



**Berwick upon Tweed and its connections
with England and Scotland:
A survey of work and commuting patterns**

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Final Report prepared for Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council

June 2008

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1. Executive Summary

- Recent research has highlighted an increasing separation of work and residential location as commuting journey lengths increase. This is particularly the case for rural residents, who tend to have longer commutes than urban residents. Whilst commuters bring money to their place of residence that has been earned outside the locality, they also represent a leakage of money from the locality often commuting for work is associated with commuting for other activities, including retail and leisure spending. The environmental impact of longer travel to work journeys is also important in the context of the current climate change debate.
- City regions have become an increasing focus for policy in both England and Scotland. Whilst there is as yet no agreement on exact city region boundaries, some rural areas tend to be included within city regions whilst others are excluded (see for example, CE/SQW 2006). The omission of some rural areas from city region boundaries raises important questions for these locations. Are they simply going to play a passive role in the sense of receiving trickle-down effects from urban centres where growth is focused? Or can they design and generate their own growth processes?
- One example of an excluded area is the Borough of Berwick upon Tweed in north Northumberland. The Borough is located mid-way between the Tyne and Wear and Edinburgh and the Lothians city regions, and both the A1 and the East Coast Mainline railway run through the Borough. This research explored a range of issues relating to the commuting behaviour of individuals travelling both north and south of Berwick station, including the locations to which individuals commute, the factors that affected their decision to live in Berwick but commute to work outside the Borough, the impact commuting has on the amount of time and money they spend in Berwick Borough, and the priorities they identify for the future development of Berwick.
- Fifty questionnaires were completed with a random sample of commuters travelling both north and south from Berwick upon Tweed station. This report presents the results of the questionnaire, drawing comparisons between the responses of northbound and southbound commuters where relevant. It is important to note that although 50 respondents represents 41% of train commuters from Berwick Borough in 2001, the sample is small and only tentative conclusions can be drawn from the data. However, suggestions can be made for more in-depth follow-up research.
- Males made up 66% of the sample in this study, reflecting the traditional gendered pattern of commuting. The modal age band of commuters was 36-45, just under 90% of respondents had partners, a similarly high proportion owned their home with/without a mortgage and just over 61% of the sample had no children aged under 18 in their household. 76% of respondents worked full time and 86% were classified in Occupational Major Groups 1 and 2 (Managers and Senior Officials and Professional Occupations).
- 66% of the respondents in this study had started commuting since 2001, with most travelling five days a week. London-based commuters tended to travel once a week, spending several days each week away from home. A large proportion of respondents commuting to both Edinburgh and Newcastle had working days of 12 hours or longer, including train commuting time, but not including travel time from their home to and from Berwick station.
- Given that environmental issues have risen up the political agenda in recent years, it is perhaps surprising that only four respondents noted that one reason for travelling by train rather than using another mode of transport was the lower environmental impact. More common reasons included the convenience of travelling by train and that it is quicker, less stressful and more economic than travelling by car. The shortage and cost of parking in central Edinburgh was also cited by many northbound commuters, as was the lack of a dual carriageway for most of the journey from Berwick by Newcastle-based commuters.
- Half of respondents in this survey spent no time participating in voluntary and community sector activities each week, with 72% of respondents stating that commuting prevented them from participating more fully. This represents a loss of human capital (skills, knowledge and experience) to groups engaged in such activities in Berwick.
- Commuters in the sample clearly spend a proportion of their income outside the local area. This is not surprising, given the limited availability of retail services (in particular non-food and leisure and entertainment facilities) in the rural areas in which many respondents lived, and even in Berwick itself. However, although more detailed work is

required, the leakage is perhaps less than expected and may represent the spending decisions of respondents' partners many of whom spend more time in the Berwick Borough. Moreover, it seems that Berwick town may also gain some spend from commuters using Berwick station but who do not live in the town itself, although some of this spend may be drawn away from respondents' home locations elsewhere in the Scottish Borders and Northumberland. If Berwick's retail and leisure services were to be improved it may be that some spending can be clawed back from other locations, although this may be limited if train services to and from Newcastle and Edinburgh are improved in response to increasing commuter demand.

- Overall, 19 respondents (38.8%) mentioned Berwick's strategic transport infrastructure as being one reason for moving to their current place of residence, with 16.3% of respondents listing this as the most important reason. Other reasons drawing individuals to live in the Borough included the perceived high quality of life, the availability of appropriate and affordable housing and the quality of the local scenery and landscape.
- The reasons why individuals commute out of Berwick rather than work locally reflected the limited opportunities provided by the local labour market, particularly in terms of skilled and professional occupations. Nevertheless, a number of individuals stated a desire to work locally if the right opportunities were available, not least due to the disadvantages of commuting.
- Several respondents cited quality of life reasons and the quality of landscape and scenery in the area as key advantages of living in Berwick Borough. 36% of respondents felt that the availability/accessibility of major transport routes was a key advantage of Berwick Borough. The key disadvantages of living in the Borough were the limited retail and leisure offer of Berwick town and the poor local employment prospects. Compared to the 36% of respondents who cited the major transport routes as being one of the advantages of the Borough, 20% of respondents cited the distance from airports, skilled, well paid jobs and major retailers as a disadvantage of living in the Borough. This seems to highlight the 'paradox' of Berwick's remote location but accessibility to two strategic transport routes.
- The most important priority identified for Berwick Borough Council in the next five years was to encourage inward investment to bring in new skilled and well paid jobs to the town. This will help to improve the employment prospects of local people and stem the outflow of young people in search of employment and may, over time, encourage some commuters to work locally. Physical improvements to Berwick town centre, to its tourism leisure offer and to its transport infrastructure were also cited as important by respondents.
- Respondents were relatively evenly split in this survey as to whether Berwick's residents and businesses should develop stronger links with Edinburgh (26%) or Newcastle (22%) in future. However, the number of southbound commuters who stated Edinburgh was perhaps surprising, and further research is required to ascertain if this reflects non-employment links that individuals have with the city, a personal preference for the Scottish capital in terms of its leisure and retail offer, better road infrastructure between Edinburgh and Berwick or recent political changes north of the border. Some respondents acknowledged that as Berwick lies equidistant from both city regions links to both should be strengthened, whilst others recognised the need for Berwick to generate its own growth and not become dependent on either city.
- Overall, the study suggests that there may be potential for Berwick to market its potential as a base for commuters. However, such a strategy should be considered in the context of other trends in the Borough, including the ageing population and the poor housing affordability for local people, exacerbated by high levels of second/holiday home ownership. Attracting commuters will place additional pressure on the limited housing stock and may further increase house prices out of the reach of residents dependent on lower local wages. Attempts will have to be made to ensure that as much food, non-food and leisure/entertainment spending as possible is retained within the Borough, not least by improving Berwick's offer in these areas, and that opportunities exist for commuters to participate in local community and voluntary sector activities, drawing on their skills and experience where possible. There is a role for Berwick Council (and others) to ensure that train services to and from Berwick are maximised to attract more commuters, and to encourage individuals to use this mode of travel to work rather than increasing dependence on the private car, in the context of the climate change agenda.

- This study has highlighted a number of areas where further research would be useful in order to fully inform future development strategies in the Borough, including an exploration of: the spending patterns of commuters in more detail; the factors influencing the likelihood that commuters change their behaviour over time, perhaps deciding to work or set up a business locally; the factors that would encourage car-based commuters from the Borough to change their mode of travel and take the train; the extent to which trip-chaining is undertaken (e.g. one trip made for a number of different purposes); and a more detailed exploration of how Berwick might benefit from its accessibility to Newcastle and Edinburgh and what kinds of strategic approach are required for this to happen. It would also be interesting to compare the responses of commuters and individuals working in the Borough to questions such as that exploring future links with the two city regions and to further explore the commuting behaviour of 'locals' and incomers.

2. Introduction

In recent years, many rural areas and small towns in Britain have gained population through in-migration, in a process known as counterurbanisation. In addition, there has been a decentralisation of employment away from major urban areas and into smaller towns and rural areas. As a result, rural areas constitute an increasingly important component of the national economy, in terms of population, employment and output (Green 1999a, p. 34). However, despite the recent economic success of many rural areas, the decentralisation of economic activity has not kept pace with the movement of population and many rural economies are still dominated by low wage, low skill jobs. These factors, alongside others, such as increasing private car ownership and usage and a preference for rural living, mean that more and more people are living in rural areas but commuting into urban centres for work.

As a result of this growing separation of work and residential location, the average length of commuting journeys in the UK is increasing with rural residents found to have longer commutes than average (Frost, 2006; Midgley *et al.* 2005). To date, this has been found to be more a feature of those living in accessible rural areas rather than remote rural areas (see for example, Frost 2006), but recent research by Champion and Brown (forthcoming) found evidence contradicting the assumption that very rural areas were too remote for migrants to go there with the intention of commuting to jobs in distant urban centres. These authors found that there are no areas in rural England where very local working remains overwhelmingly the norm. Champion and Brown's (forthcoming) research found that in-migrants to rural areas were more likely to commute longer distances than locals, and other research has revealed that commuting patterns may also vary depending on the gender, age and occupational status of an individual. In some ways it is difficult to establish cause and effect when attempting to explain long travel-to-work distances: commuters have been found to have higher earnings and are more likely to be employed in professional occupations than residents employed locally, but this may be because the jobs they do tend to be locationally constrained and comparatively rare. At the same time, these individuals tend to have relatively high levels of car ownership and to be in a financial situation whereby they can express a preference for suburban or rural living (Shuttleworth and Lloyd 2005). In other words, long distance commuting may be a response to a whole range of different yet highly inter-related factors. As Champion and Brown (forthcoming) conclude, the dilemma for local rural residents of either out-migration to be nearer urban jobs or settling for the lesser jobs available locally seems to have been 'overtaken' by a pattern of in-migration by people prepared to commute longer distances.

Whilst commuters bring in money to their place of residence which has been earned outside that locality, commuting also represents a leakage of money from the locality, to the extent that commuting for work is associated with commuting for other activities, including retail and leisure spending. At the same time, there is some evidence that 'commuting zones' may go

through a transition whereby over time, some commuters change their behaviour and set up businesses locally¹, for example (Midgley *et al.* 2005).

This study explores some of these issues in the Borough of Berwick upon Tweed in Northumberland. Compared to other rural areas in England, the Borough can be described as remote, but it (and its principal town of Berwick upon Tweed) has a strategic location close to the A1 and to the East Coast Mainline railway, and just south of the English-Scottish border. Berwick also lies mid-way between the two city regions of Tyne and Wear and Edinburgh and the Lothians. Alongside suggestions in the literature that people are more willing to commute ever longer distances from remote rural areas for work (Champion and Brown forthcoming), Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council is now emphasising the potential benefits for the area of increasing growth in these city regions (particularly Edinburgh and the Lothians). This study explores the decision-making processes and behaviour of a sample of people who regularly commute out of Berwick train station to larger conurbations (including Edinburgh, Newcastle and London) for employment. It will therefore provide some evidence as to the potential benefits and disadvantages of this both for individuals and for the Borough, and thus suggestions can be made as to the potential role of Berwick as a more important commuter location in future.

This report forms the main output of the study. Section 3 sets out the aims and objectives of the study, before Section 4 explains the rationale for the study with reference to the relevant literature and policy context. Section 5 provides some background contextual information on the Northumberland and Scottish Borders regions and the Borough of Berwick, whilst Section 6 outlines the methodological approach adopted in the study. The results of the study are presented in Section 7 and Section 8 draws out the key conclusions and offers some suggestions for useful further work.

3. Aims and Objectives of the study

The aim of the project is to explore the patterns of commuting by train out of the Borough of Berwick upon Tweed. Within this over-arching aim, there are two objectives:

1. *To explore the characteristics of people commuting out of Berwick:* including, where they live (Berwick town/elsewhere in the Borough/outside the Borough); where they commute to, how often, why and how long they have done so; whether they are locals or in-migrants to the Borough; whether they have ever worked in the Borough; why they moved to the Borough and especially the importance of employment/labour market considerations in that decision, factors that would improve the commuting experience and factors that might make them change their commuting behaviour.
2. *To explore the impacts of commuting on the lifestyles of those involved (and their households) and on their 'relationship' with the Borough* (e.g. levels of local spending and civic participation).
3. *To draw conclusions regarding the pros and cons for Berwick of marketing itself as an attractive location for commuters in future*
4. *To highlight areas for future, more in-depth research*

¹ The Berwick Workspace development, which is due to be completed soon, will provide business support and accommodation for over 30 new and existing businesses in Berwick town centre.

