

Project Title: Three Hertfordshire Villages Survey

This was the first social study of the influx of middle class managerial and professional commuters to Hertfordshire villages; and the impact that this selective migration of newcomers had on formerly rural communities. Of the three villages studied, Hexton was chosen because it still maintained the character of a predominantly rural, agriculturally centred, parish, and thus provided a grounded contrast to Watton and Tewin, villages then situated on the 'rural-urban fringe frontier'. This study focused on questions of segregation; the relationship between class and commuting; the social and geographic origins of the population studied and the pattern of economic and social links with 'the outside world'.

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13:18	Contextual material: - notes for the guidance of interviewers - master copy of questionnaire - coding scheme - publications arising from study: Pahl, R.E., 'Class and Community in English Commuter Villages', (in 'Journal of the European Society for Rural Sociology', Vol. 5 no. 1, 1965) Pahl, R.E., 'Education and social class in commuter villages', (in 'Sociological Review', Vol.XI, No. 2, 1963) Pahl, R.E., 'The Two Class Village', (in 'New Society', 27/2/64). Pahl, R.E., 'Urbs in Rure, the Metropolitan Fringe in Hertfordshire', (London, 1965) extract.

cf: 3 Hertfordshire Villages

THE TWO CLASS VILLAGE

What happens when city commuters move into a rural area? The change from a hierarchical to a two class society may be the chief cause of working class resentment

R. E. Pahl

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The so-called cocktail or stockbroker belt surrounding London's green belt has for long been the subject of myth and ill-informed comment. The bowler-hatted men waiting for the 8.05 am at a rural station, balanced by the elegant women turning neurotic in their rural retreats, is part of the folklore of the pop sociologist. There are many indications that the demand for country homes by middle class commuters is very great. The expansion of existing towns and the creation of new towns beyond the green belt has been based on the proliferation of growth industries with a high management to workers ratio. Many of these new managers do not want to run the risk of living close to their subordinates, and true to the rustic vision of the English bourgeoisie they seek a better life in the "country".

I have been concerned in an examination of the postwar social changes in three contrasting villages in Hertfordshire. "Dormersdell", which I have chosen

for my study, the two going together. The community was not only polarized spatially but also socially. The two worlds of the working class (the old established villagers) and the middle class (the immigrant professional and managerial people) could hardly have been further apart.

The question of class differences did not have to be approached in a delicate or circuitous manner. The village schoolmaster said bluntly, "We're a split society", and it was this situation into which I tried to probe more deeply. "I expect you've heard of the difficulties between here and the village", said the wife of a technologist. "The Wood people are energetic and run things and the village people complain; but they do nothing by themselves, so what is one to do?" Even the Women's Institute has two groups; one was described to me as "in the daytime for commuter's widows—lots of cars and posh hats" and the other in the evening for the village, although I had some indication that this, too, was taken over by what were termed the "£1,000-£2,000 people". (Those whose husbands earned more than £2,000 went to the daytime session). It was easy to understand how the takeover took place. As one village woman said "Nobody spoke to the villagers if they went and when there was a special lecture only people from the Wood were invited." Because the Women's Institute has been taken over by the middle class, the Young Wives' Club of the Church is almost entirely composed of council house tenants, thus confirming the division between the two worlds.

Not all middle class respondents used the euphemisms of the Wood and the Village:

It's a split between classes: the working class are more class conscious because of an inferiority complex . . . but anyway the old community has been killed by commuting.

The working class people often make light of the two worlds, referring to the "rich man and Lazarus", or, less clearly, "Sodom and Gomorrah", in a detached sort of way. Some Wood people feel a responsibility towards the village and deplore the fact—as one woman put it—that "there isn't quite as much linkage between the two sections as many of us would wish . . . it is difficult to get real cooperation from the village in many of the things that are done in this district". However, others, perhaps too readily, accept the divisions in society. One man was warned before he moved in that "You have to decide on which side you are battling—the Wood or the Village."

A village woman, who is a domestic help in the Wood, saw things differently:

When I first came here I was the only stranger and it took 15 years before I was considered to belong. Now so many strangers move in and out every week there's no real feeling of belonging left. It's not just the Wood who change, but also the farm workers stay for only a few weeks or months. Perhaps that's why there's so much less independent life. We used to do our own entertainment until the Wood took over the Village Hall ten years ago. There used to be dances every week and now they're only occasional. The badminton is only for the Wood people. They tend to be snobbish when they've no reason to be—you know people when you work in their houses. There used to be fewer people here but you saw more of them. Now even in the pubs you must leave before the evening customers.

All this is rather enigmatic and sometimes overstated, but it does reflect views which were often encountered



to describe here, is admittedly a rather extreme example, but served to highlight some of the problems in which I was interested. I wanted to know, for example, more of the reasons people give for living in the country and the way the newcomers react on the established village community. To what extent does the more mobile, cosmopolitan middle class manager and his wife make any sort of contact with the villagers and how do village organizations change or respond to the new situation?

Dormersdell has a population of just over 1,000 and a 50 per cent household sample was taken in the spring of 1961. Of the 144 households interviewed, 50 of the heads of households were classified as middle class, on a scale derived from the Registrar General's Classification of Occupations (1960). The remainder were classified as working class, apart from twelve heads engaged in agriculture, who were exempt from this stage of the analysis, and a further five for whom no information was obtainable. About 60 per cent of the middle class group is concentrated in an area of woodland about a mile from the centre of the village. This area, known simply as the Wood, became synonymous with both the middle class and newcomers.

Some 29 per cent of all chief earners work in London or the Greater London conurbation and 53 per cent work in the surrounding Hertfordshire towns; only 18 per cent work in the parish or the neighbouring parish. However, it was not so much the place of work which seemed to be important but rather the class, as defined by occupation, and the place of resi-

TEWIN



The two class village

tered.

It is important to understand more clearly how the people of the Wood see themselves. A 30 year old mechanical engineer who had just moved in summed up his first impressions as follows.

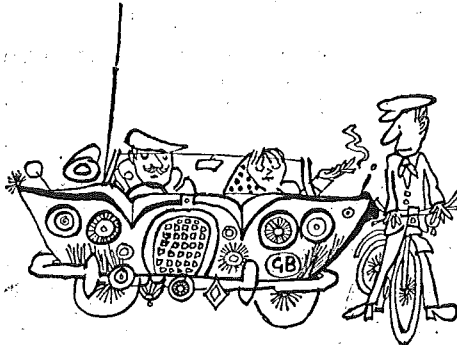
It's a self contained community; the wives form their own coffee groups, wine-making groups and so on. It's only 35 minutes by train from town yet it's quite secluded. We have the best of all worlds.

The 35 year old wife of a technical manager said, *We wanted to get out into the country and we were obliged to go to the other side of the green belt. We must prefer it here to Southgate. There's more space for the children and it's much easier to get to know people. There's more individuality here. It's easier to be what you are and you don't have to pretend to be anything else. It's easy to be left in peace if you want to.*

Another woman who had been in the Wood for about ten years had found, *That this little community to me is a shining example of how people can live together amicably, in friendship . . . I've never known a quarrel between any of these people (if one wishes to be primitive).*

The wife of a research worker who had moved into the Wood in 1958 said:

Sensible people rarely come in unannounced but there's a lot of social mixing. The wives all go out for coffee in the mornings. It's marvellous here: in the New Town the people are lonely, but when we



went on holiday the neighbours came in and dusted and made us a pie for when we came back.

Another woman felt much the same:

It's one of the most delightful places in the world. People of the same sort are all around, all very friendly: it's quite exceptional—people of the same education and income, who come out here for the same reason. It's near to London but a lot goes on here and it's well supported.

The idyll painted by these people appeared to be largely true, although many needed the second car in the household in order not to feel too isolated.

You simply must have a second car in the household if you really intend to take advantage of living here the way you'd wish to.

