresponds closely to Tourainne and Ragazzi's concept of "Déplacement". The use of an "Epiphenomenal" category is not considered as an unfortunate appendage signifying classificatory defeat, but rather as an important recognition of the inevitable diversity of individual motivation.

The problem of classifying the different motives of the 240 families leaving five villages in West Durham was approached after much evaluation of these and many other studies, but "no claim is made to have dealt with it by any methods more exalted than those of common sense".⁽⁸⁾

Initially an attempt was made to isolate mutually exclusive groupings of migrants. This approach failed because of overlap, migrants who seemed

to belong together in one respect had no similarity in others, so that instead of developing a useful typology, the groups become fragmented and sterile. A final solution was suggested in Wentholt's⁽⁹⁾ approach to the study of Dutch emigrants. This involves an analysis of the total migration situation of each family, based on the study of a number of variables, and results in a dominating motivational "colour" for each migrant family.

The variables considered in the present study are the degree and nature of dissatisfaction with Durham, evidence of social aspiration and the character of the decision-making process. Each variable contributes to provide every migrant with a dominant "motivational structure". Of course, at one level of analysis, there are 240 motivational structures, each one being different in some way, but after an empirical study of the data four fundamental structures emerged. The four migrant sub-groups, described below, are based on these four distinct motivational structures. There are a number of disadvantages involved in this approach. The assessment depends entirely on the interpretive^{at} powers of the fieldworker, and perhaps more important, as an empirical classification it forms no logical whole and uses very different levels of abstraction. But, as Wentholt claims, "at least it guarantees a measure of respect for the diversity and complexity of the real facts. It also increases the probability that any patterns discovered are a faithful reflection of reality and not the result of over-simplification and of ignoring relevant factors"⁽¹⁰⁾

Having due regard to the advantages and disadvantages of this approach, it is suggested that the 240 families from the five villages in West Durham fall into the four sub-types - "Resultant", "Dissenting", "Dislocated" and "Epiphenomenal"

These four migrant types are presented in descending order of frequency.

"RESULTANT"

135 families (56.2%) can be described as having Resultant motivational structures. This is the largest group and also the least homogeneous, but in all cases migration is considered to be a result of possible redundancy. Stated rather differently, had there been no threat of redundancy, few, if any, of these families would have considered migration. This does not mean that as a type they are indistinguishable from non-migrants, the very fact of migration indicates a different perception of the alternatives of movement-away and staying-on in the village. Considered as individuals, however, the fieldworker was often bewildered as to why movement should have taken place. He observed families who gave the impression of minimal concern for improving their material conditions and many indications of a complete satisfaction with village life. It is suggested that the reason for such families migrating is often to be found in a study of the actual decision-making process. This is considered in detail in the next chapter.

The majority of Resultant migrants do exhibit in their motivational

structure a single predominating reason for movement. Thus the Resultant category contains 11 men who were redundant when they applied for transfer and 13 newly married couples who wanted a new home but faced the prospect of living-in with parents if they remained in Durham. Many men become Resultant Migrants because their spending and entertainment were being curtailed by poor wages, and ^{they} saw in migration a means of continuing both in the manner accustomed. Poor, and sometimes condemned housing also account for families becoming Resultant migrants. Whatever the particular motivation, Resultant migrants are unlike the Dislocated and Dissenting migrants in that they do have strongly developed ties with people and with place, and they feel no sense of frustration or inadequacy in either.

EXAMPLES.

- (a) Mr and Mrs S., an Esh Winning newly married couple with a 2 month old boy. After marriage they lived-in with Mr S's parents and while it was a four bedroomed council house, there were 3 younger brothers still at home. After five months living-in they decided that "transfer was a chance to get a new home". Mr S.'s parents are still alive, and while Mrs S's father is dead her mother lives in the village. She also has a younger brother at home and two brothers at Barnard Castle. In addition to Mr S's three younger brothers still at home, he has two married sisters living at Stanley. Both husband and wife enjoy an Intimate Relationship with their

parents, Mrs S admitting that moving away from her mother was most difficult, and "if it hadn't been for the house I'd never have left" Both Mr and Mrs S are members and regular attenders of the Waterhouses and Shakespeare Hall Old Time Dance Clubs, and they give every indication of finding satisfaction in the village social life. Their general attitude towards movement away is suggested by Mrs S's incredulity over their move to Nottingham She said (in Nottingham) "If you'd told me last year that we are going to move away from Esh Winning I'd have said don't be so daft".

- (b) Mr and Mrs B. are a Waterhouses couple with 3 boys aged 10, 7 and 2 years After living-in for 3 months they spent 2 years in a colliery house before taking over their present council house They both consider it to be a good house Mr B's father is dead but his mother and one sister still live in the village and he has another sister who has previously moved to Nottingham. Mrs B's parents live at Langley Park, but she has two sisters in Esh Winning and a third sister at Fencehouses Both husband and wife see their parents every day Mr B is a member of all four clubs in Esh Winning, and claims to go out regularly every night of the week. Monday night the "Big club", Tuesday and Wednesday "The Pineapple", Thursday "Newhouse Club", on Friday he takes his wife to play Bingo at "the Dreadnought" and on Saturday night, they go Dancing at the "Big Club" On Sunday night Mr B. goes out alone to the "sing-song"

at "the Pineapple" Two years before he left Esh Winning, Mr B. was transferred to Brancepeth Colliery and from then on his wages began to fall. While they had never considered movement previously, "lads kept coming up who'd gone down and they all said what good money they were making" Mr and Mrs B "talked it over for ages, sometimes we were going then it was all off", until they finally teamed up with Mr and Mrs S "it was them who got us down there really"

- (c) Mr and Mrs T are a Craghead couple with a girl aged four Mr T's father is dead but his mother and three sisters still live in the village He also has one brother in the Army and one who has previously transferred to Nottingham Mrs T's parents and two sisters all live in the village while her third sister lives in nearby Bearpark Mr T sees his mother every day as he gets water from her house for the pigeons he inherited from his father Mrs T. admits seeing her mother 3 times a day, "go over morning, come back and make dinner, go over afternoons, and if I'm not over there at nights she comes over to our place" Most of Mr T's leisure time is taken up with his pigeons, but he normally takes his wife to the club on Saturday and Sunday nights After 6 months living-in with both parents they managed to rent two rooms above a shop in Bloemfontein The rooms had no bathroom or toilet, and a large cupboard served as a kitchen The greatest drawback however were

the steeply raked stairs which provided the only access Mrs T. considered them to be especially dangerous for her daughter After only a year in these rooms Mr T began thinking of moving, but as Mrs T admits, "One minute he was for it, the next he wasn't going to go, and in the end I think we panicked".

DISSIDENTING

There are 51 families (21.3%) whose motivational structures bear the predominant stamp of dissent. As Dissenters they are characterised by an overall dissatisfaction with various aspects of life in a West Durham Mining Village They reveal that for them, this life is both inadequate and irrelevant It is "old fashioned", "Club and Bingo mad" "squalid", "doomed without any future", and "just about what you'd expect from a small village". They want something different and materially better for themselves and their children, for whom, they say, they are prepared to make innumerable sacrifices. They have a strong sense of the (nuclear) family and typically pursue their recreation together.

EXAMPLES

(a) Mr and Mrs K. are a Craghead couple with 2 boys aged 8 and 9 years Neither husband nor wife have any regular nights out Mr K has a non-effective relationship with his parents even though they live in the village Mrs K describes her relationship as "too close, they're always interfering - especially over the boys" As a family they "live for the weekend and holidays", and having a car,

they tour extensively. Though they have made many improvements to their colliery house they remain unsatisfied with it. Mrs K explains, "I can never keep the place clean, curtains are black within a week, I'm always on the go, always papering and painting" In answer to the question "Why did you leave Durham?" both husband and wife agreed they had always wanted to leave. At one time they wanted to join Mr K's sister in Canada. This time they were determined "to move to a place where we can plan a future for the boys".

(b) Mr and Mrs W. are a Dean Bank couple with two girls aged 14 and 16, both at the Grammar School. Both Mr and Mrs W are members of the Parent-Teachers Association, and are regular church attenders (C of E.). Mrs W is also a member of the Women's Institute and the Mothers' Union. Mr W. has a non-effective relationship with his parents, while his wife has an intimate relationship with her parents who live in the next street. They have made their colliery home comfortable by making extensive improvements. Mr W. had previously applied for a Prison Officers job but didn't accept the offer as it meant moving away when the girls were in the middle of their eleven plus.

(c) Mr and Mrs L are a Craghead couple with no children. Mr L's father lives in the village but he never visits him. Mrs L's parents both live in Craghead and she sees them regularly. They have little

social life apart from a fortnightly visit to friends in Easington, whom they met on holiday in Switzerland. Mr L. occasionally goes alone to the Legion Club for a drink but prefers The Craghead Hotel, "where there's a good chance of a decent conversation". Mrs L. doesn't drink and laments the fact that the majority of people in Craghead "just live for the club". They have toured extensively in Southern England and have recently taken Continental tours. They own their own house. Mr L. gives his own reasons for deciding to leave, "The pit has only 10 years left, I'm 45 now, that would bring me to 55 and that's a bad age for employment". Both Mr and Mrs T. agreed to apply for Somerset where they knew there were clean towns and clean countryside and a different social atmosphere". (Something they thought the interviewer would understand coming from the University)

DISLOCATED

There are 44 families (18.3%) whose motivational "colour" has the overall characteristic of "Dislocation". In one way or another, they are all dislocated from their primary and secondary groups in the five villages. All husbands and wives in this group have been outside Durham for periods of more than one year, many for much longer. Service in the Forces and extended periods of work are the most common reasons for this extra-Durham experience. In many cases the degree of dislocation is increased by marriage to someone from another part of the country.

Finally, the dispersion of siblings and death of parents add to this overall sense of dislocation by further loosening the ties which attach a couple to their "home" village

EXAMPLES

- (a) Mr and Mrs M. are a Craghead couple with 2 children, a boy and a girl aged 18 and 16. Mr M. was born in Tobermory, Scotland, he moved to Glasgow when he was 15 and spent a year conducting trams. At the outbreak of the war he joined the Navy and stayed on until 1950. While in Southampton he met a W.R.E.N from Grange Villa in County Durham, they married and moved back to Grange Villa. Here Mr M. worked at Handen Hold Colliery for 2 years and then got a job at Craghead. After living only 1 year at Grange Villa they moved to Blackhouses, then to Sacriston and finally to Craghead. They only lived in Craghead for 2 years before Mr M applied to move to Hucknall in Nottinghamshire. Later he changed his application for a pit in Derbyshire because there were too many Craghead people applying for Hucknall. Mr M's parents are both dead but he has 4 sisters in Glasgow and a brother in West Hartlepool. Mrs M's mother is dead but her father lives in Chester-le-Street. She also has one brother in Wales and 2 brothers in Harlow. Mr M has no particular feelings towards Craghead - "Its a place like any other".
- (b) Mr and Mrs E. are a Burnhope couple with four children, three boys and a girl all between the ages of 6 and 14. Mr E. was born in the

village, his wife in Kent. Both were in the Forces during the War and it was while he was stationed in Kent that Mr E. met his wife. They remained in Kent for 5 years after the war and then moved back to Burnhope. Here Mr E first got a job as a lorry driver, he then went to Lanchester Drift and from there to the Morrison Busty. During their 14 years in Burnhope they lived in a Colliery house, and while they had improved it in many ways they both wanted a modern house. Both Mr E's parents are dead and while he has a brother and a sister in the village and four more siblings in the immediate area, he does not see any of them very often. Mrs E's father is dead but her mother lives in Croydon. She has siblings in Cumberland, Bolton, Middlesex, Harrogate, Birmingham and Newcastle. Neither husband nor wife have much social life apart from Mr E's one regular night at the club. Mrs E. has never liked Burnhope, "they all seemed to have their friends before I got here - it's a back and beyond, there's just nothing here", and she more than her husband, welcomed the chance to move away.

- (c) Mr and Mrs J. are an Esh Winning couple with four children aged between 4 and 19. Mr J was born in Pontypridd, Wales. He has spent 17 years in the Army and has been in the Palestine Police Force. While in Beirut he met his French wife. They returned to England in 1947 where Mr J followed a fellow police officer to the North-East to resume a career in mining (he had worked in the Welsh pits before

the War). They lived 2 years in both New Brancepeth and Ushaw Moor before moving to Esh Winning. They pursue an active social life. Mr J. is the North-East Secretary of the Palestine Police Old Comrades Association, while his wife is an active member of the Womens Institute. Both Mr and Mrs J's parents are dead, Mr J. has a step-brother in Hereford, but his wife's relatives are all in France. They had previously considered moving to Coventry but the friends with whom they were to have gone decided against movement the week before they should have departed. Neither Mr nor Mrs J. were particularly dissatisfied with Durham, but felt that in another 10 years Esh Winning would be dead and for the sake of the family it was better to leave now rather than later

EPIPHENOMENAL

Only 10 (4.2%) can be classed as Epiphenomenal migrants. These are all people who have left Durham for a variety of personal reasons. The reasons are so varied and unique that these 10 people cannot be included in any of the 3 large groups. This motivational diversity obviously makes any examples impossible, therefore, a brief outline of each case is presented.

- (1) A couple from Burnhope who had just lost a child on the road and felt they had to get right away from the constant associations which kept the tragedy alive in their minds.

- (2) A couple from Dean Bank where the wife had been involved in a series of larceny offences left the village to go to Wales. This case was revealed by their former neighbour who spoke of constant calls from police, local shopkeepers and hire-purchase collectors after their departure for Wales.
- (3) (4) and (5) Elderly couples moving to rejoin married children who had moved away previously.
- (6) A Craghead man who moved to Staffordshire because his housekeeper/mistress's married daughter had previously moved to Kildgrove.
- (7) and (8) Two 30 year old unmarried friends from Dean Bank went, as they said on their return to Durham, "just for a bit of a change".
- (9) A Burnhope man moved to Leicestershire because his sister, who also acted as his housekeeper, wanted to join ^{her} ~~her~~ sister.
- (10) An Esh Winning man who himself explains his mixed motives for leaving Durham. "I would often come back from work and find the wife in tears - family trouble again - she would plead "Take me away from here" and the Doctor himself said she would never be right in Durham. Her mother was always ill and then she'd come to us. But she never accepted me - just because I take a drink. Her sister always walked right past the door and never came to see her, and whenever we went out we had to tell her mother or she'd be offended. Yes there were 101 reasons for me leaving Durham".

It is suggested that the diversity revealed in these 10 cases justifies the use of the Epiphenomenal category.

A clear distinction emerges from the above descriptions and examples between Dissenting and Resultant Migrants. The Dislocated migrants are also different, but as the differences which divide them from the other types are often based on fortuitous circumstances (i.e. Forces experience) they operate at a more superficial level. The Epiphenomenal Category defies any attempt at generalisation.

The emergence of 3 migrant sub-types - Resultant, Dissenting and Dislocated - from an analysis of each migrant's motivational structure, provides a basis for further study. Chapter 5 utilizes these 3 sub-types in a study of the decision-making process, ^{and} as such it constitutes an additional dimension of the differences between the main migrant types.

CHAPTER 4: Notes to text and references.

- (1) MAYER, P. (1964) p.22.
- (2) FESTINGER, L. as reported in BROWN, R. (1962) p.52.
- (3) GERTH, H. and MILLS, C.W. (1954) p.116.
- (4) MAYER, P. (1961)
- (5) op.cit.p.17.
- (6) op.cit.p.18.
- (7) HOBBS, A.H. (1942) p.779.
- (8) MAYER, P. (1961) p.11.
- (9) WENHOLT, R. and BEIGER, G. (1961)
- (10) op.cit. p.231.

Chapter 5

THE DECISION TO MOVE

The decision-making process considered here, "entails a resolution of the forces which bind the potential migrant to his present situation, and those forces which pull him away" (1) An examination of this resolution is of considerable intrinsic interest and it forms an integral part of the whole study. At the same time it has an additional function in providing a further dimension of the differences between the three main migrant types

A generalised review of the whole decision-making process is followed by a detailed analysis of four individual aspects of decision-making in which there are important differences between Resultant, Dislocated and Dissenting migrants

For most of the 240 migrants the decision to migrate is characterised by a period of "germination" (2) During this period, husband and wife conduct a sporadic debate on the advantages and disadvantages of migration In many cases the debate is joined by relatives, workmates, neighbours and even the children. For some families the debate is short-lived as the advantages of migration easily outnumber any possible disadvantages, for others, however, it may continue much longer, and as it continues attitudes may change. A husband or wife initially favouring

migration may gradually come to oppose it, and vice versa. In such cases the debate is often terminated and the decision precipitated by one incident, or an accumulation of incidents. Alternatively, some specific incident may "trigger"⁽³⁾ the decision to move without being preceeded by any period of germination.

Any further generalisation is impossible on a topic which presents such diversity, and on which some of the migrants are themselves unsure. The following Process-Reconstructions are offered with the aim of illustrating this diversity, but first certain limitations of these reconstructions have to be acknowledged. In some cases as much as 18 months had elapsed between the decision and the interview, and therefore full recall is rare. Secondly, no attempts have been made to check the reliability of the replies,¹ and finally the reconstructions are qualified (rather than limited) by the obvious fact that they represent decision-making as understood by the migrants themselves.

CASE STUDY. "Kept getting (C170) forms but never plucked up

1.

the courage to fill them in, wife was fed up because I was working in water and coming in awkward and not speaking to her. Then I had a set-to with the manager about a day's pay. That night I filled in the form".

(Resultant Migrant from waterhouses).

CASE STUDY "Made up my mind on the spur of the moment.

2

Brother came in and said that he was going down and that M.D. had changed his mind and turned his house down ^[at the receiving area]. He wanted me to sign up in his place, and I did. The wife was at the seaside that day and when she got back I told her. She thought I'd been drinking, "Get away you've been drinking" she said. But we kept keen and found another mate to come with us".

(Resultant Migrant from Esh Winning).

CASE STUDY "It took me a fortnight. I was standing at the

3

bench and this lad was talking to me about going down, but he had changed his mind. Anyway, I asked him where to go and next day I went along to the Exchange and settled everything. Then I was obsessed with it and couldn't get away fast enough".

(Dislocated Re-entrant from Craghead).

CASE STUDY "It happened in a flash. I went down to post

4

some tickets for the Cancer League and talked to one of my mates coming out of the Post Office.

He had seen about the caravans (A touring sample of the temporary accommodation in Wales) up at Stanley in the paper. I went home and got the next door's "Northern Echo" and we had a look at it and got very keen on the idea. Later that week we saw the Colliery Welfare Officer at the School Centenary Festival and I asked him about it. He told me to call in for forms and in 13 days I was in Wales".

(Dislocated Migrant from Waterhouses)

CASE STUDY 5 "It started when we got a colliery house - it was in an awful condition - we weren't going in to it at first. Then we got to know that the people at No.10 have a daughter down there. I went down for 5 days and had a good look round and saw everything. Got back and talked it over with the wife and the boys and decided we'd do it".

(Dissenter from Dean Bank).

CASE STUDY 6 "Went down to the sweet shop one day and she was talking about everyone moving away and she said she'd be the last to leave Craghead but I said that we were thinking about it. Then I forgot all about it until Tuesday morning when I saw the lists up at

the pit. Talked it over with the wife on Tuesday night but we were only half and half. I saw the Training Officer next day and asked if there was any chance of a form (C170) He told me to see him in his office at 9 a.m. next morning Well I went back and told the wife "I've filled it in, are we going then?" She said "yes" right away, so I did fill it in next morning. Following Monday a chap came up for interviews for Hucknall (Nottinghamshire) I jumped at the chance, got confirmation on Friday and move away Monday".

(Dissenter from Craghead).

In the 6 case studies reported above, 2 Resultant, 2 Dislocated and 2 Dissenting Migrants have reconstructed their own decision-making processes In doing so, they have illustrated the overall diversity, and have also suggested important qualitative differences, in which the Resultant and Dissenting migrants provide the extremes, while the Dislocated migrants occupy an intermediate position.

Comparing Case Studies 1 and 2 (Resultant) with Case Studies 5 and 6 (Dissenting) there is a clear difference in the length of the germination period. In cases 1 and 2 the decision is reached on impulse rather than after a period of deliberation. There is no evidence of any debate in

either case, indeed, in the second case the wife was only told of the decision after it had been reached. It is suggested that this kind of decision-making is associated mainly with Resultant migrants. Cases 5 and 6 are characterised by a period of germination in which husband and wife debate the advantages and disadvantages of movement. Instead of impulse, there is evidence of an attempt to acquaint themselves with more information on which to base the decision. In Case No 5 the husband visited the area to obtain information first hand, in the last case, he consulted the Welfare Officer. It is suggested that this kind of decision-making is associated with Dissenting Migrants.

There is sufficient contrast between Resultant and Dissenting decision-making to justify the use of Beshar and Nishiura's⁽⁴⁾ opposing modes of orientation. They use the concepts "Short-run Hedonistic" and "Purposive-Rational" to characterise the extremes in decision-making. "Short-run Hedonistic lacks future orientation and is typically determined by situational factors", and here they suggest, "day by day employment opportunities, fondness or dislike for the boss, dissatisfaction with starting time" "Purposive Rational" implies an objective analysis of the alternatives based on long-term occupational and "lifestyle" goals.⁽⁵⁾ It is clear from the examples given that Resultant decision-making can be characterised as "Short-run Hedonistic" while Dissenters are seen to have a more "Purposive-Rational" orientation in their decision-making.

An attempt has been made to ^{nc}qualify this impression by analysing the decision-making processes of all 230 Migrants* in terms of Beshar and Nishiura's typology. The results, in Table 32, consolidate the impression given by the six case studies and confirm that Dissenting Migrants are characterised by a "Rational - Purposive" decision-making process, while Resultant Migrants are more likely to have a "Short-run Hedonistic" orientation in their decision-making. Dislocated Migrants occupy an intermediate position, being more likely to be "Rational - Purposive" than are Resultant Migrants, yet more likely to be "Short-run Hedonistic" than are the Dissenters.

Four individual aspects of the decision-making process offer further distinction between the migrant sub-types. Tables 33, 34 and 35 show, respectively, that compared with the Resultant Migrant, the Dissenter is less likely to have considered an alternative to migration, but is more likely to have based his decision on first-hand information, to have made a positive choice of destination and to have decided alone rather than with friends.

(a) ALTERNATIVE TO MIGRATION -

Only 29% of the total migrant sample (excluding Epiphenomenal cases) considered an alternative to migration. The alternatives here

* Excluding the 10 Epiphenomenal cases

TABLE 32

		CHARACTERIZED DECISION MAKING PROCESS			
		"RATIONAL PURPOSIVE"		"SHORT-RUN HEDONISTIC"	
		No	%	No	%
DISSENTERS		44	86	7	14
DISLOCATED		28	63	16	37
RESULTANT		66	49	69	51
TOTAL GROUP		138	60	92	40
		$\chi^2 = 21.0$ P < .001			

TABLE 33

		THOUGHT OF AN ALTERNATIVE TO MOVEMENT			
		YES		NO	
		No	%	No	%
DISSENTERS		3	6	48	94
DISLOCATED		8	18	36	82
RESULTANT		54	40	81	60
TOTAL GROUP		65	29	165	71
		$\chi^2 = 21.7$		P < .001	

refer to another job outside the mining industry or another pit within the Durham Division. Those men who did seek an alternative either found no jobs at all or found them to be unsuitable in some respect. They found factory work characterised by long hours and jobs in the Service Industries by small wages compared with mining, while the coastal pits involved the prospect of working under the sea. Others found themselves unsuitable for some of the jobs available after applying unsuccessfully for openings in, for example, the Prison Service and light engineering.

TABLE 34

		INFORMATION ON DESTINATION					
		FIRST-HAND		SECOND-HAND		NONE (i.e. only N.C.B.)	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
DISSIDENTERS		19	37	13	26	19	37
DISLOCATED		25	56	10	24	9	20
RESULTANT		12	8	36	27	87	65
TOTAL GROUP		56	24	59	26	115	50
				$\chi^2 = 46.0$ $P < .001$			

The majority of migrants did not consider any alternative to migration, having decided that the whole area was depressed, they were confident that there could be nothing in Durham for them. Table 33 shows that the Resultant Migrants were much more likely to consider an alternative than were Dissenting and Dislocated migrants. This finding must be interpreted as an index not only of the greater propensity for Dissenting and Dislocated migrants to migrate, but also of their "keenness" to migrate compared with Resultant Migrants.

	DECIDED ALONE/WITH FRIENDS				
	ALONE		WITH FRIENDS		
	No	%	No	%	
DISSENTERS	35	69	16	31	
DISLOCATED	25	57	19	43	
RESULTANT	47	35	88	65	
TOTAL GROUP	107	47	123	53	
		$\chi^2 = 19.2$		P < .001	

(b) INFORMATION AVAILABLE -

Table 34 reveals that 50% of the Migrant sample had no information on their eventual destination other than that provided by the N.C.B. Only 24% possessed firsthand information of their destination to help them in decision-making, while a further 25% knew something about their destination from various second-hand sources. This overall lack of information on the area of destination is well illustrated in the following admissions.-

"Just heard that the seams were higher and figured that if the seams were higher there'd be more money".

(Resultant migrant speaking of Yorkshire)

"When we knew that we were coming to Rufford (Nottinghamshire) we thought it would be nice and handy for the wife's sister who lives in Blackburn (Lancashire) Training Officer showed me where it really was on the map".

(Dislocated migrant).

"Just knew there was a castle - from the Players' packet and Robin Hood and all that".

(Resultant Migrant speaking of Nottingham)

Finally a Resultant Migrant from Esh Winning admitted,

"I'll tell you how much I knew about it. I got off the train at Doncaster and I got a taxi thinking Ollerton was just outside Doncaster, 26 miles it was, thought we were never going to get here, then at the finish I didn't have enough for the fare".

Most of the first-hand information on the destination resulted from war-time service, extended work periods outside Durham and holidays with relatives who had previously moved away from Durham. Similarly, second-hand information came from friends and relatives who had had this extra-Durham experience -

"Mother-in-law was down here after the 1926 strike and she kept saying how she'd like it" "Nothing apart from what the grocer told us - he'd been down here during the war and said it was the nicest bit of country you could get"
 . "Cousin always told us about Bath, he went down there from Spennymoor 20 years ago"

Table 34 shows that the Dislocated Migrants were most likely to have first-hand information about their destination, while Resultant

Migrants were least likely to possess this information on which to base their decision to migrate. These findings are considered as a straight-forward index of extra-Durham experience.