4. Literature and Policy Review

4.1 Introduction

With reference to a range of relevant literature and policy documents, this section sets out the background and rationale for this study of commuting in Berwick upon Tweed. It is divided into two main sub-sections, the first of which discusses recent research on commuting patterns. The second section then discusses the policy focus on city regions which has emerged in recent years.

4.2 Commuting in Britain

4.2.1 Why do people commute?

Between 1991 and 2001 the average length of British commuting trips increased by 15% (Midgley *et al.* 2005), and rural residents have been found to commute longer distances than average despite the movement of some economic activity out of urban and into rural areas (Champion and Brown forthcoming; Shuttleworth and Lloyd 2005, p. 914). Boyle *et al.* (2001), for example, using data from the 2001 Census, found that rural commuters travelled up to 65% further than their urban counterparts. More and more people are living in rural communities whose own labour markets do not provide a sufficient supply of jobs to match their human capital. This is likely to be a particular problem for young people, women seeking full-time employment in high level non-manual occupations, and men in specialist occupations (Green 1999a). Thus, rural in-migrants who wish to maintain their previous occupational levels must often be prepared to commute, otherwise they will have to 'trade-down' by taking jobs at lower skill levels than their qualifications, and make do with the limited range of jobs available locally (*ibid.*). Often the decision to commute involves a trade-off for the individual between earning higher wages and the (financial and time) costs of travelling long distances to work but living in a preferred residential location.

Previous research has found that a range of factors may influence an individual's propensity to commute. These have been summarised by Romani *et al.* (2003, p. 824) as workers' preferences, family characteristics, professional characteristics and life-cycle stage. For example, rural women (like their urban counterparts) tend to work closer to home than men (Shuttleworth and Lloyd 2005, p. 916), although some research has found that women are 'catching up' in both their commuting trip lengths and levels of car use (Coombes and Raybould 2001, p. 112). The relationship between age and commuting is not straightforward with people aged under 25 less likely to commute than people aged 35-40, whilst those aged 45-50 presented the highest commuting probabilities. Probabilities for those aged 50 and over decreased once again (Romani *et al.* 2003, p. 821). These authors concluded that other factors were coming into play alongside age, including an individual's family situation and earnings level, with earnings likely to increase with experience and age thus relaxing budget restrictions on their preferences for land and accessibility.

An individual's occupation (and related factors such as their social class and level of qualifications) has also been found to be related to their propensity to commute, with the longest commuting trips generally undertaken by individuals working in highly skilled occupations, such as managers, senior officials, professional workers and associate and technical occupations (Midgley *et al.* 2005; see also Green and Owen 2006; Shuttleworth and Lloyd 2005, p. 916). As Green and Owen (2006) note, these individuals may choose to live in areas with a shortfall of local jobs, or skilled jobs, as they can afford to own a car and to commute out. At the same time, some sectors such as banking and finance are more territorially dispersed in terms of employment meaning that workers are less likely to need to commute (Romani *et al.* 2003, p. 822). Not surprisingly, the more mobile in society (especially those with private cars) are also more likely to commute long distances to work, and thus they are able to compete for jobs in a wide geographical area (Boyle *et al.* 2001). This is particularly problematic in terms of access to job opportunities for the less mobile groups in rural areas with few jobs nearby.

'Dual career households' form a particularly privileged and growing group within the population, as rates of female participation in the labour force have increased, and are projected to continue to rise in future (Green 1997, p. 642). A conventional division of labour would see the man's career/job taking precedence over the woman's job (if she had one)², but dual career households have to make decisions about whether to pursue careers equally and, if not, whose career should take precedence, why (perhaps due to better job security or working in a more specialised field) and when. These decisions will inevitably involve compromises, particularly in a rural location where job opportunities (especially in professional occupations) are likely to be fewer. If the main objective for such a household is to maximise the range of opportunities available to both partners then proximity to an urban location is likely to be important. On the other hand, if the household's residential preference is to live in a rural environment, a location offering good commuting opportunities would seem to be important. By definition, accessible rural locations, with a good transport infrastructure, are likely to be able to offer this to a greater degree than remoter rural locations, although increasing levels of car ownership may be altering this situation somewhat.

Green's (1997) study explored some of the key factors influencing the locational decision making of dual career households. The key factor, not surprisingly, was accessibility to employment opportunities, through access to a motorway or to the rail network. Whilst initially Berwick, as a more remote rural location, may seem like an unlikely location for a dual career household to consider as a residential base, its relatively good road and rail links to the two major conurbations of Newcastle and Edinburgh and to London may make it a more attractive option than its location may initially suggest. Green's (1997, p. 648) research also reveals a clear preference amongst many dual career households for village or semi-rural locations coupled with good accessibility so that they could get the 'best of both worlds'. For many respondents in Green's (1997) study, a one hour commuting journey was an important 'psychological barrier' in the sense that they were less willing to contemplate travelling for much more than this in each direction. Some respondents also spoke about the time spent commuting in a positive way, including one respondent who spoke about the train journey as being 'therapeutic' and one who viewed it simply as an extension to the working day. In the context of debates about the environmental impact of commuting, most individuals in this study commuted by car (even if they did not use it during the working day) as it offered flexibility, convenience and control. For most, long distance commuting interspersed with 'odd days' working from home (thus substituting electronic flows for physical flows) is a practice which can be adapted to and a price worth paying, in order to satisfy other individual and household desires (Green 1997, p. 653).

4.2.2 Commuting and migration

Before discussing the relationships between migration and commuting, it is perhaps important to make a few general points about patterns of migration into and out of rural areas in recent years. The dominant migratory trend since the 1970s has been a movement of people out of urban and into rural areas. This trend is commonly referred to as counterurbanisation, an explanatory and descriptive term which is far from unproblematic in its usage (see for example, Champion 1998; Halfacree 1994). Over time, this trend has amplified in size and has penetrated more deeply into remote rural areas. Indeed, migration rates into the 'remoter, largely rural' areas were amongst the highest in the 1991-1995 period (Buller *et al.* 2003, p. 13-15). The reasons for urban to rural migration vary from urban 'push' factors such as congestion and pollution, to rural 'pull' factors, such as the desire for a higher quality of life or a safe, high quality environment in which to bring up children. Many of the 'pull' factors are summarised in the notion of the 'rural idyll', which has prompted many people to move to Britain's countryside (itself threatening the ideal that many people are searching for). Cloke (1985) argues that many of the factors prompting migration to rural areas are localised, and highly specific to individual rural localities. In reality, many different factors may come into play when an individual or household is making a decision to migrate, although often it is possible to distinguish a 'primary' reason for moving from 'other' reasons (Green 1999a, p. 34). Champion (1989) highlights 17 different drivers of counterurbanisation, but Buller *et al.*

² For example, work by Nivalainen (2005) found that migration leaves the majority of husbands unaffected (with some having higher employment likelihood than respective stayers) but wives never realise positive returns (at least when employment status is considered) and often migration has a negative impact on women.

(2003, p. 25) group these into two explanations: residential preferences (for example, linked to lifestyle, life-cycle, and the 'rural idyll') and employment. Often residential preferences, driven by changing consumer aspirations lead to rural in-migration, even if this is accompanied by longer commuting to work patterns and by more restricted spousal opportunities (Buller *et al.* 2003, p. 41).

In terms of employment motivations, Green (1999a) notes the increase in employment and economic activity in rural areas in recent years. There has been a shift in the importance of different sectors as primary sector activities have declined and have been replaced by service sector activities, notably tourism and leisure and business services. Female (part-time) employment has tended to particularly benefit from this trend, and there has been a growth in the numbers of people in self-employment and greater flexibility in labour arrangements (e.g. through greater possibilities for home working and for seasonal/contract labour). Many in-migrants to rural areas have also proved to be an important source of skills and experience as well as new employment opportunities for locals (Findlay *et al.* 1999). More negatively, recent research by Green (1999a) reveals a growing distance between the employment structure of a local rural area, and the status of migrants, many of whom will commute out of the local area into urban centres for employment. Green's study explored the relationships between in-migrants to rural areas, who tend to be in professional occupations, and locals. Some in-migrants in accessible rural locations perceived a clear division between in-migrants and locals such that two distinct communities were apparent. These distinctions are likely to be exacerbated when in-migrants shop and undertake leisure activities outside their local area. A further negative impact of in-migration to rural areas is the growing price of rural housing as demand has increased but supply has not, largely as a result of a planning system which limits new house-building in rural localities. In many rural areas, houses are out of the reach of locals who work locally in low wage sectors.

While these urban-rural migratory trends have been evident across the English regions, the lowest rates were noted in the North East region, with the highest gains in rural areas in the East, South East and South West (Buller *et al.* 2003, p. 16). Moreover, the shift of population from the (urban and rural) North to the South of England continues, as the rate of natural population loss is higher in the North and as the dominant flow of migration remains North to South. Of the five English districts registering the largest population decreases between 1991 and 2001, two are in the North East region (and two in the North West) (*ibid.* p. 18).

However, despite an overall growth in the rural population of Britain, out-migration remains a persistent and pernicious force, particularly amongst younger sections of the population. The 2001 Census reveals that rural districts experiencing the highest rates of out-migration were concentrated in the northern regions (the North East and North West). The out-migration of young people, combined with an in-migration of older people (generally in their 40s and older) is changing the demographic profile of many rural communities. Research by Jamieson (2000; see also Green 1999a) of out-migration in the Scottish Borders found that 'seeking a good job' almost always implied leaving the rural area, with middle class children (especially of non-local parents) often taking out-migration for granted. Buller *et al.* (2003) note that there is a definite trend of a lessening of employment and housing opportunities for certain sectors of society in rural Britain, with many communities arguably less inclusive and more homogenous than they once were. The authors argue that the dynamics of rural communities, their declining capacity for inclusiveness and the effects of the growing separation of place of work and place of residence on the very concept of community, are all research issues that require further investigation. So too are the mechanisms and procedures that reinforce social and cultural capital in rural localities, be they partnerships, new fora of local representation, community involvement and so on.

In many ways, commuting and migration represent two alternative options for individuals when seeking work: either they may choose to change residential location (i.e. migrate) and move closer to job opportunities or they may choose to stay in the same residential location and commute to locations where jobs are available (Green 1999b; Romani *et al.* 2003). A range of factors may influence this decision, including the employment situation of a spouse or partner, the presence of school age children, homeownership and the number and variety

of jobs available in the locality now and in future (so that if an individual decides to change the job to which they currently commute, there are others available in the vicinity)³.

On the other hand, there may be important links between commuting and migration, particularly in a rural context, although Champion and Brown (forthcoming) note that these relationships are not well documented. Migrants to rural areas have been found to show a greater propensity to commute, and to commute longer distances, than local movers or long term residents (see for example Boyle *et al.* 2001; Champion and Brown forthcoming; Findlay *et al.*, 2001; Romani *et al.* 2003). Romani *et al.* (2003, p. 824) conclude that the commuting decision influences the migration decision and vice versa, with workers who have recently changed residence more likely to out-commute from their residence sub-region than the rest. Champion and Brown (forthcoming) also found that movers' origins influence their probability of commuting a longer distance from their new rural location, with a substantial proportion of migrants from all but the largest cities actually shortening their journey to work as a result of moving to a rural area.

4.2.3 Commuting and climate change

At the same time as more and more people are travelling longer distances to work, increasing attention has been paid to the need to reduce travel by private car (and thus vehicle emissions) in recent years as debates around climate change have risen up the political agenda. For example, following the recommendations of the Stern Review (2006), guidance on measures to restrict carbon emissions by reducing the need to travel, among other things, has been set out as a supplement to the planning policy statement on delivering sustainable development (CLG 2007).

Green's (1997) study revealed the importance of the private car to dual career households, many of which owned at least two cars. However, few of the individuals in this study acknowledged the ecological implications of such ownership levels and very few of the people interviewed were willing to sacrifice their car to travel by public transport, which they regarded as inflexible and unreliable. These trends, combined with the clear preference for many households to live in semi-rural locations, serve to increase the need for (car-based) mobility at the same time as the sustainability debate is trying to reduce such mobility (Green 1997, p. 655).