Probing into the isolation of commuters' wives was difficult and it was hard to get beyond the flood of

ATTENDANCE AT CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN DORMERSDELL (TWO OR MORE ATTENDANCES IN 12 MONTHS, CHURCH EXCLUDED)

CHIEF EARNER	CLUBS ATTENDED BY MEN AND WOMEN					No inf./none	*	
	One		Two Three +		F M			
	F	M	F	M				
Middle Class								
London Commuters	7	8	7	2	4	3	19 24	37
Local Commuters	10	8	7	3	9	3	15 27	41
Non Commuters	-	-	1	2	-	-	5 4	6
Working Class								
Local commuters	7	2	3	1	-	-	18 25	28
Non commuters	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 6	6
Agricultural Workers	2	1	-	-	1	-	9 11	12
No information								14
Total								144

* Total households

references:

- W. M. Dobriner, *Class in Suburbia*, Prentice Hall Spectrum Book, 1963
- R. E. Pahl, "The Changing Village", *Town and Country Planning*, April 1963
- R. E. Pahl, "Education and Social Class in Commuter Villages", *Sociological Review*, July 1963

OFFICE HOLDERS IN DORMERSDELL ORGANIZATIONS (INCLUDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND CHURCH ACTIVITIES)

CHIEF EARNER	NUMBER OF CLUBS IN WHICH MEN AND WOMEN HOLD OFFICE					No inf./none	*	
	One		Two Three +		F M			
	F	M	F	M				
Middle Class								
London Commuters	6	5	3	1	-	1	28 30	37
Local Commuters	4	5	4	3	3	2	30 21	41
Non commuters	-	-	-	1	-	-	6 5	6
Working Class								
Local Commuters	4	-	-	1	-	-	24 27	27
Non Commuters	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 6	6
Agricultural Workers	1	-	-	-	1	-	10 12	12
No Information								14
Total								144

* Total households

gemütlichkeit:

There is something in common here and it isn't really money. It's the same outlook on life—there's a feeling that your neighbours are there to be done good to—that you're there to be a neighbour if you're wanted. If you have a car, you fill it up, so that you go and pick all the children up or you could take everybody to the WI-meeting or whatever it is.

There were some exceptions to this typical middle class pattern, but they were hard to find. The 37 year old wife of an assistant accountant frankly admitted "We don't mix very much, we're living here by the skin of our teeth and could not keep up with the entertaining that mixing would involve." Another woman had made "no particular friends since coming here: it's rather cliquy but the people are quite pleasant, mostly conservative—of course we're socialist here."

COMMUTERS AND JOINERS

Many middle class people move out to a village in order to be a member of a "real" community, which, in practice, means joining things. It might be thought, however, that the length of the journey to work would make it difficult for commuters to get home in time to participate in local organizations in the evening and that the women might be housebound on account of their children during the day. Discussion has often centred on the lack of participation in local activities by middle class commuters, while it has long been widely known that it is not part of the working class culture to join formal social organizations. The working class men may be members of the local darts team or football club but their wives would not be expected to join a dramatic society or discussion group.

In fact Dormersdell is renowned for the wealth of activities which flourish there. The tables below show that both the joiners and organizers of most village activities are middle class commuters' wives. It is true, of course, that the middle class considerably outnumber the working class, but it appears that in the working class it is only some of the wives of commuters who take any part in village activities. It is interesting that among the middle class there is some indication that commuting is not a disincentive for some of the men to take active part in local organizations, and the proportion of the joiners who work in London is about the same as of those who work locally in nearby towns. When considering office holders, the contrast between the classes is striking. As well as taking a large part in running the village, the middle class men are also very likely to hold office in organizations meeting outside the village. This is further evidence of the urban, mobile and outward-looking middle class living in a wider, regional sphere of action.

Although it first appeared that middle class people are well integrated into village social organizations and indeed appear to run most of them, this is in fact a rather false picture of middle class dominance, although one the working class seem happy to hold. Certainly this is the case in the Women's Institute, which has, as already described, been taken over by

the middle class. T run for and by yo However, this is villagers: the you Club and the Fo sentation in the C go to the Greenle the men go to the people in fact en treasurer without ber! Perhaps the the Wood meet o Village Horticultu Sport is, of cou



between the classes their teens and f most of the imm thirties. The Chu meeting ground f table, conservative similar proportion arize the intera class in the social large the working any activity by t accept the Young the Women's Insti place in which th this lack of conta fairly.

A further exampl the life of the c government electi one of the surva rural district cou years; he had al council for nine y was its vice chair member of the everyone to whor the local politici ordinary council ance. His oppon a former British the following sta the local paper was asked to st being. I just ser ervice to the co about anything s retired from the the foreign servic arish on the rur margin. The villa been deposed by at the villagers h ince they were sw The wider, nat were played out The contact betw however much the class squirearchy

ALL ORGANIZATIONS MEMBERS AND CHURCH

CLUBS IN WHICH MEN HOLD OFFICE

	No inf./none		*
	F	M	
-	1	28	37
3	2	30	21
-	-	6	5
-	-	24	27
-	-	6	6
1	-	10	12

re and it isn't really life—there's a feeling to be done good neighbour if you're all it up, so that you or you could take whatever it is. this typical middle to find. The 37 years at frankly admitted living here by the keep up with the involve." Another friends since come he people are quite course we're social

AND JOINERS

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iddle class people cial organizations of them, this is e class dominance m happy to hold Women's Institute een taken over

the middle class. The Badminton Club is also entirely run for and by young middle class men and women. However, this is no great loss to the working class villagers: the younger ones monopolize the Youth Club and the Football Club and have good representation in the Cricket Club; the old age pensioners go to the Greenleaves Club (that is the women do—the men go to the pub) and a few older middle class people in fact enjoy to go and serve tea or act as treasurer without the indignity of becoming a member! Perhaps the only club where the village and the Wood meet on anything like equal terms is the Village Horticultural Society.

Sport is, of course, also a potential mediator be-



tween the classes but there are few young people in their teens and twenties living in the Wood since most of the immigrant newcomers arrive in their thirties. The Church also provides some common meeting ground for the two worlds. Here the respectable, conservative working class is matched with a similar proportion of middle class people. To summarize the interaction of the middle and working class in the social sphere, it would appear that by and large the working class people are not deprived of any activity by the middle class immigrants (if we accept the Young Wives' Club as a substitute for the Women's Institute), despite many activities taking place in which they are not represented. Because of this lack of contact each group accuses the other unfairly.

VOTING BEHAVIOUR

A further example of the effect of newcomers on the life of the community can be seen in a local government election which took place just before the time of the survey. The retiring councillor on the rural district council had been a member for five years; he had also been a member of the parish council for nine years and at the time of the election was its vice chairman. For 20 years he had been a member of the Agricultural Workers' Union and everyone to whom I spoke described him as a very able local politician, who had done a great deal for "ordinary council house people" during his period of office. His opponent had just moved into the parish, is a former British ambassador and has a knighthood. The following statement attributed to him appeared in the local paper:

I was asked to stand, but, I have not done any canvassing, I just sent out a letter. I felt I could be of service to the community. I have not campaigned about anything specific, because I was abroad until I retired from the foreign service seven years ago . . . The foreign service man was elected to represent the parish on the rural district council by a very narrow margin. The villagers claimed that a good man had been deposed by the newcomers; the Wood club that the villagers had voted against their own interests since they were swayed by a man with a title.

The wider, national class divisions in society are here played out in the local scene in Dormersdell. The contact between the classes becomes less, since however much the newcomers may try to be a middle class squirearchy, the radical working class resent

it, and the conservative working class find it no real substitute for the Gentry. How much the change is due to physical contact with the outside world in surrounding towns and how much it is due to the influence of the new middle class is difficult to say. My own view is that change in the village community has not taken place as rapidly as might be expected. To give an example, there are two pubs in the village. One is almost entirely devoted to the middle class, developing the atmosphere of a private party at which most people know each other. The other pub has tried to follow suit and certainly in the saloon bar has achieved some success. However, the public bar of the pub nearest to the village contains little sophistication. Talk centres around local events, neighbouring villages, football or cricket.

Generally the villagers were not effusive about Dormersdell. "It's quite nice in summer but a bit dreary in winter" summed up many people's feelings.

The whole working class situation was a highly complex structure of definite roles, relationships and behaviour, far too delicate to be able to generalize about. The broad distinctions between the middle and working class were so enormous that quite crude methods could be used to portray them. But within the classes much greater study in depth is required than was possible with a sample of this size. Not only has there been little contact between the worlds but the main way of breaking down these barriers—by the children of the two groups going to the same schools—seems less likely to take place.