(c) DECIDED ALONE/WITH FRIENDS -

The total migrant sample is almost evenly divided between migrants who decided alone and migrants who decided with friends or relatives. However, Table 35 shows significant differences in this aspect of the decision-making process between Dissenting and Resultant migrants. The Dislocated migrants again occupy an intermediate position.

Resultant Migrants are more likely to decide with friends and relatives, alternatively, the fact that friends and relatives had come to some decision often acted as a 'trigger' in their own decision making. There are, then, distinct "supportive" and "following" elements in Resultant decision-making, a duality well illustrated in the following replies -

"Four of us decided to come together - it was better for the wives"

"Chap next door was thinking of going down so I went along and filled the form in with him".

"I was thinking about it at the time but it was really because my mate decided to go. I wasn't thinking of any particular place, so when Wilf put Notts down, I did too".

Dissenting Migrants were more likely to decide alone, and in the process often encountered incredulity and even ridicule from fellow villagers:-

"All my mates laughed at us - said I was stupid in coming down here".

"They all said I was a mug because my job in Craghead was safe".

The fact that Dissenting Migrants were more likely to decide alone, along with the finding that they were least likely to consider an alternative, supports the general contention that as a group their decision-making is characterised by a sense of "purpose" and "single mindedness".

(d) CHOICE OF APEA

It was hoped to have presented a quantitative analysis of the choice of area. This choice was defined as being either "positive", "negative" or "accidental". While this categorisation does reflect the reality of the choice, in some cases it was found impossible to distinguish between "positive" and "negative" choices. Consequently, no table of the findings is offered. However, the impression is of a large number of "Accidental" choices. Such an impression is perhaps justified, considering the prevalence of the "Short-run Hedonistic" orientation. The accidental nature of many choices is suggested by some replies to the question "Why did you choose this area?"

"I was thinking of Wales but Weaver (West Midlands Recruiting Officer) was in the club one day and I got talking to him about Stoke".

(Craghead Resultant Migrant).

"Me and my mates were going to Nottingham and stayed over night with the wife's uncle in Doncaster. He told us about jobs in the area so I stayed here".

(Dean Bank Dislocated Migrant)

There is also the reverse case related by a Craghead Resultant Migrant -

"We were going down to Yorkshire for a look around one Friday afternoon but when we got on to the A.1 we carried on down to Nottingham - it was a nice day - a good road and the car was running fine - so we ended up here".

These reconstructed "accidental" choices provide an extra indication of the impulsive element in the whole decision-making process.

There were a variety of different reasons behind a "Positive" choice of area. Some families who wanted to be as near to Durham as possible, therefore chose Yorkshire, others wanted to be far away. Some chose an area because friends or relatives had moved there previously. Certainly the strangest explanation of a positive choice is that given by an Esh Winning Dissenter -

"Before the war I used to go to the Mission Church and with it being a depressed area the Chapel Captain got us penfriends from better-off areas. I just happened to get Lady Whittaker from Babworth Hall outside Retford and she used to send us clothes and food. I kept in touch with her ever since and when she heard I was thinking of coming down she offered me all kinds of help if I came to Nottingham - even lodgings if it was any use"

The reasons behind "Negative" choices of area were mostly concerned with the marked antipathy for Wales. For some it was just a matter of distance,

^y
"you might as well go abroad as go to Wales"

For others, an unfavourable image,

"Wales seems a depressed sort of area, surprised they want men there".

Finally, there were many who did not like the Welsh people. There were also some migrants who reacted against the industrial/cosmopolitan image of the Midlands:-

"I've lived in the country since I was 12 and didn't fancy living in an industrial area like Stoke" . ..

"Had been to Stoke but didn't fancy it, didn't want to go into a hostel with different breeds and creeds".

Because of the difficulty already noted it is not possible to say definitely which migrant-type was more likely to make a certain kind of choice. The impression is of Resultant migrants being more likely to admit to an "Accidental" choice, whilst the Dissenters were more likely to have made a "Positive" choice. This impression is strengthened by findings in other aspects of the decision-making process.

Finally, the whole decision-making process must be considered in conjunction with the previous chapter on Motivation. They supplement each other in illustrating the overall complexity of migration and would seem to justify the earlier suggestion that the Economist's "push/pull" approach has the risk of over-simplification. Considered together, the two Chapters also provide adequate illustration of a fundamental distinction between two kinds of migrants - Dissenting and Resultant - and a justification for identifying a third group - Dislocated - for some aspects of the migration process.

Chapter 6 utilises this three-fold division as an analytical framework for the study of adjustment in the new area.

Chapter 5 Notes to text and references

- (1) BROWN, L.B. (1960) p.168
- (2) APPELYARD, R.T. (1964) p.164
- (3) Appleyard's term, other writers use "Precipitating Factor".
- (4) BESHERS, J M. and NICHIURA, E.N., (1960) p 216.
- (5) op.cit. p.217.

See also Weber's concepts of WERTRATIONALITAT and ZWECKRATIONALITAT as opposed to AFFEKTUAL and TRADITIONAL ACTION in "The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation". The Free Press, New York. 1964 p.14

THE JOURNEY

"On October 12th we got a telegram saying that the removal man was coming at 10 a.m. next morning, and that we were to meet Dad at Derby Station. The van came and it wasn't before 2 p.m. till they got started. For the rest of that day and night we stayed at my grandmother's. Next day we all got up at 7.30 a.m. The next door neighbour offered to drive us to Durham Station. At 9.30 p.m. we were on the train heading for Derby. All the family was excited. We shared a carriage with another family and they were going to live 3 doors away. The train ride took about 5 hours and at Derby we met our Dad. Within minutes we were in another train taking us to Longton. At about 3 p.m. we had our dinner in a cafe at Longton, then we went on to our new house. My father's friend was waiting at the house for the furniture to arrive (supposed to arrive at 9 a.m., arrived at 6.30 p.m.). Meanwhile the Staffordshire neighbours asked us to go over to their house until it came. The next day we got to know the neighbours better, and we were settling in O.K."

As remembered by a 13 year old girl from Esh Winning

CHAPTER 6

ADJUSTMENT IN THE NEW AREA

Introduction

In any study of the adjustment of people to a new area there are 3 fundamental variables, the type of people who move, the kind of area to which they move and the kind of area from which they have come. The interaction between these 3 variables determines the course of adjustment.

In this study there is little variation in the origins of the 240 migrants, for in most respects, and especially in a broad cultural sense, the five villages are indistinguishable. A common origin can be assumed, and attention restricted to the first two variables.

The previous chapters have suggested 3 main types of migrants based on pre-migration characteristics. These 3 migrant sub-types constitute the alternatives contained within the first variable. It remains to define the kind of area to which they move.

Initially, there would seem to be an impossible variation in the areas to which the migrants have gone. The map on page 75 lists 29 separate destinations within the five main areas, and one might assume that each destination confronts the migrant with a different set of adjustment problems. Such an assumption would rest on an awareness of the geographical, historical and social differences which distinguish

not only one main coalfield from another, but also smaller areas and even towns and villages within one coalfield. For example, Durham migrants in Wales are principally located in two areas, the Swansea-Llanelly region and the Rhondda Valley near Pontypridd. These are different areas in many respects, perhaps the most important for the Durham migrants being that the former area is in Welsh-speaking Wales, while in the Pontypridd area there are few people who speak Welsh. Similarly, in Nottinghamshire a number of Durham families are now living in the suburbs of Nottingham itself, while there are others living in comparatively isolated villages like Calverton, Welbeck and Keyworth. There are, therefore, these sub-area contrasts as well as the greater differences between, for example, the mining area of Somerset and the Doncaster area in South Yorkshire, or between the Madeley-Donnington area in Shropshire and mining settlements within the Potteries.

These different locations would seem to present the Durham migrants with different problems of adjustment. However, it is suggested that on closer examination this variation is more apparent than real and that there is a number of common characteristics shared by most of the areas to which Durham migrants have gone.

Firstly, there is the mining industry itself. Occupational sub-cultures have been identified in many basic industries, the mining sub-culture is perhaps most distinctive and succeeds most completely in characterising the working community - regardless of its geographical

location. The job itself is fairly uniform throughout the country. There are still regional variations due to geology and habit, but these are gradually disappearing in N.C.B. rationalisation schemes. The continual hazard of subsidence means that mining is rarely carried out in heavily built-up areas, instead it is conducted in small "industrial villages". These villages are of relatively recent origin, most of them dating from the middle of the last century and are characterised by a number of common cultural institutions. The Co-Operative Movement, Chapel, the Labour Party, and the Workingmen's Club are well represented in all mining areas, (Wales provided an exception in respect of Workingmen's Clubs until quite recently), and the fieldworker has found little to distinguish the different May Day Rallies which he has attended in Radstock, Stanley, and Stoke-on-Trent. The extractive nature of the industry has involved a continual dependence on migration so that in any one coalfield there are often many miners who have moved from the declining pits elsewhere. Under private ownership this mobility was intensified by the considerable variations in working conditions from company to company. The industry is also characterised by a strong union and a series of industrial disputes. In addition, many writers (including Norrie, Sigal, Lawrence and Llewellyn) have commented on less tangible aspects of the culture, and while they wrote at different times and of different areas, they do portray a uniform way of life.

A mining sub-culture can then be said to exist, and it has the effect of minimising the differences between the various areas.

Certain features of the Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme also minimise the differences between the various receiving areas. Most important are the many implications which stem from the provision of a house for every transferee. The provision of a large number of houses in a short period of time inevitably means an estate. In some areas local councils have allocated a certain number of new houses to the N.C.B. especially for the transferees, in others, the Coal Industry Housing Association has had to build its own houses. These houses - whether council owned or N.C.B. houses - form large estates. The estates are usually situated alongside existing colliery settlements, so that in most of the receiving areas the mining settlements are composed of at least 2 form-elements, the original nucleus and the outlying estate of new houses.

These outlying estates are the real destinations of the Durham migrants. Compared with the original nuclei (and, of course, the West Durham village) they have few shops, public houses and other places for social intercourse, and depend for many of the necessities and luxuries of living on the old nuclei or on nearby towns. They are further characterised by infrequent bus services (in some cases the service has not been rerouted to serve the estate), crowded schools and a virtual absence of organised entertainment. From Yorkshire to Somerset there is an impressive overall similarity, and once in the estate, the fieldworker found little to remind him of its geographical location. For many migrants,

and especially for migrant wives, these estates constitute both the destination and the circumference of their new life. In a sense, many of the migrants are incapsulated on these estates and isolated from the surrounding districts which offer the real variation between the regions of the country

These 'occupational' and 'estate' sub-cultures have been identified in order to illustrate the considerable similarities shared by all the separate destinations of the 240 migrant families. These similarities justify a generalised treatment of the adjustment process. Of course, regional and local differences do exist, and these will be referred to when they affect adjustment, but they are not sufficiently important to warrant a number of separate adjustment studies.

(11) ARRIVAL.

For most families the day of arrival and the first week in the new area involved many problems and constituted the most difficult period in the whole process of adjustment.

There were the numerous small difficulties connected with moving into a new house. In many cases electricity and water supplies were unconnected on arrival, coal and milk deliveries had not been made, and most common of all, the furniture had not arrived. These difficulties were often aggravated by the newness of the estate, footpaths and roads were still unmade and consequently often rendered impassable with mud.

Street nameplates and street lighting had not always been installed before the migrants arrived and their absence made it difficult to re-locate the house after shopping trips and exploratory walks. By themselves, these problems faced in familiar surroundings with parents and relatives available to help, would only have been slight inconveniences, but in the new area they often gave rise to frayed tempers and recrimination between husband and wife.

After these initial difficulties concerned mainly with the house, most migrants were faced with the general problem of re-orientation. There was the difficulty of finding the way to and from the shops, getting to know bus times and routes, and learning the relative locations of the destinations shown on the front of the buses.

There was also a problem of comprehension. Many Durham wives at first found it difficult to make themselves understood in the shops and had to learn to speak more slowly. During this early period, Durham migrants reported being mistaken for Scots, Irishmen, Germans, Lithuanians and Poles. At school, Durham children enjoyed a "rarity" value for a few weeks because of their different dialect, and they admitted constant exhortation from the local children to "say something". At the same time, the Durham migrants often found it difficult to understand the local people. This applied especially in Welsh-speaking Wales, but the migrants also found difficulty in understanding Somerset and Staffordshire dialects.

For the men there were also the initial problems of adjustment to their new pits. Compared with the pits they had left, pits in the new area were generally larger, with higher seams and a greater degree of mechanisation. The men also had to adjust to the local work system and, in most areas, to a weaker Trade Union organisation.

In all these early difficulties the migrant family was not alone. Many families left their villages together, but even if they left alone, there were other families perhaps from the same village, but certainly from County Durham, already living on the estate. In retrospect, many migrants referred to the co-operation and friendliness engendered by the difficulties of the first few days. The necessity to share and to help each other as newcomers is well illustrated by the Craghead woman who admitted.- "We were all thrown together at first, all friendly None of us had full larders so we shared out what we had. We were first to get our fire going so they all came over and had a warm and a cup of tea. We used to meet in each other's houses after that but we are not so friendly now". The fact of being newcomers together gave rise to many friendships as recorded in the following admissions of how migrants made their best friends in the new area - "They moved in on the same day as us and we set our gardens out together ..." ". .We'd both just arrived and we both had dogs with us out at the Fish-van. The dogs started fighting and we started talking and he invited me in". ..."They moved in the same week as us and when we found out that they were called Joan and Allan

just like us we both thought it was funny. We've seen a lot of each other since then".

The first few days also provided many opportunities for friendships between the migrants and the local people. Local men and women often came round to offer practical help and information on shops, schools, doctors and bus services in the area. Alternatively the children provided a common interest and a reason for further association.

Viewing the first few days retrospectively, some migrant couples were amused with the way in which they had perceived and solved the initial problems. For others, the first few days were a traumatic experience, marking for the first time their complete independence of parents, relatives and established friends. But for all migrants there was considerable pleasure in recalling, for the fieldworker, the first few days in the new area and in elaborating (and perhaps exaggerating) on the difficulties. It is suggested that the memory of these first few days may well have a continuing function in the process of adjustment. The act of recollection provides the migrant couple with a measure of the difficulties they have together surmounted, which in turn acts as an incentive for further co-operation, it also renews their sense of confidence in being able to deal with new situations, and so facilitates further adjustment.

(111) SITUATIONAL CHANGES.

On arrival in the new area all migrants automatically experience a number of changes. These changes are referred to as "situational changes". They result from the change in situation - i.e. "the position in which one finds oneself",* and not directly⁽¹⁾ from individual volition.

These situational changes are summarised in Tables 36 - 41. Generalising, it can be seen that there is a change from colliery to council housing. (And of course, even colliery houses in the receiving areas are predominantly new houses and are therefore indistinguishable from typical council houses) This change in house-type is, in effect, a change from nineteenth to twentieth century housing, and the change is reflected in the accompanying changes in size and amenities. The migrants are seen (Table 37) to have moved from houses of various sizes to the standard three-bedroomed house. They have also moved from houses where an inside toilet and a fitted bath are the exception, to houses where they are the rule (Table 38)

These changes were welcomed by most migrants, like the Craghead woman who admitted - "When I get done I enjoy coming back into the front room and just relaxing. At Craghead I couldn't relax in a kitchen that was so dark, and there was always the smells from the cooking".

With some migrants these changes gave rise to a new attitude towards the house,^A a Dean Bank man illustrates this change, "I take more interest

* Concise Oxford Dictionary, 4th Edn p.1173

TABLE 36	CHANGE IN HOUSE TYPE				
	Coll- lery	Council	Own	Private Rent	Living- In
	%	%	%	%	%
DURHAM	57	29	4	4	6
NEW AREA	36	60	4	-	-

in the home here, in cleaning the place up. If I come in from work now and find a few crumbs on the floor I couldn't go to bed without sweeping them up".

To some migrants then, these improvements justified the increase in rents, but for many this increase was difficult to accept, and became the greatest single complaint associated with the new areas. The indignation many migrants felt, is understandable after reference to Table 39, where it can be seen that in Durham only one migrant paid over £2 per week in rent, whereas in the new areas only one migrant paid less than £1 per week. Considering the sample as a whole, from 65% of the migrants having to pay less than £1 per week in Durham there has been a change to 68% having to pay more than £2 per week in the new areas. Moreover, for many migrants who had lived in rent-free colliery houses, this was not an increase, but their first experience of having to pay rents. These families found it especially difficult to adjust to the necessity of paying £2 - £3 per week for their houses.

While this increase was difficult to accept, most migrants also

TABLE 37	CHANGE IN HOUSE SIZE			NUMBER OF ROOMS		
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	%	%	%	%	%	%
DURHAM	0.5	4	22	32	41	0.5
NEW AREA	-	-	1.5	20	77	1.5

experienced an increase in wages so that the higher rents were to some extent absorbed. Table 40 shows that 63% of all migrants experienced an increase on their Durham wages. (2)

Even though most families experienced an increase in wages, few considered themselves better-off because of the increased cost of living in the new areas. Rents have been mentioned, but further expenses were often entailed in moving into a new house. Carpets and linoleum brought from Durham were often too small for any of the rooms in the new house, and in addition, some of the furniture brought down often looked shabby and "old fashioned", so that many families felt compelled to renew furniture and coverings, especially if friends or neighbours were known to have renewed theirs. Television sets were often damaged on the journey, or couldn't be made to function satisfactorily in the new area, and they also had to be renewed.

Apart from these initial expenses wives often reported shopping to be more expensive, especially for those who relied on the travelling-shops which served the estates. Some wives were sure that the commodities

TABLE 38	CHANGE IN AMENITIES POSSESSED			
	Inside Toilet	Bath	Car	'Fridge
	%	%	%	%
DURHAM	31	42	28	18
NEW AREA	99	99	47	43

themselves were more expensive than they were in Durham, others felt that the shopkeepers were taking advantage of them - "When they see us Durhams' coming they stick a penny on everything". But in many cases this experience of more expensive shopping results from the fact that in Durham, most wives knew precisely where and when they could get cut-price and bargain offers, whereas in the new areas the shops were still sufficiently strange as to prevent saving of this kind.

Travelling expenses were also an important factor contributing towards the increased cost of living. Children often found themselves having to pay bus fares to school, while their mothers had to pay to go shopping for commodities unobtainable on the estate. The men also had to travel much further than they did in Durham. Table 41 shows that a short walk constituted the Durham journey to work, while in the new area, the journey, even though accomplished principally by car, took twice as long. This need for all members of the family to travel plus the comparatively infrequent and expensive local bus services, (compared with those they had left) persuaded many families of the necessity to buy a car. Indeed, for some families the

TABLE 39	CHANGE IN HOUSE RENT			
	Under £1	£1-39/-	£2-59/-	£3 and over
	%	%	%	%
DURHAM	65	35	-	-
NEW AREA	-	32	60	8

possession of a car was often looked upon as a panacea for all dissatisfactions with the new area "If only you had enough money down here" complained a Burnhope man, "Just enough for a little car, it would be O.K. then". A car, which usually involved monthly payments, thus became an additional source of expenditure and contributed further to the cost of living. The down-payment on the car was often given as the initial reason for the migrant wife going out to work, and once the payment was made, she often had to continue working to provide for its upkeep. This was equally true for those families who bought second hand cars, which required frequent renewal of old parts.

A new house, an increased cost of living and a necessity to travel to work, have been considered as aspects of the initial adjustment situation which interact together to influence the further course of adjustment. In particular, it has been suggested that these factors combined to impress on many migrants the necessity for wives to go out to work, and the husband to buy a car

The importance attached to situational factors and changes suggests

TABLE 40	WAGE COMPARED WITH DURHAM		
	Increase	Decrease	Same
	%	%	%
NUMBER OF MINERS REPORTING	63	17	20

a strong deterministic view of adjustment. Such a suggestion is indeed implied, but while the individual migrant is powerless in some respects, the whole adjustment process is characterised by a complex interplay between choice and compulsion. A fundamental, and in many respects, an insuperable problem, exists in the attempt to distinguish between the two. Crucial for its solution is the extent to which the migrants, in deciding to migrate, were aware of all the implications of their decision. An attempt was made to determine the extent of this awareness by asking the migrants if life in the new area was what they had expected. Unfortunately, many of the replies were unsatisfactory because the migrants were often unable to remember precisely what they had expected, but the general impression reflected the distinction which emerged between Resultant and Dislocated and Dissenting migrants in the study of decision-making.

The Resultant migrants, characterised by a "Short-run Hedonistic" orientation, had a limited expectation of what migration implied further than a new house and an increase in wages. The Dissenting and Dislocated migrants were much more likely to have considered some of the broader implications of movement before making the decision.

TABLE 41	JOURNEY TO WORK						
	TIME			MEANS			
	Under 15 mins	15-30 mins	Over 30 mins	Walk	Car	Bus	Motor Cycle/ Scooter
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
DURHAM	76	15	9	71	2	25	2
NEW AREA	40	53	7	15	45	33	7

The conclusion here, and a conclusion recurring throughout the study, is that the Dissenting, and to a lesser extent the Dislocated migrants, seem to have a measure of control over their lives. By contrast, the Resultant migrants feel that events and changes "just happen", they are bad or good, lucky or unlucky, but as far as they themselves are concerned, quite independent of their control. Therefore in this study of adjustment the choice-compulsion dilemma is further complicated by the differences within the migrant sample. The Resultant Migrants feel that their adjustment is largely determined by situational factors beyond their control, while the Dissenting Migrants feel themselves to be largely responsible for any change. After recognising this dilemma, and the importance of situational factors in determining certain aspects of adjustment, there remains an area of "free-choice" for all migrants. This area of "free-choice" occupies the remainder of the chapter.

(1v) THE IDENTIFICATION DILEMMA

After the initial difficulties and exploratory encounters of the first few days the migrants are confronted with a succession of choices. The husband decides which club he will join, whether to mix with fellow Durham migrants or with local men. His wife decides which neighbour she should ask for help. Together they have to reach some decision about going back to Durham for the weekend or at holiday times, about which nights they go out, where they should go, and the many other big and small decisions which have to be made before they feel at home in the new area. Adjustment, like migration as a whole, is therefore viewed as an "on-going process of decision making",⁽³⁾ involving a succession of conscious and unconscious choices.

Many of the different decisions the migrants have to make can be resolved into a single, but fundamental choice, between identification with the new area and continuing identification with Durham. This choice confronts all migrants, and the possibility of continuing identification with Durham is greatly facilitated by the large numbers of Durham migrants living near to each other in most areas. Migrants could, if they so desired, mix exclusively with Durham people, continue to read Durham newspapers and return "home" every weekend. Alternatively, they could mix with the local people, take an interest in local events through the local newspapers, and return to Durham only out of a sense of obligation to ageing parents. Tables 42 - 47 summarise the way in which

TABLE
42

		FRIENDS MADE IN THE NEW AREA							
		Only Durham		Only local		No Friends Reported		Both Durham and Local	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP		68	30	48	21	18	8	96	41
DISSENTING		10	20	16	31	5	10	19	39
RESULTANT		50	37	14	10	12	9	60	44
DISLOCATED		8	18	18	41	1	2	17	39
		$\chi^2 = 4.4$ P < .05		$\chi^2 = 13.0$ P < .001		INSIGNIFICANT		INSIGNIFICANT	

the migrants as a whole, and the different sub-types, solved this dilemma of identification between Durham and the new area.

Considering friends made in the new area, Table 42 shows that of the migrant sample as a whole, 41% reported both local and Durham friendships, 30% were friendly only with fellow-Durham migrants and 21% friendly only with local people. With these exclusive friendships there are significant differences between the migrant sub-types. Dislocated migrants are seen to be most likely only to have local friends, and least likely only to have Durham friends. The Resultant migrants provide the opposite extreme, being most likely to have only Durham friends and

TABLE 43	DURHAM FRIENDS IN NEW AREA			
	From SAME VILLAGE		ELSEWHERE DURHAM	
	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	144	79	38	21
DISSENTING	24	69	11	31
RESULTANT	102	85	19	15
DISLOCATED	18	68	8	32

$\chi^2 = 6.2$
 $P < .02$

least likely only to have local friends. Dissenting migrants occupy an intermediate position.

Table 43 subdivides the Durham friends into two categories, those from the same village as the informant, and those from elsewhere in Durham. In most cases this is also a distinction between friends known in Durham before migration, and friends met in the new area for the first time. Nearly 80% of all Durham friendships are seen to be between migrants from the same village, but there are significant differences in this respect between the migrant sub-types. Dissenting and Dislocated migrants are twice as likely as Resultant migrants to have met their Durham friends in the new area.

TABLE 44	NUMBER OF LOCAL PEOPLE KNOWN BY NAME					
	NONE		ONE		TWO and OVER	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	90	39	77	34	63	27
DISSENTING	14	27	20	40	17	33
RESULTANT	61	45	41	30	33	25
DISLOCATED	15	34	16	36	13	30
	$\chi^2 = 5.4$		NOT SIGNIFICANT		NOT SIGNIFICANT	
	P < .02					

Table 44 indicates the number of local people known by name, again there is a significant difference between Dissenting and Resultant migrants, Dissenting migrants being most likely to know local people.

In all aspects of friendship referred to above, there are significant differences between Dissenting and Resultant migrants. The Resultant migrants are more likely to have Durham friends, and by implication, to interact more exclusively with Durham people. Two reasons are suggested for this occurrence. Firstly, the decision-making study demonstrated how Resultant migrants were more likely to decide to migrate with friends than they were to decide alone. Having decided with friends it is

TABLE
45

NEWSPAPER READING IN NEW AREAS

	Local Paper		Still receiving Durham paper		Local Paper only		Durham Paper only	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	89	39	113	49	46	20	66	29
DISSENTING	20	39	17	33	15	29	10	19
RESULTANT	49	36	74	55	22	16	45	33
DISLOCATED	20	45	22	50	9	20	11	25
	NOT SIGNIFICANT		$\chi^2 = 6.8$ P < .02		NOT SIGNIFICANT		$\chi^2 = 3.1$ NOT SIGNIFICANT	

understandable that they should maintain their friendships in the new areas. Secondly, it has been shown that Resultant migrants were least likely to have been outside Durham before migration, it is now suggested that this extra-Durham experience, enjoyed mainly by Dissenting and Dislocated migrants, equipped them with a greater confidence and proficiency in making friends in the new area. As a corollary, the Resultant migrants, without this experience, are more likely to seek friendship with Durham people in general and fellow villagers in particular.