Whilst there is currently no policy in Britain that sets out to reduce commuting trips per se (with emphasis placed instead on ensuring the unconstrained growth of the labour market in seeking sustained economic growth), recent assumptions in rural planning have centred around concentrating development in existing centres to ensure an efficient transport system with all sectors of the population having access to the widest range of facilities. However, some researchers have questioned whether such policies can actually deliver the required reduction in car travel and vehicle emissions (Breheny 1999; Coombes 1995; Turok 1999). In their study of city regions for Defra, SQW (2006) argue that the issue of sustainability in relation to city regions raises a number of policy implications. They note that, in most cases, the functionality of city regions appeared to be premised primarily on car-based commuting. Thus, given growing concerns with regard to sustainability, the extent to which city region models, founded on the planning regimes of the past are likely to be perpetuated into the future, should be tested rather than assumed. In this context, they argue that the need for locally generated growth in rural areas (in city regions or not) must be a continuing priority.

As Findlay *et al.* (2001) argue, the 'culture of mobility', involving long commuting distances and significant travel to shop distances, characterises life for large numbers of residents of rural Britain. In many ways, the concentration of services in existing towns at the same time as population is becoming increasingly dispersed, has necessitated increased mobility amongst rural populations and thus has run counter to public policies favouring travel minimisation, especially in relation to the use of private cars (Findlay *et al.* 2001, p. 2). If

³ Other research has suggested that it is the residential location that is more important for an individual than the availability of jobs locally. Breheny (1999) for example, highlights the issues arising from the decoupling of home and work, emphasising the fact that many people first select a residential location and only cope with the travel consequences of their decision at a later stage.

reducing travel (at least by private car) is a political priority, decision-makers need to consider how far a policy of concentrating development in existing centres can attract those consumers who have deliberately built a dual existence whereby they 'belong' to the country but enjoy travel to work and shop as part of their wider 'identity'. If 'out-shopping' and 'out-working' are activities done on the same journey in a process known as 'trip-chaining' (Coombes and Raybould 2004), it could actually be that commuters are participating in more environmentally efficient behaviour than locals whose journeys for these activities may be done separately.

Policies to reduce travel distances are based on an assumption that commuting is 'bad'. However, in many ways commuting is evidence of economic growth and progress. Whilst there is little doubt that having a large number of individuals travelling alone in a private car is detrimental to the environment, there is a strong argument that says that policies and initiatives should focus much more heavily on changing the mode by which people travel (i.e. from the private car to public transport) rather than necessarily reducing travel distances per se. Moreover, there is growing evidence that train companies themselves are committed to reducing the environmental impact of travelling with them. For example, on the company website, National Express notes that it is committed to "taking the lead through a range of environmental projects, including a pledge to reduce the average carbon dioxide emissions per passenger kilometre". The website also has a 'Carbon Calculator' so customers can calculate the amount of CO₂ emissions they will save by travelling on the train rather than by car or plane (see <http://www.nationalexpresseastcoast.com/>).

4.2.4 The impacts of commuting on local spending, family life and community participation

Previous research has highlighted a link between commuting to work and commuting for other reasons, such as shopping and leisure activities, which is likely to represent considerable leakage of income from a local rural area with large numbers of commuters (Findlay *et al.* 2001). Further evidence suggests that in-migrants tend to spend less money locally than local residents, and that in-migrants tend to be more likely to commute out of their residential area for work. However, statistical analysis by Findlay *et al.* (2001) suggests that it is commuting status rather than in-migrant status that influences an individual's likelihood of spending non-locally. At the same time, however, Powe and Shaw (2004, p. 414) found evidence that the choice of where to undertake food shopping might be less sensitive to whether a respondent commutes (and/or is an in-migrant). Thus, small towns may be able to 'claw back' some of the food trade that has gravitated to urban centres and out-of-town shopping centres recently, perhaps by improving supermarket services. This may also lead to an increase in the usage of a small town for other purposes, including non-food shopping and leisure activities.

In terms of the effects of commuting on family life, it is generally accepted that if individuals are spending large amounts of time commuting to jobs outside the locality in which they live, they have less time to devote to family life, local community activities and civic participation (e.g. volunteering) (see for example, Green 2001). For example, Putnam (2000) contends that every 10 minutes of commuting time cuts involvement in community affairs by 10% (see also Brown 2002). However, a contrasting pattern was discovered by Findlay *et al.* (1999) in their study for the Countryside Agency, who found that households who moved from an urban location, who possessed high incomes and who commuted to work beyond the immediate area were more actively involved in local community activities than other movers. Household behaviours may change as a result of commuting, perhaps with a shift in the gender division of household responsibilities, particularly if both members of a couple work (Green 1997). The behaviour of a spouse may also be affected by one individual in a household commuting, particularly if that commuting results in their spouse spending a large amount of time away from home each day. For example, Champion and Brown (forthcoming) found that spouses of individuals commuting long distances to work are more likely to work closer to home.

However, as Champion and Brown (forthcoming) note, much of the evidence is anecdotal or conjectural regarding behavioural changes that result from commuting behaviour. Thus, they argue, the lack of a systematic policy response to increasing commuting trip lengths is justified because the evidence is not yet in place to firmly establish how this behaviour links with other elements of a household's location and travel strategies, and/or how the behaviour affects the wider community. They argue that much more needs to be known about

commuters' time budgets, and about how longer distance commuting affects the roles that individuals play in their households. Research on the contextual effects operating at the settlement scale is also required, such as the local economy, civic participation and support of local organisations and institutions (Hanson and Pratt 1988). Whilst most rural areas are pleased to attract new residents who bring new vitality into social and economic institutions and community life, it is important to take a balanced view of the pros and cons associated with this aspect of population redistribution.

4.3 City Regions and rural areas in England and Scotland

4.3.1 Introduction

Spurred in part by anxiety with regard to the political future of regions, cities and their hinterlands - city regions - have seriously come to the fore as a key territorial unit. Their rise in importance has also come about as a result of the increasing recognition of the functional relationships between different types of local areas (e.g. city centres, suburban residential areas, commuting towns etc.), and the limitations of analyses that take conventional administrative areas as the basic unit of analysis. Recent growth patterns in the UK have also been taken as evidence of the role of agglomeration economies generated through spatial proximity in explaining urban and regional economic growth, and, as such, cities have increasingly become known as the 'powerhouses of the knowledge economy' (ODPM 2004, p. 4; see also Cambridge Econometrics [CE]/SQW 2006, p. 5).

Academics have long been interested in developing functionally-based definitions of geographical areas (such as local labour market areas), but it is over the past five years or so that the notion of city regions has also gained real purchase amongst civil servants and policy makers involved in urban and regional development (Midgley *et al.* 2005). For example, a city regions approach has been adopted as part of the spatial framework for 'the North' under the Northern Way Growth Strategy (encompassing the North East, North West and Yorkshire and the Humber regions of England), which places eight city regions (covering 90% of the population of the north of England) centre stage in the development of the North. The city region concept has also taken hold north of the border as set out in the Scottish Executive's '*Building Better Cities*' report, which recognises cities as having an important strategic role in Scotland's economic and social development, and in the economic and social development of the regions that surround them (Scottish Executive 2003, p. 8).

Despite their increasing popularity, city regions remain poorly defined, with 'fuzzy' boundaries (Marvin *et al.* 2006). Some approaches to defining city regions have taken a 'nodal approach', using a given list of cities and looking to cover the whole territory by classifying areas which relate most strongly to each city, through travel-to-work patterns. The second 'non-nodal approach' looks for self-containment by maximising the density of internal relationships within clusters of small areas. This may result in the identification of both city regions but also other types of self-contained areas.

4.3.2 The relationships between city regions and rural areas

CE/SQW's (2006) report to Defra on rural areas and city regions defined districts as being within city regions if they met two criteria:

1. the outflow of commuters from the source district to the node must be at least 10% of the total outflow from the source district; and
2. the outflow of commuters from source district to node must be at least 5% of all workers who live in the same district.

This definition (based on a non-nodal approach) meant that 59 districts in England were identified in this study as not being within a city region, including Berwick upon Tweed. However, CE/SQW acknowledge that demarcating the extent of city regions is complicated as the regions surrounding cities (including rural areas) will have an array of relationships with them, including commuting, leisure and tourism, population migration and decentralised

business locations, plus a range of less tangible relationships and connections (such as sense of place for example, or aspirations for change and the extent to which they are associated in a positive or negative way with city regions). For policy makers, and particularly those with concerns for rural areas, using a concept with fuzzy boundaries as a key mechanism for intervention inevitably presents challenges (CE/SQW 2006, p. 6).

The main aim of the CE/SQW work for Defra was to contribute to the evidence base on whether city region processes and the policies that are supporting them are having positive, neutral or negative implications for rural economic performance. The key findings of the study can be summarised as follows: levels of productivity (measured using average workplace earnings) were around 8% higher in rural areas within city regions than in rural areas outside city regions, with around 5% of the differential remaining after other factors (such as contrasting skills levels and occupational structures) were taken into account; the earnings of residents in rural areas within city regions were found to be approximately 18% higher than those of individuals outside city regions (this is influenced by commuting patterns in which individuals receive higher earnings than would be available locally)⁴; rural areas inside city regions have had a better economic performance than rural areas outside city regions and looking forward to the 2005-2015 period, rates of GVA growth are projected to be higher in rural areas within city regions than in rural areas outside, although employment growth will be similar (CE/SQW 2006, p. 26); the economic performance of rural areas within city regions is influenced by (but not transformed by, in the sense that issues of low wages and skills remain) the agglomeration processes than define the node (CE/SQW 2006, p. iv). The study therefore raised important questions regarding the spatial extent of the positive 'ripple effects' and the extent to which advancements in technology and transport can stretch these effects even to remote rural areas outside city regions.

The CE/SQW study also contained an element of qualitative research focusing on three case study transects out from a city region node extending through rural districts within the city region into the adjacent rural districts outside. In terms of those rural districts outside city regions, the study found that:

- all these districts were relatively self-contained (i.e. a high proportion of the locally resident population is employed locally), revealing something of their economic character;
- in two of these districts there was a high incidence of small and micro businesses many of which were connected to tourism in the context of high quality natural environments; and
- all three districts continued to struggle in terms of access to higher education and there were concerns relating to skill levels and the scope to retain young people.

Focusing on commuting and retail service patterns, Midgley *et al.* (2005) examined the links between two city regions in the North East region (including Tyne and Wear) and the rural areas within and surrounding them. The authors argue that the North East region is typified by an 'interdependent rural periphery' whereby the rural areas surround the two city regions and interdependencies are likely to be stronger and more complex. The city regions dominate the surrounding rural hinterlands in the region, largely free from any significant competition from cities in other regions, except at the margins (including the influence of the Edinburgh and the Lothians city regions in the Berwick district). The authors note that, within this typology, the relationships between the city regions and the wider rural areas of the North East region could develop in one of two ways. At the regional level, rural areas could be considered as suitable for separate programmes and initiatives emphasising their distinctiveness and separateness from the city regions. Alternatively rural areas could be considered as integral to more holistic forms of territorial development which assess the nature of interconnections between rural and urban areas, and seek to manage and develop these to the maximum mutual benefit.

⁴ The report notes that residents in districts outside city regions have average earnings in the range £15,000-£23,000 but it specifically notes that Berwick upon Tweed is excluded from the lower end of this bracket. Also noted is that Berwick upon Tweed experienced a small fall in earnings over the 1994-2004 period whilst the majority of areas showed an increase in workplace earnings over this period.

Rural-urban inter-linkages and flows are undoubtedly increasing and becoming more complex. Some flows into rural areas from city regions may bring benefits for rural areas. For example, the recent *“Preferred Options”* document published by Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council in October 2007 in relation to the Core Strategy identifies opportunities that are likely to arise for the Borough as a result of continued economic growth in the Edinburgh and the Lothians city region (although not much detail is provided on what opportunities these are and how they might manifest themselves in Berwick)⁵. However, the emphasis on city regions has also raised concerns in those rural areas that fall beyond the eight locations (Midgley *et al.* 2005, p. 2; see also CPRE 2005). This is because a city regions approach may be seen as negative for rural areas, casting them simply as passive beneficiaries of urban-focused development strategies, the impacts of which ‘trickle out’ to wider rural areas. Indeed, some organisations have raised concerns that the focus on cities has meant a neglect of the issues facing rural areas and small towns. For example, in 2006, the South of Scotland Alliance expressed concern that the Scottish Government’s focus on cities means that small towns and the challenges they face (including deprivation, poor health, high levels of drug and alcohol abuse, underinvestment in private sector buildings and high unemployment) are being ignored. The Alliance argued that a policy vacuum on small towns was reinforcing their ‘isolation from political support and resource allocation’ (newstart online 2006).