A PROCESS OF POLARIZATION

The different patterns of life which have been described are based on two main differences. The middle class have greater mobility owing to the use of private transport, particularly by the wives, often driving a second car. The changeover from the hierarchical social structure, which was functionally suited to the village as a community, to the polarized two class division may be the chief cause of the working class people's resentment. The more traditional working class element is resentful, partly because it has lost its clear position in the hierarchy and the reflected status of the gentry for whom it worked, and partly because it now finds itself lumped with what it would feel to be the less respectable working class. This traditional group would like to be given respect and position in society, but gets neither. The non-traditional working class see the segregated middle class world as a symptom of the inequalities in society, and condemn all middle class people as snobs and *nouveaux riches* without basing this on individual knowledge and experience.

The middle class people come into rural areas in search of a meaningful community and by their presence help to destroy whatever community was there. Part of the basis of the local village community was the sharing of the deprivations due to the isolation of country life and the sharing of the limited world of the families within the village. The middle class people try to get the cosiness of village life, without suffering any of the deprivations, and while maintaining a whole range of contacts outside.

New middle class people are unprepared for what they find. Determined to move out of suburbia and influenced by the pastoral vision portrayed by everything from the Scott Report to the popular novel, many do expect to become the squire's successor. Indeed many of the women have the sense of service to others, sometimes found in the squire's wife. On the other hand, to the working class they might just as well not be there. The main exception to this is the advantage which many working class women gain in the way of untaxed extra income from those middle class housewives who employ them to clean their homes. This is probably the most direct form of social contact. Some firm friendships between Wood and Village exist at this level, but this does not extend to a more normal social relationship. National class divisions come into sharper focus in the local setting of such metropolitan villages as Dormersdell.

The two class village



Fertility and Fecundity Analysis and the study of marital breakdown are still in preparation.

⁴ These results compare well with the data for England and Wales published in the Registrar General's *Statistical Review* except that, since the Marriage Survey sample frame was limited to informants of 16-59 years, the marriages of 1930-39 show a higher proportion of young brides than was found in the Registrar General's figures.

⁵ The effect of extra marital pregnancy on age at marriage will be examined later.

⁶ In the process of coding, lengths of acquaintanceship were coded to the nearest year.

⁷ The effect of extra marital pregnancy on the length of courtship, particularly amongst young brides, will be examined later.

⁸ The survey informants were not asked directly about pre-nuptial conceptions. The fact was established later by calculating, as the General Register Office does, the interval between the dates given for the marriage and for the first birth. All wives having children within 8½ months of their weddings were allocated to the 'pregnant brides' category. This also included several cases in which the exact date of marriage and/or the first birth were not recorded but where a pre-nuptial pregnancy was suspected. It included too a few women to whom children had been born before the marriage; though these women were not actually pregnant at their wedding they, even more than the pregnant, had responsibilities for children right from the beginning of marriage.

⁹ These results compare well with the data for England and Wales published in the Registrar General's *Review Part II*; in each year of the 1950's about 27% of all teenage brides, around 15% of those in their early twenties and nearly 12% of brides over 25 years of age, have been pregnant at their weddings.

¹⁰ *Mode of solemnisation of couples married in 1950-59*

Percentage of all couples marrying with:		%
Church of England	ceremony	47.6
Church of Scotland	"	7.2
Roman Catholic	"	13.1
Nonconformist	"	6.9
Other Christian	"	0.9
Jewish	"	0.4
Other non-Christian and non-Jewish, but religious ceremony	"	0.3
Total religious ceremonies		76.4
Register Office Weddings		23.5
		99.9%

¹¹ Throughout this analysis, only the young single informants in the potential marrying category have been included, i.e., the 400 born since 1930 and therefore aged between 16-29 years at the time of interview.

¹² The term 'professional' advice is used to describe advice from a doctor, a lawyer, a Family Planning Clinic or a Marriage Guidance Council Course.

¹³ It should be remembered that the married informants include all those ever married, i.e., the widowed, divorced and separated, as well as those whose first marriages were still intact at the time of interview.

R. E. Pahl

I have recently completed the analysis of a comprehensive survey of half the families in two adjoining rural parishes about twenty miles north of London.¹ This is well within the commuter belt and I was primarily interested in the impact of the new professional people, who may work in London or one of the surrounding towns, on the older community. I was also concerned with any differences between the skilled, semi- and unskilled manual workers, for convenience 'the working class', who commuted and those who worked within the parish.

Fully two-thirds of all the households had moved into the area since 1945, and about a third of these newcomers—mainly middle class—had moved out from Greater London. It is approximately true to say that these people, moving out to the rural-urban fringe of the London region are prosperous middle class families with young children, who are moving up in their firms and who feel that there will be greater opportunity for 'family life' in the 'country'. According to preliminary analyses of the 1961 Census this area round the periphery of large cities and conurbations can be taken as typical of the new society of the 1960's. Hence, although my work was in a rural area, it would be wrong to see it as in any way typical of rural England, although it may be typical of this new rural-urban fringe.

Since, then, this is an area of rapid social change, the pattern of education and of educational aspiration acquires an added significance. However, it should be made quite clear that the educational aspect is but one facet of the complete study, which is concerned with all physical and most social links with the 'outside world', and the way these differ between villages and between social groups. Nevertheless this one aspect does show the way in which national class differences dominate local differences in length of journey to work or period of residence in the area, which were taken as the other main variables. Table 1 shows the negligible differences within classes in respect of type of education.

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From: *Sociological Review*: Vol. XI No. 2, 1963
241-246

	Non Selective State Educ.	Grammar School	Direct Gram or Private School	Full Time Higher Educ.
<i>Middle Class</i>				
London Commuter	16	6	18	5
Local Commuter ¹	14	5	14	2
Non Commuter ...	3	2	3	2
<i>Working Class</i>				
Commuter ...	41	5	—	—
Non Commuter ² ...	23	1	—	—
Agricultural Workers	19	1	—	—
Retired and DNK ...	7	—	—	—

¹ Local commuter to nearby towns in Hertfordshire.

² There were no London Commuters from the working class.

³ The figures for the middle class refer almost entirely to primary education.

It can be seen that any questions put to parents about education will be differently considered by the middle class and the working class. This is shown particularly clearly in the following table when parents were asked at what age they would like their offspring to leave school.

TABLE 2.

Age at which parent would like offspring to leave full-time education

Class	15	16	17	All 17 or under	18	Over 18	All 18 or over	Too young to say	Don't know	N=
	Per Cent									
Middle	1	1	9	11	21	61	82	3	3	90 = 100%
Working	24	27	16	67	1	14	15	14	3	70 = 100%

Only 3% of the middle class, but 14% of the working class children were felt by their parents to be too young for any opinion to be given about school leaving even though the age structures of of the two populations were much the same. Of the rest, it was clear that middle class parents had high aspirations for their children's education since 82% mentioned a leaving age of 18 or over, as against 15% for the working class. Such enormous differences in aspiration are striking, especially since the working class sample has been reduced by those who had already left school. The company director with a two year old son he wanted to go to University, or the insurance salesman with a three year old daughter and similar

It was quite clear that the two broad social groups viewed the question on leaving full-time education in two quite different ways. The working class considered it simply queried whether their children should leave at fifteen or stay on for a year or two 'to get a training of some sort', whereas the middle class people viewed the question in terms of whether or not they should urge their children to go to University. This fundamental distinction should be borne in mind throughout the following discussion.

Working Class Educational Aspirations

As can be seen from Table 2 only a quarter of working class parents felt that fifteen was adequate as a school leaving age, while 43% of the children were thought to require a further year or two. Often those who commuted to the surrounding towns had a clearer idea about further education for their children. The influence of the rapidly developing industries, such as electronics, has led many parents to feel that their children should stay at school until sixteen or seventeen, 'if they're bright enough' and then get an apprenticeship or training of some sort. I often heard the comment that this would ensure a better chance than the parents had. Educational training is seen as a short cut up the escalator. The bricklayer's wife who does not want her thirteen year old son to be a bricklayer but to 'take G.C.E. if he can', or the milk roundsman who wants his son and daughter to stay at school as long as possible, even to University, and is prepared to work hard, with his wife, to enable them to do so, are members of a significant minority.