The identification dilemma is also revealed in newspaper readership, and in the frequency of visits to Durham.

TABLE 46	NUMBER OF RETURN TRIPS BY MIGRANT WIVES									
	NONE		1-2		3-4		5-9		10 and OVER	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	20	8	38	17	65	28	69	30	38	17
DISSENTING	6	12	10	19	15	30	12	23	8	16
RESULTANT	8	6	18	13	35	26	50	37	24	18
DISLOCATED	6	14	10	23	15	34	7	15	6	14

$$\chi^2 = 5.1 \quad P < .05$$

Table 45 shows that 49% of all migrants still received a local Durham paper, while only 39% regularly bought a local paper in the new area. Resultant migrants are shown to be most likely to continue receiving the Durham paper and least likely to take a local paper. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Table 45 is the fact that nearly half the migrant sample continue to receive a Durham paper after an average of 14 months absence from Durham. Migrants normally received the papers from parents and relatives, and after they had read them, they were passed on to other Durham migrants, so that the figures probably underestimate the total

TABLE 47	NUMBER OF RETURN TRIPS BY MIGRANT HUSBANDS									
	NONE		1-2		3-4		5-9		10 and OVER	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	29	13	50	22	70	30	57	25	24	10
DISSENTING	5	10	14	27	21	41	6	12	5	10
RESULTANT	9	6	21	15	44	33	46	34	15	12
DISLOCATED	15	34	15	34	5	11	5	11	4	10
$\chi^2 = 9.5$ $P < .01$										

percentage of migrants maintaining an interest in Durham news. This "passing-on" of papers in the new area often went beyond the immediate migrant group to Durham people who had left Durham during the Depression years.

The migrants admitted an interest in all kinds of local news, local football and cricket teams, the local Darts League, First-Aid competitions, Bands and Leek shows. Their interest also focused on the Births, Marriages and Deaths column. A Craghead woman gave her reason for this interest, "I would hate to go back up there for a weekend and find someone had died and I hadn't known about it". For many families the arrival of the Durham

was still eagerly awaited, like the Craghead couple who admitted, "Getting the Stanley News is the highlight of the week, we read it from the top left hand corner to the bottom right". But there were others who admitted a decreasing interest -

"My father still sends me the Durham County Advertiser, but to be honest we don't read it, it's just full of local gossip which you grow out of".

"My mother used to send the Stanley News but we found we were forgetting the local names, and anyway, whenever anything happened she wrote about it in her letters".

Contact with Durham was also maintained by letter writing and, in a few cases, by regular telephone calls. Many migrants promised to write to a number of people before they left the village, but after a few months in the new area, they admitted a 'falling-off' in correspondence with friends, neighbours and siblings. A Craghead woman's admission was typical, "Just write to my mother now, I made rash promises to write to two neighbours, but you get different interests, don't you?"; In most cases the letters were written by the migrant wife to her own mother, and often to her mother-in-law, and the migrants relied on the mothers to transmit any news to other relatives and friends. A few migrants kept regular contact through pre-arranged telephone calls. These arrangements were often complicated, like telephoning the village club at the weekend, or a relative working in a local shop, who would then pass on the information to the migrants' parents.

In addition to writing, telephoning and reading Durham papers, most migrants kept up first-hand contacts with Durham through weekend and holiday visits. Throughout the interviewing, questions on the frequency of visits to Durham, and the attitude towards these visits, often revealed the extent to which the migrants identified themselves with the new area, and in turn, the degree to which they were adjusted to it. In answering these questions some migrants spoke of the visit "home", others of the trip to Durham, and many corrected themselves, and each other, for using the word "home". This terminological dilemma is symbolic, and it is suggested that the return visit constitutes the most important single expression of the whole identification dilemma. This section therefore concludes with an extended review of the Return-Visit.

Most visits to Durham were made without any special reason, and, in a majority of cases, without any previous planning. They were rather the result of a sudden-felt desire to return to see relatives and friends. This impulsive visiting was, of course, easier for migrants with cars, but a twice daily coach service makes it possible for any Durham migrant living in Yorkshire and the East and West Midlands suddenly to decide on a return visit. In addition to these unplanned weekends, many visits were planned for a special time, or made for a specific purpose. Therefore at all national holidays many migrants take the opportunity to visit Durham, and family events like weddings, christenings and funerals also

account for specific visits. Family illnesses give rise to further visits, and migrants with elderly parents often made otherwise unwanted visits in the belief that, "this time might be the last time". Finally, certain North-East events provide an incentive for the return-trip, and "the Big Meeting", a Newcastle-Sunderland (local Derby), Leek and Pigeon shows were all given as reasons for a return-visit.

Tables 46 and 47 summarize a number of separate aspects of the return-visit. The overall volume of visiting is impressive, 31% of all migrants having returned 10 or more times. Comparing the two tables, it is evident that wives return more often than their husbands, and considering both tables together, it is also clear that Resultant migrants return to Durham more often than either the Dissenting or Dislocated migrants.

From hearing the attitudes expressed towards visiting Durham it is suggested that there is a greater difference between Resultant and the other migrants than shown in the tables. Resultant migrants were most likely to make impulsive weekend visits, while the visits of Dissenting and Dislocated migrants were usually made for some special reason. As a group, the Resultant migrants can be characterised as making the return-visit in order to enjoy themselves, while the Dissenting and Dislocated migrants make the return-visit more out of a sense of obligation. This distinction is best illustrated by quoting the contrasting attitudes towards the return visit. First, a number of

Resultant migrants give their views -

"It's like a ton load off your mind, once you get back to Durham station everything seems better"

"Lovely, when you get off the bus at Leeming Bar you can smell the air, it's a nice feeling something you can't describe but whenever I go up I want to stay".

"Lovely to go and see old friends, to get in the clubs at the weekends and have a good natter with me Dad".

"When I get up there's stacks of people who are friendly, they make you feel as if you're wanted. Once I get up there I don't feel like coming back so I generally take 2-3 extra days".

Dissenting and Dislocated migrants had a different attitude towards the return visit, their attitudes are illustrated in the following reconstructions -

"We go up on the Bus and when we land we go to her mother's, she's open armed but after a couple of hours it's back to normal. We go up to see my father and I go out to the Club with him. But it's not much fun, if they weren't alive we wouldn't bother, as it is I'm getting to dread a visit". (Craghead Dissenter)

"It's always the same there's no variety. You get dressed and go to the club. The conversation always starts with us comparing types of work in Nottingham and Durham. You find yourself speaking about the same things you spoke about last time, and they do the same, and they always finish by saying you can't stay away from the place, they can't realise you're only up to see your parents". (Esh Winning Dislocated Migrant)

"To me, I've always been glad to come back here (Nottingham), this is my home now. Our children and things and our house is here and we're recognised here now, it may be hard on them (parents) but it's like a duty to go back now". (Craghead Dissenting Migrant's Wife)

There is then, a pronounced difference in attitudes towards the return-visit between the Dislocated/Dissenting migrants and the Resultant migrants.

With nearly all migrants, attitudes towards the return-visit changed with increasing time in the new area. At one level this changing attitude is manifest in the increasing divergence between the kind of visit the migrant looks forward to, and the kind of visit which really takes place. This divergence between the ideal and the real was noticed by many migrants, as recorded in the following admissions.-

"You build yourself up and you get like a craving, but once you're back after about three days you get bored and you realise there's nothing there really".

"You really look forward to it, and you say you're going to have a good time, but you're always disappointed".

"Very disappointing, you always want to go up and you seem to think that people are going to make a fuss of you but they don't".

Some migrants felt that their disappointment with the return-visit was the result of a general community amnesia, as a Craghead man explained,

"Folks forget you, you speak to them but they only realise after who you are".

Similarly, a Burnhope man had observed,

"When I used to go up to my parents everyone used to stop and talk, now I go up unnoticed".

Others sensed a feeling of jealousy, even hostility towards them -

"I think there's a bit of jealousy, friends are no longer friends when you go back up".

"They don't want to know you, people you've grown up with don't want to know you any more. They don't want to see that you've got on - they're frightened at the bottom of it".

Two further factors may be suggested for this growing dissatisfaction with the return-visit. Firstly, many of the migrants' friends were also

migrants and therefore were no longer in the village, and secondly, holiday times in the new area do not always coincide with Durham holidays, therefore many migrants had disappointing visits because their friends were frequently at work.

Finally, nearly all migrants admitted a gradual disenchantment with Durham in general and the five villages in particular. This applied mainly to Dislocated and Dissenting migrants, but with increasing time in the new area, Resultant migrants also began to wonder why they had ever been so happy living in such places -

"When we got to South Moor Arch it looked really dirty, when you lived amongst it you didn't really notice it".

"We went through Craghead one Saturday afternoon and it was just like a Sunday - it suddenly hit me that it was a dying village, but they try to keep a front on".

"We saw it for what it was - a broken down area, you walk into another world, it's like walking into a morgue".

"Every time we go we think it gets shabbier each time, even the children call it a dump now".

Therefore dissatisfaction with the return-visit, and by implication with Durham itself, occurred for many reasons, and in a variety of forms. With most migrants this dissatisfaction led to fewer visits. Instead of going to Durham at weekends, the visits became increasingly associated with some specific purpose or event. The migrants themselves were aware of this change, a Burnhope woman admitted,

"For an ordinary weekend we prefer to stay here now, but for good times, like weddings and the like, there's more up there".

A Waterhouses man traced his changing pattern of visiting when he explained,

"We were up every weekend when we first came down, that went on for about three months, then it was about once a month, now it's only at holiday times, there's got to be something on before I go back now".

From the views expressed and the frequency of visits admitted, it is clear that for some Resultant migrants there was no dissatisfaction with the return visit, and it is suggested that the Resultant migrants who did become dissatisfied, took much longer to translate this dissatisfaction into reduced visiting than did the other migrants. Therefore dissatisfaction with the return visit is seen to be a developing phenomenon, where the degree of dissatisfaction depends on length of time in the new area and the type of migrant making the visit.

The increasing dissatisfaction with the return-visit has a reciprocal and a cumulative effect on the adjustment process. As migrants become disenchanted with the return-visits, their visits become less frequent. This infrequency increases the amnesia and reserve of the village community, which in turn, makes the migrants even less likely to want to return. In the new area the decreasing contact with Durham leaves weekends and holidays free for increased contact with local people, events and places. But the possibility of increased contact does not necessarily lead to increased contact, and the increasing sense of alienation from the Durham village communities does not have the same effect on all migrants. The extent to which

the migrants change in the new area, and the different directions of change, are discussed in the next sections.

(v) THE CONTRACTING SOCIAL LIFE

Most Durham migrants experienced an overall contraction of their social life in the new areas.

Table 48 shows the absolute percentage decrease between the number of regular nights-out in Durham and the number of regular nights-out in the new area. There is an impressive overall reduction, and it is clear that this affects husbands more than it does wives. This finding is itself a manifestation of the emerging partnership between husband and wife which will be referred to in the next section. It is also clear that Resultant migrant husbands experience the greatest curtailment to their pre-migration social life, yet reference to Tables 49 and 50 shows that Resultant migrants, both husbands and wives, still have more regular nights-out in the new area than do Dissenting migrants.

Associated with this reduction in the number of regular nights-out, there is a similar reduction in organizational membership. Table 51 shows a 50% absolute decrease between the number of organizations the migrants were members of in Durham, and the number they have joined in the new areas. From the Table it is clear that the drop in organizational membership affects husbands almost twice as much as it effects their wives. There is no significant differential effect on the

TABLE
48

ABSOLUTE % DECREASE IN NUMBER OF REGULAR NIGHTS-OUT				
	HUSBAND		WIFE	
	A	% D	A	% D
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	41		30	
DISSENTING	34		29	
RESULTANT	46		29	
DISLOCATED	42		32	

migrant sub-types, but reference to Tables 52 and 53 provides a necessary perspective. They show that Resultant husbands, but not wives, are significantly more likely to join organizations in the new area than are Dissenting migrants.

Therefore, both in terms of the number of regular nights-out and in the number of organizations joined in the new area, migration has resulted in a big absolute decrease. This decrease has been greater for husbands than for wives, and greater for Resultant migrants than for Dissenting and Dislocated migrants. A number of reasons can be suggested for this contraction in the migrants' social life.

An initial contraction is to be expected as a result of a feeling of strangeness in the new area. Bus-times and bus-routes are confusing,

TABLE 49	NUMBER OF REGULAR NIGHTS-OUT IN NEW AREA HUSBANDS					
	NONE		1-2		3 and OVER	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	47	20	129	56	54	24
DISSENTING	17	33	29	57	5	10
RESULTANT	21	16	75	56	39	28
DISLOCATED	9	20	25	57	10	23
		$\chi^2 = 12.2$		P < .001		

and many migrants complained that, even when they found a club or public house, they often had to sit alone for the evening. Others found it difficult to go out because they felt unable to leave their children with anyone on the estate. In Durham there had rarely been such a problem, with parents, relatives and long-established neighbours available to look after the children whenever the husband and wife wanted a night-out together. The fact that children had been left with relatives or well-known family friends in Durham, often accounted for their refusal to be left with anyone in the new area. Other migrants deliberately postponed an active social life until they had paid for new furniture, and often a general

TABLE 50	NUMBER OF REGULAR NIGHTS-OUT IN NEW AREA WIVES						
	NONE		1-2		3 and OVER		
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	65	28	125	54	40	18	
DISSENTING	21	41	26	51	4	8	
RESULTANT	32	24	74	55	29	21	
DISLOCATED	12	30	25	57	7	13	
		$\chi^2 = 9.8$		P < .01			

lack of money was given as a reason for curtailment. In addition, many migrants admitted feeling too tired at nights to make the effort to go out. This was especially the case where the wife was also working, and where the husband spent a long time travelling to and from work.

While there were these "situational" factors deterring migrants from going out in the evening, many admitted that they were no longer as keen to go out as they had been in Durham. The acquisition of a new house, and perhaps more important, a virgin garden, partly accounts for this lessened desire to participate in extra-home activities. The Dissenting migrants were especially disposed to expending much time and effort on small

TABLE
51

ABSOLUTE % DECREASE IN ORGANISATIONAL MEMBERSHIP				
	HUSBAND		WIFE	
	A	% D	A	% D
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	51		27	
DISSENTING	53		49	
RESULTANT	50		2	
DISLOCATED	51		29	

improvements to the new house, and on cultivating their new garden, but in all areas nearly all migrants reported spending more time in the house and garden than they had done in Durham.

For most migrants then, migration from Durham resulted in an increased home-centredness. Throughout the interviewing the fieldworker felt that this change was welcomed by the Dissenting migrants, as it fulfilled their regularly stated need for privacy and independence. By contrast, with the Resultant migrants, the fieldworker often got the impression that this home-centredness represented only an initial stage in the adjustment process, forced upon them by certain aspects of the new situation. On average, the migrants were interviewed after a period of 14 months in the new area, and if it were possible to undertake a

TABLE 52	NUMBER OF ORGANISATIONS JOINED IN NEW AREA HUSBANDS					
	NONE		1		2 or MORE	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	75	33	122	53	33	14
DISSENTING	25	49	13	35	8	16
RESULTANT	35	26	80	59	20	15
DISLOCATED	15	34	24	55	5	11
		$\chi^2 = 10.9$		P < .01		

follow-up study after 3 or 4 years residence, this observed contraction in the social life may indeed be proved transitory for a majority of the migrants. Unfortunately a 3 year research period does not allow sufficient time to establish whether the changes are transitory or permanent, but the whole problem is discussed in general terms, and with reference to other studies, in Chapter 9.

(v1) EMERGING PARTNERSHIP

An emerging partnership between husband and wife was observed in nearly all migrant couples after their movement from Durham. The

TABLE 53	NUMBER OF ORGANISATIONS JOINED IN NEW AREA VIVES			
	NONE		1-2	
	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	164	71	56	29
DISSENTING	40	78	11	22
RESULTANT	94	70	41	30
DISLOCATED	40	90	4	10

$$\chi^2 = 1.1$$

NOT SIGNIFICANT

comparison between migrants and non-migrants revealed that even before migration, the migrant couples were more likely to be characterised by a companionate-type relationship. With migration, the companionate element has been strengthened

This change is reflected in many aspects of life in the new area, but it is especially evident in the increased co-operation between husband and wife. Table 54 shows the absolute increase in the help the migrant husband gives his wife. The increase is seen to be greatest among Resultant migrants, but it is necessary to refer to Table 55 to maintain perspective. The two tables together show that the Resultant migrants are

ABSOLUTE % INCREASE IN HUSBAND-WIFE CO-OPERATION

TABLE
54

	HELP WITH MEALS			HELP WITH WASHING-UP			HELP WITH SHOPPING		
	A	%	I	A	%	I	A	%	I
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP			33			42.7			81.3
DISSENTING			12			23			27
RESULTANT			58			69			125
DISLOCATED			29			36			92

only "catching-up" with the Dissenting and Dislocated sub-types. Therefore Resultant migrant husbands help their wives much more than they did in Durham, but as a group, they still offer less help than do Dissenting and Dislocated migrant husbands. It is significant that the greatest increase in help occurs with shopping. In Durham it was observed that husbands were less likely to help their wives with shopping than with any other task, and many men admitted that being seen with a shopping bag was the real deterrent to co-operation of this kind. From the increases recorded, it would seem that the husband is less likely to be embarrassed by this "public" co-operation in the new areas.

The increased co-operation between husband and wife is the result of a gradual improvement in their relationship, but also of a number of

TABLE 55	HUSBAND-WIFE CO-OPERATION IN NEW AREA					
	HELP WITH MEALS		HELP WITH WASHING-UP		HELP WITH SHOPPING	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	195	85	185	80	172	75
DISSENTING	48	94	48	94	46	90
RESULTANT	110	82	100	74	90	67
DISLOCATED	37	84	37	84	36	82
	$\chi^2 = 5.1$		$\chi^2 = 18.0$		$\chi^2 = 11.2$	
	P < .02		P < .001		P < .01	

situational factors. It has been observed that migrant wives are more likely to go out to work in the new areas than they were in Durham. This occurrence is partly a reflection of the greater opportunities for female employment in the new areas. It is also the result of a higher cost of living, therefore a need to supplement the husband's wage, and a result of the opportunities which work provides for making friends. Most migrant wives mentioned both factors when explaining why they had decided to go to work. The result, in almost every case, was that the husband felt a greater obligation to help his wife than he would have felt if she were not out working. Husbands were especially likely to help their wives with

shopping, for two reasons. Firstly, if his wife was out working she did not have time to shop every day, and secondly, the absence of the local corner shop meant that shopping bags had to be carried further. These two factors combine to make a single weekend shopping visit the common practice in the new areas, with the husband accompanying his wife to carry the heavy shopping bags.

The increasing partnership in the new area is also suggested by the absolute decrease in the number of regular nights-out alone. Table 56 shows that the absolute decrease is similar for husband and wife, but that Dissenting migrants have curtailed their extra-home activities much more than Dislocated and Resultant migrants. However, Tables 57 and 58 show that despite the overall decreases, Resultant migrants are still significantly more likely to have regular nights-out alone than are Dissenting migrants. The absolute decrease in number of nights-out alone is accompanied by a small absolute increase in nights-out together (the increase is only small because of the overall contraction in the social life referred to earlier).

Table 59 again illustrates the Resultant migrants "catching-up", and reference to Table 60 shows that they are more likely to go out together than are Dissenting migrants. A number of migrant wives specifically referred to this "catching-up". For example, the Burnhope woman who said, "We get out more often now. I'm getting my own back after all those years when he went out on his own".

Another Resultant migrant wife admitted,

TABLE
56

ABSOLUTE % DECREASE IN REGULAR NIGHTS-OUT ALONE		
	HUSBAND'S NIGHTS-OUT ALONE	WIFE'S NIGHTS-OUT ALONE
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	47.7	43.7
DISSENTING	57	55
RESULTANT	38	34
DISLOCATED	42	42

"Yes, we get out much more down here. I stand up for my self, do as the Romans do, that's what I say",

only to earn the comment from her husband,

"She's been corrupted by the women down here, they're more independent".

The decrease in number of nights-out alone and the increase in the number of nights-out together provide another illustration of the interplay between "situational" or compulsive factors influencing change, and the volition of the migrant couple themselves. With migration away from Durham the husband leaves his circle of workmates and friends, while his wife leaves her mother, her sister and her friends, so that entertainment which was once found within one of these mutually exclusive groups, is now sought by the husband and wife together. A Resultant migrant husband illustrates this change, "We go out more together here,

TABLE 57	REGULAR NIGHTS-OUT ALONE IN NEW AREA HUSBANDS					
	NONE		1-2		3 and OVER	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	140	61	46	20	44	19
DISSENTING	41	80	6	12	4	8
RESULTANT	73	54	27	20	35	26
DISLOCATED	26	59	13	30	5	11
$\chi^2 = 11.7$						$P < .001$

I feel like taking her out. Up Durham I used to like the company of the lads - here I like being with her".

An Esh Winning Resultant migrant offered a similar admission,

"Up Durham I've got to be honest, I wasn't really fair to her, I had my own friends and that was that. I sort of knew she had friends so I didn't bother much at all, down here you know you've taken her away and you feel you've got to make up for it in some ways".

Many migrant couples offered an additional explanation for the increased time they spent together in the new area. Husbands and wives admitted that the fear of censure from parents and other villagers, often prevented wives from accompanying their husbands to the village club. Away from this fear of censure, and living in areas where it is the common practice for

TABLE 58	REGULAR NIGHTS-OUT ALONE IN NEW AREA WIVES					
	NONE		1-2		3 and OVER	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	165	72	53	23	12	5
DISSENTING	43	84	6	12	2	4
RESULTANT	86	64	40	30	9	6
DISLOCATED	36	82	7	16	1	2
$\chi^2 = 8.0$						$P < .01$

wives to accompany their husbands to the club, many migrant wives admitted to attending a club for the first time in their lives. An Esh Winning migrant husband explained,

"To be honest her relations disapproved of her going into clubs so she sat in while I went out. They weren't religious, just old fashioned".

The greater co-operation and partnership referred to throughout this section is both the result and the cause of an overall improvement in the conjugal relationship. An improved relationship was observed between a majority of migrant couples in the new areas, and the migrants themselves testify their awareness of the change -

TABLE
59

ABSOLUTE % INCREASE IN NIGHTS-OUT TOGETHER	
	A % I
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	12
DISSENTING	5
RESULTANT	25
DISLOCATED	7

TABLE
60

	NONE		1 and OVER	
	No	%	No	%
WHOLE MIGRANT GROUP	88	38	142	62
DISSENTING	26	51	25	49
RESULTANT	46	34	89	66
DISLOCATED	16	36	28	64
$\chi^2 = 4.0 \quad P < .05$				

"We don't argue so much. Up Durham we argued every weekend, usually about him going out drinking. I would nag him and he'd shout at me to shut-up, and I did, and never spoke to him for a week - of course I had my sister to go and talk to. But down here there are just the two of us and we've got to stick together". (Burnhope Resultant Migrant's wife)

"It's brought us closer together, it's like a second honeymoon. It's the best thing we've ever done. Up Craghead I could have left him because I was influenced too much by friends and relatives, now I see his good points". (Craghead Dissenting Migrant's wife)

"We were always arguing in Dean Bank, it used to start over little things and go on for weeks and weeks. I used to pack up my case and go next door. Here I only have him and we've got on better this last two years than in the whole 18 years of married life". (Dean Bank Dislocated Migrant's wife)

"He lived for the weekends, he thought once he'd given me the paypacket that was it. He went out on Saturday morning to the pub and then on to the

dogs. He came home for tea worse for drink and asked me if I wanted to go out. Well, I wasn't going to go out with him in that state, so he went out with the lads again. He'd get up with a sore head on Sunday morning and be all sorry but I was still angry, so out he went with the boys again. It's different down here, we work more in harmony, and even though we've less money we share everything and I've got him to myself".

Many migrants attributed this improved relationship directly to the escape from parental influence. An Esh Winning Dissenting migrant explains:-

"Her parents used to have too much say over her and they spoiled the children because they didn't believe in spanking. Her mother always used to rearrange the furniture in the front room, just little things like this but they used to get me worked up. Down here we're on our own and there's no one to interfere".

A Craghead Resultant migrant had a similar admission -

"Up Durham she went off to her Mam's every weekend when there was a tiff, and it's funny but when her Mother and Father come down you can guarantee we'll have a big bust-up and it'll go on until they leave. We do have our bits of tiffs but they pass quickly when we're on our own".

This improved relationship was especially noticeable between Resultant migrant couples. Dissenting migrants, when asked about any change, were more likely to say that they had always been close and had always helped each other and gone out together.

There were a few notorious exceptions to the overall improvement in the conjugal relationship. For many Durham migrants, the new estates had a reputation for immorality, and on every estate there were a few much talked-of affairs between married men and other men's wives. A Durham migrant wife explained the factors responsible for behaviour of this kind, "Some people seem to go to pieces down here and get into trouble. It's just like it was in the war, girls getting into trouble because they are away from home and parents".

Seven migrants, originally from the five villages, could not be included in the sample because either the husband or the wife was involved in an affair and was living elsewhere. One such case is recounted as being typical of many, and illustrative of the possible effects of migration on adulterous behaviour and eventual separation.

Mr and Mrs F., are a Waterhouses couple with two girls aged 7 and 9 years. Mrs F. and the children are now back in Waterhouses living with her parents. Mr F. is living with a neighbour in Stoke-on-Trent, and they are both awaiting a court order granting legal divorce. Mrs F. recounted the events leading to the separation "One weekend we had a crash when we were coming up home, he was injured and was off work for weeks, so I had to go out and get a job because we needed money to pay for the car. I got a job in a laundry and I kept on working after he went back to the pit. While I was at work the girls were looked after by the neighbour, and when I was out and he was on night-shift, he used to go over to her for his meals too. Soon we were doing everything together, her and her husband and two children and the four of us. He was over there all the time and it started that he was making more fuss of their children than of ours. He insisted we all go on a camping holiday together and then I caught them in the tent together. That was the end so I got the girls and we came right home".