4.3.3 City regions and small (market) towns⁶

It is important to note that the increasing policy emphasis on city regions is taking place at a time when economic and social changes in rural areas have undermined the traditional functions of small market towns. For centuries market towns acted as focal points for commercial and social activity, with strong links between them and their rural hinterlands. However, the traditional functions of market towns have been undermined by economic and social change, as livestock markets have closed, traditional industries have declined, populations have become more mobile and are commuting longer distances to work and to undertake leisure activities, and as spatial patterns of retailing and service provision have shifted, not least in response to advancements in ICT (Powe and Shaw 2003, p. 37).

As Courtney and Errington (2000) show, an increasing proportion of economic transactions involving both firms and households are non-local in character, posing important questions regarding the present day functions of market towns in the rural economy (Courtney and Errington 2000). One reason for this is the tendency for residents of the rural hinterlands of market towns to ‘by-pass’ their local market town and to travel further to access the greater choice offered in larger urban centres and by out of town facilities (English Market Towns Advisory Forum 2003). At the same time, many market towns have considerable historic importance and they have the potential to play a major role in the regeneration of rural areas, such as by providing an outlet for local food and other countryside produce and by offering a range of attractions and services for visitors. In the North East region, whilst city regions are undoubtedly a major focus for policy and investment, small towns are also an important focus within rural policy, and are emphasised in the region’s Rural Action Plan (One North East *et al.* 2002) for example.

4.4 Summary

This section of the report has discussed the main findings of recent literature on commuting, and the key debates surrounding the rise in interest in city regions. More people are deciding to commute longer distances in today’s highly mobile society, meaning that remote rural areas that were once deemed too far to commute from, are now starting to attract in-migrating commuters. Evidence relating to the impact of commuters on the local area to which they

⁵ Data suggests that the population of Edinburgh has grown by 2.7% between 1981 and 2001 and it is projected to continue to grow by 4% to 2016 (in comparison, Glasgow saw population decline of 24.4% over the 1981-2001 period and is projected to see a continued decline of 4%). Since 1995, Edinburgh has seen a 9% increase in the number of jobs (with 7% in Scotland as a whole), and the average weekly wage in Scotland’s capital is £465 (£403 in Scotland). 25% of Edinburgh’s residents have a degree (13% in Scotland) and the city is projected to see a 30% growth in traffic by 2021 (Scottish Executive 2003, p. 13).

⁶ Market towns are now generally defined in the UK as towns with between 2,000 and 20,000 population (Countryside Agency 2004)

move is mixed, with research highlighting their role in raising house prices beyond the reach of locals, their tendency to shop for food and non-food items outside the locality and the negative ways in which commuting may impact on family and community life. Nevertheless, commuters do bring in external income to rural areas and over time some may make a decision to stop commuting and work or set up a business locally, or to undertake other forms of social/ voluntary activity in the local area.

The rise in importance placed on city regions in both England and Scotland has implications for rural localities such as Berwick which are excluded from their boundaries. There is a danger that investment and attention will increasingly be focused on city regions to the neglect of rural areas, and not much is known about the ways in which (and the extent to which) benefits are likely to 'trickle out' to rural areas. This emphasises the need for all rural areas to act as locations that can generate their own economic growth, rather than being seen just as locations 'dependent' on the growth of city regions. As individuals are willing to commute longer and longer distances to work, does attracting more commuters represent one possible means of generating growth in towns such as Berwick?

5. Regional and local context: Northumberland, the Scottish Borders and the Borough of Berwick upon Tweed

5.1 Introduction

Although the focus in this study is on people who travel out of Berwick Borough for employment, it was felt to be important to outline some of the key features of the local labour market, and make reference to other relevant issues, to set the study in context. This section of the report briefly discusses some key issues relating to employment in the Scottish Borders and Northumberland regions. The third sub-section presents a range of background information on the Borough of Berwick upon Tweed.

5.2 Northumberland

Northumberland is England's most northerly county. Within the county, the rural areas are diverse. There are accessible rural areas to the west of the Tyne and Wear city region along the Tyne valley acting as an important commuter zone. Rural areas in the south east of the county have an important industrial past, whilst rural areas in the north of the county, including Berwick upon Tweed, can be described as being remote.

Midgley *et al.*'s (2005) study of the links between the Tyne and Wear and Tees Valley city regions and the rural areas within and surrounding them revealed a number of interesting observations about the district of Northumberland:

- The area has become dependent on other areas for employment and has some distinctive features of a white-collar commuter area with one third of residents commuting out of the County;
- Levels of out-commuting are particularly high from Tynedale, Castle Morpeth and Alnwick, although ward level analysis revealed a particularly large increase in commuting from the region's remote rural areas to the urban areas. For example, in north Northumberland, commuting grew by 45%;
- Just 6% of the North East's population live in the rural districts outside the city regions (including Alnwick and Berwick upon Tweed);
- Rural areas outside the city regions have lower proportions of younger people (aged 16 and under) and higher proportions of older people (aged 75+) than the North East as a whole and the city regions;
- Significantly higher rates of self-employment were recorded in rural areas outside the city regions than within the city regions;
- Significantly lower proportions of people reported themselves as unemployed in the rural areas outside the city regions in the 2001 Census;

- Higher proportions of employed people work in financial and business services in city regions than the wider rural areas;
- Rural areas outside the city regions make up only 4.4% of income (gross annual pay) generated by the region's population, whilst some 6% of regional income is earned by residents of areas outside the city regions;
- In the North East region, leisure and retailing services are heavily concentrated in Tyne and Wear and Tees Valley resulting in a large amount of leakage from the region's rural areas, including north Northumberland. Having said that, the town of Berwick, as the largest town in the north Northumberland sub-region and serving a large rural hinterland, does account for 13% of trips within the sub-region.

5.3 The Scottish Borders

The Scottish Borders area (population 106,764 in 2001) occupies the south east corner of Scotland and is an historically and culturally rich area. The area is not dominated by a major urban centre but is made up of a network of smaller market towns with a rural hinterland. Historically and culturally the market towns perceive themselves as being in competition and conflict amongst themselves, though there is a 'Borders mentality' which sets the area apart within Scotland and sees the region as distinctive and special (Findlay and Sparks 2008, p. 88-89).

The region has been influenced by English towns and cities to the south (including Berwick and Newcastle) and by Edinburgh to the north. Between 1991 and 2001, the proportion of people travelling from the Borders to work in Edinburgh increased, with the boundary within which 5% of travel to work trips are to Edinburgh now extending to the English-Scottish border. Edinburgh attracts between 5% and 10% of all retail trips from the Scottish Borders area, whilst the proportion of trips to Edinburgh for comparison shopping is over 10% (Scottish Executive 2002, p. 15, 21).

The population of the Borders is widely dispersed, with the largest centres being Hawick (population 14,573) and Galashiels (population 14,361). In recent years, Galashiels has seen the most extensive retail development, both in terms of food shops (e.g. Tesco) and non-food shops (e.g. B&Q). A key concern of the local authority as expressed in its structure plan (Scottish Borders Council [SBC] 2002) is to "enhance the shopping facilities in the Scottish Borders to reduce the leakage to other areas of spending from residents, employees and visitors". However, although some non-food retail spending has been clawed back to the Borders from Berwick, Carlisle and Newcastle, rather than 'claw back' retail food spending from Edinburgh or Berwick, the concentration of new retail provision in Galashiels has drawn spending away from other small towns in the Borders. The building of Tescos in Galashiels has also served to 'cream off' the more affluent and younger consumers from existing supermarkets elsewhere in the region (Findlay and Sparks 2008, p. 91). In line with other studies, Findlay and Sparks (2008) also found a link between an individual's place of work and their shopping choice, particularly in relation to Borders residents working in Edinburgh. As more people commute to Edinburgh from the Borders this 'leakage' may increase. These changes have implications for relationships between the towns in the Borders and their character, as well as for the future development of places outside the region, including Berwick. At the same time, current plans for new supermarket developments in Berwick itself may draw some shoppers from the eastern Borders thus challenging the concentration of spend in Galashiels.

SBC recognises the opportunities provided by city region growth in Edinburgh and the Lothians for the Scottish Borders. For example, in the Berwickshire sub-district, there has been an over-allocation of housing supply to provide an adequate range and choice of sites in an area that has seen growing demand, partly as a result of the growth of the Edinburgh market (SBC 2005). SBC has also considered the option of a new settlement in the Borders (as provided for in the Scottish Borders Structure Plan) to meet future housing demand, particularly associated with the Waverley Railway Project. As a result of consultations and studies since the publication of the Local Plan in 2005, SBC's preferred option is now to expand the existing settlement of Newtown St. Boswells as a solution to longer term

development pressures in the Central Borders. A large-scale expansion of this sort has potential implications for the town of Berwick as the main rural service centre in the eastern borders (Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council 2007, p. 28) Large-scale growth of a second settlement within its hinterland may alter Berwick's current relationship with existing villages and rural areas.

Before focusing on the current characteristics and future potential of Berwick it is worth noting some of the key similarities and differences between the Scottish Borders and Northumberland. Both regions have an ageing population, high levels of youth out-migration and fragmented and sparse settlement patterns which raises the costs of service delivery. In terms of employment, the two regions share a dependence on a narrow range of sectors, in which skill requirements and wages are low. This includes agriculture in which employment has been low and declining for some time. The manufacturing sector is relatively important in both regions, but this sector too has seen job losses in recent years. For example, the late 1990s saw particular job losses in this sector, when Dawson International (who owns the Pringle brand) closed factories on both sides of the border - in Berwick, Galashiels, Hawick and Selkirk - leading to almost 700 job losses. The closure of the Pringle factory in Berwick revealed a strong degree of cross-border cohesion in terms of the labour market, as a large proportion of the workforce was resident north of the border. Over 1,400 jobs were lost in the Scottish Borders when Viasystems (the largest private sector employer in the area) closed its factories in Selkirk and Galashiels, and moved to Tyneside. Both regions rely heavily on public sector employment, accounting for more than one-third of total employment (Pike 2002). Mirroring the historical Reivers cross-border economy, Pike (2002, p. 1078) argues that the regional economy, although small, is highly integrated across the Anglo-Scottish Borders. Historically in both areas, people lived and worked in their own town, but increasing mobility coupled with a shrinking Scottish Borders jobs market, has meant people travelling further to work.

However, there are also important differences between Northumberland and the Scottish Borders regions (Pike 2002). Particularly since devolution in Scotland in 1999, the Scottish Borders region has tended to look north and east in geographical and political terms to its centre of government in Edinburgh. In contrast, the English borders region looks to the south and its Government Office and Regional Development Agency, although it is perceived as being somewhat distant in geographical and political terms from these relatively new bodies and their region-wide concerns. Partly in response to this, Berwick was one of the first local authorities in the UK to proceed to a referendum (which was unsuccessful) on an elected mayor as a means of bolstering its political profile and voice in the shadow of a devolved Scotland (Pike 2002, p. 1078).

Pike (2002) also draws comparisons between the Scottish and English borders regions in terms of their institutional arrangements. He argues that the institutional set-up north of the border is more established, stable, accountable and coherent, with institutions therefore sharing a long history of partnership working. Scottish Borders Enterprise and Scottish Borders Council also benefit from having co-terminous boundaries, and they are also part of the lobbying group, the South of Scotland Alliance, alongside institutions in Dumfries and Galloway in the south west of Scotland. In England, economic development institutions have undergone a period of instability in recent years and as a consequence are more fragmented, parochial, lack clear boundaries and in some cases, have questionable accountability.

At the same time, more positively, Pike (2002) notes that the Anglo-Scottish Border region is well integrated socially and economically (existing as a relatively self-contained labour market) and there is a sense of shared identity and history as a border region. Whether these shared concerns will continue to be strong in future is more questionable as Scottish devolution becomes more strongly embedded and regions like the Borders potentially become more organised with access to larger financial resources. In contrast, regional devolution in England has been put on hold. Given the emphasis placed on the Borough of Berwick looking to the Edinburgh and the Lothians city region in recent strategic documents, coupled with a perception of remoteness from regional institutions and decision-making in the North East and a strong sense amongst many residents (though by no means all) of the

town's Scottish heritage, it may be that the Borough's links to the north become stronger over time.