I found it impossible to quantify aspirations any more accurately than has been done in Table 2, since with a sample of 264 households the number in sub groups would be too small to give more than the slightest indications. The small number of agricultural workers in my sample illustrates the dangers of generalising about them as a group. One tractor driver was trying to dissuade his son from becoming a farm worker—'nothing but dirt and poor pay'—and wants his daughter 'to go to Grammar School if she passes and then do something clean like a hairdresser'. On the other hand, a cowman with a son of fifteen who is six feet tall, feels school is just a waste—'his mates have already left'. Incidentally if he had a daughter,

her six month old son to go as far as his ability permits—to University if possible. It would be interesting to know how far mothers influence daughters and fathers sons or vice versa in the choice of jobs. A factory hand's wife wanted her ten year old daughter to stay at school 'until at least she's sixteen and then become a dress designer because I'd have liked to . . . she's torn between this and a hairdresser'. It was clear that to be a hairdresser was a frequent aspiration of many village girls—and what could be a more urban aspiration?

In conclusion on the working class, it would be fair to generalise by saying that much stress is laid on 'brilliance' as a necessity for further education—'if he's brilliant we'll let him stay on' . . . 'you have to be brilliant to get to University' . . . and so on. Those who say their children should leave school as soon as possible no matter what their abilities are definitely a small minority. Perhaps the wife of a roadman had the acutest feeling for education. Her ten year old son 'can't read or write, so he should stay on for ever'.

Middle Class Aspirations

Many middle class parents tried to give the impression that they were relatively unconcerned about their children's future. However, this may have been just a pose implying that their children's ability would show no matter what happened. The mechanical engineer who broadmindedly said 'they can be dustmen if they want to' nevertheless insisted on education up to the age of twenty-one for his son and daughter, both under five.

It can be seen from Table 2 that 60% of the children would go to University if their parents' aspirations were realised. Perhaps the most significant theme that emerged from the analysis of the verbatim comments was that some middle class people discriminate in favour of their sons with regard to University education. An assistant bank manager said that if he had to pay for University education for his son, then his daughter's education would suffer. Often the son is marked out for University at an early age, while the girls have to be content with leaving at the age of seventeen. Parents will rationalize by saying 'they are not likely to be clever enough for University'. But it certainly was suspicious how often I got an answer such as

extreme expression of this was the sales manager who had two daughters, who were to leave school early for a secretarial college, domestic science or nursing, and a six months old son for whom he had taken out an insurance policy for prep. and public school and whom he hoped would go to University and into a profession! On the other hand, an architect insisted that he was going to be fair to both his son (aged five months) and his daughter (aged two). An underwriter in the city felt that it was essential for his three sons to have education until the age of twenty-five, whereas his neighbour, a director, felt that *his* three sons should not be 'forced' to try for University at all.

One of the peculiarly middle class points of controversy is whether their children are to be educated by the state or privately. It has already been shown in Table 1 that about a third of middle class children are in private education. The art editor who insisted that his boys should go to a grammar school and not a private school was an exception. Perhaps more typical is the commercial traveller with two daughters at State *primary* schools, who 'would rather spend money after the eleven plus'. An alternative suggestion by an engineer was to give private education to his five year old son in the next few years to *ensure* a grammar school education! Discussion on this topic has centred on the fact that middle class parents get to know the good primary schools and take advantage of these to get the best out of the state system. In rural areas an added factor is that of *transport*. As one woman said, 'You simply must have a second car in the household if you really intend to take advantage of living here the way you'd wish to.' The use of a car gives a greater mobility and a wider range of educational opportunity. Table 3 shows the difference in methods of transport to school.

TABLE 3.
Percentage of offspring in full time education travelling to place of education by :

<i>Class</i>	Walks/ Cycles	School Bus/ Public Trans.	Car, Taxi own vehicle	Boards	Other	Total
Middle	6	42	36	15	1	100% =93
Working	70	29	—	1	—	100% =70

school in the neighbouring parish. However, this school was also thought to be better than the village school and it is significant that for secondary education middle class children at day school are scattered throughout the county. The working class children, without exception, go to the nearest school. Not only are the two worlds polarised spatially but so also are they socially. One fifteen year old grammar school girl, who lived physically and socially between the two worlds of the middle class (in 'the wood') and the working class in the village (mainly council houses), made this very plain.

'All the other girls ride a lot, they're pony mad. There's one large group of about ten of them. The 'Wood' children are all grammar, there's one or two at the other end (i.e. the village) one of whom wears winkle pickers. When I come past the bus shelter they shout "grammar bug". I want to go to Oxford and read medicine.'

Class differences, underlined by the local social geography, dominate all other variables.

Although it is becoming more widely accepted that class affects educational achievement and opportunity, it seems that it affects educational aspirations as well.² The working class assumption that further education is only for the 'brilliant' is in sharp contrast to the middle class assumption that it is for all boys and most girls. An encouraging feature is the apparent absence of sex discrimination amongst the working class. This may be the result of several generations of *free* state education, and contrasts with the middle class idea that education is a privilege rather than a right. The middle class also assume the right to choose their children's school even within the state system, which does not augur well for the integration of middle class people into rural parishes. Finally, at a time when the implementation of the Crowther Report's recommendations seem to have been forgotten, it is highly relevant that the parents of three-quarters of the working class children in these two rural parishes would like them to stay at school after the age of fifteen.

Cambridge.

¹ The analysis of the data was aided by a grant from the Central Research Fund of the University of London.

² What is not known, however, is the extent to which parental aspirations coincide with those of their children.

Society: Problems and Methods of Study, edited by A. T. Welford, Michael Argyle, D. V. Glass, and J. N. Morris, Pp. vi + 586, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962, 50s.

This book is a collection of thirty-one articles by thirty-five contributors on various topics within or close to the field of sociology. The contributors are almost all British. The articles are grouped in four sections: Approaches and Methods of Study, Problems and Applications, Population Studies and Problems, and Aspects of Sociology. These titles are not very descriptive: industry is a 'problem', mobility is an 'aspect'.

It is not at all clear what this book is trying to accomplish. The editors say, 'This book arose out of the need of those interested in social studies and social problems for an authoritative introduction and outline which would indicate the main areas in which knowledge about social behaviour exists and act as a guide to further reading' (p. 1). But it does not come close to covering the main areas, and it includes areas that are far from 'main'. If an introduction is supposed to provide the new student with a map of the whole field, the present map is full of blank stretches, even where good surveys exist.

Thus there is no article on the sociology of religion, though this has been a classical problem in social science. While there is a good article by Asa Briggs on 'Sociology and History', there is none on sociology and anthropology. And while Michael Argyle does well in small compass when he describes the methods of experimental research on small groups, he cannot bring himself to go on and tell us about the results of this research, or indeed much of anything about the actual findings of social psychology. An effective short article by D. Lockwood on 'Social Mobility' is not accompanied by any article on the characteristics of social classes in Britain or elsewhere. Indeed, though this is a very British book and it is entitled 'Society', no article examines the general structure of British society, which is simply taken for granted. There is nothing here to indicate that sociologists had ever made comparative studies of social structure or examined the relations between social structure and personality. Finally, there is no article on sociological theory. This omission is a relief to the reviewer but hardly helps the student know what he is getting himself in for. Imagine his horror when, too late, he learns the truth!

The editors admit the gaps and give their reasons: they are concentrating on recent British thought and research; the British social scientists are few, and some of the few are busy with other things. No single volume, moreover, could or should include all of the omitted subjects, and we should have little reason to complain of what has been left out, were it not for what has been put in. The glaring omissions are balanced by not less

NOTES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF INTERVIEWERS

1. Introduction.

It is important that your first words are clear, straightforward and comprehensible. A possible opening could be:

"Good morning, I come from London University and we are doing a survey which is trying to find out various recent changes that are taking place in this and other villages. Your household has been selected at random and the results will be treated as strictly confidential. Your replies will be used for statistical analysis only."

In the case of any hesitation, try to make clear the meaning of the random selection and that it is not possible to substitute another household.

2. Interview householder or his/her wife/husband. Let the respondent decide who is the householder.

3. Definitions:-

(a) "Household" - i.e. all those that share common table and larder.

(b) "Long leasehold" - i.e. when only nominal ground rent.

(c) Number of rooms - i.e. NOT bathroom, boxroom, kitchen when only used for cooking etc.

(d) "Relationship to Respondent" - List family in logical order, children by order of birth.