In the above case the details are of course unique, but the plot is essentially the same for all seven cases of separation. Husband and wife move from a small village where the pressures of social conformity are strongly felt, to a new estate where (for the first few months at least) they are comparatively absent.

These exceptions must not detract from the predominant impression of an overall improvement in the conjugal relationship. In most cases this improvement was associated with a heightened awareness of the nuclear family itself. A Burnhope migrant's wife expressed this feeling precisely, "It's brought us closer together and made us realise we're a compact family, instead of looking after relatives, now we just look after the five of us".

The new awareness is understandable, considering that for the majority of migrants, family life in the West Durham village involved little architectural limitation. The children often ate and even slept at their grandparents' or aunts' houses, and in the event of a quarrel between husband and wife, many wives admitted to returning temporarily to their mother's house. In the new area, the house effectively circumscribes all family living, while the local clubs, with no ban on children and no censure attached to wives attending with their husbands, permit the family to pursue its recreation together.

(v11) ADJUSTMENT DIFFERENTIALS

Many problems of adjustment are experienced by the migrant family as a whole, but husbands and wives, parents and children, each have their own special problems of adjustment. Confronted with different problems, they adjust at different rates, therefore there are important sex and age adjustment differentials.

Children under secondary school age found few problems of adjustment. Friendships made in Durham before migration were insufficiently developed, either to make departure difficult, or to retard friend-making in the new area. For children of this age living on a new estate had positive advantages. Compared with the West Durham village there were many more children of a similar age, for the children this meant a wider circle

of friends. The presence of large numbers of children also relieved many parents of the necessity to discipline their children against behaviour which might annoy older residents. An Esh Winning mother explained, "There's one good thing about this estate, everyone's got a family. Up Esh Winning our kids were always in trouble and we were always looked down on because we had seven".

In addition to a greater sense of freedom, the new estates also provided the children with gardens to play in, compared with the yard or the back street they had in Durham, and unfinished houses and unmade streets provided further diversion. Most parents were therefore pleased with the way in which their younger children were adjusting, often admitting that the children felt more at home in the new area than they did themselves. The parents also noticed that their children, especially those of primary school age, were first to learn the idiomatic usage of certain words and to speak with a local rather than a Durham dialect. In order to demonstrate to the fieldworker just how well their children had settled, parents often introduced him as, "a man who was going to take them back to Durham". On receiving this information the children invariably ran away or demanded contrary confirmation.

For the older children problems of adjustment were greater. Durham friends had been left behind, and out of a sense of "loyalty" to them, many children took a long time to form new friendships. Friendship with local children was often retarded by the small differences which distinguished the Durham children as a group. Local children in all

areas criticised the Durham children for not wearing school blazers (or rather for not wearing the local school colours, for many Durham children continued to wear their Durham school blazer in the new area) and carrying their books in ex-Army haversacks rather than in school satchels. A Welsh girl provides a highly perceptive description of the distinctive Durham dress,

"They dress in a different way from Welsh children, they wear their pointed shoes and keep their long hair. Welsh parents would not let their children keep their hair half as long as the Durham boys have A lot of them dress like pop-stars with the Beatle jacket, tight trousers and long hair".

It is also suggested that the children were often prejudiced against each other as a result of overhearing parental conversations. The Welsh girl quoted above reveals the use of parental criteria in the description and assessment of Durham children. A Staffordshire girl reveals similar influences in her description of the initial arguments between Durham and local children -

"At first we used to have violent arguments They claimed that they came from better homes and had better parents and were cleaner, and that our parents were lazy and that our pits would not carry-on without their fathers. They said many insulting things to us and we threw the insults back".

This extension of parental tensions, and the small differences in dress and behaviour which distinguished the Durham children as a group, did not have a lasting effect on relations between Durham and local children. Prejudice was gradually overcome as the number of friendships between Durham and local children grew, and paradoxically, many of these

friendships sprung from a further feature distinguishing Durham from local children. Parents, teachers and children, all reported that the Durham children enjoyed great initial popularity because of their dialects. During the first few weeks local children exhorted them to, "say something", to "talk Durham", and the Durham children obliged, happy to find themselves the centre of attraction.

There were some exceptions to the children's gradual adjustment to the new area. Eleven children, all between the ages of 11 and 16 years, were reported as still living with grandparents and aunts in Durham. They had either refused to move away with their parents, or had moved away and had later pleaded to be allowed to move back again. A variety of reasons were given for their initial refusal or eventual return, most prominent were the close ties with grandparents or with friends of their own age still in Durham.

Compared with most of their children, parents found adjustment more difficult.

Table 61 classifies answers to the question, "Who has settled down best?" (Which was always followed-up with "Why?"). The numbers refer to the frequency each reason was given to account for either husband or wife settling best in the new area. The Table therefore provides two kinds of information. Firstly, an overall indication of whom the migrants themselves consider to be the best-settled partner, and secondly, the reasons the migrants themselves give for husbands and wives being settled and unsettled. Finally, this Table only applies to

TABLE
61

SUBJECTIVELY FELT REASONS FOR ADJUSTMENT DIFFERENTIALS				
	HUSBAND MORE SETTLED BECAUSE		WIFE MORE SETTLED BECAUSE	
	No	%	No	%
"NATURE"	14	13	12	24
PREVIOUS TRAVEL EXPERIENCE	16	15	10	19
CONTENTED WITH HOME AND FAMILY	7	7	20	39
NO STRONG FAMILY TIES	14	13	9	18
BEEN IN THE AREA LONGER	9	9	-	-
"GETS OUT MORE"	33	32	-	-
INTERESTS UNINTERRUPTED	11	11	-	-
TOTAL	104	100	51	100

those migrant couples who felt a difference in the degree to which each partner was adjusted. 89 couples, or 39% of the whole migrant group, considered themselves to be both equally settled. (Of this 39%, 59% were Dissenting Migrants and only 30% were Resultant. $\chi^2 = 11.2$, $P < 0.001$).

The table refers to 141 migrants. Husbands are clearly considered to be more adjusted to the new area than are their wives. The reason most often advanced for the husbands' better adjustment was that he was able to get out of the house much more, and therefore had a better opportunity to find new friends and interests. Both husbands and wives commented to this effect -

"He can go out to work and doesn't have to stop on the estate all day".

"A man can go into a pub and start a conversation, a woman can't do that".

"He gets out every day, up home I didn't mind because I could go round to my Mam's, but here I feel as if I'm trapped".

The fact that both husbands and wives recognised that "getting out" facilitated adjustment, often suggested to them the desirability of the wife's going out to work. There were, of course, mixed motives for going out to work, the desire for a car or for new furniture having already received mention, but many women admitted going out to work in order to get out of the house and to meet people.

Husbands were also considered to be more settled because of the greater likelihood of their having travelled before migration, and more elusively, because of their "nature" Wives often admitted that there was "just something about" their husbands which made them settle better.

An Esh Winning woman admitted,

"Yes it's definitely him, it's in his nature. He can see things in perspective, he looks forward, I look back".

In addition, many men admitted they were more adjusted than their

wives because they had been in the new area longer. A few men worked for as long as a year in the new area before their homes were ready and their wives joined them. Therefore as a group, the men had had longer to adjust. Finally, both husbands and wives considered the men to be characterised by weaker family ties which also made their adjustment easier.

The only factor to account for wives settling better than husbands, was their greater overall preoccupation and satisfaction with the home and the family. Many wives would agree with the Dean Bank woman when she admitted,

"As long as I've got my home and I keep it reasonable, and as long as these (pointing to her children) are all right and, if he's happy at the pit, then I'm O.K ".

Generalising, it can be concluded that the husband's routine is less disrupted by migration, and consequently he finds adjustment easier than his wife. Regardless of the area into which he moves, his job is essentially the same as it was in Durham, and he is likely to be working with other Durham men. In addition, the local workingmen's club provides similar conversation and entertainments to those in West Durham, while Trade Union activists, Brass Band enthusiasts and pigeon and whippet fanciers can continue with their interests uninterrupted. For the wife it is different. She has a new home and new neighbours, different shops and shopkeepers. More important, she no longer has her parents and

siblings, especially her mother and her sister, to visit or to ask for help in difficulty. Compared with her husband then, the wife suffers more disruption to her sentiments and activities, and her adjustment is consequently slower and more difficult.

(viii) STRESS AND RELEASE IN THE NEW AREA

Throughout the foregoing sections there has been a reiterated suggestion that the migrants have responded in different ways to the changes involved in adjustment. The interviewing revealed that they also had varying enthusiasm for the new area, ranging from those families who wished that they had moved away from Durham much sooner than they did, to the 34 migrants who returned. Two contrasting reactions to the new area can be identified within these extremes. For many migrants, life in the new area involved considerable stress and strain associated with the separation from relatives and friends and from the known ways of the village. For other migrants, life in the new area gave them an experience of release, of a freedom to live their lives as they wanted. Stress, dissatisfaction with the new area and nostalgia for Durham, is associated especially with the Resultant migrants, while a feeling of release and a high appraisal of the new area in relation to Durham, is more characteristic of the Dissenting migrants.

The variety of ways in which stress and release manifest themselves are best illustrated by the migrants themselves. First, a number of

Resultant migrants review their changed circumstances, and in doing so, reveal the underlying stress they feel in the new area -

"You seem as if you stay in the house much more down here, if I was up there now I'd be standing outside talking to someone passing, you could go down to the gate anytime of day and have ten minutes gossip and when you came back you felt better, you can't do that here".

(Burnhope Resultant Migrant's wife)

"I sometimes just sit here and wait for the door to open and someone to pop-in like they did up home". (Craghead Resultant Migrant's wife)

"In village life in Durham there was more trust, people didn't doubt your word. Here in the town you don't get the same spirit. It's not only with me it's the same with them, they don't look at each other twice. There's a great lack of trust down here".

(Esh Winning Resultant Migrant)

Generalising, it can be said that the stress the migrants experienced was most often associated with the reduced number of opportunities for social interaction in the new area. This is suggested in the foregoing admissions by Resultant migrants, but is best illustrated in the replies to the question, "What do you miss most?" Replies most frequently given include - "walking down the street and everyone knowing you", "bumping into people shopping", "shopkeepers asking how the family is", "standing round after church and having a good natter", "a good talk in the C.O.O.P " and "just knowing everyone".

For the fieldworker this nostalgia for such moments and meetings recalls the image of a miner from Craghead who spent his summer evenings in the middle of a new estate in Hucknall, just sitting on his doorstep, as most people had done in Craghead, waiting for someone to pass. The fieldworker joined him one night, and while the conversation went on for

a long time, discussion was limited to his observation that it was a long way from Craghead, and the fieldworker's full agreement.

Associated with the feeling of strain and loneliness there was also the feeling that many of the local people were unco-operative, and even hostile. This was considered to be especially true of professional people with whom some contact was essential. Many migrant wives reported difficulty in establishing a relationship with local doctors and teachers, while their husbands often found relations difficult with their Deputies and pit managers. The general complaint was that "they" were not really interested, and that "they" were difficult to speak to. This is well illustrated in a Burnhope woman's comparison between her doctor at home and "this chap down here". According to her, "Dr B. was a chap who'd sit and talk to you, he always had time for you, just like a father to me he was. This chap down here, he has his head down when he talks to you and you're in and out as if he has no time", and she continued, "my nerves were bad and I went to this chap here and he gave me small white tablets which were just useless. So I went up to Dr B. and I think just hearing him again did me some good and he gave me some big blue tablets which put me right". This Burnhope woman admitted trouble with her nerves, and it was common throughout the interviewing to hear admissions of depression. Wives seemed more prone to depression than husbands, but there were sufficient admissions of stress and anxiety to suggest that an epidemiological study among the Durham migrants would

reveal a high incidence of environmental neurosis. At a fundamental level the anxiety and stress is the result of alienation. It has already been shown that with increasing time in the new area, there is increasing dissatisfaction with the return visit, and by implication, with the West Durham village itself. This dissatisfaction applies to nearly all migrants, even to those unhappy and under stress in the new area, therefore for them, the problem approaches a classic alienation situation. They neither feel themselves to be part of estate life in the new area or of the West Durham village which they have left. Some migrants resolved this situation by returning to Durham (but not to the same village, see Chapter 7). For some wives remaining in the new area, work was often sought as a release, as one Dean Bank woman remarked, "When you're out working every day you've got no time to think and worry yourself"

For the Dissenting migrants, life in the new area offered a feeling of release rather than stress and strain. The Dissenting migrants themselves comment on the welcome changes from their Durham experience -

"Up Durham you never knew who was going to pop-in. His mother, my mother and his brothers they were always in and out. Sometimes you felt as if you wanted to have the house on your own. Down here only a few people have been in the house and we like it that way".

(Craghead Dissenting Migrant's wife)

"There's more freedom here, you can do what you want. Esh Winning was small and everyone was nosey, it was just like a gossip shop - here people keep themselves to themselves". (Esh Winning Dissenter)

"Everything seems easier here, you get out more, shopping's a morning out now and you can always go into any number of friend's houses for a cup of coffee. They're all our ages here, in Durham it was all old people".

(Burnhope Dissenting Migrant's wife)

A graphic illustration of this feeling of release in the new area is

provided by the following auto+biographical reconstruction by a

Craghead man -

"I lived in Craghead most of my life and my father and grandfather and his brothers all lived and worked in Craghead. As early as I can remember everyone always called me "young Hutch", (Hutchinson was the surname) everywhere I went it was "young Hutch", it was as though they were speaking to my father through me. That was part of the reason why I left Craghead pit and went to the Busty (Stanley pit) But as I went to sign-on, the Manager called me "young Hutch" right from the start. I wanted to get away from that and be on my own. Down here I'm Wilf, not "young Hutch", even Craghead men that I work with call me by my proper name. But whenever I go back to Craghead, as soon as I put my head round the "Vic" (Club) door its, "Here's young Hutch"."

Accompanying this feeling of release in the new area, many migrants also experienced a feeling of purpose. A Burnhope Dissenting migrant illustrates this new-found purpose when he admitted,

"You seem as if you're working for an end down here, up there it was just for the sake of working. Here there's the future for our children, you seem as though you've got that to look forward to here".

A Dean Bank Dissenter had a similar attitude towards life in the new area,

"You feel as if you can plan things here, up Durham it was just a case of living for tomorrow. We're saving up for a car down here, up Durham the only way to get a car was to win the pools".

For the Dissenting Migrants then, life in the new area is likely to give them a sense of release from the social and economic limitations of the West Durham village. The greater freedom of choice associated with this release provides them with the opportunity to dissent still further away from the sentiments and activities associated with the West Durham mining village.

(1x) MIGRATION AND THE HOST POPULATION

All estates to which the Durham migrants have gone are situated close to long established communities. The relationship between these "host" populations and the migrants, has an important influence on the adjustment process. The relationship is, of course, bilateral, whereby the attitude of the migrants towards the local people is as important as the attitude of the local people towards the migrants, both interact to determine the extent of interaction between migrants and hosts.⁽⁴⁾

Before examining the attitudes the one population holds of the other, it is first necessary to review some of the points of conflict observed in all areas.

Housing was an important issue between migrants and the local population in all areas. The provision of a new house for every migrant family was the cause of much resentment, especially from local people who were themselves, or had relatives, on council house waiting lists.

In each area there was also considerable resentment against the Durham migrants because of the effect they were assumed to have on local employment opportunities. In April 1963, the leaders of the Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire branches of the National Union of Mineworkers asked the N.C.B. to stop transferring Durham miners to their areas because they felt the Transfer Scheme was, "just importing unemployment" and that with "increased mechanisation in some pits, and the threatened closure of others, they would be unable to absorb the men

who would loose their jobs" (The Newcastle JOURNAL 24.4.63).

This resentment the local populations felt towards Durham migrants over the assumed effect of migration on both housing and employment, revealed itself in the "IMPACT Studies" conducted in each area. A Yorkshire woman complained,

"They have lovely new houses while my sister has waited six years. But they're not content, they want a picture house and their own shops on the Wimpey Estate. It's ridiculous they want everything on their doorsteps".

In all areas there were similar complaints. A Welsh boy wrote in his essay on the Durham people,

"They are complaining already about the houses they have been given, our miners haven't got new houses. What is more, they are taking all the jobs at the pits so that our fathers do not get enough money".

In addition to these general conflict points observed in all areas, local residents living nearest to the "Durham estates" had a number of specific complaints against the Durham migrants. In all areas these contiguous local residents complained of damage to fences and gardens, broken windows, disgusting language and general rowdiness, all of which they attributed to the Durham people. This resentment was felt most strongly by the older local residents, and in talking to these people, the fieldworker often sensed strong feelings of persecution. Observation showed that some retired local couples, but especially widows and spinsters, were living in a constant state of siege, afraid to leave their vigil behind curtains for fear of what "they" might do next. An elderly Ollerton resident was almost in tears when she admitted to the

fieldworker,

"The children have broken the fence and when the men come back from the club they make so much noise. We've just had a greenhouse built and the glass cost us £54, we daren't go away for a holiday. We've lived here for 30 years and it's not fair that we should be humbugged like this".

A retired Radstock man had similar complaints to make of the migrants.

"I've just had to buy wood to make a higher fence, I've put barbed wire on top so surely that will keep them out. But they're always throwing stones and the Kids walk 12 at a time across the front lawn and they swear at you when you speak to them about it, it's very disheartening when you try to take a pride".

In all areas there were similar complaints from the local residents living nearest to the estates (5)

In addition to these general points of conflict, Durham migrants in Wales⁽⁶⁾ faced the unique problem of language. For the Durham migrants the Welsh language gave rise to resentment on two grounds. Firstly, it was impossible to understand people in the pit and the shop, and when Welsh people got together socially they invariably spoke Welsh thus excluding the Durham migrants. A Durham man expressed resentment against this aspect when he complained,

"You don't know what they're talking about. I used to just sit there like a clot, now I get back to work whenever they speak Welsh and this gets them mad".

The second ground for the resentment felt by the migrants, was that their children were forced to learn Welsh at school. A Durham mother explained,

"My youngest one can say the alphabet in Welsh but not in English, it's not right is it? If it had been French or German it would have been some use in getting a job, but it's a stupid language - what use is it?"

The children themselves were more emphatic,

"I hate having to learn Welsh", and admitted that they too had their problems with the Welsh people. A Craghead boy explained,

"Just to aggravate you even more they talk in Welsh when they know you don't understand it . they call you names in Welsh and say things about you, and when you cannot understand them you go in a temper".

In semi-rural Wales, Durham migrants also found special difficulty in adjusting to a life still characterised by strong religious convictions.

A Durham migrant explained,

"They're very narrow-minded, they have far too much church and chapel and it governs everything, the men are frightened to go and get a packet of cigs on a Sunday in case Chapel people see them".

Even the Durham children found difficulty in adjusting to the Welsh Sunday,

"It makes you sick this business about Sundays and not doing any job. The routine is to get up, go to church, come home, read the papers, and at night you thank God that's another Sunday done".

On their part the Welsh people were not unaware of the difficulties involved in adjustment, even though they tended to be less emphatic than the Durham migrants. A Pontyberem woman explained,

"They've been brought up in an atmosphere of Bingo and Club life. They come up from the club carrying bottles of beer every Sunday afternoon. We're not narrow minded here but we're not used to that, we're accustomed to old Welsh ways".

In all areas the local people perceived and described the Durham migrants in terms of the same general characteristics. From Yorkshire to Somerset the qualities most often associated with the Durham migrants

were extroversion, gregariousness and hedonism, and the characterisations offered by the local people illustrate these three aspects. Extroversion was considered to be a predominant Durham characteristic especially by local people in the more rural areas of Wales, Somerset and Shropshire. In Wales the word "fit" was often used to describe them - "they're fitter, more pushing, more forward than we are", and, "they're fit, ready to go for what they want, not hesitant". But in all areas they were considered to be more forward, to have more "cheek" than the local people. The extroverted behaviour attributed to Durham people was not always resented, many local people found it appealing. A Nottingham woman admitted the appeal Durham people have for her,

"They're more open and honest, they say what they think and don't go behind your back".

A Staffordshire man made a similar comment,

"They say what they think and they're not afraid to speak out, more like the Irish are".

Finally, a Staffordshire civil servant who came into contact with many Staffordshire and Durham people through work with the Jehovah Witnesses admitted,

"They're not so cabbage-like as the local people, they will argue and talk back, and they seem to have more plain common sense".

A friendly-gregarious quality was also noted as one of the chief Durham characteristics. According to a Nottingham miner's wife,

"They're very sociable, they start talking to you as if they'd always known you, and you don't feel awkward with them".

Similarly, a Yorkshire woman admitted,

"I always like to be with them, if I get into a bus and someone from Durham sits beside me I'm very happy".

Many Welsh and Somerset people, especially the younger ones, explained how the Durham people had made "things much livelier" for them since their arrival. According to them, the Durham people know how to enjoy life, "they live today and die tomorrow" admitted a Welsh shopkeeper, and phrases like, "Happy go lucky", "full of fun" and "they enjoy life" were especially common in the semi-rural areas. The local children were also aware of this particular aspect of the Durham character and they often provided the most perceptive insights. A Nottingham girl wrote,

"They go out and really enjoy themselves much more than we would if we were up in Durham. They are not quiet people and like to make a noise and act the fool and make sure that you know they are there".

A Somerset boy revealed clear admiration for the Durham people when he wrote,

"We went to a party at Xmas and there were quite a few Durhams there. My Mum says we have never enjoyed Xmas so much. They really are much merrier and enjoy themselves much more than we do".

In all areas then, Durham migrants were perceived as being extroverted and friendly, with a pronounced hedonistic attitude towards life. It is clear that this characterisation is based on the majority of Durham migrants, and while many local people were careful to make exceptions, the overall image offended some Durham migrants. Dissenting migrants were especially concerned about the group image, and they insisted on reminding the fieldworker that all Durham people were not alike.

A Burnhope Dissenting migrant's complaint is typical of many heard from Dissenting migrants in all areas -

"I'm always introduced as one of the Durhams and it infuriates me. I just don't know where they dig some of these Durham people up from, I wouldn't give some of them a home".

The Durham migrants were discriminating in their attitude towards the local populations. Yorkshire people were considered to be most like the Durham people themselves (This is hardly surprising since many 'Yorkshiremen' now living in villages like Rossington and Edlington originally came from Durham in the 1920's and 1930's). People in the East and West Midlands, especially the latter, were chiefly characterised by their preoccupation with work and money, while most comments on the Somerset people were concerned with their passive acceptance of conditions.

The Durham stereotype of Staffordshire and Warwickshire people, emphasising their pecuniary preoccupation, is well illustrated in the following replies to the question, "What do you think of the local people?".-

"They've got two Gods down here, work and money, up Durham there was only one God, Entertainment".

"To me everyone's trying to beat each other, up Durham you didn't have people envious like that. If one gets a car then the other gets a car, it's the same with carpets and everything else. In Durham there was never any mention of wages, but here they're always asking you how much you're making, everything amounts to money down here".

Even their conversation was thought to be preoccupied with money,

"They're dead serious, no light conversation but always talking about cars, more money and houses. They don't have any leisurely conversation".

The West Midlands people were also considered to be cold and unfriendly,

not only towards outsiders, but towards each other as well,

"We're all supposed to be English but they don't even think the same way as we do. They seem to keep each other at a distance, they're more individual and just think of themselves".

A Dean Bank migrant gave further illustrations of this perceived social distance -

"They like their privacy, you need an excuse for going to their doors, you can't just walk-in like you can with one of us. They're not as free as we are, they hold back all the time. They want to know your affairs but won't tell you anything. If they come to your door in bad weather they won't come in in case they wet the carpet, or if they do come in, they take their shoes off. Durham people are houseproud but not like that, we'd rather invite someone in and have a wet carpet".

To the Durham migrants, Somerset, and to a lesser extent Shropshire people, were mainly characterised by their passiveness (7) The Durham migrants themselves illustrate this quality -

"They're backward, still think in terms of the old serf and squire relationships, and they're frightened to speak their minds, it applies to everything, work, houses, club, traffic, everything".

"They'll work for a couple of cigarettes, they're frightened to ask for more, if they have a roof over their heads and bread and cheese for supper they're happy".

It was primarily the docile attitude towards work conditions and wages which infuriated the Durham men: as such, this characteristic can be considered as a reflection of the weaker Trade Union organisation in these rural areas.

Generalising, it can be said that to Durham migrants in Staffordshire, Warwickshire and the urban areas of Nottinghamshire, the local people were thought of as being both materialistic and individualistic. For

the Durham migrants in the rural areas of Wales, Somerset and Shropshire, the local people appeared to be characterised by almost the reverse qualities, namely, an insufficient concern for money and an overall fear of self-assertion. Of course, just as there were exceptions to the local peoples' stereotype of the Durham migrants, there were also exceptions to these stereotypes of local people. In all areas there were migrants who perceived no differences between themselves and the local people, and there were others who were full of praise for "the locals", preferring them to Durham people. But the exceptions do not alter the fact that these stereotyped images exist, and the ways in which migrants perceive their "hosts", and "hosts" perceive the migrants, do exert an influence on the course of adjustment.

CHAPTER 6 Notes to the text and references

- (1) Indirectly, of course, they result from the decision to leave Durham.
- (2) Unfortunately, in many cases the exact difference between Durham and present wages could not be calculated due to numerous extraneous factors, therefore the categories, "Increase", "Decrease" and "Same" must suffice.
- (3) BEEGLE, J.A. (1959)
- (4) The relationship between the migrants and the "host" population provides another illustration of the limiting framework of choice which characterises the adjustment process as a whole. The migrants as individuals are unable to change the host population's image of them as a group.
- (5) It is not suggested that the problem is unique. BENNEY, M "Storm Over Stevenage" in "The Changing Nation", London. 1947., and, of course, COLLISON, P. in "The Cutteslowe Walls". Faber & Faber. London 1963 both refer to similar grievances made by the local

established residents against the estate dwellers.