5.4 Case study: The Borough of Berwick upon Tweed

5.4.1 Current characteristics of Berwick upon Tweed

The Borough of Berwick upon Tweed is the second largest Borough in England (covering 972km²) and is situated in the northern corner of the county of Northumberland, bordering Scotland. The town of Berwick (and the associated settlements of Spittal and Tweedmouth) sits at the mouth of the River Tweed mid-way between Edinburgh and Newcastle.

Table 1: The Borough of Berwick upon Tweed: Key Statistics

Data	Berwick upon Tweed (Borough)	North East	England
Population	25,949	2,515,442	49,138,831
General Health: Good	65.1%	64.3%	68.8%
People with a limiting long-term illness	20.7%	22.7%	17.9%
People aged 16-74: Economically active: Employees full time	33.0%	37.4%	40.8%
People aged 16-74: Economically active: Employees part time	13.9%	11.9%	11.8%
People aged 16-74: Economically active: Self-employed	12.6%	5.3%	8.3%
People aged 16-74: Economically active: Unemployed	3.6%	4.5%	3.4%
People aged 16-74: Economically inactive: Retired	19.0%	15.0%	13.5%
People aged 16-74 with: No qualifications	35.5%	34.7%	28.9%
People aged 16-74 with: Highest qualification attained level 4/5 ⁷	14.4%	15.0%	19.9%

Source: Neighbourhood Statistics (2001 Census data)

In 2001, the Borough was home to 25,949 people, with approximately 12,000 of those living in the town of Berwick. Table 1 contains some key statistics about the Borough. The Borough has a higher proportion of people with limiting long-term illness than England as a whole and a lower proportion of people who report that they are in good health (but higher proportions of both of these than the North East average). The Borough has lower proportions of people aged 16-74 in full time employment than the North East and England, but higher proportions in part time employment. The Borough has particularly high levels of self-employment, which at 12.6% of all people aged 16-74 who are economically active, is more than twice the regional average. The proportion of people aged 16-74 who have retired is also high in the Borough, as is the proportion of people who have no qualifications, particularly in relation to the average for England as a whole.

⁷ Level 4/5 qualifications cover: First Degree, Higher Degree, NVQ levels 4 and 5; HNC; HND; Qualified Teacher Status; Qualified Medical Doctor; Qualified Dentist; Qualified Nurse; Midwife; or Health Visitor.

The Borough also has relatively low wage levels with an average gross weekly wage in 2001 of £243 compared to £422 in Great Britain. Almost three quarters of people in the Borough own 1 car or more, compared to 58% in Tyne and Wear. The number of people aged under 60 living in the Borough is expected to decline over the coming years compared to an increase in the number of people aged over 60. By 2011, one third of the Borough's population will be retired. The proportions of older residents are particularly high amongst the populations of the Borough's coastal areas, including Beadnell, Bamburgh and North Sunderland (Rutherford 2007).

Table 2: The Borough of Berwick upon Tweed: Distance travelled to work by Borough residents

	Berwick upon Tweed		North East Region		England	
	Persons ⁸	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
All People	11460	100.0	1032968	100.0	22441497	100.0
Works mainly at or from home	1820	15.9	79308	7.7	2055224	9.2
Less than 2km	4081	35.6	203866	19.7	4484082	20.0
2km to less than 5km	1371	12.0	226278	21.9	4510259	20.1
5km to less than 10km	626	5.5	213822	20.7	4094614	18.2
10km to less than 20km	954	8.3	171898	16.6	3412081	15.2
20km to less than 30km	648	5.7	43847	4.2	1197605	5.3
30km to less than 40km	221	1.9	15191	1.5	527840	2.4
40km to less than 60km	304	2.7	12328	1.2	487683	2.2
60km and over	811	7.1	29571	2.9	607571	2.7
Other ⁹	624	5.4	36859	3.6	1064538	4.7

Source: Neighbourhood Statistics (2001 Census data)

The data in Table 2 reveals some interesting patterns in the distances travelled to work by the Borough's residents, in comparison to the regional and England averages. The first point to note is the high proportion of people working mainly at or from home in Berwick (15.9%), which is more than double the proportion in the North East as a whole and considerably higher than the proportion for England. This may reflect the high proportion of self-employment in the Borough (with people perhaps running a business [e.g. a bed and breakfast establishment] from their home). However, it may also reflect a movement of people out of the Borough to work elsewhere (e.g. Newcastle, Edinburgh or London) for a portion of the working week but spending some time each week working from home. The Borough also has a high proportion of people (35.6%) who travel less than 2km to work, considerably higher than both the North East and England. The proportions of people who travel between 2km and less than 20km to work in the Borough are lower than the North East and England averages, but Berwick has higher proportions of people travelling 20km to less than 30km and 40km to less than 60km than the North East and England. At 7.1%, the proportion of people travelling more than 60km to work in the Borough is much higher than the proportions in the

⁸ 'Persons' refers to all people aged 16 to 74, who were usually resident in the area at the time of the 2001 Census, and were in employment.

⁹ This category includes people who have no fixed place of work, people who work outside the UK and people who work on an offshore installation.

North East¹⁰ and England, and probably reflects people travelling to Newcastle, Edinburgh and London, all of which are more than 60km from the Borough.

As this study will focus on those people who commute out of the Borough by train it is interesting to note that 121 people resident in the Borough at the time of the 2001 Census travel to work in this way¹¹. This represents 0.64% of all people aged 16-74 usually resident in the Borough at the time of the 2001 Census, and compares to 2.7% in England and 0.5% for the North East region¹².

5.4.2 The future of Berwick upon Tweed

The recent CE/SQW (2006) report for Defra defines the Borough of Berwick as being outside the Tyne and Wear city region. Similar work in Scotland has also omitted the Borough from the Edinburgh and the Lothians city region. However, the Borough, and particularly the town of Berwick upon Tweed, has an important strategic location just south of the English-Scottish border. The A1¹³ runs through the Borough, very close to the town of Berwick. Berwick also has a station on the East Coast Mainline and is relatively well served by both National Express and Arriva CrossCountry intercity train services. Both Edinburgh and Newcastle can be reached in approximately 45 minutes by train as Berwick is located mid-way between these two city regions. Thus although the Borough may be conventionally regarded as a remote rural area, the location of Berwick and its easy access to major, strategic transport routes make it an interesting location in which to study commuting behaviour. The data from the 2001 Census showing relatively high proportions of people travelling 60km or more to work from Berwick, compared to the North East region, suggests that some out-commuting takes place from Berwick to major urban locations (Table 2).

The Borough's Core Strategy (which is currently in preparation and forms part of the Local Development Framework) will have three overarching objectives as set out in the recent *Preferred Options* document (Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council 2007). These include: *"The creation of a balanced population structure, in communities which provide access to a broad range of housing, which meets local needs"*, and *"The improvement of social and economic well-being, by connecting individuals and communities to work and the services which they require throughout their lifetime"* (Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council 2007). Within the three overarching objectives are twelve strategic objectives which include: *the attraction of additional sustainable development; creating opportunities for well paid employment; improvements in levels of educational attainment, qualifications and skills; improvement of local access to services reducing the need to travel by car; a balanced housing market; revitalisation, diversification and provision of additional, retail, service and cultural facilities; and connecting communities within the Borough and providing links to areas outwith the Borough's boundaries* (Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council 2007).

Thus, there is a recognised need for a balance between improving the Borough's transport infrastructure and links to locations outside its boundaries (thus increasing the chance that residents may commute out of the Borough for work, or at least consider commuting when making key employment and housing decisions), but also a need to promote development within the Borough to provide local sustainable development and enable more people to stay in employment locally. A number of other issues relevant to this study are noted in the Core Strategy, including the desired achievement of *"...patterns of living, working, leisure and recreation that are prudent in the demands that they place on the use of natural resources..."* and *"... people will, by and large, live in the town or village and house of their choice; they will work in a job and location that suits their lifestyle, and have opportunities to spend and enjoy their leisure time locally, in the Borough and further afield"*. The Strategy sets out the need to rebalance the population structure and economic transformation of the Borough through a

¹⁰ In the North East, the average length of daily commuting is lower than the national average, and lower than any other English region, with the exception of the North West.

¹¹ The method of travel to work is for the longest part, by distance, of the usual journey to work.

¹² Anecdotal evidence suggests that the number of people commuting out of Berwick station to both the north and south has increased in the last five years.

¹³ The Scottish Executive/Government has spent money on upgrading the A1 between Edinburgh and the Scottish border as it sees this road as a key strategic route. However, there has not been a similar upgrading of the road south of the Scottish border to Newcastle.

programme of regenerative activity, based upon clear spatial priorities which focus development on Berwick and secondary settlements and limit it in the open countryside (Rutherford 2007).

Importantly in the context of this study, the *Preferred Options* document (Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council 2007) acknowledges that Berwick is considered as lying outside the Tyne and Wear City Region, but frequently makes mention of: *“The attraction of additional sustainable development into the Borough (and the north east region) as a consequence of continued economic growth in the Edinburgh and Lothians city region”* (Strategic Objective 3 p. 10). The document notes increasing evidence that the social and economic performance of Edinburgh and the Lothians is having a growing influence on the town of Berwick, and particularly the northern part of the Borough. Building on Berwick’s links to the north by road and rail, the document recognises that as the prosperity of Edinburgh spreads, Berwick is in the unique position of being the only settlement in the north east that can realistically benefit from inward migration and investment from this direction, although no detail is provided on why and how this might be the case (Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council 2007, p. 26).

Gillespies (2006) report on *“The Future of Berwick”* sets out a vision for Berwick, that over the next 20 years, Berwick will be made into:

“a competitive, distinctive and well-connected Border town that is enterprising, ambitious and inclusive” (Gillespies 2006)

Gillespies (2006) also highlight that Berwick’s geographical proximity and connectedness within an hour to the two fast growing city regions of Edinburgh and Newcastle both with international airports, are major strengths in its economic viability, combined with its offer of living within a compact, historic market town.

As echoed in the Council’s *Preferred Options* document, Gillespies (2006) highlight the need both to improve the employment offer of Berwick itself but also to build on the town’s locational strengths and maximise its connectivity. The report suggests that although Berwick is equally important economically and as a rural service centre both north and south of the border, the Scottish Borders region in particular would appear to be dependent on a ‘strong’ Berwick within in excess of 1,100 people living north of the border and working in Berwick. The expansion of Berwick’s economic activity (in terms of new employment/services) could enhance this regional service centre role through providing further employment opportunities for residents (Gillespies 2006, p.69). Gillespies (2006, p. 80) suggest that dialogue with authorities in the Scottish Borders and Scottish Enterprise is important, in addition to those in the North East, to identify interventions in Berwick that can support the achievement of policy objectives on both sides of the border.

The North East Regional Spatial Strategy also identifies that the development of the Edinburgh and the Lothians City Region will have an influence on activity in Berwick and other locations in the north of the region. This influence is likely to grow as transport links improve and as the town has a greater focus both as a commuter settlement and as a sub-regional service centre (although links between the town and its hinterland are crucial in this regard¹⁴). Looking further afield geographically, the National Planning Framework for Scotland Monitoring Report 6 identifies *“the strategic route between Aberdeen and Newcastle as a key corridor”* and refers to *“opportunities to develop knowledge economy links based on the expertise associated with the energy and offshore industries and universities of Aberdeen, Dundee, St. Andrews, Edinburgh and Newcastle”*. Gillespies (2006, p. 111) note that *“It is Berwick’s ability to respond to this opportunity, based upon its connectivity to the Scottish capital city region, which will primarily drive the socio-economic transformation that this framework aspires to”*. Moreover, Gillespies (2006, p. 77) also identify that Northumberland market towns like Berwick can help to extend the offer of both city regions in terms of their tourist and residential offer. At the same time, the report also notes some of the negative aspects of this connectivity, including the increasing popularity of the Borough for commuters

¹⁴ One development that is key in this role is ensuring that Berwick mainline station is a hub in an integrated transport system. Work has been done on this aspect of the station’s services recently, in combination with easing congestion at the station by making better use of space and reorganising the road layout (see Commission for Rural Communities 2005).

to Newcastle and Edinburgh which is leading to a shortage of houses, potentially hindering attempts to retain young people and attract new skilled residents to the Borough.