(e) Marital Status: M = Married

S = Single

D = Divorced

SP = Separated

W = Widow(er)

(f) Usually at work or in F/T Education

F/T.W = Full-time work

P/T.W = Part-time work

UN. = Unemployed

Ret. = Retired

F/T.S = Full-time school

P/T.W & S = Part-time work and further schooling.
(Day release etc.)

(g) Occupation. It is most important that you record the precise occupation: 'engineer' or 'clerk' will NOT do. If in doubt, add a comment.

(h) Industry Again try to get this as accurate as possible and where in doubt state name of firm.

(i) Chief Earner (or in household where no earner - Head of Household)

Oldest male earner. BUT where male earner under 21, he is not taken as chief earner if there is a female earner over 21.

4. Where there is a fair space for comment probe respondent along the lines suggested in brackets. Verbatim comments are sometimes most useful. Fill in answers to all questions even if only D.N.A.
5. Fill in all visits, even when unsuccessful and check before starting that the number on the questionnaire corresponds with the number on your address list.
6. Write down the answers in pencil first but please fully complete the questionnaire in ball-point or ink BEFORE passing on to the next interview.
7. Finally try to remain neutral throughout the interview and try never to anticipate an answer either mentally or in the way you ask the question.

R. E. P.

*Really depends on how
clearly & coherently you can
write in ink first time!*

No names will be taken and all answers will be treated as
Strictly Confidential

Number /....

SURVEY OF HERTFORDSHIRE VILLAGES

May, 1961

Office
Code

To Interviewer:- In order to save space on the questionnaire,
all those items marked \neq are more clearly
explained on the note-sheet.
- Interview only householder or housewife \neq .

1. How long have you (and your h'hold \neq) lived in this house?
Since 19.... Month

Comment:

2. (Unless 'born here' in Qu.1.) Where were you living before?
Village or Town Countyor D.N.A.

Comment:

3. (Only those who lived outside parish before)
Could you tell me why you came to this village? D.N.A.
.....
.....
.....

4. (Ask ALL) What do you (now) think of this village as a place to live in?
.....
.....
.....
.....

5(a) Would you like to move somewhere else or Stay ()
would you prefer to stay in this village? Move ()
If move where to?
Other answers (incl. 'uncertain')

(b) Why?
.....
.....

6. Do you (and your h'hold) rent or own your house? Rent ()
Own (free or long leasehold \neq) ()
Rent free (give details below) ()

Comment:

7. Do you know roughly when your house was built?
Comment

8. How many rooms do you (and your h'hold) h \grave{a} ve to live in here? \neq
Comment

9. Do you (and your h'hold) have:
(i) A car(s)? No.... () ; Yes ... () ; Number
(ii) Motor cycle(s)? No.... () ; Yes ... () ; Number
(iii) Bicycle(s)? No.... () ; Yes ... () ; Number
Comment:

10. Do you have a telephone here? Yes () No () Office Code
11. Would you mind telling me how many people you are in your household, including yourself; how old you are
 (Check that temporarily absent members are included and full information for them; and that visitors are excluded).

No.	Relationship to Respondent	Sex	Age	Mar. Stat.	BIRTH PLACE		Office Code	Usually at work or in F/T Education
					Village/Town	County		
1	Respondent							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							

No. #	Precise occupation # (Personal job)	Industry #	Office Code	Place of work # or Name & Address of School	Transport used		
						(1)	(2)
						
						
						
						
						

(1) Time at which person usually leaves home for work/school.
 (2) Time at which work/school usually starts.

12. (ASK WIDOWS ONLY) Would you mind telling me what was your husband's occupation? Industry
- Where was he born? County
- Comment:

(Interviewer: Ask Ques. 13, 14, 15 & 16 of CHIEF EARNER # only
 CODE: Chief Earner is Number

- 13(a) How old (was he / were you) when (he/you) finished F/T education?
- (b) What sort of school or other institute of full-time education was this?
- Comment:
14. When did (he/you) enter (his/your) present job? (or last job if retired or unemployed): 19 Month
- Comment:

Office
Code

- 15(a) What was (his/your) first job? Occupation
 Industry
- (b) Where was it? Town or village County
- (c) Where (was he/were you) living then? Town or village
 Comment:
16. Would you mind telling me what was (his/your) father's occupation?
 Industry
- Comment:

17. (Ask only if there are dependent children)
 Could you say to what age you would like your child(ren) to stay at
 school or full-time education?
 Son(s)
 Daughter(s)
 Comment[ⓧ] (incl. type of educ. and type of job desired)

18. Would you mind telling me where (the housewife[ⓧ]) buys:

Commodity	Place or Places	Office Code	Transport used
(a) Most of your groceries? (e.g. butter, sugar, tea/coffee).			
(b) Meat?			
(c) Dress or coat (for housewife)?			
(d) Shoes (" ")?			
(e) Suit/Coat (for man/husband)?			
(f) Shoes (" " ")?			
(g) Coat/Suit/Dress (for dep. child)?			
(h) Shoes (" ")?			
(i) Piece of lvg. room or dining room furniture (e.g. table or cupboard)?			
(j) Where is dentist for man/husb.?			
" " " " woman/wife?			

Comment:

19. About how many times did (she/you) go shopping last week?

Office
Code

20.

Could you say HOW OFTEN you go to:	and WHERE do you usually go?	Transport used
Cinema
Theatre/Show/Circus (specify)....
.....
.....
Exhibition/Museum
.....

Comment:

21(a)

Did you yourself go away on holiday last year (1960)? Yes ... ()
No ()

If yes where to?
For how long?

(b)

Are you yourself going away on holiday this year 1961?
Yes (); No (); Don't know ()

If yes where to?
For how long?

Comment:

22

Could you tell me:

(a) the last time that friends/relatives came here to visit you and had a meal?

(b) when was the last time you yourself made a similar visit?

	Last time (approx.)	Office Code	Where from/to?	Transport used	(i) Relationship
To Respondent:					
Respondent going:					

(i) e.g. Parent/brother/sister/other relative/close friend/acquaintance.

Comment (e.g. Whether parents regularly, etc.):

23

Do you or members of your household make any other regular journeys outside the village?

24

Do you have a T.V. set? .. Yes ... (); No ... ().
(If 'yes') About how many hours did you yourself watch T.V. last week?

Comment:

Office
Code

- 26(a) Have you, within the last five years, attended any classes^x held in the evenings but not connected with your job in any way?
Yes ... () No ... ()
- (b) If yes, specify (incl. organising body, e.g. LEA, WEA, Univ.).....
.....
Comment: (incl. whether resp. would like to attend such non-vocational classes if these were arranged)
- 27 Are you satisfied about the way local government is conducted in this area?
- 28 Did you (yourself) vote at the last local^x election which was on May 13th? Yes ... () No ... ().
Comment: (incl. not eligible)
- 29(a) Would you mind telling me for which party you (yourself) voted in the General Election of 1959? Won't say ()
Didn't vote ()
- (b) Would you vote in the same way now?
Yes () ; No () ; Uncertain ()
- (c) If No, how would you vote now?
Comment: (incl. reasons for any change)
- 30 Have you, in the past, voted differently from the way you did in 1959? Yes ... () ; No ... () ; Won't say ... ()
Comment:

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS:

Respondent's Reaction

Other Comments and Observations

Difficulties/Queries re Indiv. Qus. & Ans.

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Initials</u>
1st Visit
2nd Visit
3rd Visit
4th Visit
5th Visit

CODE FOR HERTS VILLAGE SURVEY

Col. 1	<u>Reference number of village</u>	
	Hexton	1
	Tewin	2
	Watton	3
Col. 2	<u>Reference number within village</u>	
	- hundreds.	
Col. 3	- tens.	
Col. 4	- units.	
Col. 5	<u>Geographical location within village</u>	
	Tewin Wood and Orchard Road	1
	Tewin Village [⌘]	2
	Council Houses Tewin	3
	Queen Hoo Lane	4
	Elsewhere Tewin	5
	Watton Village	6
	Council Houses Watton	7
	Watton parish (hamlets)	8
	Hexton village	9
	Hexton (outlying farms and cottages)	0
Col. 6	<u>Date of arrival of Household into Parish</u>	
	Household formed <u>outside</u> parish and arrived:	
	1957 - 1961 (5 yrs)	1
	1952 - 1956 (5 yrs)	2
	1946 - 1951 (6 yrs)	3
	1939 - 1945 (7 yrs)	4
	Pre 1939	5
	Householder (whether M or F) and/or head's wife born in Parish	0
	H'hold formed in Parish through neither head nor wife (if any) born there	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 7	<u>Household Mobility within Parish</u>	
	H'hold (i.e. <u>after</u> formation) has lived in one or more other houses in parish	1
	H'hold has <u>not</u> lived in other house in parish:	
	- Head or head's wife (if any) <u>born</u> in house	2
	- Neither born in house but head or wife (if any) lived there before h'hold formed (e.g. on marriage)	3
	- H'hold moved in to present house as first address in parish of h'hold (i.e. on entry to parish or on formation of h'hold)	4
	Don't know	X

[⌘] Tewin Village from Tewin Hill to Churchfield Cottages and Hertford Road.