- (6) Only in the Swansea/Llanelly areas. In the Pontypridd area where few Welshmen speak Welsh, relations between the Durham migrants and the local people were noticeably better.
- (7) Marx's phrase "rural idiocy" comes nearer to describing the Durham migrants' estimation of the Somerset people.

CHAPTER 7

THE RETURNEES

Interest in the Returnee migrants is limited⁽¹⁾ to providing answers to the four questions, "Who are they?", "Why did they return?", "How did they overcome the return difficulties?" and, "What effect did their temporary migration have on them?"

Only 34 migrants originally living in the five villages returned to Durham to be interviewed by the fieldworker⁽²⁾ Of the 34 Returnees, only 20 can be considered as full migrants, i.e. a whole family moving from a house in Durham to a house in the new area. The remaining 14 men returned after a period in lodgings during which time their families (2 were single) remained in Durham. The two kinds of returnee are referred to as Migrant-Returnee and Lodger-Returnee respectively. The average length of stay for the Migrant-Returnee was 14 months, while for the Lodger-Returnee it was 4 months, the shortest stay being only 6 weeks.

The Returnees were predominantly Resultant migrants, 28 out of 34 having Resultant motivational structures. There were also 1 Dissenting, 3 Dislocated and 2 Epiphenomenal migrants who returned. Most Returnees exhibited extreme Resultant-type features, and these were especially evident in the reconstructions of their original decisions to leave Durham. One Returnee couple admitted leaving Durham because their marriage was on the point of breaking-up and only movement away offered

the possibility of starting again. Three Returnees were redundant when they decided to leave Durham, and four admitted that they had left only because friends had persuaded them to do so. In addition, there were six newly-married couples who left Durham only because they had been promised a new house. Therefore taken overall, their reasons for movement provide good illustration of the "short-run hedonism" characteristic of the Resultant migrants. In post-migration characteristics the Returnees also exhibited extreme Resultant-type features. As a group they returned to Durham more frequently than other Resultant migrants, and they associated more with fellow Durham migrants, and especially with potential Returnees, than with the local people.

The problem of the decision to return is as difficult to explain as was the original decision to migrate, and an analysis of the reasons for return reintroduces the problem of "real" and "stated" motives. Festinger's⁷ concept of Cognitive Dissonance is particularly relevant, for a return invariably suggests some kind of mistake or failure, which forces the Returnee to replace the Dissonance with Consonant information. In this respect Returnees often gave broken promises and unsatisfactory work conditions as their reasons for return, and these factors being beyond their control, absolved them from any sense of failure. For example, a Burnhope Returnee told the fieldworker that he had returned because he was always on the night-shift in Somerset, his wife then interrupted, "But you've always been on night-shift ever since we married" Only then did her husband admit to a more general dissatisfaction

with Somerset, "Yes, but it was different there, everything was different. Having to travel to work, not knowing what you were doing (at the pit) day by day, and there was nothing to do when you get home, you can't enjoy yourself down there". Similarly, two Returnees, when asked why they returned, explained how their wife and daughter respectively were allergic to the local water. After further questioning both Returnees admitted to a general dissatisfaction and agreed that the allergy had only been one of a number of reasons for their return to Durham.

These examples illustrate the dual nature of the problem of discovering the real motives underlying the return. Firstly, there is the problem resulting from the appeal to "an acceptable vocabulary of motives",⁽³⁾ for example, "I returned home because my daughter developed a skin rash which the doctor diagnosed as being the result of her allergy to the local water. No reasonable father would have done otherwise". Secondly, there is the related problem of distinguishing between a precipitating or "trigger" factor, and a general discontent developed over a long period. These problems, or rather different aspects of the same overall problem of divining "real" motives, make it impossible to classify the precise and individual reasons for return.

Only 3 out of the 34 Returnees provided a direct and uncomplicated reason for their return. Both Epiphenomal-migrant Returnees were young, unmarried Dean Bank men who explained that they had moved away only "for a bit of a change". They both returned after a stay of only 7 months, having "seen a bit more", and with more money than they could have earned

in a comparable time in Durham. The single Dissenting Migrant also offered a simple reason for his return. Both he and his wife were happy in Ollerton, they particularly enjoyed living in a new home and they liked the Nottinghamshire countryside. Unfortunately their only son, aged 16, did not like living in Ollerton and returned to Durham to stay with his Aunt on every possible occasion. The first Easter they spent in Nottingham the son said he was going back to Durham, and if he could find a job he was going to stay there. Much to his parents' surprise, and dismay, he returned with the promise of a job and proceeded to give notice at the Ollerton pit and to make arrangements for his permanent return to Durham. His parents tried to stop him but he insisted on returning. They continued to live in Nottinghamshire until Whitsun, and then, after an unsuccessful attempt to get their son to remain, they also decided to return to Durham as this seemed the only way of keeping the family together.

Only with these three Returnees is it considered possible to suggest a single reason for their return, for the majority of migrants there were a number of different factors influencing the decision.

The specific factors most often mentioned were working conditions, wages smaller than expected or promised, and difficulties over housing. In addition, a number of more general factors were offered, either alone, or in association with the specific factors, as reasons for the return thus Returnees complained of their wives being unable to settle, of

difficulties in social mixing, of no social life and also of a general homesickness. This broad distinction between general and specific reasons for return, and the distinction previously made between Migrant Returnees and lodger-Returnees, provide a useful framework for reviewing the reasons for a return to Durham.

Nearly all Lodger-Returnees offered a specific reason for return. The reasons most frequently given were those associated with the poor working conditions in the local pits. They listed many unattractive aspects of 'non-Durham' pit work, the pits were too hot, safety regulations were not enforced and there was too much mechanisation, but most of all they disliked the non-Durham working systems. Many objected to what they called the Butty System⁽⁴⁾, and resented the constant changing from job to job. A Burnhope Lodger-Returnee offered a typical complaint when he admitted, "I just didn't seem to fit in with their type of work. Up here everyone works as a team, down there no one gives you a hand and they move you around everywhere so you don't know where you're at". A Dean Bank Lodger-Returnee explained another common reason for dissatisfaction, "You'd go on Monday and get a good high paid job, but when all the Nottingham men came back on Tuesday and Wednesday,⁽⁵⁾ you were put back on poor stuff". A Lodger-Returnee from Wales confirmed this feeling of discrimination, "The wages varied, it all depended on the gaffers and if they didn't like you, you didn't get any decent pay. Down there your face has to fit or you've had it".

The Lodger-Returnees also claimed that the wait for housing had a strong influence on their decision to return, 3 Returnees admitting that if there had been a house available they would have remained. Surveys conducted by the National Coal Board⁽⁶⁾ found a high correlation between the length of time spent in lodgings and the propensity to return to Durham. The lodging period was clearly the most difficult time for all migrants,⁽⁷⁾ and especially for the Resultant Migrants who were least likely to have been away from home before migration. Separated from wife and family, sleeping and eating in a strange house, often exacerbated the Lodger-Returnee's dissatisfaction with working conditions. This period in lodgings was made more difficult to endure by the uncertainty over the completion dates of houses which the migrants were to occupy, so that neither the lodger, nor his family back in Durham, knew exactly how long it was to last. According to many admissions this period in lodgings approached a situation of "Limbo", where both the migrant, (who returned to Durham most weekends), and his family, were neither part of the village nor part of the estate in the new area, instead they were in a condition of perpetual readiness to move from the one to the other. For Resultant migrants this period of waiting provided an opportunity for serious and lengthy consideration of what was originally likely to have been an impulsive decision. It also provided them with an opportunity to reverse their decision before a home was allocated in the new area, and vacated in Durham.

It is suggested that the motives and circumstances outlined above, combined to influence the Lodger-Returnee to return to Durham.

For the Migrant Returnees', men who were joined by their families in the new area, and who stayed there for an average of 14 months, the reasons for the return were more complex. Their decisions to return have to be considered as the result of a gradual dissatisfaction with the new area, and the gradual realisation that they could never completely adjust themselves to its conditions.

In 9 out of the 20 cases, the Migrant-Returnee couple both admitted that it was the wife's dissatisfaction which was ultimately responsible for their return. (The section dealing with Differential Adjustment in Chapter 6 anticipated such a finding when it drew attention to the greater disruption that migration involved for the wives.) Their dissatisfaction was two-sided, they were lonely in the new area, and they were also unhappy at being separated from relatives back in Durham. The loneliness wives felt in the new area is well illustrated by the Dean Bank Migrant Returnee's reconstruction of her life in Yorkshire -

"It was like this at Yorkshire. I got up and got the children to school and my husband off to work at 1 (p.m.). The children got in from school at 5 and were in bed by 6. From 6 to 11 I was on my own. I couldn't watch T.V. because I couldn't get interested in anything. No one came to see me so I was always doing something - washing, Hoovering, polishing - even at 7 in the morning, anything to keep my mind occupied"

An Esh Winning Migrant Returnee's reconstruction of life in Derbyshire suggests one reason for the loneliness and is an example of an unsuccessful attempt to counteract it,

"They always looked down on us, they were like snobs really. The neighbour asked us in to look round her home and I asked her to look round mine, but that was as far as it got. I didn't see a soul, if anyone knocked at the door it was for the young one, not for me".

Feeling lonely and isolated in the new area made the Returnee wives even more aware of their separation from relatives, and particularly from mothers and sisters. This awareness, usually referred to as "fretting", is well illustrated by the Returnees themselves. An Esh Winning husband explained,

"The wife fretted so much the Doctor said, 'if you don't go back you'll be in a box in six months'".

His wife added,

"If I don't see my mother once a day I can't sleep at nights. I'll never do a daft thing like that again, he can do what he wants, but I'll stay in Esh Winning until I die"

(Admissions such as this inevitably prompt the question, "Why did they ever leave Durham?" It is suggested that the most plausible answers are found in the chapter dealing with the Decisions to Move and especially in the discussion of the "Short-run hedonistic" orientation).

A Dean Bank Returnee husband offered a further illustration of the deprivation felt by wives who were separated from their mothers,

"She was home-sick all the time and it was getting on top of her. She wouldn't let herself mix-in because she couldn't settle. I kept telling her she'd never settle till she mixed in. Three or four times she put her coat on and said she was off round to her Mum's - and she got outside before she realised".

In addition to the loneliness and dissatisfaction felt by the wives, there was a number of varied factors offered as explanation, or part-

explanations, for the return to Durham.

Two Returnees who were Roman Catholics specifically mentioned the difficulties involved in attending the local Catholic schools and churches. Three wives admitted returning to Durham in order to have babies at home. Some men complained of too little money, others, who missed the Durham social life, admitted that money "wasn't everything". Two unique cases were recorded. An Esh Winning Returnee admitted -

"I had no luck from going down. In the second week I had a fractured wrist and came back here for 8 weeks, went down again and my chest got bad with the heat. It got so bad that I went along for a Dust-test (Pneumoconiosis) and was laid off with 50%, and I've never worked since. There was no point in staying on down there, we can live cheaper up here and if I'm not going to work again it doesn't matter if we live in a depressed area, does it?"

Finally, an Esh Winning Returnee wife recounts the unhappy experience of a 7 months stay in North Staffordshire.-

"It's O.K for someone down there with good eyesight but I'm semi-blind I just knew my way to the two local shops, but as for going into Hanley, I couldn't manage that at all. I couldn't read the signs on the buses, and it was all supermarkets down there and that was no good for me not being able to read all the labels and prices. I need someone to serve me. Up here I can get on a bus and go to Durham because I know they only go to Durham, and everyone knows me and helps me out".

It is suggested that this woman's physical deficiency and her consequent inability to deal with new situations, can be considered as symbolic of the emotional deficiencies experienced by all Returnees. As a group they are characterised by an overall inability to shift from an accustomed to a different situation, and at a fundamental level this is the reason for their return.

With the return to Durham all Returnees had to find a job. Of the 34 Returnees only 13 returned to a pre-arranged job, 6 admitted they were lucky and found a job within a week of their return, the remaining 15 Returnees had to apply for unemployment assistance, which they received for an average of 14 weeks before they too found a job.

Men were able to return to pre-arranged jobs either as a result of a holiday spent looking round in Durham, or of relatives "speaking for" the intending Returnee. A Dean Bank Returnee describes the way in which he secured a job

"When we were up for the Easter holidays the nephew asked me if I would come back if he could get me set-on anywhere, I said 'no' but the wife got more unsettled and when the daughter was down for the summer holidays, the wife asked her to look round for a job for me. I didn't know anything about it until a telegram arrived saying I'd got a job. I had to phone back within 3 hours and say if I wanted it. The wife was over the moon but I had a terrible feeling going back without any home".

By contrast, a Burnhope man admitted he returned "on spec" and was lucky, "I got back on Saturday, on Tuesday I went to Consett and asked them for a job, and they set me on the next day".

A Dean Bank Returnee who also returned without making any arrangements had less luck,

"I went round trying myself at Newton Aycliffe and Spennymoor and even Darlington. Then I was hanging around for 6 months before I got a job as a boilerman".

An agreement between the Durham Union of Mineworkers and the N.C.B., stipulating that no Inter-Divisional Transferees could re-enter the Durham pits, obliged the Returnees to look for employment outside the

coal industry. In fact, a Dean Bank man returned to Dean and Chapter Colliery, but only as a driver, and 2 Craghead men returned to Westoe and Wearmouth pits after first working with Ransome and Marles at Annfield Plain. The other Returnees found themselves in a variety of jobs. Most Craghead and Burnhope men found jobs with Ransome and Marles or with the Consett Iron and Steel Company. For most Dean Bank men the Newton Aycliffe Industrial Estate provided the greatest number of jobs. Some Returnees in all villages found work in the building industry, in the local Councils and as conductors and drivers with local bus companies.

The Returnees were interviewed on average 6 months after their return to Durham, during this time 19 Returnees had held 2 jobs, while 5 men had held 3 different jobs. This considerable job-mobility reflects one aspect of the total disruptive effect of the migration. Ninety percent of the Returnees, having been miners all their lives, found it difficult to adjust to new jobs, especially to factory work. They specifically disliked working at a factory bench all day and with constant supervision, in addition, some found it embarrassing to work alongside women. They also disliked the journey to work, the long hours and the necessity to work overtime to get a "reasonable" wage. Many Returnees, while happy to be back in Durham, regretted the change in employment and wanted to return to the pits. A Craghead man gave his reasons,

"I could go to the pit and work a shift and feel satisfied, but factory work doesn't seem my nature. You read a lot of rubbish in the paper about pit work but it's an exciting life and you miss it".

Associated with the change in employment experienced on return to Durham, there are important changes in wages and in the journey to work. Table 62 shows that 78% of the Returnees experienced a reduction in wages. The difference between wages in the new area and wages received on return varies considerably, but the table shows that of those who experienced a reduction, in 51% of the cases it was a reduction of over £5 per week. Table 63 summarises details of the journey to work in Durham. It can be seen that 74% of the Returnees now spend over 15 minutes travelling to work, and only 18% accomplish the journey on foot. Comparing this table with Table 41 it can be seen that the Returnees spend considerably more time travelling to work, and are also less likely to walk to work than was the whole migrant sample either before they left Durham or even after their migration to the new area.

Both the decrease in wages and the increase in time spent travelling to work, have the effect of reducing the Returnees' social life. Men working on the Durham Motorway and at the Consett Iron and Steel Company admitted having to leave home at 7 a.m. and not returning until 7 p.m., and they also had to work alternate weekends. Men in all five villages admitted having to curtail their spending, and this curtailment, plus the longer journey to work and longer working hours prevented many Returnees from going out as much as they had done previously and as much as they would like to at present.

In addition to finding a job, the Migrant-Returnees also had to find a home. As with jobs, some Returnees arranged accommodation before

TABLE
62

	RETURNEES Change in Husband's WAGE on Return to Durham (in £'s)									
	1-2		3-4		5-6		7-10		OVER £10	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
INCREASE	2	6	4	12	1	4	-	-	-	-
DECREASE	4	12	5	15	6	18	7	21	4	12

they returned, but the majority returned to live-in with relatives until they could find their own accommodation. Most of the Returnees lived-in with their mothers, but sisters, daughters, sons and uncles also provided a temporary home. Only 17 out of the 34 Returnees were eventually (before interview) able to return to a house in one of the five villages.

Returnees originally from Burnhope and Craghead found permanent houses in the Stahley area, while Dean Bank Returnees were mostly located in Newton Aycliffe. Esh Winning and Waterhouses Returnees found it possible to return to Esh Winning because of the rapid turn-over of flats on the Ridding Wood estate.

Asked if their temporary "migration" had changed them in any way, most Returnees replied by affirming their intention never to move away from Durham again. A Burnhope Returnee expressed this explicitly when he said,

TABLE 63		RETURNEES JOURNEY TO WORK									
UNDER 15 MINUTES		TIME				MEANS					
		15-30 MINS		OVER 30 MINUTES		WALK		CAR		BUS	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
9	26	16	48	8	26	6	18	14	41	13	41

"It's made us sure never to go again, it was like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire".

An Esh Winning Returnee provided a similar estimation of the effects of the "migration", when he said,

"It's made us appreciate Durham, there's not much here but it's home".

For most Returnees then, temporary residence in coalfields further South had a strengthening, rather than a weakening effect on their relationship with their home village. They moved away mainly because of the fear of redundancy, and they returned to a comparatively unchanged local situation, yet on return, the lack of jobs no longer seemed important.

A Burnhope Returnee expressed this precisely,

"I was worried about redundancy before but now I'm not worried about anything. I just face things as they come and I wouldn't swap with the best paid man in Nottingham".

Chapter 7 Notes to the text and references

- (1). The limitations are mainly practical, the most important being the fact that only 34 Returnees were interviewed. Also important was their inability to remember details of their experience in the new area and their pre-migration decision-making.

- (2) There were 45 known Returnees originally from the five villages, 7 could not be located, 4 were located but their hours of work made interviewing impossible in the time available.
- (3) "An acceptable vocabulary of motives".
see GERTH, H. and MILLS, C.W. "Character and Social Structure". p.116.
- (4) See note page 86 and the vociferous questioning of the West Midlands Recruiting Officer on this aspect, p 86
- (5) Coal Board Officials in all areas admitted that the Durham miners, i.e. those working away from Durham, were better attenders than the local men.
- (6) Manpower Survey Report No 13. Industrial Relations Department.
August 1965 Privately Circulated.
- (7) Not all migrants had to stay in lodgings until their house became available, of the whole migrant group, 104 (43%) moved with their wives direct into permanent accommodation (In Wales and Somerset it was only semi-permanent, as families lived in chalets and caravans until houses were built).

CHAPTER 8

MIGRATION AND THE WEST DURHAM VILLAGE

Introduction

This chapter attempts to estimate and to describe the effects of migration on the West Durham village, more precisely, to estimate the effects of the departure of 477 adults and 417 children on the five West Durham villages under study.

The problem, and the problem in any study of the affects of one process - migration - on a set of interrelated social structures - the village - is primarily one of "ISOLATION" i.e. the effects due to migration have to be isolated from the effects of all other influences on the village. For example, small shopkeepers in all five villages reported a decrease in weekly takings and associated this with the migration of mining families. While it is undoubtedly true that many good customers left the five villages, the overall decrease in the spending power of the villages and an increase in the practice of weekly supermarket shopping also have an effect on the small shops. Similarly, the migration of children and grandchildren leaves increasing numbers of elderly parents alone, but the County Council planning restriction on new building in four out of the five villages has a similar effect, and the increasing necessity to travel to work further reduces the contacts elderly parents have with their married children.

In effect, the problem is to isolate migration, which is only one factor of social change, from the on-going change affecting not only the West Durham village but working-class communities everywhere. Unless there is the attempt to isolate, there is the danger of attributing to the part the effect of the whole. The problem has been stated simply, unfortunately the procedure for isolating the part and its effect is always difficult, if not impossible

In this study a partial solution is provided by the constant focus on the migrants themselves. Each migrant family is considered as "a bundle of roles", or more precisely, as comprising the one half of a number of attenuated⁽¹⁾ relationships. For example, with migration the relationship between parent and married child becomes attenuated, and the relationships between siblings, and between grandparent and grandchild, are similarly affected. Outside the family group there is also an attenuation of the relationships between migrants and best friends and neighbours, and the migrant's relationships with the local shop, the club and other village organisations are affected in the same way. It is hoped that this concentration on the relationships which are attenuated by migration, and on the structural changes which stem directly from the departure of the migrants, will minimise the extraneous influences which have a continuing effect on the village

Complete isolation is, of course, impossible, and ultimately migration must be viewed as an integral part of the broad changes

affecting the West Durham village. The present chapter therefore concludes with the study of migration both as the cause and the effect of a complex set of factors which determine the course of social change.

MIGRATION and the MIGRANTS' PRIMARY GROUP

For the purposes of this study the Migrant's Primary Group comprises the parents of both migrant husband and wife, their siblings, their immediate⁽²⁾ neighbours, and those whom they themselves nominate as "Best Friends". The relationships which existed between the migrants and these people are considered to have been more important than any others, they are the "morally significant"⁽³⁾ relationships, and if migration has had any effect it should be apparent within this Primary Group.⁽⁴⁾

Migrants and Parents

Not all migrants left parents in the village when they moved away. Considering the migrant sample as a whole, 41% of the husbands' parents and 47% of the wives' parents were dead prior to migration. In addition, many of the migrants who left living parents, also left the parental village prior to migration. Therefore 47% of the migrant husbands' parents were living elsewhere in Durham when their sons left the five villages, the figure is higher for wives, 70% having parents living elsewhere in Durham.

From interviewing both migrants and parents it was readily apparent that not all migrants enjoyed an intimate relationship with their parents.

Using Bott's 3 Fold-Classification (see Appendix 3) it has been calculated that of all migrant husbands, only 41% had an Intimate relationship with their parents prior to migration, 40% maintained an "Effective" relationship, while 19% had a "Non-Effective" relationship with their parents. The figures for wives are 74%, 19% and 7% respectively.

Finally, only 7% of all migrant husbands, and 3% of all migrant wives, are only children, therefore there is a great likelihood of siblings remaining in Durham who are able to help their parents and to take the place of the migrant children

Taken together, these facts limit the possible effects of the children's migration. Dead parents do not miss their children, parents who have already experienced separation have had time to develop a degree of independence and parents who, for a variety of reasons, had a "Non-Effective" relationship with their children, were unlikely to be greatly affected by their departure. But after these qualifications and limitations have been made, the departure of migrant children did have a number of important consequences for parents left in the five villages

The parent-child relationship, like all "morally significant" relationships, is both SUPPORTIVE and COMPANIONATE. Parents and married children look to each other for help and advice and also for companionship. Generalising, it can be said that the older parents become, the more the relationship with their children is characterised by the Supportive element. It is suggested that this duality in the relationship provides a useful framework for reviewing the effects of attenuation.

The most common support given by married children to their parents was the supply of free coal from their Concessionary Allowance, and most parents complained about this loss when talking about the effects of their children's departure. A Burnhope widow whose son moved to Stoke-on-Trent admitted, "I keep putting in the letters to him to send some coal up in an envelope, and once I wrote 'I'm sitting here writing to you without a fire'". For parents with local children still working in the pits there was often no problem, but most parents admitted having to conserve their coal. For mining people who have always been accustomed to free coal and large open fires, this change was often difficult to accept. In Burnhope the local wood factory increased its sale of logs as a result of the departure of many providers of free coal.

The parents of daughters who moved away reported missing the help they had given with the annual or biannual papering and decorating. Some were fortunate in that their daughters spent their return visits on these tasks, but for most parents, migration meant that house maintenance and decorating was either left undone, or was increasingly done by paid professionals. Similarly, the parents of migrant sons missed the help they had given with the heavy work involved in keeping the garden tidy and the allotment under cultivation. When asked what effects their sons' departure had for them, they would often just point to the garden, which was unkept and overgrown, and explain how neat it had been when father and son had worked it together. Consequently, a number of parents

admitted having to relinquish their claim to an allotment as they were no longer able to cultivate it properly

In addition to missing these well defined acts of help, parents also missed help with the various small household tasks which their children had performed before their departure. Daughters had helped with washing and had done shopping for their parents, sons had done all the lifting jobs, chopped sticks, mended furniture, fuses and electrical appliances, they had shovelled and carried coal, helped their parents with many other small jobs about the house. Parents also reported missing the "secretarial" help sons and daughters had given. Five parents admitted they couldn't write, many others found writing difficult, either through lack of practice or failing eyesight. For example, a Dean Bank widower whose daughter had moved to Wales admitted, "She was the one I relied on for all my business affairs, any correspondence or filling-in of forms she did it, now I have to take it round to the Post Office".

In addition to this help in kind, many parents, especially those who were living on a pension, missed the financial help their children had given. A Crayhead mother recounted the help her son and his wife had given before their departure,

"They never saw us short, she got the groceries in and paid half the rent and electricity, and he'd always say to his father, 'are you coming out, then?' and he'd never let him pay for anything"

An Esh Winning mother offered a similar admission,

"He often used to shove 10/- into his father's hands and when he came up he always brought 10 cigs for him - its the little presents that you miss".

While there was this overall reduction in financial help, many parents still received occasional presents of money, some specifically mentioning the return visit and £1 notes left surreptitiously on the mantelpiece.

In all aspects of the support once given and now much reduced, it was the elderly parents, and especially widows and widowers, who experienced the greatest loss. Younger parents were less affected. For the older parents, the migration of their children meant increasing dependence on neighbours and on local geriatric services. In a few cases widows and widowers with migrant children were completely dependent on their daily Home-Help, or on the Meals-on-Wheels Service operated jointly by the Woman's Voluntary Service and the Local Authorities.

The loss of the Companionate element in the Parent-Child relationship is less amenable to an objective assessment. It is impossible to measure the loss of companionship which some parents felt when their children moved away, but we do know, not as scientists but as parents and children ourselves, what the loss can mean.

From the experience of interviewing all parents, it would seem that the mothers of migrant daughters felt the greatest loss of companionship. A Waterhouses mother whose daughter is now in South Wales explained, "There's a time in your life when you just want to talk and you can say it to a daughter while you can't to outsiders, and it's not the same with your husband"

But parents of eldest sons also admitted to a feeling of special loss, a Burnhope mother explained,

"He was the eldest boy, I've got four but everyone says that my eyes light up when he comes in, he keeps the whole house alive. When he's at home, I'm contented".