6. Study methodology

This study focuses on individuals commuting out the Borough by train using Berwick station on the East Coast Mainline. A self-completion questionnaire was used to elicit information from individuals on a range of issues using a range of both closed and open questions, permitting both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Multiple choice questions were avoided so as to not lead respondents to answer questions in particular ways. Questions focused on topics such as:

- Personal information about the individual (age, gender, home postcode);
- Where they are commuting to; how long they have commuted to that location; how many times a week they make the journey and if they are able to/do work from home;
- Whether they are local to the Borough or an in-migrant; if the latter, when they moved in to Berwick and why;
- Employment history, i.e. have they always commuted; if not, why did they decide to commute;
- What they perceive as the main challenges of commuting (e.g. cost, pressure on family life, extra childcare responsibilities, pressure on social life and ability to participate in their local community, etc); do they see any benefits of commuting (e.g. using the train may be seen as more 'environmentally friendly' than driving);
- What factors might make them consider changing their commuting behaviour (both pull and push factors);
- What proportions of spending (on food, non-food and leisure and entertainment etc.) do they spend in the Borough and elsewhere.

The 2001 Census revealed that 121 people commute out of the Borough of Berwick by train. It was assumed that most of these individuals travel north to Edinburgh and south to Newcastle, although some may also work in other locations to the south (such as Morpeth, Alnmouth and Durham) and to the north (such as Dunbar). Some individuals commute to work in London for all or part of the working week and these individuals were also included in the study.

The questionnaire was piloted with three commuters on 21st and 22nd January which resulted in a number of useful suggestions for improvement. The main survey was carried out between 28th January and 10th February. Following discussion and agreement with National Express, the questionnaire was given out at random on the platform at Berwick station to people who confirmed that they regularly commuted from Berwick for work. A range of northbound and southbound trains departing Berwick early in the morning were targeted on different days. The researcher travelled on the relevant service and, having given respondents time to complete the questionnaire, walked through the train in order to collect completed questionnaires and to answer any questions that respondents had about the research. A postage paid, self-addressed, return envelope was made available to respondents who preferred to complete the questionnaire in their own time.

A total of 50 questionnaires were completed, including 32 southbound commuters and 18 northbound commuters. This represents 41% of the population of train commuters from Berwick recorded at the time of the 2001 Census (although not all respondents in this study were residents of Berwick Borough). Although this number of questionnaires will not permit detailed statistical analysis of responses, it will be possible to highlight some issues which could be targeted in further research, using a larger follow up survey.

7. Results

7.1 Introduction

This section is divided into sub-sections, thematically reporting the results of the questionnaire of commuters. As stated above, the sample size is small, but there are some patterns evident in the data and some tentative suggestions can be drawn regarding the population of commuters from Berwick station.

7.2 Characteristics of respondents

7.2.1 The destination of respondents

Questionnaires were completed by 32 southbound commuters and 18 northbound commuters. All northbound commuters were travelling from Berwick to work in Edinburgh, with the majority of individuals working in central Edinburgh. The southbound commuters were travelling to a range of different destinations:

- 20 respondents were travelling to Newcastle/Gateshead (62.5% of the total sample of southbound commuters)
- Eight respondents were travelling to London (25% of the total sample of southbound commuters)
- One respondent was travelling to each of the following locations: Durham, Teesside, Manchester, Various (these respondents are classed as 'other' in the following analysis).

7.2.2 The sex of respondents

Table 1 below shows the sex of the questionnaire respondents. The data suggests that the population of Edinburgh commuters is more balanced in terms of their sex than southbound commuters (to all locations).

Table 1: The sex of respondents

	Newcastle	London	Other	Total Southbound	Edinburgh/Northbound	Total sample (n = 50)
Male	14	7	4	25	8	33 (66%)
Female	6	1	0	7	10	17 (34%)

7.2.3 The age of respondents

Age information was collected from respondents using banded categories (see Table 2). Most individuals were aged 36-55 (see also Romani *et al.* 2003). However, the data suggests that the age profile of northbound commuters is slightly younger than for southbound commuters, with the modal category for northbound commuters being 36-45 (as it is for Newcastle alone) whilst for all southbound commuters it is 46-55, reflecting the older age of London commuters. Although the questionnaire did not ask for information on respondent's income, it could be assumed that individuals in the 36-45 age group have moved at least some way up the career ladder, and therefore can afford to make decisions regarding their lifestyle and residential location that are not constrained by financial concerns that younger (and indeed older) workers may be facing.

Table 2: The age of respondents (banded)

	Newcastle	London	Other	Total Southbound	Edinburgh/Northbound	Total sample (n = 50)
18-25	0	0	0	0	1	1 (2%)
26-35	4	0	1	5	7	12 (24%)
36-45	8	1	1	10	9	19 (38%)
46-55	5	4	2	11	1	12 (24%)
56-65	3	2	0	5	0	5 (10%)
66+	0	1	0	1	0	1 (2%)

7.2.4 The family status of respondents

Table 3 shows the family status of respondents. Almost 90% of the sample of commuters had partners, although just over 61% had no children under 18 in their household. This may reflect a number of factors, including older children having grown up and left the family home, (allowing parents to commute freed from childcare responsibilities), or younger couples not yet having had children. Further research would be required to explore if the latter represents a conscious choice by couples to delay or avoid having children whilst pursuing careers for which they are required to commute.

Table 3: The family status of respondents

	Newcastle	London*	Other	Total southbound	Edinburgh/Northbound	Total sample (n = 49)
Respondents with partners	17	7	4	28	16	44 (89.8%)
Respondents without partners	3	0	0	3	2	5 (10.2%)
Respondents with no children under 18 in their household	11	4	2	17	13	30 (61.2%)
Respondents with 1 child under 18 in their household	5	2	0	7	3	10 (20.4%)
Respondents with 2 children under 18 in their household	4	1	1	6	0	6 (12.2%)
Respondents with 3 or more children under 18 in their household	0	0	1	1	2	3 (6.1%)

7.2.5 The employment status of respondents' spouse/partner

Respondents were asked to indicate the employment status of their spouse/partner in the questionnaire (if applicable) and to state the postcode of his/her place of work. It was therefore possible to identify households where both partners were working and whether or not both were commuting to employment outside Berwick Borough.

Amongst the sample of 32 southbound commuters, 11 respondents had partners/spouses who were in full time employment, five had partners who were in part-time employment and five were in self-employment (representing 65.6% of the sample of southbound commuters). Seven respondents had partners who were not working and not actively seeking work. Of the remaining four respondents, three stated 'Not applicable' to this question suggesting that they did not have partners and one did not answer the question. The partners of six respondents were working either full-time or part-time in Berwick. Others worked in full-time, part-time or self-employment in a range of locations outside Berwick, including Alnwick, Duns, North Berwick, Kelso, Coldingham, Belford and Ancroft. Three southbound commuters (two working in Newcastle and one working in Teesside), had partners working in Edinburgh suggesting that for these individuals Berwick represents a mid-way location from which both partners can commute to their chosen employment.

Amongst the sample of 18 northbound commuters, nine respondents had partners/spouses in full-time employment, two had partners in part-time employment and four had partners in self-employment (representing 83.3% of the northbound sample). Only one respondent's partner was not in work and was not actively seeking work and two further respondents answered 'Not applicable' to this question. Three respondents reported that their partners worked full-time in Berwick, one respondent's partner worked in Berwick on a part-time basis and two respondents' partners were self-employed in Berwick. Four respondents also had partners who worked in Edinburgh (three in full-time employment and one in part-time employment) and one respondent's partner worked in Newcastle. Other respondents' partners worked in other locations in Northumberland and the Scottish Borders, including Duns and Unthank. The pattern of couples both commuting to Edinburgh is interesting. Whilst it cannot be assumed that both partners are travelling by train (although this is likely to be the case), these individuals are choosing to live some distance from their place of work and commute. Further research is required to see if that decision is being made as a result of positive aspects of living in Berwick (e.g. the high quality landscape/coastline) or as a result of negative aspects of living in Edinburgh (e.g. high house prices), or a combination of the two.

7.2.6 The home ownership status of respondents

Table 4 below shows that almost 90% of the sample owned their home with only approximately one in 10 respondents renting their home.

Table 4: The home ownership status of respondents

	Newcastle	London*	Other	Total southbound	Edinburgh/Northbound	Total sample (n = 49)
Own home with or without mortgage	16	7	4	27	17	44 (89.8%)
Rent home	4	0	0	4	1	5 (10.2%)

7.2.7 The employment and occupational status of respondents

Table 5 shows the employment status of respondents. As expected, the majority (76.0%) of northbound and southbound commuters are in full-time employment.

Table 5: The employment status of respondents

	Newcastle	London	Other	Total southbound	Edinburgh/ Northbound	Total sample (n = 50)
Full-time employment	17	6	4	27	11	38 (76%)
Part-time employment	2	0	0	2	3	5 (10%)
Self-employed	1	2	0	3	1	4 (8%)
Other (e.g. contract or seasonal work)	0	0	0	0	3	3 (6%)

Table 6 shows the occupational status of respondents. Respondents were asked in the questionnaire to state their occupation, and this information has been coded using the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) 2000.

Table 6: Occupational status of respondents

Occupational Group	Newcastle	London	Other	Total southbound	Edinburgh/ Northbound	Total sample (n = 50)
Major Group 1 (Managers and Senior Officials)	5	6	1	12	7	19 (38%)
Major Group 2 (Professional Occupations)	11	2	1	14	10	24 (48%)
Major Group 3 (Associate Professional and Technical Occupations)	4	0	2	6	1	7 (14%)

The results of this survey support previous work which has suggested that commuters tend to be in the higher occupational groups, with the data showing the dominance of managerial and professional occupations amongst those commuting both north and south from Berwick station. 85% of the sample are in Major Groups 1 and 2 (Managers and Senior Officials and Professional Occupations).

7.3 The commuting behaviour of respondents

7.3.1 Length of time respondents have commuted from Berwick station

Respondents were asked in the questionnaire to state how long they have commuted to their current usual place of work from Berwick station (Table 7). A high proportion of respondents (66.0% of the total sample) have started commuting from Berwick in the seven years since the 2001 Census (at least 22 southbound commuters and 11 northbound commuters, plus some of those who are in the 5 years 1 month to 10 years category). Only 10.0% of respondents in the sample have commuted for 10 years or longer and 80.0% of these respondents are southbound commuters. The data therefore appears to suggest that the number of commuters from Berwick has increased in recent years, although it is not known how many people have stopped commuting since the 2001 Census. On the other hand, the data may suggest a high degree of 'churn' in the population of commuters, with people only commuting for relatively short periods of time. However, when asked informally whether they believe that the numbers of people commuting from Berwick is increasing, commuters who have travelled for some time from Berwick station felt that this is the case, thus providing some support for the first explanation, although more detailed research would be required to

ascertain whether this is the case. Further support for this explanation is provided by Midgley *et al.* (2005) who found large increases in commuting from north Northumberland in recent years.

The questionnaire also asked respondents why they changed to their current job and for the majority of respondents this was in order to gain promotion. Section 7.5 explores the employment and residential preferences of respondents in more detail.

Table 7: Length of time respondents have commuted from Berwick upon Tweed station to their current job

	Newcastle	London	Other	Total southbound	Edinburgh/Northbound	Total sample (n = 50)
Less than 1 year	3	1	0	4	6	10 (20%)
1-2 years	5	1	2	8	2	10 (20%)
2 years 1 month to 5 years	8	1	1	10	3	13 (26%)
5 years 1 month to 10 years	2	3	1	6	6	12 (24%)
10 years 1 month or longer	2	2	0	4	1	5 (10%)

7.3.2 Number of times per week that respondents commute from Berwick station

Table 8 below shows the number of times per week that respondents commuted from Berwick station to their current place of work. The data confirms, as expected, that individuals working in London commute to and from Berwick once a week, though not all London-based commuters spend the whole week in the capital. 22.0% of the sample travel to work between one and four times a week (suggesting some respondents do work from home occasionally) whilst the majority (58.0%) travel on a daily basis (i.e. at least five times a week, with some individuals occasionally travelling to work at weekends too).