Col. 8	<u>Date of Arrival of Household in Present House</u>	
	(Household formed at other address or on move to present address (e.g. on marriage))	
	1957 - 1961	1
	1952 - 1956	2
	1946 - 1951	3
	1939 - 1945	4
	Pre 1939	5
	Head of H'hold or wife born in house	0
	Either head or wife <u>lived</u> in house before h'hold formed but <u>not</u> born there	V
	Don't know	X

Col. 9	<u>Previous Address of Household before moving to Parish</u>	
	Adjacent Parish (where not U.D.)	1
	Elsewhere "Rural" Herts (and Rural Beds in case of Hexton)	2
	" " "Urban" Herts (excl. Barnet and E. Barnet but including U.D. Beds in case of Hexton. Also excluding Cheshunt U.D., Bushey U.D., Elstree R.D.)	3
	Conurbation of Gt. London outside London A.C.	4
	London A.C.	5
	"London" unspecified	6
	Elsewhere Reg. Gen. London and S.E. Southern and Eastern Regions	7
	England elsewhere	8
	Elsewhere U.K.	9
	Other (overseas etc.)	0
	D.N.A. (incl. h'hold formed in parish)	V
	Don't know	X

Col. 10	<u>Reasons given for moving to Parish</u>	
	Husband born (or established before marriage) in parish	1
	Wife " " " " " "	2
	Both H and W born in parish <u>or</u> other hd. of h'hold	3
	Easy commuting (i.e. near main roads rlys etc. <u>transport mentioned</u>)	4
	Hd of h'hold/Chief Earner moves to <u>new</u> job or nearer to job in a near parish	5
	Dwelling/Building land available when searching in wide area (i.e. not localised by 4 and 5 above)	6
	To be near relatives (linked with house and job)	7
	Retirement	8
	"Nice place"	9
	Other	0
	Combination of above	V
	Don't know	X

Note This will be analysed with regard to respondent even though qu. asked about h'hold.

Col. 11 Respondent's satisfaction with Village

Staying in Village -	
satisfied to stay	1
would prefer to move	2
Moving from Village - plans definite -	
would like to stay in Village	3
would prefer to move	4
Stay but in smaller house	5
Stay but in larger house	6
Don't know and misc.	X

Col. 12 Ownership of House

Rent from private individ.	1
Rent from L.A.	2
Rent free	3
Own (free or long leasehold)	4
Don't know	5

Col. 13 Respondent's Assessment of Age of House

'Period' i.e. roughly pre 1830	1
19th Cent ^y	2
1900 - 1918	3
1919 - 1938	4
1939 - 1945	5
1946 - 1951	6
1952 - 1956	7
1957 - 1961	8
Don't know	X

Col. 14 Rooms occupied by Household

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8 or more	8
Open plan downstairs, Caravan etc.	9
Don't know	X

Col. 18 No. of Children under 15 in Household

1 child	1
2 children	2
3 "	3
4 "	4
5 "	5
6 "	6
7 "	7
None	0
Unknown	X

Col. 19 Household Type

Youngest child under 5 yrs	1
" " 5 - 9 yrs	2
" " 10 - 14 yrs	3
No children under 15	0
Don't know	X

Col. 20 Number of Earners in H'hold (regular full or part time)

1 Earner(s)	1
2 "	2
3 "	3
4 "	4
5 or more	5
None	0
Don't know/No information	X
Retired	V

Note: Code Cols 21-28 and 40-44 inclusive for Hd. of H'hold where no Chief Earner.

Col. 21 Sex of Chief Earner/or Other Hd. of H'hold if Retired

NB Chief Earner is Oldest male Earner.

Where male Earner is under 21 he is not taken as Chief Earner if there is a full time Female earner over 21.

Male	1
Female	2
No information	V

Col. 22 Age of Chief Earner/Hd. of H'hold where no Chief Earner

Under 21	1
22 - 30	2
31 - 40	3
41 - 50	4
51 - 65	5
66 and over	6
Don't know	X

Col. 23 Marital Status of Chief Earner/Hd. of H'hold

Married	1
Single	2
Divorced	3
Separated	4
Widow (er)	5
Don't know	X

Col. 24 Social Class of Chief Earner or Hd. of H'hold if no C.E.

Professional people, landowners, managers and directors of large concerns in Govt., Ind ^y and Commerce. Officers in H.M. Forces. (i.e. R.G. 1, 3, 4 and some 16)	1
Intermediate non-manual, ancillary to the professions with supervisory functions. Artists. Managers etc. of small non local concerns. All teachers. (i.e. R.G. 2 & 5, except for those in 3 below)	2
Small local tradesmen, builders etc. (i.e. local people from R.G. 5)	3
Junior non-manual workers - clerks, shop assistants, typists	4
Personal service workers of skilled status - butlers, valets, cooks, nannies, waiters. But not charrs	5
Foremen and skilled manual workers	6
Semi skilled and unskilled manual workers, remnants of personal service workers	7
Farmers, baillifs, agricultural and horticultural managers, i.e. employers	8
Agricultural employees with specialised skills specified	9
Agricultural employee - general worker	0
D.N.A. i.e. no paid occupation in past or present	V
No information (incl. retired and unemployed when no inf. available - otherwise code last job)	X

} see
note
at end

Col. 25 Industry of Chief Earner

Agriculture, horticulture, fishing and gravel working	1
Building	2
Transport and public utilities	3
Distribution	4
Miscellaneous Services (incl. Domestic)	5
Professional and public services	6
Manufacture of vehicles/aircraft etc.	7
Manufacture of other electrical and engineering equipment	8
Other manufacturing industries	9
Unemployed	0
D.N.A. (e.g. single persons with no occupation)	V
No information	X

Col. 26	<u>Chief Earner's Birthplace</u>	
	In parish or neighbouring parish	1
	otherwise code as for Col. 9, previous address of h'hold	
Col. 27	<u>Chief Earner's Age at ending F/T Education</u>	
	12 or under	1
	13	2
	14	3
	15	4
	16	5
	17	6
	18 or over	7
	Don't know	X
Col. 28	<u>Type of Chief Earner's Education</u>	
	'Ordinary' state or church	1
	Primary school only	
	Grammar	2
	Public (and/or other full fee paying)	3
	Grammar and University	4
	Public and University	5
	Other and University	6
	1, 2 and 3 (above) and other professional or trade post school education (F/T)	7
	Don't know	X
Col. 29	<u>Chief Earner's Workplace</u>	
	London A.C.	1
	Elsewhere Greater London Conurb.	2
	Stevenage	3
	W.G.C. and Hatfield	4
	Hertford	5
	Luton	6
	Hitchin	7
	Elsewhere	8
	In parish or adjacent parish	9
	No fixed place of work	0
	D.N.A.	V
	Don't know	X

Col. 30	<u>Time of journey to work of Chief Earner</u> (Single journey door to door)	
	Works on premises	1
	Works in parish	2
	Outside parish under 30 mins.	3
	31 - 45 mins.	4
	46 - 60 mins.	5
	61 - 75 mins.	6
	Over 75 mins.	7
	Irregular journey to no fixed place of work	8
	D.N.A.	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 31	<u>Distance of J. to W. of Chief Earner</u>	
	Works on premises	1
	Works in parish but <u>not</u> on premises	2
	Up to 2 miles (outside parish)	3
	Between 2.1 and 5 miles	4
	" 5.1 and 10 miles	5
	" 10.1 and 15 "	6
	" 15.1 and 20 "	7
	Over 20 miles	8
	Irregular journey to no fixed place of work	9
	D.N.A.	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 32	<u>Method and transport to work of Chief Earner</u>	
	Works on premises	1
	Walks or bike	2
	Push-bike always	3
	Motor-bike	4
	Car/Van	5
	Lift	6
	Bus	7
	Train	8
	Car to train (or other private transport to train)	9
	Other Combination	0
	D.N.A.	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 33	<u>No. of subsidiary earners travelling outside parish daily</u>	
	1	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4 or more	4
	D.N.A./None	V
	Don't know	X