In addition, parents who were also grandparents, felt the special loss of grandchildren, and they often admitted,

"It's not them (children) you miss, it's the bairns" (grandchildren)

A Craghead grandmother provides an illustration of the companionship she derived from her grandchildren, now in Nottinghamshire -

"The bairns used to come in every morning from school for biscuits to have with their milk. It was lovely, they used to pop in one after another and I gave them the biscuits wrapped up in a piece of paper. It made you feel as if you were back with your own"

The effect of the children and grandchildren moving away usually resulted in parents remaining in their own homes much more than they had done before the migration. A Craghead man describes the changes resulting from his daughter's departure,

"I used to go down every morning except Sunday for a cup of coffee. Now I don't go out much at all, just down to the Post Office to draw the pension and that's my lot. I was only out of Craghead once last year".

An Esh Winning woman describes a similar curtailment,

"I used to go up to Stanley every Monday and Saturday with my daughter, now it can't seem worth it so I just get a few things from the van".

For other parents the children's migration had the opposite effect, they found their own houses too quiet and lonely. A Craghead woman admitted,

"I just can't sit on my own any more, I go to friends of my own age but it's not like your own"

A Waterhouses woman gave an extra reason for going out,

"I can't really stop in on my own, so I take my knitting round to the neighbours and sit with her, this way I have a bit of company and I save my coal for the night time".

With no real substitutes for their children's company, the lives of parents left in the village become punctuated by their children's return visits and by the holidays they themselves have in the new area. On the return visit children and grandchildren normally stay with the wife's parents, but accommodation difficulties often result in the nuclear family being split between a matrilocal and a patrilocal base. When the parents recount these visits, they speak of their houses "being turned upside down", of borrowed beds, late nights, makeshift sleeping arrangements and noisy children, yet they leave no doubt of their enjoyment of the whole affair

The one advantage of migration which parents admitted, was the fact that they now had somewhere to go for a holiday. For many parents a fortnight in Nottingham, Wales or Stoke-on-Trent was the first real holiday of their lives. That they were going to stay with their own children was usually considered to be an advantage, a Dean Bank mother explained, "We've been down to Wales 3 times now, we wouldn't manage it if the son wasn't there, he (husband) doesn't like fennickity feeding or sleeping in a strange place, but it's just like home from home down there".

Some parents with more than one migrant child have more than one holiday, and if they are retired they often stay away from Durham for

months at a time. A Waterhouses widow with 3 migrant children provides an extreme example,

"When I go South I visit the lot. I start off at Doncaster then go to Leicestershire and end up in Stoke. I haven't been at home all summer, and if I could only get a little house down there I'd leave Durham in a shot".

Migrants and Siblings

Of the total migrant sample, only 21% of the migrant husbands' siblings lived in the village of his departure, for the migrant wives the figure was lower, only 13% of her siblings living in the village. Consequently interaction between migrants and siblings was limited even before migration. From interviews with the siblings of migrants remaining in the five villages it became apparent that even where there was no problem of distance, with few exceptions, the relationships between them and their migrant brothers and sisters were weaker than might have been expected. Both brothers and sisters admitted that they used to meet the migrants only casually before migration and were often ignorant and indifferent about their present whereabouts.

Three reasons are offered in an attempt to explain the relatively weak relationship between migrants and their siblings. Firstly, compared with non-migrants the migrants were more likely to have lived away from Durham for long periods and were also more likely to have lived in a number of different villages in Durham. This pre-migration mobility has the effect of disrupting sibling relationships. Secondly, compared with

non-migrants, migrants are preoccupied with their own nuclear families and therefore have less inclination and time for an intimate relationship with their siblings, finally, empirical evidence suggests that the sibling relationship is characterised by its COMPANIONATE rather than its SUPPORTIVE element. Siblings do of course help each other, and in a variety of ways, but answers to a question about the quality of the relationship emphasised companionship. The difficulty of assessing the companionate element has been referred to above, the suggestion here is that the sibling relationship may appear weak only because it emphasises the companionate element.

Sisters were more likely to miss each other than were brothers, and sisters who were separated by some years often admitted feeling a special loss. A Dean Bank sister provides an example of the effects of an age difference,

"I'm close to my other sister but it's not the same as our Muriel, she was more like a Mum to me. We used to help each other out and go to church together, and when I was in hospital, she looked after my bairn, Yes, Muriel's been a big miss".

Some siblings, especially brothers, admitted missing their migrant siblings more often since they moved away, a Dean Bank man went further, "Now he's away we get on better together, he's only up for short times so I'm pleased to see him when he comes".

While there were a number of close relationships where siblings felt a special loss when brother or sister moved away, the majority of siblings interviewed shared the Burnhope man's attitude towards his sister's migration,

"Yes, you do miss them I suppose, miss their company, it's just that blood's thicker than water".

Migrants and "Best Friends"⁽⁵⁾

Only 44% of the total migrant sample nominated a "Best Friend" remaining in the five villages. This low figure is accounted for by the fact that some nominated friends who were also migrants, others had friends who were living elsewhere, and finally, many migrants nominated friends who later proved to be neighbours or relations.

Like the sibling relationship, the relationship between friends is predominantly COMPANIONATE, and the effects of migration are therefore primarily concerned with the loss of companionship. Friends remaining in the village reported the sharing of a variety of pursuits with the migrants, they went together to football matches, Bingo, the shops, for weekend car trips and often on the yearly holiday. With the departure of the migrants many of these activities lapsed. More important than the shared activities between friends was the overall quality of the relationship. Many friends remaining in the village considered their relationship with the migrants to be unique, a Craghead woman illustrates this aspect of her relationship with a friend now in Stoke-on-Trent, she is answering the question, "Has anyone replaced Mrs R as a friend?"

"No one really, she was like me, we could talk about shopping and kiddies without gossip, you can't talk to the others like that. Hers was the only home I've been into in my whole married life, she was more my age group, and like me, she wasn't only for Bingo and the club, she just lived for the family".

For friendships like this there was rarely anyone to replace the migrant friend, but in most cases, other friends were eventually found and the sense of loss resulting from the departure of a migrant friend was fully compensated.

Migrants and neighbours

In theory, the relationship between neighbours in the West Durham mining village has a strong SUPPORTIVE element. A good neighbour is one who is always ready to help. In practice, the relationship which existed between migrants and their neighbours⁽⁶⁾ was often, to use Botts term, "Non-Effective". Using Botts' Three-fold Classification, only 11% of all migrants enjoyed an "Intimate" relationship with their neighbour, 37% had an "Effective" relationship, while the relationship between 32% of all migrants and their neighbours was, for a variety of reasons, "Non-Effective". An additional 14% of the migrant sample had lived for less than a year in their last Durham house, and therefore had insufficient time in which to develop a mature relationship with their neighbour. (The remaining 6% is accounted for by the disappearance of former neighbours, some of whom were migrants themselves).

With 32% of all relationships between migrants and their neighbours being classified as "Non-Effective", it can be assumed that many neighbours were unconcerned and unaffected by the departure of the migrants. Some, like an Esh Vinning woman, were pleased they had gone, "We're better off now they're away, she used to talk about me behind my back. In the end I stopped using the back yard and wouldn't let

my bairns go out there with theirs. We get on all right with the new woman, it's really done my nerves a power of good, she caused far too much trouble".

A Craghead couple expressed similar relief at the departure of their neighbours for Stoke-on-Trent -

"Their six kids used to run incand out all day, they always had the record player on full blast and their eldest one had an air gun and used to spend his time trying to kill birds in the back garden. We were glad to see the back of them, it's nice and quiet now".

However, most neighbours experienced some loss when the migrants moved away, and where there was an Intimate relationship, the neighbour was often considered irreplaceable. A Burnhope elderly couple illustrate a loss of this kind,

"They were very close to us, she always used to call me Mam and him Pop, she was better than our own daughters. She used to make a pudding for us every day, and they'd get the coals in every night, and he had a car and used to take us out at weekends".

Only a minority of relationships were Intimate, for the others, characterised by the regular performance of unnumerable small gestures of help and friendliness, the migrants were replaced by new neighbours and an Effective relationship often continued after only a temporary break.

There were exceptions to this general pattern involving an Effective replacement. The migrants were nearly all in their thirties while the occupiers of their empty houses were either newly married couples in their first house or retired couples, widows and widowers. An age difference often prevented an Effective relationship with the established neighbours, the elderly Craghead couple, who had an Effective relationship

with their migrant neighbours but admitted difficulty with the new neighbours, illustrate this "age-barrier",

"No, we don't see as much of them, you know what young people are like, they haven't the talk that interests old Standards like us".

An Esh Winning woman had the opposite experience, her new neighbours were elderly and she explained how this inhibited a neighbourly relationship -

"They're friendly, but she sort of mothers you, the B's (migrant neighbours) were more our age, more equal with us, and she had children the same age as mine. I don't pop in next door with my kids now because their family's all grown up and they're out of the way of mix-ups, you feel as if your'e disturbing the place if you take the kids in".

The overall effect of migration on the neighbours of migrants is therefore complicated by the automatic replacement. In most cases⁽⁷⁾ the migrants' houses were reoccupied within four weeks of their departure. The new relationship has to be valued against the relationships which had existed between the migrant and his neighbour. Generalising, it can be said that in many cases valuable support and companionship was lost with the migration of neighbours, ^{and} in a minority of cases, where the relationship was intimate, this was a permanent loss. There was also a permanent loss to neighbours when the migrants' home remained empty. More often however, an effective relationship was eventually established with the new neighbour and the loss was only temporary.

Migration and the Primary Group Summary.

This study of the effects of migration on the migrants' Primary Group has identified, rather than solved, two basic problems.

Firstly, it has been necessary to know the pre-migration relationships between the migrant and members of his primary group before the effect of his migration can be properly assessed. Botts's "Intimate", "Effective" and "Non-Effective" classification has been used to this end.

Secondly, there is the problem of "Replacement" with every attenuated relationship. Parents may have other children, a brother may have another brother living in the village, friends make new friends and new neighbours move into the houses left empty by the migrants. In the cases where there is no replacement, migration has its greatest effect.

Therefore migrants who are only children are perhaps the greatest loss, and all migrants who had an Intimate relationship with parents, siblings, friends and neighbours are more irreplaceable than are migrants who only maintained Effective relationships. Alternatively, relationships which were "Non-Effective" between migrants and members of their Primary Group, are easily replaced, and it is doubtful if any sense of loss is involved.

Finally, it is suggested that the overall effect of migration on the migrants' Primary Group is minimised by the nature of the migrants themselves. Compared with non-migrants, the migrants, especially Dissenting and Dislocated migrants, are characterised by considerable mobility. They have spent time away from Durham and have also moved around within Durham itself. The effect of this mobility on Primary Group relationships in general, is illustrated in a Craghead mother's reply to

a question about the effect of her son's migration,

"I cried all my tears when he was in the Army".

In addition, the migrants as a group had the characteristic of inward orientation on their home and their children. Together these characteristics inhibit the development of intimate relationships with all members of the Primary Group, and finally, the fact that migrants are migrants, that they have moved away from parents, siblings, friends and neighbours, is itself indicative of their valuation of Primary Group ties. In deciding to leave the village all migrants, consciously or unconsciously, weighed their Primary Groups against the opportunities offered by migration. A new house, a new area, a bigger wage and better long-term prospects appeared more attractive (at least at the time of decision) than the emotional security offered by the surrounding presence of the Primary Group.

MIGRATION and HOUSE CHANGES

The departure of migrants left houses vacant in all five villages. The new occupants, their occupations and previous residence are of considerable significance in a study of the effects of migration on the West Durham mining village.

While 240 migrants left the five villages, only 185 houses changed their ownership, the discrepancy being accounted for by 13 newly-married migrants who prior to migration were living-in with parents, and the 19

Lodger-Returnees whose wives remained in the Durham house In addition, 23 houses remained empty. In Burnhope, Waterhouses and Esh Winning the houses remained empty because they were officially condemned by the N.C.B , in Craghead and Dean Bank the empty houses, though in poor condition, are still awaiting occupation.

Table 64 shows that while the new occupants are mainly miners, in each village there is a high percentage intake of non-miners. Considering all five villages together, 49% of the new occupants were miners while 34% were non-miners (17% were Old Age Pensioners) Esh Winning and Waterhouses show the largest percentage intake of non-miners, Dean Bank the smallest. The percentage of new occupants who are Old Age Pensioners varies from 16 in Esh Winning to 26 in Burnhope, the average for all five villages being 19.

Just over half (54%) the new occupants have come from the same village, and considering all five villages together, 46% have moved in from elsewhere in Durham. (House changes resulting only indirectly from migration account for additional outsiders, discussed later).

Families moved into the vacant houses for a number of different reasons. Many were newly married couples, and one of the most frequently quoted effects of the migration was the dramatic reduction in the waiting period for both colliery and council houses. People in all villages emphasised the reduction in the waiting period by comparing the length of time a newly married couple had to wait for a house 10 to 15 years ago

TABLE
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HOUSE CHANGES IN FIVE VILLAGES

	BURNHOPE	CRAGHEAD	DEAN BANK	ESH WINNING	WATERHOUSES
No MIGRANT HOUSE-HOLDERS	35	50	49	51	23
No HOUSES STILL EMPTY	8	3	2	3	7

OCCUPATION OF NEW OCCUPANTS

	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
MINER	10	37	26	55	25	53	20	42	6	37
NON-MINER	10	37	13	28	12	25	20	42	7	44
O.A.P.	7	26	8	17	10	22	8	16	3	19

PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF NEW OCCUPANTS

	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
SAME VILLAGE	11	41	26	55	26	55	30	63	7	44
NEIGHBOUR- ING VILLAGE	9	33	16	34	12	25	10	21	5	31
ELSEWHERE DURHAM	7	26	5	11	9	20	8	16	4	25

(when it could be as long as 5-10 years) to the present two weeks.

As a Craghead man remarked,

"They're getting married on Saturday and moving into their own house on Monday, it's a lot different from what it was in my time. We lived-in eight years before we got a key".

Not all internal movement was accounted for by newly married couples, the sudden vacancy of houses provided many families with the opportunity to meet their changing housing needs. Therefore growing families were able to move out of smaller houses into the larger family houses vacated by the migrants, while retired couples were able to leave the larger houses they had needed when their children were young, and to move into smaller, single or two bed roomed houses. Other families moved to what they considered was a better house, or to be nearer to parents, or sometimes to be further away from neighbours.

In addition to families moving into the houses left empty by the migrants, on average, another two families also changed their house. This "hidden"⁽⁸⁾ mobility is illustrated by a review of the house changes accompanying migration in Esh Winning. A total of 51 migrant householders left the village, three of the vacated houses are still empty, the remaining 48 were occupied in the following way:-

18 out of the 48 houses were occupied by families previously living outside the village, the remaining 30 were occupied by villagers. 7 of the village occupants were newly married, the remaining 23 all left houses empty. 10 of these were occupied by families from outside the village, 6 were occupied by villagers whose old houses were in turn

occupied by outsiders, 5 were occupied by villagers whose old houses were occupied by villagers and their houses in turn were occupied by outsiders. And finally, 2 houses were occupied by villagers whose old houses were occupied by villagers, whose old houses were in turn occupied by villagers whose old houses were in turn occupied by villagers whose old houses were finally occupied by outsiders.

The changes are complex, ^{and} the result is that the 48 houses left empty by the migrants gave rise to a chain reaction involving a total of 39 house changes (not including the newly married couples taking up initial residences) and 41 families entering Esh Winning from other areas. The outsiders came principally from the surrounding villages of Brandon, Meadowfield, New Brancepeth and Langley Park. Colliery housing records were not available in the same detail for the other villages, therefore the total number of house changes is not known, however, the records did permit a calculation of the total number of families entering each village from other areas. In Waterhouses there were 15 incoming families, all from within the Brandon and Byshottles Urban District. In Burnhope there was a total of 27 incoming families, principally from Pear Tree, Craghead and Annfield Plain, but also from Gateshead, Newcastle and Washington. The 39 families entering Craghead were mainly from Grange Villa, South Moor, Pelton and Stanley, and a total of 42 families entered Dean Bank, mainly from Spennymoor, Trimdon and Shildon.

These house changes constitute a high degree of inter and intra-village residential mobility, about which the villagers were highly

conscious, and predominantly critical. In all villages answers to the question, "What effect has migration had on the village?", were concerned with some aspect of residential mobility. Established residents complained in a general way about the overall volume of mobility and resented in particular, the increasing number of strangers in the village. Many complained that with so much movement in and out, they no longer knew everyone in the village. An elderly Esh Winning man's comment was typical of many,

"Once over, you knew everyone now you get about five doors away and you don't know anyone, it's getting like town life",

his wife added,

"Next door neighbours change so quickly they just don't bother any more".

The incomers had an impact on the five villages far greater than their numbers would suggest, and in every village derogatory comments were made about the "strangers". A Dean Bank woman was bitter with resentment when she told the fieldworker.-

"There are a lot of rough types coming in from Spennymoor and Coundon and instead of changing their ways they carry on in ways they're used to. They're filthy things. They won't do anything to keep the house clean, you can go round and pick them out. Those that's been living here for a long time do try, but look at those opposite, they cleaned the windows for the first time last week, the first time in a year. I ask you, what's that to look out on to?" (pointing to neighbours' backyard strewn with broken bicycles, childrens' toys, ashes, empty tins and tea-leaves). "I'd go and clean it for them, soap and water costs nothing, but they won't try".

In Burnhope too the newcomers were disparaged,

"It's hard to tell where they come from, all over really. A lot of them are from the slums of Gateshead, they're not as nice as those who moved out, they only stay a few months".

The short-stay was commented on by most of the established residents. From interviews with the new-comers themselves, it would seem that many use the readily available and cheap housing in the five villages only as a temporary measure until they can find accommodation nearer home. In Esh Winning 15 out of the 41 families (36%) who moved into the village as a result of the migrants' departure, had moved away again after a stay of only 6 months. The figures for Burnhope, Craghead, Dean Bank and Waterhouses are, respectively, 14 (42%), 19 (49%), 22 (52%) and 6 (40%). Therefore the short-stay and eventual departure of the majority of incomers further increased the impression of mobility held by most of the older residents.

The original migration of the 240 migrants, and the resulting inter and intra-village house changes, involve considerable physical activity. This activity is highly "visible" to all residents through the frequent presence of removal vans, the disappearance of old faces and the appearance of "strangers" in the village. Consequently there is an overall awareness of mobility and a tendency to perceive it as a force threatening the whole community. This is particularly true of the older residents, most of whom would agree with the Waterhouses woman when she described the change in the village -

"At one time Waterhouses was clean and respectable and there were clean and respectable people, now you don't know who'se living here, you don't know the children with all the strangers coming in. People pass you now and you don't know who they are. I was standing outside the Co-op talking to a friend and a woman walked straight past us. My friend said,

'who's that?' 'I don't know', I says, 'Neither do I', she said, But she must live somewhere in the village before she shops at the Co-op - but it's just like that in Waterhouses now, your friends move out and strangers move in".

MIGRATION and CHANGE in the WEST DURHAM VILLAGE

Utilizing a model of decay, Chapter 1 identified three directions of change in the five villages. These were an increase in the proportion of adult dependents, an increase in the proportion commuting daily to work and a decrease in the proportion of miners in the community. The effects of migration must be viewed both as manifestations of these processes of transformation, and as catalysts of further change.

The migration of 477 adults, (the average age of the men being 36) and of 417 children, makes an important contribution towards the increased proportion of adult dependents in all five villages. In addition to the migrants being comparatively young, they are also son's and daughters, neighbours and friends, on whom many of the older residents depended for various kinds of support. Therefore there is a second, and perhaps a more important sense, in which the proportion of dependents increases with migration. The villagers are themselves acutely aware of this ageing. Thus the Bloemfontein section of Craghead is referred to as "Boot Hill", (1) and in Dean Bank, Rennie Street is called "Retirement Row", there only being 2 families working in the whole street. A Burnhope man was also aware of the gradual ageing of the village when he told the fieldworker,

"My wife went through the street yesterday counting up the number of young families and we've hardly any young children left, we're all living in family houses but we don't have families"

Similarly, the Craghead shopkeeper, when she pointed-out the only pregnant woman in the village was also aware of its ageing population.

In all five villages, 34% of the immediate occupants of the houses vacated by migrants were non-miners, and of the 164 families who entered the five villages as a result of migration, the majority were also non-miners. These specific changes both reflect and further the increasing diversification of the social structure. They also have the same effect on the proportion of men commuting to work, since there is little local alternative to mining for the men of the five villages.

While the increasing diversification of employment and the necessity to commute affects everyone of working age, the Returnees provide an extreme example. Before migration they were all miners, now only a few are working within the coal industry, the remainder are employed in 15 separate industries, and instead of a 5-10 minute walk to the pit, they now have a 15-30 minute journey to work by car or by bus. The effects on the Returnees of this change to non-mining employment and of lengthy journeys to work has already received comment. The effect of these changes on the village as a whole, is to strengthen the dichotomy between miners and non-miners and between the older residents and the new-comers.

Before the recent migration and the overall contraction of the pits in all five villages, families from other areas did come into the villages, but there were comparatively few in any one year, and they were nearly

all miners. These two factors ensured their acceptance by the established residents. The speed of the recent changes in West Durham, and the effects of migration in particular, have changed this situation. Now there is a decreasing proportion of established residents, which is nearly all miners, and an increasing proportion of new-comers, which is mostly non-miners and therefore commuters in addition. This dichotomy is reflected in the resentment many of the established residents feel against recent new-comers, and also in the reserve which the new-comers consider the established residents feel towards them. A recent new-comer to Esh Winning, occupying the house of a migrant, explains the reasons for her feelings towards the village -

"If you want their Company you have to be in all day and you're in and out of each others houses. You don't have time for that when you're at work. You're only here at weekends, we're not even here much then because all our relatives are in New Brancepeth. They (established residents) never ask you to mix in, so you never know what's going off. When I go to work in Durham I find out all about Esh Winning from my workmates, I feel a fool sometimes when they say 'you should know all about that, you live there'."

While the influence of migration has been predominantly in the direction of further change, it also has a secondary conservative effect. The comparison between migrants and non-migrants has illustrated the selective nature of migration. The migrants tend to be those with a greater variety of experience and with aspirations which cannot be fulfilled in the West Durham village. Their departure robs the village of a dissenting element more important than their numbers would suggest. An Esh Winning man's comment on his migrant friend is revealing

"He was a chap you could depend on, he was determined to get on. It's pleasant to be with such a man and you miss people such as that"

With migration and the departure of Dissenting and Dislocated families, the proportion of indigenous families finding village life satisfying, increases. For these "assenters", the migration is viewed as a betrayal, "If they'd all stayed here", said a Burnhope man, "they'd have had to send factories up".

The regular return visits of migrants, increasingly in their own cars, confronts those who have not gone with the necessity to defend their decision to stay. Their defence normally rests on an attitude of disbelief towards the migrants, and comments such as the following were heard in all five villages -

"They come up here at weekends and show us one good pay note, they never show the bad ones"

"You'd think it was a land of milk and honey to hear some of them on, they've got all their gadgets and night clubs and fancy cars, but they're not happy".

"They say it's all right but they don't like it if they tell the truth".

The presence of the Returnees in each of the villages, and the exaggerated accounts they give of the conditions "down there", are often used as evidence, but the final defence usually rests on such a statement as "Yes, but there's no place like Craghead".

The overall effect of this defensive action is to encourage an uncritical attitude towards the village, and to strengthen the prejudice felt against change and deviation from the old and tried ways of the mining

community. Defence mechanisms such as these were recorded in many interviews with men and women remaining in all five villages, and their employment was especially noticeable among men and women of about the same age as the migrants themselves. It is suggested that their use constitutes a temporary rearguard action in face of increasing changes in the West Durham mining village.

In estimating the full effects of migration, other influences also operating on the West Durham village, must be taken into consideration. In all five villages, migration "comes wrapped up in a bundle"⁽¹⁰⁾ with the closure of pits, the Nationalisation of the Mines and the Durham County Council's Development Plan. It is also enveloped in the general influence of two world wars, the growth of State Education and the increase in car and television ownership. Ultimately, migration must be viewed within the context of the on-going processes of change affecting traditional working-class communities everywhere. These processes, "Embourgeoisement", Rationalisation (in the Weberian sense) and Affluence, operate interdependently in their erosive effect on traditional working-class sentiments and activities. It is only when migration is considered as part of these continuous processes of change that its full and limited effect can be properly assessed.

Only within this overall context can the visible features of decline in all five villages be attributed to the effects of migration. In the five villages, the overgrown gardens and allotments, the empty

and often boarded-up houses, the unpainted and flaking exteriors, the unkept Craghead War Memorial and the street clock permanently showing 3 25, and finally, the now defunct Esh Winning Welfare Hall still advertising Bingo Games which were played 3 years ago, are all due, in part, to migration. Similarly the closure of the Miners Welfare Hall in Waterhouses, the gaps noticed in church attendance in the five villages, the difficulty of maintaining colliery bands, the dwindling support for the Youth Club in Craghead and the Male Voice Choir in Esh Winning, as well as the record membership figures for the Over Sixties Clubs in all five villages, are also due, in part, to migration

When asked about the effects of migration, villagers rarely attempted to isolate the influence of migration from all other influences operating on the West Durham village, instead, they interpreted this specific question as an invitation to review the overall changes. Unknowingly, they were refusing to attribute to the part the effect of the whole. Therefore the Burnhope woman who observed,

"No one seems as if they can settle down now. In the past we supported everything because it was a village affair, but now things don't go anymore in Burnhope",

was commenting on migration as an integral part of the total observed change. An Esh Winning woman provides a similar perspective,

"The Spirit's gone, they used to come in and help and take all the washing away. They used to look after you when you had trouble with the bairns, and they'd do it all without asking. They don't come like that these days, they all go out working and you don't even get to know them".

The relationship between these observed features and migration is, of course, reciprocal, so that migration is itself partly the result of this observed decline. For some migrants at least, dissatisfaction with the West Durham village as a place to live, both in terms of its appearance and the opportunities it provides, precipitated their decision to leave. With this recognition of reciprocity the present migration of 240 migrants from five villages in West Durham is finally placed in perspective, it is equally the result of a process of change as it is a cause of further change.

Chapter 8 Notes to the text and references.