Table 8: Number of times per week that respondent commutes to their current usual place of work

	Newcastle	London	Other	Total southbound	Edinburgh/Northbound	Total sample (n = 50)
Once (i.e. weekly commuter)	0	8	1	9	0	9 (18%)
Once (i.e. infrequent commuter)	1	0	0	1	0	1 (2%)
Twice	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
Three times	2	0	0	2	3	5 (10%)
Four times	3	0	1	4	1	5 (10%)
Five or more times	14	0	1	15	14	29 (58%)
Varies	0	0	1	1	0	1 (2%)

7.3.3 The length of respondents' working day

Respondents were asked to indicate the time at which they usually depart Berwick station and the time at which they usually arrive back at the station on a 'normal' working day. Of the Edinburgh commuters, 50% (nine respondents) left Berwick on the 07.14 train (the only northbound service that stops in Berwick and is timetabled to arrive in Edinburgh before 09.00) and usually arrived back at Berwick station at 19.18 in the evening. This means that 50% of the sample of northbound commuters have a working day that is longer than 12 hours, plus any additional travel to and from home and Berwick station. A further 38.9% of respondents (seven respondents) left Berwick on the 07.14 train and arrived back at Berwick station at 18.16. Only two respondents had shorter working days than this.

The length of the working day for southbound commuters was more varied, probably reflecting the greater frequency of both morning and evening train services for commuters travelling from Berwick to Newcastle. The majority of London commuters left Berwick on the 06.29 service on a Monday morning and returned late on Friday evening (usually between 18.30 and 21.30). Most Newcastle-based commuters left Berwick station on services departing between 06.29 and 07.40 and returned to Berwick station at 17.25, 17.38 or 18.30, meaning that they too have a working day that amounts to 12 hours on average (again excluding time taken to travel to and from home and the station).

7.3.4 Why respondents commute by train and not another mode of transport

Respondents were asked to give up to three reasons why they commute to work by train rather than using another mode of transport. Several reasons were given frequently by both northbound and southbound commuters. The most common were: faster than driving (36.7% of respondents); train is less tiring/stressful than driving (36.7% of respondents); convenience (22.4% of respondents); economical compared to driving and especially the increasing cost of fuel (20.4% of respondents); and can do work on the train (20.4% of respondents). However, some reasons were specific to commuters travelling to particular locations, including the lack of and cost of parking in Edinburgh (12.2% of respondents) and the lack of a dual carriageway to Newcastle and safety concerns with the single carriageway (6.1% of respondents) (n = 49). A number of commuters to both Newcastle and London felt that the distance to travel was too far to permit driving by car (this was not mentioned by any Edinburgh commuters) and only two respondents (both Edinburgh commuters) mentioned that the bus was not a realistic alternative. There are buses from Berwick to Newcastle and Edinburgh but no service arrives in Newcastle before 9am (one service arrives in Edinburgh before 9am) and both journeys take over two hours.

Given growing concerns about the environmental impact of transport and travel patterns in the UK, it was perhaps surprising that only four respondents (one Edinburgh commuter and three Newcastle commuters) mentioned that one reason for commuting by train was that the environmental impact was less than travelling by car. This was the most important reason for travelling by train for only one respondent.

7.3.5 Disadvantages of commuting

Respondents were asked in the questionnaire to state up to three disadvantages of commuting. Again several disadvantages were listed by a number of northbound and southbound commuters, including: the time spent travelling (57.1% of respondents); the high financial cost of commuting (55.1% of respondents); the unreliability of the service (34.7% of respondents); the tiring nature of commuting (18.4% of respondents); and the time spent away from family (16.3% of respondents). A number of Edinburgh commuters commented that the frequency of services to and from Edinburgh was poor, with only one service arriving in Edinburgh before 09.00 and a gap in the timetable between 19.00 and 21.00 when no southbound trains stop in Berwick.

7.4 The impact of commuting on respondents' lifestyles

7.4.1 Introduction

The study explored the ways in which commuting impacts on respondents' lifestyles, including their ability to participate in local community and voluntary activities and the geography of their spending on different items. These issues are examined in Sections 7.4.2 and 7.4.3.

7.4.2 The impact of commuting on respondents' participation in community and voluntary groups

Table 9 below contains data collected in two questions, the first which asked respondents how much time they spend participating in local community and voluntary groups (including sports clubs) each week in their place of residence, and the second which asked if they felt that commuting prevents them participating more fully in these types of activity.

Table 9 shows that 50.0% of sample respondents do not participate at all in local community and voluntary groups. This represents a considerable loss of potential 'human capital' for voluntary sector groups for which the skills, knowledge and experience of commuters could be very important. The remaining 50.0% of the sample do spend some time per week involved in community and voluntary sector activity, although 22.0% spend less than 2 hours per week.

The data in the second part of the table reveals that almost two thirds of the sample felt that commuting prevented them from participating more fully in these kinds of activity suggesting that there is a trade-off between commuting to a job that an individual wishes to do and, as a consequence, being less able (or unable) to participate in other activities.

Table 9: Respondents' participation in local community and voluntary groups

	Newcastle	London	Other	Total southbound	Edinburgh/Northbound	Total sample (n = 49)
No time spent participating per week	11	2	1	14	11	25 (50%)
Less than 2 hours per week	4	3	2	9	2	11 (22%)
3-5 hours per week	4	1	1	6	3	9 (18%)
6-10 hours per week	1	0	0	1	2	3 (6%)
More than 10 hours per week	0	1	0	1	0	1 (2%)
Commuting prevents me from participating more fully	12	6	3	21	15	36 (72%)
Commuting does not prevent me from participating more fully	5	1	0	6	2	8 (16%)
I don't wish to participate more fully	3	0	1	4	1	5 (10%)

7.4.3 The impact of commuting on the geography of respondents' spending patterns

Respondents were asked to indicate the proportions of their spending on different goods that takes place in different geographical locations: locally (within 10 miles of their home), in the place where they work and in other locations. In terms of non-food and leisure/entertainment spending northbound and southbound commuters are grouped together. Although

southbound commuters came from a much more varied range of residential locations than northbound commuters (thus for this group, 'local' represents a greater range of locations), Berwick is expected to serve as the main town for most individuals for these purposes due to their absence in most smaller settlements (perhaps with the exception of some individuals living closer to Galashiels). The data in Tables 11 and 12 therefore allows conclusions to be drawn regarding the leakage of spend to commuters' place of work, compared to levels of local spend. For food shopping, northbound and southbound commuters are analysed separately as here, the varied residential locations of southbound commuters will mean a more varied spread of local spending on food, reflecting the greater availability of food retailers in many smaller settlements.

Weekly spending on food shopping

Table 10: Proportions of weekly spending on food shopping locally (i.e. in Berwick) and in the respondent's place of work (northbound commuters only)

% of food shopping spending locally	No of respondents (n = 18)	% of food shopping spending in place of work (Edinburgh)	No of respondents (n = 18)
0-25	1	0-25	14
26-50	3	26-50	3
51-75	1	51-75	1
76-100	13	76-100	0

Table 10 shows the results for northbound commuters only. All but one of these individuals lived in Berwick upon Tweed or within 10 miles of the town, and the one respondent that doesn't live 'locally' to Berwick estimated the proportion of his/her weekly spend that took place in the town and is therefore included in the data. Therefore, for the purposes of Table 10, 'locally' can be assumed to refer to Berwick. The estimate of 55% of food shopping that was done in Berwick by the 'non-local' resident suggests that Berwick may 'pick up' some additional spending as a result of individuals using the station to commute out of the town but not necessarily living close to the town. However, further research is required to ascertain if this is indeed the case.

Table 10 shows that 72.2% of the northbound commuters spend 76-100% of their weekly spending on food shopping in Berwick. This is a higher proportion than might have been expected given previous research which has suggested that commuters tend to spend lower proportions locally. A slightly higher percentage (77.8%) report undertaking 0-25% of their weekly spending on food in Edinburgh, their place of work. The unexpectedly high proportion of spending locally may reflect the shopping decisions of respondents' partners to shop locally for food (16 of the 18 northbound commuters had partners, six of whom were working in Berwick). The only other locations mentioned by northbound respondents as being locations for food shopping were Galashiels (where one respondent spent 20% of their weekly spending on food shopping) and Newcastle (where one respondent spent 10% of their weekly spending on food shopping). Therefore, amongst northbound commuters from Berwick, Berwick and Edinburgh account for the vast majority of spending on food shopping.

Table 11 shows the results for southbound commuters. The data is presented so as to simply compare local expenditure against expenditure in a respondent's place of work, although it is recognised that, when compared to the northbound commuters there is a much greater degree of variety amongst southbound respondents both in terms of their home and their employment locations. Table 11 simply enables an assessment of the degree to which spending on food 'leaks' out of the borders economy as a result of the respondent commuting.

Again the data in Table 11 suggests that the households of respondents spend a high proportion of their food shopping spending in their local area. The proportions spent in respondents' place of work are relatively small in comparison, with 20 respondents (71.4% of

respondents to this question) reporting that 0-25% of their food shopping spend occurred in their place of work. Again this may reflect the shopping decisions of other household members.

Table 11: Proportions of weekly spending on food shopping locally and in the respondent's place of work (southbound commuters only)

% of food shopping spending locally	No of respondents (n = 28)	% of food shopping spending in place of work (including Newcastle, London and Other)	No of respondents (n = 28)
0-25	4	0-25	20
26-50	1	26-50	3
51-75	4	51-75	4
76-100	19	76-100	1

Reviewing the place of residence of southbound respondents and the places that would be regarded as local for food shopping reveals that Berwick is within the local area of 19 southbound commuters (67.9% of respondents in Table 11). Other 'local' locations where these respondents undertook food shopping included Galashiels, Dunbar, Hawick, Belford and Jedburgh, reflecting the wide area from which southbound commuters travel to Berwick station to access train services (see Section 7.5). Four of these respondents listed Berwick as an 'Other' location in which they undertake some household spending on food, with one respondent stating this amounted to 0-25% of weekly spend, two stating that this amounted to 26-50% of weekly spend and one saying this amounted to 75-100% of weekly food spend. Again, this suggests that although some commuters from Berwick station do not live in the town, some of their weekly spending on food does take place in the town. Thus, although Berwick may lose some spend as a result of individuals commuting out of the town, it may also gain some spend from individuals travelling to the town in order to use the station.

Weekly spending on non-food shopping

Respondents were also asked to indicate the locations in which they undertook their weekly spend on non-food items, such as household goods, electrical items and clothes. The results for all respondents are combined in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Proportions of weekly spend on non-food shopping locally and in the respondent's place of work (northbound and southbound commuters combined)

% of non-food shopping spending locally	No of respondents (n = 46)	% of non-food shopping spending in place of work (Edinburgh/ Newcastle/London/ Other)	No of respondents (n = 46)
0-25	16	0-25	21
26-50	20	26-50	18
51-75	4	51-75	3
76-100	6	76-100	4

As expected, the proportions of spending on non-food goods are lower in respondents' local areas than the proportions of spending on food goods, reflecting the nature of rural non-food retail provision. What is perhaps more surprising is the relatively low proportions of spending on non-food items which occur in respondents' place of work. For northbound commuters, the internet is important, with small proportions of non-food spending also in other locations such

as Dunbar and Galashiels. Again the northbound respondent for whom Berwick is not their local area reports a small proportion of their spending in the town, effectively representing a 'gain' to the Berwick economy.

For southbound commuters the locations of non-food spending are much varied, and (in addition to Berwick) include Carlisle, Edinburgh, Galashiels, Alnwick and the internet. The number of southbound respondents mentioning Edinburgh is perhaps surprising, given that Newcastle is likely to offer similar retail options in terms of household goods (although respondents making bulky non-food purchases in Newcastle do face the challenge of transporting them home by train). Respondents may also tie the purchasing of such goods to trips to Edinburgh for other purposes done by car, including leisure and entertainment activities.

Weekly spending on leisure and entertainment

The third question for respondents asked about their spending on leisure and entertainment activities. The data is presented in Table 13 below.

Table 13: Proportions of weekly spend on leisure and entertainment activities locally and in the respondent's place of work (north- and southbound commuters combined)

% of leisure and entertainment shopping spending locally	No of respondents (n = 46)	% of leisure and entertainment activities spending in place of work (Edinburgh/ Newcastle/London/ Other)	No of respondents (n = 46)
0-25	9	0-25	28
26-50	8	26-50	9
51-75	8	51-75	3
76-100	21	76-100	6

As Table 13 shows, a large proportion of the spend on leisure and entertainment by both northbound and southbound commuters takes place within the local area around their home (and for a high proportion of the sample this is Berwick Borough, and primarily the town of Berwick itself). The high number of respondents (28, 60.9%) who report undertaking up to 25% of their leisure and entertainment spending in their place of work is perhaps surprising, although a significant minority (13.0%) report undertaking 75-100% of this spend in their place of work.