Col. 34	<u>Time of J. to W. of Subsidiary earner travelling furthest from parish.</u> Code as Col. 30	
Col. 35	<u>Distance of J. to W. of subsidiary earner travelling furthest from parish.</u> Code as Col. 31	
Col. 36	Whether Chief Earner's wife (if any) works or not (regularly)	
	Part time work	1
	Full time work	2
	Not at work	3
	D.N.A. (i.e. Chief earner has no wife or no Chief earner)	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 37	<u>Widow's deceased husband's birthplace</u> Code as Col. 9.	
Col. 38	<u>Widow's deceased husband's occupation</u> Code as Col. 24.	
Col. 39	<u>Widow's deceased husband's industry</u> Code as Col. 25.	
Col. 40	<u>Chief Earner's first occupational grouping</u> Code as Col. 24.	Cols 40-44 coded for Hd. of Household when no chief earner
Col. 41	<u>Chief Earner's first industry</u> Code as Col. 25.	
Col. 42	<u>Chief Earner's place of first job</u> Code as Col. 9	
	Within parish or neighbouring parish	1
Col. 43	<u>Social Class of Chief Earner's Father</u> Code as Col. 24.	
Col. 44	<u>Industry of Chief Earner's Father</u> Code as Col. 25.	
Col. 45	<u>Shopping Place for Most Groceries</u> i.e. place VISITED	
	Delivered from outside parish	1
	Shop in parish or adjacent parish and delivered within parish	2
	Luton	3
	Hitchin	4
	Stevenage	5
	W.G.C./Hatfield	6
	Hertford	7
	Other	8
	No particular place - many named	0
	Don't know	X

Col. 46	<u>Shopping place for MEAT</u> Code as Col. 45 None D.N.A.	V
Col. 47	<u>Shopping place for Dress/Coat for woman/housewife</u> London (West end) Other London - e.g. Palmers Green, Southgate, Enfield Luton Hitchin Stevenage Welwyn Garden City Hertford St. Albans Other (incl. 'various' local) Various incl. London D.N.A. (no woman/housewife) makes own etc. Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 V X
Col. 48	<u>Shopping place for Shoes for woman/housewife</u> Code as above.	
Col. 49	<u>Shopping Place for Shoes for man/husband</u> Code as Col. 47.	
Col. 50	<u>Shopping place for coat/suit/dress for Dependent child</u> Code as Col. 47.	
Col. 51	<u>As Col. 50 for Shoes</u> Code as Col. 47.	
Col. 52	<u>Shopping place for piece of living-room furniture</u> Code as Col. 47.	
Col. 53	<u>Transport for Cols. 45 (Groceries)</u>	
Col. 54	- 47 (Dress for woman/h'wife)	
Col. 55	- 50 (Coat, Suit, dress of dependent child)	
	Walk	1
	Bicycle	2
	Motor-bicycle	3
	Car	4
	Bus	5
	Train	6
	Varies private	7
	Varies public	8
	Combination or variation of above	9
	Delivered	0
	D.N.A.	V
	Don't know	X

Col. 56 No. of Shopping Trips in last Calendar week

Housewife (Resp. to decide who is)

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5 or more	5
None	0
Don't know	X

Col. 57 Respondent's Position in Household

Married wife	1
Div/Sep. wife	2
Widow	3
Spinster	4
Married husband	5
Div/Sep. "	6
Widower	7
Bachelor	8
Don't know	X

N.B. Interviewers instructed to interview only householder or wife.

Col. 58 No. of journeys made by Respondent outside parish for various entertainments

More than once a week	1
About once a week	2
Three times a month	3
Twice a month	4
Once a month	5
Between 6 and 12 a year	6
Less than 6 times a year	7
Almost never (e.g. once a year sometimes)	8
Absolutely never	0
Don't know	X

Col. 59 Holidays

Only in 1960 (and D.N.K. 1961)	1
Only in 1961	2
Both 1960 and 1961	3
Neither 1960 nor 1961	0
Don't know	X

Col. 60	<u>Holiday Destination 1960</u>	
	Elsewhere Herts (and, in the case of Hexton, Beds)	1
	East Coast i.e. Lincs to Essex	2
	South Coast i.e. Kent to Dorset	3
	South West, i.e. Devon, Cornwall, Som.	4
	Scotland	5
	Wales and Ireland	6
	Elsewhere England	7
	Abroad	8
	Holiday at home	9
	Don't know/D.N.A. - didn't go	0
	Various places U.K.	V
	Various places including Abroad	X
Col. 61	<u>Holiday Destination 1961</u>	
	Code as above (Col. 60)	
Col. 62	<u>Length of Holiday 1960</u>	
	7 days and under	1
	8 - 15 days	2
	16 - 21 days	3
	over 21 days	4
	None - D.N.A.	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 63	<u>Last time visitor came for MEAL with Respondent</u>	
	Up to 7 days ago	1
	8 to 15 " "	2
	16 to 21 " "	3
	3 wks and over to under a month	4
	1 month and over and under 3 months	5
	3 - under 6 months ago	6
	6 months and over	7
	Never have visitors for meal or go out	V
	Don't know/remember	X
Col. 64	<u>Relationship of last visitor</u>	
	Friend	1
	Parents/Parents in law	2
	Sibling/sibling in law	3
	Offspring	4
	Other relation	5
	Combination of 2, 3 and 4	6
	Combination of any of above	7
	Never have visitors for meal or go out	V
	Don't know/remember	X

Col. 65	<u>Place from which last visitor came</u>	
	In parish or adjacent parish	1
	Elsewhere Herts (and Beds in case of Hexton only)	2
	Greater London Conurbation and London A.C.	3
	Neighbouring County (Essex, Cambs, Bucks and Beds in case of Tewin and Watton)	4
	Elsewhere R.G. S., S.E. and E. regions	5
	Elsewhere England	6
	Elsewhere U.K.	7
	Abroad	8
	Combination of above	9
	Never have visitors or go out	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 66	<u>Last time Resp. went to make visit for a meal</u> Code as Col. 63	
Col. 67	<u>Relationship of last person visited</u> Code as Col. 64	
Col. 68	<u>Place at which last person visited lived</u> Code as Col. 65	
Col. 69	<u>Total Clubs joined in village</u> (i.e. normally attending more than twice a year <u>excluding</u> church)	
	<u>Woman</u> 1	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4	4
	5	5
	6	6
	7	7
	8 +	8
	None	0
	D.N.A.	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 70	as above for <u>Man</u>	
Col. 71	Total Clubs etc. joined <u>OUTSIDE</u> village (i.e. normally attending more than twice a year <u>excluding</u> church) Code as Col. 69 <u>Woman</u>	
Col. 72	As Col. 71 for <u>Man</u> Code as Col. 69.	

Col. 73 Office holders in village organisation Committee members etc.
Including organisations connected with Church

<u>Woman</u>	1 organisation(s)	1
	2 "	2
	3 "	3
	4 "	4
	5 "	5
	6 " or more	6
	None	0
	D.N.A. (i.e. not in any orgs.)	V
	Don't know	X

Col. 74 As for Col. 73 but for Man.

Col. 75 Office holders or committee members in organisation/clubs etc.
 OUTSIDE village (including Church)
 For Woman Code as Col. 73.

Col. 76 As for Col. 75 but for Man Code as Col. 73

Col. 77 Voting behaviour of Respondent at Local Election

Voted	1
Did not vote	2
Not eligible	V
Don't know/remember	X

Col. 78 General Election 1959: Voting Behaviour

Conservative	1
Liberal	2
Labour	3
Did not vote/not eligible	V
Won't say/can't remember	X

Col. 79 1961 (Now) Indication

Conservative	1
Liberal	2
Labour	3
Uncertain	0
Not eligible	V
Won't say/don't know	X

Col. 80 Past Voting Behaviour

Labour 1959 cons. before	1
" " lib. "	2
Always labour	3
Cons. 1959 lab. before	4
" " lib. "	5
Always Conservative	6
Liberal 1959 lab. before	7
" " cons. "	8
Always Liberal	9
Won't say/can't remember/don't know	0
D.N.A. - not eligible	V
Has voted differently - won't say what	X

Note. The following are classified as skilled workers in agriculture:
Cowman, shepherd, gamekeeper, estate handyman or mechanic, gardener.