- (1) The word "attenuation" is used advisedly, for in few cases is there an absolute break. The return visit ensures that many relationships continue to exist even though at a reduced intensity.
- (2) "Immediate", both in a geographical and a chronological sense, i.e. the family living next door prior to migration.
- (3) "Morally significant" Mayer's phrase. See "Labour Migrancy and the Social Network" p.28.
- (4) COOLEY, C.H. in his "Social Organisation". New York 1909 pp 23-31 discusses the Primary Group. He considers its chief characteristics to be -
 1. Face-to-face association
 2. The unspecialised character of that association
 3. Relative Permanence
 4. The small number of persons involved
 5. The relative intimacy among the participants.

These characteristics are observed in the Primary Group as considered in this Chapter.

- (5) As nominated by the migrant husband and wife, either as a joint friend or as a friend of husband or wife
- (6) The relationship as defined by the neighbours remaining in the village, and not by the migrants.
- (7) Only 23 (or 12%) of all houses vacated by the migrants remained empty
- (8) "Hidden" in the sense that it is only indirectly the result of migration and is not shown on Table 64
- (9) Famous cemetery^e featured in Western Television Series
- (10) MITCHELL, J.C., uses this term in his discussion of Mayers' paper in HOLLEMAN et al (1964) p.35.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

This study of the implications of migration from the Durham coalfield can, in conclusion, be viewed as a number of related studies. It is a study of the implications of migration for 240 migrant families, it is also a study of the implications of migration for the West Durham village. In a more general way, and considering the study not as "Object" but as "Sample",⁽¹⁾ it is a description of working-class culture and an analysis of social change. Perspective is therefore essential, and the present study must be viewed in relation to similar previous studies and to relevant theories of social change

It is first convenient to deduce some conclusions from the explicitly¹stated studies of the implications of migration for the migrants and for the village.

Migration and the Migrants

Having to derive conclusions about the implications of migration for the migrants, is rather like the fieldworker being asked, (as he often was) "Do they like it down there?" In both cases, the conclusions

and the answers depend on who "they" are.

Early in the study (Chapter 4) it was found necessary to recognize the heterogeneity of the migrant sample, and four migrant sub-types were identified. Of course, these four sub-types do not exhaust the variation, neither do they offer mutually exclusive frameworks. However, they do provide a manageable classification with minimal distortion of reality.

The two sub-types, Dissenting and Resultant, are clearly fundamental, and constitute two polar-opposites throughout this study. For the Dissenting migrant, migration is perceived as an opportunity, it provides a means of realizing ambitions and aspirations which the West Durham village cannot satisfy. By contrast, the Resultant migrant perceives migration as an only alternative to unemployment, or as a means of realizing specific and limited objectives.

Migration being perceived differently, and fulfilling a different function for Dissenting and Resultant migrants, it is understandable that they should react differentially to its implications in the new areas. In the new areas, Resultant and Dissenting migrants again

provide the extremes. From the Dissenting migrants' testimonies of Release to the Resultant migrants' admissions of Stress, constitutes the full spectrum of reaction to life in the new area.

In almost every aspect of the migration process, the Dislocated migrant occupies an intermediate position between the Resultant and the Dissenting migrant. For the Dislocated migrant, mobility is no novel experience, it is instead a recurring solution to the economic limitations of the West Durham village. Consequently he is better able to adjust himself to life in the new area than is the Resultant migrant. However, migration represents no sense of fulfillment for him as it does for the Dissenting migrant, therefore in the adjustment situation, he rarely exhibits the Release and satisfaction observed in Dissenting migrants.

The simple question, "Do they like it down there?", therefore requires a complicated answer. But "Like" and "Dislike" are elusive qualities, affected by many factors other than migration, and an enquiry is better served by concentrating on the extent to which migrants change in the new area.

In this respect the study has identified, rather than solved, two fundamental problems. Firstly, do the migrants change as a result of their own volition, or are they changed by the circumstances of their new situation? Secondly, and perhaps the more interesting problem, are the changes observed merely one stage in a process of adjustment, or are they permanent changes giving rise to sentiments and activities hitherto ^{not} unassociated with the West Durham miner?

To answer these questions reference must again be made to the migrant-type.

Referring to the first question, or the "choice-compulsion dilemma",¹ it has been suggested that Resultant migrants are more likely to feel themselves the victims of change, while the Dissenting migrants acknowledge changes to be the result of their decision to move.

The problem of the permanence of change is more difficult, and concerns all except the Dissenting migrants, whose sentiments and activities remain relatively unchanged in the new area. The problem is best solved by restricting interest to one aspect of change, and is therefore conveniently illustrated by reference to Table 54. This

table shows the Absolute Percentage Increase in Husband-Wife cooperation following migration. In all three operations listed, Resultant migrants recorded an average absolute increase of 84%, Dissenting migrants an absolute increase of only 21%. Considering that Resultant migrants were interviewed, on average, only 14 months after their arrival in the new area, it is possible that this increase in domestic cooperation is only ephemeral. This possibility is also suggested by the many references the migrants themselves made to a "honeymoon period", and by the obligation admitted and felt by many Resultant migrant husbands to "make-up" for having taken their wives away.

However, it is suggested that this increase in cooperation between husband and wife, in itself a manifestation of an overall change in the relationship, represents a permanent change. Two factors would seem to justify this suggestion. Firstly, the situation described for most migrants at the time of interview offers little scope for change. Wives remain separated from mothers and sisters, and if the family is to continue to run a car, the miner's wife will have to continue working. Given these two facts alone, a degree of permanent cooperation is ensured.

Secondly, a number of previous studies of similar movements from traditional working class areas to new estates, have identified the same changes in the "migrant's" behaviour. These studies will be referred to later, it is sufficient to note here that they have observed the same effects of mobility but over a period longer than was possible in this study, and therefore they corroborate the evidence for permanent change. Assuming the change in the relationship between the Resultant migrant and his wife to be permanent, migration has virtually eliminated an important pre-migration difference between Resultant and Dissenting-type migrants. In a similar way, migration has "softened" the distinction between the social life of Dissenting and Resultant migrants. While there are still significant differences between them, they have moved closer together in the new area. Resultant migrants have moved furthest, but the movement has not been all one-way. It is significant that many Dissenting migrants admitted attending a Workingmen's Club (by Durham standing a culturally-assenting institution) in the new area for the first time in their lives. Finally, recognising that the present study is partly "problem-oriented", the writer senses an obligation to suggest a possible application of some of the findings.

Many potential migrants approached the fieldworker to ask for his advice on the desirability of movement. At first he evaded the responsibility of an answer, as the variety of responses to life in the new area seemed to make generalization impossible. Gradually, as the distinct migrant-types emerged, he began to answer the question. The answer given always followed the same pattern. It began by describing briefly the differences between the village and the new estate, and went on to sketch the three migrant-types and to describe their different reactions to the new area. Such an answer confronts the potential migrant with the alternative life-styles and allows him to identify himself with a migrant-type. It is suggested that the Confrontation and Identity combine to suggest to him the possible consequences of his movement away.

It is perhaps a "common^sense" answer, but had it been given to all potential migrants during their decision-making, much unhappiness, both in the Durham village and on the new estate, might have been averted.

Migration and the Village

This study has attempted to provide a contemporary and detailed account of migration from the West Durham village. In assessing the

implications of this present movement away, it has been necessary to acknowledge - (1) that some emigration is inevitable when any mining village undergoes the transition from Maturity to Old Age, and (11) that the West Durham village has experienced recurring emigration for the past thirty years. Looked at in this way migration is seen as a continuing process, and the effects of the present movement are part of the cumulative effects of emigration over the past thirty years.

Two conclusions have emerged from the detailed examination. Firstly, the present migration has a limited effect, and secondly, it has an important, if subsidiary, conservative effect on the residual groups in each village.

Few families have left any one village through the Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme. Considering the five villages studied here, Dean Bank has lost more than any other village, yet only 60 families (174 in all) left between April 1962 and December 1965, out of a total population of nearly 2,500. Again, from a numerical viewpoint, in any one village few members of the migrants' Primary Group are affected. The present study has shown that over 40% of the migrant couples' parents were dead before migration, and of those parents remaining

alive, 47% of the migrant husbands', and 70% of his wives', lived elsewhere in Durham. Similarly with siblings, only 21% of the migrant husbands and 13% of his wife's siblings were living in the village at the time of the migrant's departure. Therefore from a numerical viewpoint, the possible effects of migration on the migrant's Primary Group are not concentrated in the village of departure, instead they are spread over a large area

In addition, the study has demonstrated that in very few cases did the migrant couple enjoy an Intimate relationship with all members of their Primary Group. For example, only 11% of all relationships between migrants and their neighbours could be classified as being Intimate, whereas 32% were classified as Non-Effective.

It was suggested that the two fundamental migrant qualities of Dislocation and Aspiration, (which emerged from the comparison with Non-migrants in Chapter 3), account for this surprisingly⁽²⁾ high percentage of Non-Effective Relationships. Therefore the migrants, by virtue of the qualities which distinguish them from non-migrants, have a high proportion of superficial relationships, and the effect of their departure is therefore limited both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Considering the West Durham village as a whole - as "a set of interrelated social structures", the main problem has been to decide on the overall effect of migration. Does migration change or does it conserve?

In many ways, of course, the present migration has contributed to change. It has acted as a catalyst in the transition from maturity to Old Age. With the departure of young families, the proportion of old people left in the village has increased, as has the proportion of non-miners and commuters.

Migration has also had the effect of further exposing the West Durham village to the outside world. Parents, siblings and friends now make regular visits to the migrants in their new locations. Elderly parents who had previously never been outside Durham, are now familiar with long journeys and consider themselves "at home" in parts of Somerset, South Wales, South Yorkshire and the Midlands. The migrant's return trip also increases village awareness of conditions outside Durham. From conversations with migrants on return visits, the men remaining in the village now have considerable information about the

working systems, bit conditions and the social life in other parts of the country. The women remaining in the village are now aware of regional differences in housing, the cost of living and in their own status.

In the same way, the considerable residential mobility associated with the present migration, and especially the high percentage of incomers, also contributes to a reduction of the insularity which has long characterised the West Durham village.

But in addition to stimulating change, migration also has an important Conservative effect. Two factors were considered to justify this suggestion. Firstly, the departure of migrants constitutes a loss to the village of an important Dissenting element and of families with a wide variety of experience. And secondly, the attitude of disbelief and scepticism held by many village non-migrants acts as an effective barrier to any information likely to throw into doubt the wisdom of their decision to remain in the village. This "Defence Mechanism" has the effect of conserving traditional sentiments and activities, and so counteracts the observed factors which facilitate change. It was suggested that the tendencies towards Conservation were transient,

representing a "rear-guard action", whereas the tendencies towards Change were long-term and deep-rooted. This may be so, and in any final analysis, the effects of migration on the West Durham village must be assessed in relation to the dialectic between the forces of change and conservation, outlined above.

Perspective (1) Empirical

The quality of life illustrated in this study may be described as typical working-class. The sentiments and activities recorded in the West Durham mining village are similar to those which have been recorded in Hunslett,⁽³⁾ Featherstone,⁽⁴⁾ and St. Ebbe's⁽⁵⁾. In the same way, the way of life in the new areas has its parallel in Greenleigh,⁽⁶⁾ Barton and Braydon Road⁽⁷⁾. Therefore the present migration of 240 families from five villages in West Durham to expanding coalfields further south, involves the same adjustments as did the moves from Bethnal Green to Greenleigh, from St. Ebbe's to Barton and from the centre of Coventry to Braydon Road.

There is, of course, an important difference in scale. Young and Willmott, Mogey and Kuper studied families affected by rehousing schemes, and the distances separating the old and new houses are small compared

with the migration of a Durham family to the Potteries or to South Wales. This distance is responsible for a difference in terminology, the St Ebbe's family "moves", the Craghead family "migrates" (8)

The changes experienced by families making the move from Bethnal Green to Greenleigh, from St Ebbe's to Barton and from the centre of Coventry to Braydon Road, have been summarized and reformulated by Klein.⁽⁹⁾ This reformulation provides a useful scheme for comparing and contrasting changes observed in this study with the changes identified in these previous studies.

All studies record important economic changes which are experienced as a result of movement. Families who have moved to Greenleigh and to Barton, have to spend more time and money on travelling to work, they also have to pay a larger proportion of their income on house rent than was the case when they lived in Bethnal Green and St Ebbe's. These are precisely the changes recorded for the Durham families. Similarly, the initial expenses associated with the change from an old to a new house, described in Chapter 6, are noted by Young and Willmott⁽¹⁰⁾ and by Mogey⁽¹¹⁾

In reviewing these studies, Klein next identifies what she calls, "Changes in the Level of Interaction and in Network-Connectedness". These changes are best understood by reference to Bott, who first defined "network-connectedness". She writes,⁽¹²⁾ "By connectedness I mean the extent to which people known by a family know and meet one

another independent of the family. I use the word, "close-knit" to describe a network in which there are many relationships among the component units, and the word, "loose-knit" to describe a network in which there are few such relationships". Therefore all studies, including the present, are concerned with the change from a "close-knit" to a "loose-knit" network. In the West Durham village, as in Bethnal Green and St Ebbe's, a man's family, his friends and his neighbours, all know and meet each other independent of anything he says or does. On the new estates they only know each other through him, and would not normally meet unless he arranged such a meeting.

Klein goes on to identify change in norms, and discusses at length, Mogey's concept of "Status-Assent" and "Status-Dissent".⁽¹³⁾ Most of the studies referred to make use of these or similar concepts. Summarizing these studies, Klein concludes, "Although there are dissenters in the old areas, the chances are that there will be more in the new. Many on the margin between the two approaches to life will only be pushed into a dissenting pattern when they move".⁽¹⁴⁾ That there should be a higher proportion of dissenters in the new area is accounted for by the break away from the conforming pressures of the "close-knit" network, and by the acquisition of a new house.⁽¹⁵⁾ The relationship between status-dissenters and the new estate is also the result of more practical reasons. Firstly, local housing policies often select the "better families" to occupy the new houses, and secondly,

those who do not adjust to conditions in the new area i.e. "Status-assenters", return whenever the opportunity presents itself. Chapter 7 provides a good illustration of this aspect, 28 out of the 34 Returnees being Resultant-type migrants, while only one Dissenting migrant returned to Durham. The present study suggests yet a further reason for the high proportion of dissenters on the new estates. The comparison between migrants and non-migrants, and the identification of a Dissenting Migrant-type from pre-migration and decision-making characteristics, suggests that the potential estate-dwellers exhibit significant Dissenting features even before they leave the old areas. In this one respect, the present study may claim to have elaborated on one aspect of the move from traditional working-class areas to new estates, an aspect hitherto noted only in passing.⁽¹⁶⁾

In two further respects the findings of the present study are anticipated by previous studies. Young and Willmott and Mogey are concerned with what Klein calls, "The Home Centred Family" and "The Disappearance of the Stress Syndrome and the Emergence of Partnership".⁽¹⁷⁾

There are a number of respects in which the family may be said to be more "home-centred" on the new estate. The migration from the West Durham village, like the movement from Bethnal Green and from St Ebbe's, forces parents and children to become aware, often for the first time, of the nuclear family as a unit. In the new area parents and children are faced with similar problems of adjustment, and with no parents/grand-

parents or long-established friends or neighbours to look after the children, husband and wife remain at home more often. In addition, of course, the acquisition of a new house encourages home-centredness. For many husbands and wives, the new house and a virgin garden account for much of their leisure time. For others, the new house and the associated "necessary" purchases do not permit an active extra-home social life, and force them to remain home-centred. Therefore for Durham migrants as for Bethnal Green families, instead of the back streets and "the turnings", the Workingmen's Club and the pub, the new house emerges as the centre of activities. Commenting on the same tendencies, Mogey concludes, "the central change may be interpreted as the emergence on the housing estate of a family-centred society in place of the neighbourhood-centred society of St. Ebbe's" (18)

Finally, the identification in this study of a greater partnership between husband and wife, following their migration, parallels similar observations by Young and Willmott and Mogey. The Durham miner, like the St. Ebbe's car worker and the Bethnal Green docker, feels more obliged to help his wife on the new estate than he did in the old area. At the same time, his wife, and her southern counterparts, away from mother and sisters, depends more on her husband, and as a couple they have fewer arguments than they had in the old area, where their families exacerbated issues and prolonged reconciliation.

In many respects then, findings of the present study have been anticipated by previous studies of movement from traditional working-class areas to new estates. Considered individually, these studies provide a number of examples of the adjustment undergone by ordinary families, considered together, they justify the suggestion of a changing working-class culture.

Perspective (11) Theoretical

The twin concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft provide the study with a final and macrocosmic perspective. The concepts were first introduced by Toennies, but since he wrote, other social scientists have continued to juxtapose social entities anti-thetically, and have added to and refined certain aspects of the original typology.

It is necessary to describe briefly the Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft concepts and related typologies before their relevance for the present study can be assessed.

Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are usually translated "Community and Society" (or Association), but these translations often tend to confuse. They give the impression that they refer only to social structures, ^{as such} in fact they refer equally to the quality of social relationships. They are, of course, ideal types. As Heberle explains, ⁽¹⁹⁾ Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are pure concepts of ideal types, which, as such, do not exist in the empirical world. They can, therefore, find no employment as classificatory concepts. Rather are they to be regarded as traits,

which, in empirical social entities, are found in varying proportions".

Toennies himself defines the concepts - "All intimate, private and exclusive living together . . . is understood as life in Gemeinschaft. Gesellschaft is public life, it is the world itself. In Gemeinschaft with one's family, one lives from birth on, bound to it in weal and woe. One goes into Gesellschaft as one goes into a strange country . . . Gemeinschaft is old, Gesellschaft is new as a name as well as a phenomenon In contrast to Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft is transitory and superficial. Accordingly, Gemeinschaft should be understood as a living organism, Gesellschaft as a mechanical aggregate and artifact".⁽²⁰⁾

He continues, "Gesellschaft deals with the artificial construction of an aggregate of human beings which superficially resembles the Gemeinschaft in so far as the individuals live and dwell together peacefully. However, in the Gemeinschaft they remain essentially united in spite of all separating factors, whereas in the Gesellschaft they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors".⁽²¹⁾

In addition to describing the range of human experience, Toennies also believed that the gradual move from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft represented the fundamental process of change in Society. Other Social Scientists have formulated similar polar-opposites, in which movement from the first to the second constitutes an irreversible historical trend.

Spencer⁽²²⁾ utilizes the antithetical concepts of "indefinite,

incoherent homogeneity" and "definite, coherent heterogeneity".

Durkheim uses the concepts of "Mechanical Solidarity" and "Organic Solidarity".⁽²³⁾ By "Mechanical Solidarity" Durkheim means, "a more or less organized totality of beliefs and sentiments common to all members of the group" "Organic Solidarity is a system of different, special functions which definite relations unite".⁽²⁴⁾ Of the change of people from one type of society to the other, Durkheim writes, "Their natural milieu is no longer the natal milieu, but the occupational milieu. It is no longer real or fictional consanguinity which marks the place of each one, but the function which he fills".⁽²⁵⁾

Becker utilizes a "Sacred-Secular" typology.⁽²⁶⁾ The Sacred society is isolated socially and mentally, "this isolation leads to fixation of habit and neophobia The concrete is emphasised at the expense of abstraction, social contacts are primary There is the dominance of sacredness even in the economic sphere which works towards the maintenance of self-sufficiency and against any development of the pecuniary attitude". The Secular society is socially and mentally accessible, "Habit fixation is rendered difficult by the accessibility of the social structure the kinship group is manifest in the conjugal family form change is sought after and idealized as progress. Informal sanctions are weak, and offence against the law invokes little social disapproval".

Many other Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft-like typologies have been formulated. Maize⁽²⁷⁾ postulates movement from "Status" to "Contract". Weber utilizes the terms "Vergemeinschaftung" and "Vergesellschaftung" to characterize antithetical types of action, and postulates that the movement from the one to the other is characterized by a process of Rationalization.⁽²⁸⁾ Cooley's "Primary Group"⁽²⁹⁾ and Redfield's "Folk Society"⁽³⁰⁾ are also important contributions to this typological tradition. Finally Parson's "Pattern variables of Action Orientation"⁽³¹⁾ represents a further and more elaborate specification of the aspects of society dealt with by Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft.

The relevance of the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft concepts for the present study is readily apparent. Life in the West Durham mining village can be characterized as life in Gemeinschaft. Mechanical Solidarity is preponderant and the Sacred prevails over the Secular. By contrast, the new estates contain life in Gesellschaft, Organic Solidarity is preponderant and the Secular prevails over the Sacred.

To elaborate, the village is characterized by "intimate and exclusive living together" with "common mores or beliefs". For most villagers it is their "natal" as well as their "natural milieu", and consequently habits are fixed and change resented. These Gemeinschaft qualities are best illustrated in the description in Chapter 1 of Saturday Night in the Workingmen's Club.

For the Durham migrants, estate life represents, "going into a strange country", and while they live together as in the village, they "remain essentially separated" "Their natural milieu is no longer the natal milieu, but the occupational milieu. It is no longer real or fictional consanguinity which marks the place of each one, but the function which he fills". These Gesellschaft qualities are best illustrated in the sections of Chapter 6 concerned with Stress and Release and with Adjustment Differentials.

Accepting this similarity between the West Durham village and life in Gemeinschaft, and between the estates and life in Gesellschaft, the migrants may be considered to have moved from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft. Chapter 6 - Adjustment in the New Area - is therefore concerned with the migrants' reactions to Gesellschaft, to a Society where the Secular prevails over the Sacred. Of course, the migrants are not aware of adjusting in these terms, but from their descriptions of the local populations, their values and their behaviour, the migrants are clearly aware of Gesellschaft-like features in the new area.

To the migrants, the people of the Midlands - "with their two Gods, work and money . . . always talking about cars and houses ..

. .cold and unfriendly towards each other and guarding their privacy" - are clearly imbued with the spirit of Gesellschaft. Similarly, for the migrants, life on the estate exhibits characteristics of the secular society Washing and housework is done on Sundays and the men have to work on Good Friday and New Year's Day, practices unheard-of in the Durham mining village. For a Durham family on an estate in Nottinghamshire there was a dramatic manifestation of Secular predominance when they attempted to carry out a Durham Christening custom. (In the West Durham village it is the practice to give a small Christening Gift⁽³²⁾ to the first person, of the opposite sex to the baby, met on the way to the church) In this particular case the baby was a girl and her mother offered the gift to the first boy the christening party encountered. The boy, who was with a number of friends, was amused but he refused to accept the gift. At the top of the road the gift was offered again, this time to a man occupied with cleaning his car. Again it was refused Finally, a petrol-pump attendant accepted the gift, even though he, too, was unaware of its significance. This incident has been recounted because it illustrates precisely certain aspects of Becker's Secular Society - "Habit fixation

is rendered difficult by the accessibility of the social structure" and "Tradition and ritual are minimal".

Similarly, the weak informal sanctions of the Secular society are well illustrated in the present study. The Durham woman's complaint about men and women behaving on the estate as they had done in wartime, (page 205) illustrates the anomic effect of weak sanctions, while the Dissenting migrant's admission of entering a Workingmen's Club in the new area for the first time in her life, illustrates release from the strong informal sanctions of the village. Together, these two examples show that for some people, movement from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft has unfortunate consequences, while for others the movement constitutes a release and provides opportunities for experimentation.

Finally, if migration from the West Durham village is viewed as a move from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft, and it is accepted that this movement constitutes an irreversible historical trend, the present study may claim to illustrate, in detail, the processes of continuous social change

CHAPTER 9. Notes to text and references.

1. ARENSBERG, C.M. (1961) elaborates on this distinction with reference to Community studies.
2. Certainly surprising for the fieldworker. Throughout the study he had been led to believe that in the Durham mining village everyone was friendly. An interesting case of community self-delusion.
3. Much of Hoggart's reconstruction of Working-class culture in the first Chapters of "The Uses of Literacy" is based on his experience of life in Hunslett.
4. Featherstone is the "Ashton" of "Coal is our Life" see Dennis, N., Henriques, F., and Slaughter, G. (1956)
5. See Mogey, J.M. (1956).
6. See Young, M. and Willmott. (1957)
7. See Kuper, L (1953)

8. The distance is also responsible, though in a more indirect way, for the emphasis in the present study on the decision to move.
9. See Klein, J. (1965)
10. op. cit. pages 156-161.
11. op. cit. pages 72-73.
12. op. cit p.59.
13. Defined and discussed earlier in the section on Methodology.
14. op. cit. p.241
15. ZWEIG, F. (1961) writes, "The house is a starting point for many new acquisitions, it whets the appetite for more".
16. e.g. DURANT, R. (1939) p.24 "Not everybody who moved to the estate in the early years was forced to come by the pressure of overcrowding. The new environment was often their deliberate choice"

17. op. cit Pp. 283-299.
18. op. cit. p.152.
19. in TOENNIES, F. (1957) Pp. ix-x
20. op. cit Pp. 33-35.
21. op. cit p.65.
22. SPENCER, H. "First Principles" London, 1911. p.396.
23. DURKHEIM, E. (1947)
24. op. cit. p.129.
25. op. cit. Pp. 131-182.
26. See in particular BECKER, H "Through Values to Social Interpretation". Durham, N.C., 1950. Pp.248-280.
27. MAINE, F. "Ancient Law" London. 1361.
28. WEBER, M. (1947) p. 124.

- 29 COOLEY, C.H. "Social Organisation". New York. 1927.

30. For a discussion of Redfield's "Folk-Urban Continuum". See Miner, H. (1952)

31. see PARSONS, T. "The Social System". Glencoe, Ill. 1951. esp. Chapters 2 and 3.

32. Usually containing brown bread and cheese, spiced cake and a silver coin.

APPENDIX 1 PROCEDURE FOR ESTIMATING VILLAGE POPULATIONS.

In all villages except Craghead, Ward and Parish boundaries do not coincide with village boundaries. Local Planning Authorities could provide no estimates, however tentative, of village populations. Discussion with Dr D. Thorpe of the Department of Geography in the University of Durham suggested the following procedure for arriving at a "reasonable estimate" of population.