Unskilled agricultural workers:
Groom, woodman, vermin killer, gardener's helper, tractor driver,
agricultural labourer with no further specification.

Supplementary Code Sheet for Individual Cards

HERTS VILLAGE SURVEY

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
1	<u>Reference Number of Village</u>			
	Tewin	1		
	Watton	2		
2	<u>Reference Number within Village</u>			
	Hundreds			
3	Tens			
4	Units			
5	<u>Geographical Location within Village</u>			
	Tewin Wd & Orchard Rd	1		
	Tewin Village	2		
	Tewin Council Houses	3		
	Queen Hoo Lane	4		
	Elsewhere Tewin	5		
	Watton Village	6		
	Watton Council Houses	7		
	Watton Parish (Hamlets)	8		
6 (Head of Household)	<u>COLUMN 'A'</u> (H'hold Cards Col. 1A)			
	Middle Class - Newcomers (i.e. 1946-61)	4		
	(1, 2, 3 and 4)-Established	5		
	Working Class - Newcomers	6		
	1567 - Established	7		
	Agricultural Workers - Newcomers	8		
	- Established	9		
	Retired and Don't Know	3		
7 (Head of Household)	<u>COLUMN 'B'</u>			
	Middle Class - London Commuters (a & b)			
	- Local Commuters (a & b)			
	- Non Commuters			
	Working Class - Commuters (a & b)			
	- Non Commuters			
	Agricultural Workers			
	Retired and Don't Know.			

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
8	<u>Reference Number of</u> <u>Individual in Household</u> (As on Schedule)			
9	<u>Sex</u>			
	Male	1		
	Female	2		
10	<u>Age</u>			
	Less than 5	1		
	5 - 9	2		
	10 - 14	3		
	15 - 19	4		
	20 - 24	5		
	25 - 34	6		
	35 - 44	7		
	45 - 54	8		
	55 - 64	9		
	65 +	0		
	DNK	X		
11	<u>Marital Status</u>			
	Married	1		
	Single	2		
	Widow (er)	3		
	Other - Divorced, separated etc.	4		
	DNK	X		
12	<u>Position in Household</u>			
	Head (M or F)	1		
	Wife of Head	2		
	Offspring of Head or Wife	3		
	Other Relative	4		
	Other	5		
	DNK	X		

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
13	<u>Birthplace</u>			
	In parish or adjacent parish (Not U.D.)	1		
	Elsewhere 'rural' Herts.	2		
	'Urban' Herts. (Not Barnets, Cheshunt and Bushey U.Ds nor Elstree RD)	3		
	Conurbation of Gter. London and London A.C.	4		
	Elsewhere London, S.E. and E. S.R.s (4 + 5)	5		
	Southern and S.W. S.R.s (6 + 7)	6		
	"Midland England" S.R.s 2, 3 + 9 and Conurbations of W. Yorks + W. Midlands	7		
	"Northern England" S.R.s 1 + 10 and Conurbs. of Tyneside, S.E.Lancs + Merseyside	8		
	Elsewhere U.K.	9		
	Other (Overseas etc)	0		
	DNK	X		
	<u>Code Cols 14 - 18 for Under 21s only</u>			
14	<u>Place of Education</u>			
	Within parish	1		
	Adjacent Rural parish	2		
	Welwyn Garden City/Hatfield	3		
	Hertford	4		
	Ware	5		
	Stevenage	6		
	St Albans	7		
	Elsewhere Herts	8		
	Elsewhere	9		
	Not in Education	0		
	Don't Know	X		

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
15	<u>Type of Education</u>			
	Maintained Primary or Nursery	1		
	" All Age	2		
	" Modern	3		
	" Selective (G + T)	4		
	Direct Grant	5		
	Private Non Boarding	6		
	" Boarding	7		
	Full-time Further/Higher Education	8		
	Part-time " " "	9		
	Not in Education	0		
	Don't Know	X		
16	<u>Method of Transport to Place of Education</u>			
	Walks or Cycles	1		
	School Bus	2		
	Public Transport	3		
	Taxi	4		
	Parents' or Friend's Car	5		
	Own car or motor cycle	6		
	At Boarding School	7		
	Other	8		
	Not in Education	0		
	DNK	X		
17	<u>Age of Individuals Under 21</u>			
	Less than 5	1		
	5 - 11	2		
	12 - 15	3		
	16	4		
	17	5		
	18 - 20	6		
	Don't Know	X		

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
18	<u>Age at which Parent wants child to leave School.</u> (Code for respondent and son if there are offspring of each sex).			
	15	1		
	16	2		
	17	3		
	18	4		
	Over 18 - 'as long as he can' etc.	5		
	Too young to say: no firm view	6		
	Not in Education	0		
	Don't Know	X		
	<u>N.B.</u> Not comments re. possible jobs for child			
	<u>Code columns 19 - 21 for all over 15</u>			
19 (see Col. 24 of Household Tabulations)	<u>Social Class.</u> (Classification of Occupations 1960)			
	Professional people etc. (R.G. 1, 3, 4 + some 16)	1		
	Intermediate non-manual (R.G. 2 + some 5)	2		
	Local Tradesmen etc. (local people of R.G.5)	3		
	Junior Non Manual Workers	4		
	Skilled Personal Service Workers	5		
	Foremen and skilled manual workers	6		
	Semi and unskilled manual workers	7		
	Farmers etc. as employers	8		
	Agricultural Employee - skilled	9		
	" " - unskilled	0		
	No paid occupation in past or present	V		
	No information	X		

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
18	<u>Age at which Parent wants child to leave School.</u> (Code for respondent and son if there are offspring of each sex).			
	15	1		
	16	2		
	17	3		
	18	4		
	Over 18 - 'as long as he can' etc.	5		
	Too young to say: no firm view	6		
	Not in Education	0		
	Don't Know	X		
	<u>N.B.</u> Not comments re. possible jobs for child			
	<u>Code columns 19 - 21 for all over 15</u>			
19 (see Col. 24 of Household Tabulations)	<u>Social Class.</u> (Classification of Occupations 1960)			
	Professional people etc. (R.G. 1, 3, 4 + some 16)	1		
	Intermediate non-manual (R.G. 2 + some 5)	2		
	Local Tradesmen etc. (local people of R.G.5)	3		
	Junior Non Manual Workers	4		
	Skilled Personal Service Workers	5		
	Foremen and skilled manual workers	6		
	Semi and unskilled manual workers	7		
	Farmers etc. as employers	8		
	Agricultural Employee - skilled	9		
	" " - unskilled	0		
	No paid occupation in past or present	V		
	No information	X		

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
20	<u>Industry (based on S.I.C.)</u>			
	Agriculture, horticulture & gravel working	1		
	Building	2		
	Transport & public utilities	3		
	Distribution	4		
	Miscellaneous services (incl. domestic)	5		
	Professional & public service	6		
	Manufacture of vehicles/aircraft	7		
	Manufacture of other electrical & engineering equipment	8		
	Other manufacturing industries	9		
	Unemployed	0		
	No employment in past or present	V		
	No information	X		
21	<u>Workplace</u>			
	London AC	1		
	Elsewhere Great London Conurbation	2		
	Stevenage	3		
	W.G.C./Hatfield	4		
	Hertford	5		
	Elsewhere	6		
	No fixed place of work	7		
	In parish or adjacent parish (R.D.)	0		
	No employment in past or present	V		
	No information	X		
22	<u>Method of Transport to work</u>			
	Works on premises	1		
	Walks	2		
	Push-bike	3		
	Lift	4		
	Own Car only	5		
	Car to train	6		
	Bus	7		
	Other, combination etc.	8		
	No information	X		

CODE SHEET - VILLAGE SURVEY

CODE SHEET - VILLAGE SURVEY

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CODE SHEET - VILLAGE SURVEY

CODE SHEET - VILLAGE SURVEY

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