Parish/Ward 1961 populations were divided by the Parish/Ward Electoral numbers for the same year, thus giving a "RATIO-MULTIPLE". Assuming the relationship between number of voters and the total population remains the same, the latest Electoral Lists (1964-65) were used to obtain the present number of voters in each village, this number was then multiplied by the "RATIO-MULTIPLE" obtained earlier. Complete figures are shown below

WARDS/PARISHES	1961 POPULATION	1961 No ELECTORS	"RATIO MULTIPLE"	ELECTORS IN VILLAGE	ESTIMATED POPULATION
Lanchester	4,053	2,799	1.5	1,270	1,905
Langley	1,526	1,012			
Craghead	3,634	2,497	1.5	2,383	3,574
Ferryhill (D/B)	10,562	7,498	1.4	1,832	2,475
West Ward	4,572	3,119	1.4 E/W	2,128	2,979
(E/W and Waterhouses)				W 1,072	1,500

APPENDIX 2 INTER-DIVISIONAL TRANSFER FORMS

- See over -
- 1) Outline of Opportunities and Facilities Available.

 - 11) Application for Inter-Divisional Transfer.
(Form C. 170)

APPENDIX 3 PROCEDURE FOR ASSESSING THE RELATIONSHIPS OF MIGRANTS WITH THEIR PARENTS AND NEIGHBOURS

Bott's⁷ (Family and Social Network Pp 120-121) three degrees of social distance, "Intimate", "Effective" and "Non-Effective" have been used throughout. The fourth degree, "Unfamiliar" was found unnecessary. According to this classification, "Intimate" relatives "are those with whom there was frequent visiting and mutual aid where necessary" "Effective" relatives "are those with whom the relationship was not close enough to be called intimate, although contact was maintained". Non-Effective" relatives, "are those with whom there was no contact".

For the purposes of the present study these three degrees of distance have been sharpened in the following way:-

"Intimate" - Daily contacts, help and consultation.

"Effective" - Regular contacts, occasional help and a degree of shared knowledge.

"Non-Effective" - Irregular, often accidental contacts, no help and no consultation

Thus the same criteria are used for the migrants' relationships with parents and neighbours

APPENDIX 4 THE QUESTIONNAIRES USED.

For reasons of space the longer questionnaires are not presented in their original form, instead, the questions follow each other immediately without leaving any spaces for answers. Otherwise there are no changes.

QUESTIONNAIRE No. 1

Migration of Miners Research Project.

PERCEPTION STUDY

NAME

ADDRESS

OCCUPATION

1. Have you any idea how many families have moved away over the last two years? (ESTIMATE)
2. Did you know any of them? (NAME THEM)
3. Have you heard from any of them since they moved?
4. What kind of people have left?
5. What kind of people are moving into the empty houses?
6. How has this movement affected you?

QUESTIONNAIRE No. 2

Migration of Miners Research Project.

THE MIGRANT GROUP STUDY

- 1 Name
2. Age
3. No of children & Ages
- 4 Address D X.
- 5 Status D. X
- 6 Rent D. X.
- 7 No. Bedrooms. Livingrooms
- 8 I/toilet, bath, car, fridge
9. Occupiers Assessment of property D X
10. Alterations/Installations made D X.
- 11 Previous residence history (living-in and No. houses)
12. Birthplace of Ego F. M Birthplace of spouse F. M
Paternal Gnd parents F. M Paternal Gnd.parents F. M
Maternal Gnd parents F. M. Maternal Gnd parents F. M.
- 13 Time spent away from Durham (inc.Forces) Ego Spouse
- 14 Holidays in last 5 years 1. 2. 3. 4 5.
15. No of jobs (length in each) Local or Away? Ego Spouse
16. No. pits worked in (length in each)
17. Evening entertainment typical Durham week Ego Spouse
Mon. Tues Wed. Thurs Fri. Sat Sun
18. What changes have you noticed since you've been in X? Ego Spouse

QUESTIONNAIRE No.2. (Second page)

- 19 Evening entertainment X Ego Spouse M T W Th F S Sun
20. Membership of Organisations Ego (D) Spouse (D) Ego (X) Spouse (X)
21. Was Ego member of group of mates in D Is Ego member of group of mates in (X)
22. Contact with relatives EGO Location Frequency (Durham) (X)
Mo. Fa. Siblings. G'parents Uncles/Aunts Cousins
SPOUSE (Durham) (X)
Mo Fa. Siblings G'parents Uncles/Aunts Cousins (record addresses on back)
23. Affinal Relations D X.
- 24 Why did you leave Durham? Hu. W1.
- 25 Did you think of alternatives before coming? (1) In other Durham pits?
(11) In another job?
- 26 Redundant when applied?
27. Review of steps in decision making process
- 28 Desire to go felt equally by Hu & W1.?
- 29 Why did you choose X?
- 30 Impression of X and how gained?
31. Before you came what did you think of the X people?
32. What do you think of them now?
- 33 How long here? Hu. W1.
34. What was most difficult to get used to?
35. Any D. people regular visitors?
- 36 How many locals do you know well? (both names, mutual visiting etc.)
37. Has move meant you have fewer friends?
38. Do you feel you'd like to know more?

QUESTIONNAIRE No 2 (Third page)

- 39 Are children settling in U.K. ?
40. How (exactly) did you meet your best X friends?
- 41 Where are you thinking of going on holiday next year?
42. How often have you been back to Durham (for how long and what occasions) Hu. W1
43. What did it feel like?
- 44 Who do you write regularly to in D? Telephone? Hu. W1.
45. Do you get a local paper? Do you get a Durham paper, if so, how?
- 46 Do you still follow N.E. news?
47. Do you find X Dialect difficult?
48. What do you miss about D. Hu. W1.
- 49 What do you like about X? Hu W1.
50. What don't you like about X? Hu. W1.
51. Are you happy about the future here?
52. What kind of effect do you think your move has had on the village?
- 53 What kind of people are staying on in the village?
- 54 What changes has move meant for your parents in D?
55. Who has settled down best?
- 56 What large items have you purchased since moving?
- 57 Do you feel its a new life down here?
- 58 Average Wage D. Average wage X.
59. Had you ever thought of moving away before?
- 60 Ambitions for children?

QUESTIONNAIRE No 2 (Fourth page)

61. Did wife work in D? Does she work now? Does she want to?
62. How do you feel about living away from relatives? Hu W1
- 63 What happens in illness/confinement? Durham? Here?
- 64 Does husband ever make meals? D. X.
Does husband ever wash up? D. X.
Do husband and wife go shopping together?
- 65 Journey to work Means Time Durham X.
- 66 New concept of "family"?

Migration of Miners Research Project

MATCHED SAMPLE STUDY

1. Name
2. Age
3. No of children & Ages
4. Address D.
- 5 Status D.
6. Rent D.
7. No Bedrooms D. No Livingrooms D.
- 8 I/toilet D. Bath Car Fridge
- 9 Occupiers Assessment of property D.
10. Alterations/Installations made D.
11. Previous residence history (living-in & No. houses)
12. Birthplace of Ego F. M. Birthplace of Spouse F M.
Pat'al Gnd.parents F. M. Pat'al Gnd parents F. M.
Mat'al Gnd.parents F. M. Mat'al Gnd. parents F. M.
13. Time spent away from Durham (inc.Forces) Ego Spouse
- 14 Holidays in last 5 years 1 2. 3 4. 5
15. No of jobs (length in each) Local or Away? Ego Spouse
16. No. pits worked in (length in each)
17. Evening entertainment typical Durham week Ego Spouse
M. T. W. Th F S Sun.
18. Membership of Organisations Ego (D) Spouse (D)

QUESTIONNAIRE No.3. (Second page)

- 19 Contact with relatives EGO Location Frequency (Durham)
Mo. Fa. Siblings. G'parents Uncles/Aunts Cousins
SPOUSE (Durham)
Mo Fa. Siblings. G'parents. Uncles/Aunts Cousins.
20. Affinal relations D.
- 21 Why did you decide to stay on in Durham? Hu. W1.
- 22 Have you been redundant?
23. Review of steps in decision making process (if any).
24. Desire to stay felt equally by Hu. & W1 ?
25. What do you think of people down there?
26. What do you like about Durham? Hu. W1.
27. What don't you like about Durham? Hu W1
28. Are you happy about the future here?
29. What kind of effect do you think the move has had on the village?
30. What kind of people went away on scheme? (personal characteristics)
31. Do you know anyone affected?
- 32 Who has settled down best?
- 33 Do you feel its a new life down there?
34. Average Wage D.
35. Have you ever thought of moving away before?
36. Ambitions for cnildren?
37. Does wife work? Does she want to?
38. How would you feel about living away from relatives? Hu. W1.
39. What happens in illness/confinement? D.

QUESTIONNAIRE No.3 (third page)

40. Does husband ever make meals? D.
Does husband ever wash up? D.
Do husband and wife go shopping together?

41. Journey to work Means Time Durham

QUESTIONNAIRE No. 4.

Migration of Miners Research Project

IMPACT STUDY

Hu Occupation

Age

1. Have you any idea how many Durham families have moved into the area in the last three years? (ESTIMATE)
2. Do you know any by name? (NAME THEM)
- 3 How do you know them/where did you meet?
4. Do you think they are any different from the people round here?

QUESTIONNAIRE No. 5.

Migration of Miners Research Project

PARENTAL ADJUSTMENT STUDY

Name

Address

Location of child

1. Were you consulted about movement?
2. What was your attitude to it?
3. Continuing contacts with child. (a) VISITS DOWN No Duration
MOTHER FATHER (b) Letter Frequency (c) Telephoning?
4. Children remaining in Durham. Address Frequency of contact
BEFORE move AFTER move
5. Since movement has contact increased with:- (a) Neighbours? (b) friends?
(c) Organisations?
6. What help did child give before move? (especially financial)
7. What help did child's spouse give?
8. What happens now?
9. Relationship with child's spouse's parents Before movement
After movement.
10. What do you miss most of all?
11. Would you say it had made much difference to your life?
12. Was your child the kind of person you would have expected to move away?
13. Describe the "visit home"

QUESTIONNAIRE No. 6.

Migration of Miners Research Project

SIBLING ADJUSTMENT STUDY

Name

Relation to Migrant

Address

1. Kind of relationship with Sibling
2. Consultation about movement? Attitude to movement?
3. Continuing contacts with Sibling? (a) Visits down No Duration
(b) Sibling visits to Ego (c) Letters? Telephone?
4. How would you say they seem to be settling?
5. Record/Nature of mutual help.
6. Who has tended to replace Brother/Sister? Neighbour Another Sibling
Friend Organisational life
7. What do you miss most about your Brother/Sister's movement away?
8. What differences has it made for your parents?
9. Was your Brother/Sister the kind of person you'd have expected to move?

Migration of Miners Research Project

NEIGHBOUR ADJUSTMENT STUDY

Name

Neighbour to

Address

- 1 Kind of relationship to neighbour
- 2 Consultation about movement. Attitude to movement
3. Continuing contacts with migrant (a) Visits down (b) Migrant's
visit to Ego (c) Letters Telephone
4. Who is present neighbour?
5. Who has tended to replace removed neighbour? Another neighbour
Sibling Friend. Organisational life
6. Record/Nature of Mutual help.
7. Would you say it had made much difference to you?
- 8 Was your neighbour the kind of person you'd have expected to move away?

QUESTIONNAIRE No. 8

Migration of Miners Research Project

"BEST FRIEND" ADJUSTMENT STUDY"

Name

Friend of

Address

1. Kind of relationship.
2. Consultation about movement. Attitude to movement.
3. Continuing contact with friend (a) Visits own (No and duration)
(b) Friend's visits to Ego (c) Letters? Telephone?
4. How would you say they seem to be settling?
5. Who has tended to replace best friend? Neighbour Sibling
Another Friend Organisational Life
6. What do you miss most about your friend moving away?
7. Was your friend the kind of person you'd have expected to move away?

QUESTIONNAIRE No. 9.

Migration of Miners Research Project

THE RETURNEES

Returnees were asked about all topics listed in the main Migrant Group Questionnaire 2. In addition, they answered the following 8 questions -

1. Why did you return?
2. Steps in the Decision-Making Process
3. How were the return difficulties overcome?
4. Present situation
 - Job
 - House
 - Children's future
5. Has it changed you in any way?
6. What changes in entertainment since you returned?
7. Wage?
8. Journey to work?

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A. S. R. American Sociological Review.
B. J. S. British Journal Of Sociology.
H. R. Human Relations.
J S. P. Journal of Social Psychology.
N. S. New Society
R-U.J. Rhodes-Livingstone Journal.
S F Social Forces.
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The National Coal Board Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme

Outline of Opportunities and Facilities Available

The purpose of this pamphlet is to give a broad outline of the opportunities and facilities available to you if you are considering transfer to Board employment in another coalfield. Obviously a pamphlet of this nature cannot cover every individual circumstance. If you are in doubt about any particular point or would like more information your colliery office or the Area Manpower Officer will be only too glad to help you.

1 What is the Inter Divisional Transfer Scheme?

It is a Scheme introduced by the Board to simplify the arrangements for men in Board Employment who wish to move from their present coalfield to another one. It has three main objectives:

- (a) Avoiding redundancy and potential redundancy in those coalfields where manpower will have to reduce,
- (b) To give men in those coalfields priority for available jobs in the expanding coalfields in the Midlands and the South,
- (c) To see that the arrangements try to suit the convenience and needs of the men concerned and give them some financial help.

2 Why has this Scheme been introduced?

Although many collieries in Scottish, Northern (N & C) and Durham Divisions have every prospect of a long life, the *total* number of jobs available for mineworkers in these three Divisions - which have many old collieries - is inevitably going to reduce during the next few years. Further south in the North Eastern, East Midlands, West Midlands and South Western Divisions there are a number of new and reconstructed collieries requiring additional labour. In addition, the demand in these Divisions for trained mineworkers to replace normal wastage is a continuing one and the Board have decided that employees wishing to transfer from the northern coalfields will be specially considered for employment and have priority. As far ahead as can be foreseen there will be more than enough jobs in these Divisions for workmen who decide to transfer from Scotland and the North. For the purposes of the Scheme, North Eastern, East Midlands, West Midlands and South Western Divisions are being called "importing" Divisions.

3 Who is eligible for transfer under this Scheme?

Any industrial employee of the Board at any colliery in Scottish, Northern (N & C) or Durham Divisions may transfer if he so wishes. Men redundant from a closed or partially closed colliery who have not found alternative work within a period of three months of being declared redundant will also qualify for transfer under Board arrangements. If you have been redundant and unemployed for more than three months, it is still possible for a transfer to be arranged, but in these circumstances allowances will be paid on the Ministry of Labour Scale.

4 Can I be sure of a job if I transfer?

Yes. You will not be transferred until there is a particular job waiting for you in the importing Division.

5 Will the job be at the same grade as the one I have now?

Not necessarily. The Board will do all they can to fit you up with the job suitable for your experience and training but the number of piece-work jobs available in the importing Divisions is limited (and colliery customs and practices must be observed). It may well be that all that can be offered for a time will be a daywage job. However, the situation varies from one importing Division to another. In the event of a piece-

worker accepting a daywage job in the importing Division he will be in the same position as other daywage men at the colliery to which he moves and will be considered along with them for piecework jobs as they become available

Before you move you will be told what sort of job is available to you so that you can decide whether it is suitable or not

6 Can I decide where to go?

When you apply, you will be able to say where you wish to work and you can suggest more than one place. It may not be possible to offer you a job in a particular colliery or district, but every effort will be made to meet your preference

7 What about lodgings and houses?

There is a shortage of houses in nearly all districts in importing Divisions. The Board are, however, doing all they can to get more houses to meet the needs of pits in these districts. Local Authorities are building houses specially for miners in many places and in others the Coal Industry Housing Association is building more

If you are a married man with a family you will have special consideration for a house as they become available. But building takes time and you may have to start by moving into lodgings while waiting for a house. Lodgings may not be easy to find but the Board will do all they can to help you, or you may prefer to make your own arrangements. The Board will tell you, before you move, what the accommodation position is and how long they expect it will be before you may be able to get a house

8 How do I apply?

You should obtain an Application Form (C 170) from your colliery or Area office. On this you should give details of your experience at work, your family (so that the Board can try and help with housing), the work you want, and where you would like to go. When you have filled it in you should hand it back to your colliery or Area office

As soon as possible afterwards you will be interviewed by someone from the importing Division who will either there and then offer you a definite job at a particular colliery or say what the position is and the likelihood of your getting an early offer. You will also be told about lodging and housing prospects and the chances of later upgrading. It will be for you to decide whether to accept or refuse an offer

Filling in an application form does not commit you in any way, nor does it affect your present job

9 Will the Board help me with the expenses of transfer?

Yes By moving through arrangements made under the Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme you will be entitled to certain allowances. These are explained in the next section of the pamphlet.

ALLOWANCES FOR MEN WHO TRANSFER

10 The allowances summarised at the end of this pamphlet and dealt with in more detail below are those payable under what is known as "The Board's Scheme of Allowances for Transferred Industrial Workers". They are for men who transfer under arrangements made by the Board while still employed by the Board or within three months of becoming redundant without taking another job in the meantime.

11 Men who have been redundant for more than three months, but are still receiving redundancy compensation from the Board can also move under the Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme. But the transfer allowances they receive will be on the Ministry of Labour scale which is different from the Board's (your colliery or Area office will advise you on these allowances which are not covered by this pamphlet). If you are about to become redundant, therefore, and are considering a transfer, you will be well advised to apply at once.

12 If you are in any doubt about the allowances you will get (or anything else connected with the Scheme) consult your Area or colliery office.

THE N C B SCHEME OF ALLOWANCES FOR TRANSFERRED INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

13 *I am a single man without dependants. What allowances do I get?*

You get the cost of a single fare to your new employment and up to 10/- (according to how long it takes) for other expenses on the journey. You

also get a payment (at standard grade, hourly or shift rates *not* average earnings) for the shift you would have been working if you had not been travelling. On arrival at your new pit you get a "settling-in grant" of 24/6d

14 I am a married man, or have people dependent on me. What allowances do I get?

First of all, for your own travel, you get the same allowances as a single man (see 13 above). You also get a series of other allowances, which are explained below.

15 My family are unable to move at once, so I have to keep my dependants in my old home, and find myself lodgings in my new district. This means extra expense. Will the Board help me with this?

Yes. While you are in lodgings and separated from your family, you will be given a lodging allowance of 59/6d a week. This will continue so long as you are in lodgings up to a maximum of two years when your position will be reviewed. There are special arrangements for lodging allowance for holidays and weekends which your colliery office will explain to you.

16 I live in a rent free Board house at present. If I move south, leaving my family in my old home for the time being, will I have to pay rent for that house?

In this particular case your old Division will make no charge for your present house for the first six months after you transfer or until you have found a new house in your new district whichever is the shorter.

17 I shall be living a long way from my family, and I want to go back to see them from time to time. Will the Board help me with the fare?

Yes. If your return fare home is more than 12/6d then once every two months (for up to two years), the Board will pay you what it costs you over 12/6d. If the return fare is less than 12/6d you will have to pay it yourself.

18 Does this particular allowance include the cost of my meals or any shifts I may lose?

No.

19 Must I always wait two months?

No The colliery office would probably give you the allowance for Easter and Whitsun for example, although they are less than two months apart But they will only give it to you six times a year and the allowance stops when you get a house in your new district

20 Instead of going home myself, I would like my wife to come and see the new district Will the Board help with the cost?

Yes They will pay the same for someone to come and see you as for you to go to your old home But the payment will be made only six times a year, however it is used

21 Supposing one of my family is ill, or I myself am ill whilst I am living in one place and they in another?

Your colliery office will help you with the cost of your return fare home in cases of real domestic emergency Alternatively, it will help one of your family to come and see you The colliery office may also be able to advise and help you in other ways

22 When I do obtain a new home for my family, what help will the Board give me with the costs of removal?

The Board will pay the full single fares for all your family on the journey down They will also pay the cost of moving your furniture, unless these are specially expensive items You should consult your colliery office *before* making arrangements

23 I shall have to store some furniture and effects for a while, or I may have to continue paying rent for a time after my family have left Will the Board help?

Yes The Board will pay the actual cost up to a maximum of 49/- a week for these continuing liabilities for as long as you cannot reasonably end them They will also pay the insurance on any furniture or effects in transit or in store

24 My wife will want new curtains and so on when she moves Will the Board make any contribution?

Once you and your dependants are settled in your new home, you will be entitled to a household settlement grant of £50

25 *My old house was very cheap to rent but my new rent is much more Can I get an allowance for this?*

Yes If your new rent including rates is more than 10/- a week higher than your old rent including rates the Board will pay three quarters of the excess difference over 10/- for the first 13 weeks, half the excess difference over 10/- for the next 13 weeks, and a quarter of the excess difference over 10/- for a further 26 weeks After a year the allowance stops If the new rent and rates are over 45/- a week, the allowance is calculated as though they were only 45/-

For example, you may have had a rent and rate free house in your old Division, and have to pay 30/- a week for rent and rates in your new home The difference in rent is therefore 30/- but the first 10/- a week of the difference is not covered by the allowance Of the remaining 20/- difference, the Board will pay three quarters for the first 13 weeks you occupy the house (15/- a week), half for the next 13 weeks (10/- a week), and a quarter for a further 26 weeks (5/- a week)

26 *I am thinking of buying a house Will the Board help me with the purchase?*

They will be glad to advise you, but they will not provide mortgages or other financial assistance for this purpose

27 *There will be other problems Who can advise me?*

Your colliery or Area office (either where you now live or in your new district) will be able to advise you The answers given here have had to be simplified, and for exact information you should approach them

NATIONAL COAL BOARD SCHEME OF ALLOWANCES FOR TRANSFERRED INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Allowances Which May Be Payable Depending On The Circumstances Of The Individual

For the initial journey to take up new employment - transferred men with or without dependants

Single fare for the initial journey to the new place of employment
An allowance of up to 10/- to cover expenses on this initial journey
Payment of wages for working time unavoidably lost whilst travelling to the new place of employment

On arrival at the new place of employment, a single "settling-in" grant of 24/6d

For the transferred man (with dependants) who is living away from home in lodgings while awaiting a new house

A weekly lodging allowance of 59/6d per week for up to two years so long as he is living away from his family

An assisted return fare home every two months for a transferred man in receipt of lodging allowance, the worker to pay the first 12/6d of the return fare (Alternatively, this allowance is available to a dependant for travel from the old district to visit a transferred man who is in receipt of Lodging Allowance in the new district)

Assistance towards the cost of travelling home in case of domestic emergency, whilst separated from his family

For the transferred man (and his dependants) taking up home in the new district

Single fares of dependants when they move from the old home to the new

Continuing liability allowance where dependants move to the new district before the removal of household effects and there is a continuing liability in the old district for rent or storage of furniture, etc , - allowance equal to the actual cost, up to a maximum of 49/- per week

The actual cost of household removal

Reasonable extra costs of insurance of furniture and effects in transit or store

A "household settlement grant" of £50 when the worker and his dependants have established themselves as a settled household in the new area

An "Increased Rent Allowance" for a temporary period where the rent for the house in the new district exceeds the rent for the house in the old by more than 10/- a week

7/62

APPLICATION FOR INTER-DIVISIONAL TRANSFER

PERSONAL PARTICULARS

1. Surname (<i>Block Capitals</i>)	2. Christian Names (<i>Block Capitals</i>)	3. Date of Birth/...../..... DAY MONTH YEAR	4. <input type="checkbox"/> SINGLE (Enter X) <input type="checkbox"/> MARRIED <input type="checkbox"/> WIDOWER
5. Address			

EXPERIENCE IN COAL MINING INDUSTRY

6. Present/Last Colliery	7. Date started	8. Total years in Coalmining Industry	9. (<i>Only for men in receipt of redundancy payments</i>) Answer questions 6 - 8 in respect of your LAST colliery and state here the date you left.
10. Types of work on which you have been employed at your present/last colliery. (State whether Filler, Ripper, Haulagehand, etc.)		12. TRAINING - Enter X against the operations in which you have been fully trained: <input type="checkbox"/> (a) GETTING AND FILLING <input type="checkbox"/> (b) BUILDING OF PACKS AND WITHDRAWAL OF SUPPORTS <input type="checkbox"/> (c) RIPPING <input type="checkbox"/> (d) SHIFTING OF MECHANICAL CONVEYORS OR LOADERS <input type="checkbox"/> (e) USE OF COAL CUTTING MACHINES	
11. Have you worked on a Power Loading Face or machine? If so state type of machine and the job you did.		13. Enter X against the qualifications you have:- <input type="checkbox"/> (a) A SHOTFIRER'S CERTIFICATE <input type="checkbox"/> (b) A DEPUTY'S CERTIFICATE <input type="checkbox"/> (c) AN UNDERMANAGER'S CERTIFICATE <input type="checkbox"/> (d) A MECHANIC OR ELECTRICIANS 1ST CLASS CERTIFICATE <input type="checkbox"/> (e) A MECHANIC OR ELECTRICIANS 2ND CLASS CERTIFICATE <input type="checkbox"/> (f) SERVED AN APPRENTICESHIP	

14. Have you a preference for a particular Colliery, Area or Division? If so, state which:
(If you wish to be considered for Collieries in different Areas, you should complete a form for each Area)

15.(a) What type(s) of work would you accept? (<i>Enter X; or indicate preferences by entering '1', '2' if you wish</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> DEPUTY/SHOTFIRER (<i>Delete as necessary</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> MECHANIC <input type="checkbox"/> ELECTRICIAN <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER CRAFT (<i>specify</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> FACEWORK <input type="checkbox"/> CONTRACT - ONCOST <input type="checkbox"/> DAYWAGE - ONCOST <input type="checkbox"/> SURFACE WORK	16.(a) Will you want a house? YES/NO (b) If 'YES', would you be willing to go into Lodgings temporarily? YES/NO
(b) If you have only marked 'Facework' and/or 'Contract Work' above, would you be willing to accept Daywage work to start with? YES/NO	17. If you require a house, how many (including yourself) will be living in it?
18. Would you consider buying a house on mortgage? YES/NO	
19. Do you suffer from any industrial disease or disability? If so, please give details, so that you are only considered for employment in work suited to you.	
20. If a transfer can be arranged, what is the earliest date on which you would be willing to start work in a new Division?	
21. Any other matters you wish to be taken into account.	

Signature of Applicant Date