It is surprising that nine southbound commuters mention that they spend varying proportions of their leisure and entertainment spending (up to 50%) in Edinburgh rather than in their place of work. This suggests that respondents are doing further travelling either in the evenings or at weekends to Edinburgh, in addition to their daily/weekly commutes to work in locations to the south of Berwick. For Berwick, this perhaps represents some spend that could be clawed back from Edinburgh (spend in the locations to which individuals commute is likely to be harder to claw back), though for some respondents this will be dependent on improvements to the leisure and entertainment facilities available in the town (see Section 7.6.3).

Overall, the geographical patterns of spend on these three categories suggest some leakage from the Berwick economy to the locations in which individuals are working, although perhaps not as much as was expected given previous studies on this topic. This may reflect the influence of decisions made in terms of retail spending by other household members, or it may also reflect the fact that Berwick has a reasonable mix of services and facilities given its remote location. If Berwick's leisure and entertainment facilities were to be improved, there may be potential for the town/Borough to claw back some spend in this category which is currently undertaken in Edinburgh by southbound commuters. There is a suggestion that

Berwick may gain some spend from individuals not living in the town, but who use the station, although this may represent a loss to other parts of the borders economy.

7.5 The residential and employment preferences of respondents

7.5.1 Introduction

In relation to residential preferences, the questionnaire asked for the postcode of respondents' current place of residence and the reason/s why they moved to that place. In terms of employment, respondents were asked for information on their previous employment and why they changed to their current job (if applicable), why they commute out of the Borough for work rather than work locally and their future employment aspirations, to try and ascertain if individuals saw commuting as something they would continue to do in the long-term.

7.5.2 Residential location of respondents

A considerable proportion of northbound commuters (66.7%) live within the town of Berwick (and the associated settlements of Tweedmouth, Spittal and East Ord). The remaining six respondents live fairly small distances from Berwick (Eyemouth, Lowick, Yetholm, Unthank, Duns and Scremerston).

The residential locations of southbound commuters are more varied, with Berwick station clearly drawing southbound commuters from a wide geographical area. Twelve southbound commuters (37.5% of the sample of southbound commuters) live in Berwick town (and its associated settlements), two respondents in Norham and two in Gordon. However, the remainder are spread over many different locations (Newton St Boswells, Hawick, North Berwick, Westruther, Marshall Meadows, Belford, Milfield, Ancroft, Hornccliffe, Dunbar, Jedburgh, Foulden, Coldstream, Hutton, East Linton and Coldingham). The varied range of locations from which commuters are drawn to Berwick, some of which are a considerable distance away (including Dunbar and East Linton both of which are closer to Dunbar station, which is also on the East Coast Mainline but is more poorly served particularly with trains to/from Newcastle) show the importance of the station for people to access employment opportunities.

Respondents were asked to indicate how long they had lived at their current address and the results are shown in Table 14 below.

Table 14: Length of time respondents have lived at their current address

	Southbound	Northbound	Total (n = 50)
Less than 1 year	3	5	8 (16%)
1-2 years	7	2	9 (18%)
2 years 1 month – 5 years	6	2	8 (16%)
5 years 1 month – 10 years	7	5	12 (24%)
10 years 1 month or longer	9	4	13 (26%)

The responses to this question are relatively evenly spread across the categories, although the proportions of respondents who had lived for a longer period of time at their current address (i.e. 5 years or more) was slightly higher than the proportions who had lived for a shorter time period.

Respondents were also asked to indicate how long in total they had lived in the Berwick area (Table 15). It is difficult to directly compare these results as it appears that some respondents have not answered the questions consistently. For example, a higher proportion of respondents report that they have lived at their current address for less than 1 year than report having lived in the Berwick area for less than 1 year. There is not an easy explanation for this discrepancy, but it may reflect a perception amongst some respondents that they do not live 'in the Berwick area'. However, what is interesting from the results is the high proportion of people who have lived in Berwick for 5 or more years, suggesting that some individuals have lived in Berwick for a longer time than they have commuted to their current job. This may represent people who have grown up in Berwick and who have decided to continue to live locally but to commute out of the area for employment. It may also reflect people who have moved into the area and perhaps worked locally or elsewhere before changing to commute to their present job.

Table 15: Length of time respondents have lived in the Berwick area

	Southbound	Northbound	Total (n = 48)
Less than 1 year	1	3	4 (8%)
1-2 years	5	1	6 (12%)
2 years 1 month – 5 years	4	1	5 (10%)
5 years 1 month – 10 years	7	5	12 (24%)
10 years 1 month or longer	13	8	21 (42%)

The questionnaire also asked the postcode of a respondents' previous place of employment (if applicable) which provides a means of finding out how many respondents previously worked locally and how many lived (and worked) elsewhere and then decided to move into the Berwick area. This is linked to research cited earlier by Champion and Brown (forthcoming) who found that in-migrants to rural areas were more likely to commute longer distances than locals.

For northbound commuters, respondents were fairly evenly spread between five respondents who had lived in Berwick and commuted to work elsewhere (including Edinburgh, Newcastle and Galashiels), four respondents who lived and worked in Berwick itself, and seven respondents who lived and worked elsewhere (including London [three respondents], Kendal, Edinburgh and Dumbarton).

However, for southbound commuters the pattern is rather different. Five respondents stated that they had lived locally but commuted to a job elsewhere (including York, Edinburgh, London and Manchester). Six respondents stated that they had lived and worked in Berwick. However, nineteen respondents (just under 60% of the total sample of southbound commuters) stated that they had lived and worked elsewhere. Looking at the breakdown of locations reveals an interesting pattern: Manchester, Northallerton, Dundee, London, Dunbar and Australia were each stated by one respondent; five respondents stated Newcastle; and six respondents stated Edinburgh (two respondents did not state where they had lived/worked). These results suggest that people have moved out of the two city regions from which Berwick is equidistant to live in the Borough. The results obtained from the relatively small sample in this study suggest therefore that there may be a precedent in terms of people moving out of Edinburgh and Newcastle to live in Berwick. At the very least, this finding suggests an interesting avenue for future research amongst in-migrants to Berwick, particularly to ascertain the factors that influence an individual's decision to move out of cities to locations like Berwick, whilst continuing to work in urban locations.

One of the key issues to explore in the questionnaire was the extent to which individuals had moved to their current place of residence in order to take advantage of the transport routes

that can be accessed from Berwick station. Respondents were asked to indicate why they moved to their current place of residence, listing up to three reasons in order of priority. In terms of northbound commuters (see Table 16), only two respondents indicated that the decision was due to the transport infrastructure and the convenience of travelling both north and south (one respondent worked in Edinburgh and had a partner working in Newcastle). The other reasons very much reflect respondents' perceptions of the advantages of living in/close to Berwick reported in Section 7.6.

Table 16: Respondents reasons for moving to their current place of residence (northbound commuters)

Reason for moving	No of respondents (n = 18)
Housing (including availability of housing at the desired price and of the desired type)	10
The attractive/peaceful location of the Borough	7
Friends and family locally	6
Quality of coastline and countryside	6

For southbound commuters, the availability of the transport infrastructure was much more important in the decision to move to their current place of residence (see Table 17).

Table 17: Respondents reasons for moving to their current place of residence (southbound commuters)

Reason for moving	No of respondents (n = 32)
Good transport links (incl. potential for commuting to employment opportunities, easy access to Newcastle and Edinburgh, easy access to London)	17
Housing (including availability of housing at the desired price and of the desired type)	17
Rural location	12
High quality landscape/scenery/environment	9

The same number of respondents highlighted good transport links and housing availability as the most important reasons for moving to their current place of residence. The two next most important reasons relate to the importance of the quality of the natural environment and scenery in the Berwick Borough, and no doubt reflect the more rural residential location of many of the southbound respondents. Other reasons cited by southbound commuters include having family locally and a high quality of life.

Given that respondents were asked to list reasons in order of priority, further analysis was conducted to ascertain how many respondents listed reasons connected with the Borough's (external) transport infrastructure as being the most important for moving to their current place of residence. Only one northbound commuter listed transport as the top reason for moving, whilst this was listed first by seven southbound commuters.

Asking respondents questions about the reasons for moving to their current place of residence as well as about their perceptions of the key advantages of living in/close to Berwick (see Section 7.6) gave the researcher the chance to assess the importance of Berwick's strategic transport infrastructure using two different approaches. Overall, 19 respondents mentioned Berwick's transport infrastructure as being a reason for moving to their current place of residence, representing 38.8% of respondents, with 16.3% of respondents listing this as the most important reason. Housing (in terms of the availability of

the appropriate type of housing at an appropriate cost) was mentioned by 35.7% of respondents as a reason for moving to their current residential location.

7.5.3 Why commute to current job rather than work locally

Respondents were asked to indicate up to three reasons why they commute to their current job rather than work in their local area. For both north- and southbound commuters four reasons dominated as shown in Table 18.

Table 18: Why respondents commute to their current job rather than work in their local area

	Total southbound	Edinburgh/ Northbound	Total sample (n = 49)
Limited job opportunities locally	13	6	19
Equivalent job not available locally	24	14	38
Higher salary than available locally	11	9	20
Better prospects/opportunities (including networking opportunities) than those available locally	4	9	13

The responses to this question highlight the limited nature of the Berwick labour market, with respondents not able to choose from the same range of jobs, do an equivalent job or receive the same salary or other benefits (including future prospects) in Berwick as they can in their chosen place of work. When responding to this question and stating that the equivalent job was not available locally, a number of individuals specifically commented that they had a strong desire to live locally despite knowing that they would not be able to work locally. Interestingly, the “better prospects than available locally” reason features much more strongly amongst the responses of northbound commuters than southbound commuters, despite the presence of London-based commuters in the southbound sample. London (and the South East region) is traditionally seen as the location in which job prospects are best, but these results suggest that Edinburgh is viewed as a buoyant place in which to be employed in terms of its potential to offer better opportunities.

Interestingly one northbound respondent mentioned the price of housing in Edinburgh in response to this question, stating that he/she can afford to buy in Berwick but not in Edinburgh. This relates strongly to comments made in response to other questions where northbound commuters felt that one of the key advantages of Berwick Borough was that they were able to afford to buy a house (even taking into account the costs of commuting in terms of money and time) which is something they couldn’t do in Edinburgh, their place of work.

Following on from this, respondents were also asked about their future employment aspirations. This question was designed to elicit information about the extent to which commuting was seen as a medium-term option in terms of employment (Table 19).

Table 19: Respondents’ likelihood of commuting to their current job in five years time

	Total southbound	Edinburgh/ Northbound	Total sample (n = 49)
Yes	11	8	19
No	11	7	18
Not sure	9	3	12

Within hindsight, it might have been better to word this question as “... still be commuting to your current job or a better one in five years time...” to include those respondents who saw

themselves progressing up the career ladder over the next five years as some of these respondents answered no on the basis that they would be doing a better job, rather than in recognition that their travel to work patterns would change. However, taking on board this limitation with the question, there was a relatively even distribution of respondents between “yes” and “no” responses to this question. The high proportion of respondents who answered “yes” suggests that commuting is not simply seen by some as an option for 2-3 years, but is something that individuals will consider doing for quite a long period of time if circumstances require it.

Respondents were also asked to indicate why they had responded in the way they had. A range of reasons were given, including some relating to the respondent’s personal circumstances and job situation but some respondents answered ‘no’ or ‘not sure’ as a direct result of commuting. Comments included: “No, due to length of the commute”; “Can’t put up with travelling”; “I don’t want to continue commuting long-term”; “The commute eats too much of my life...15 hours a week”; “I will move to Edinburgh when I can afford to”; “Too far to travel for the long-term and too expensive”; “If rail prices go up much more then maybe not”; “I enjoy living in Berwickshire and am willing to commute to a job I enjoy to make living in Berwickshire possible”. Several other respondents commented that they had ‘no choice’, effectively being forced to commute now and in future as a result of the limited job opportunities in the local area.

These results suggest that there are skilled and experienced individuals who are currently commuting and who plan to continue to do so in future, who would prefer to work locally if the right opportunities were available. It seems therefore that Berwick is in a position to attract skilled people to live there (due to the reasons outlined by respondents in Section 7.6) but as a result of the low-skilled, low-pay economy in the Borough (and arguably also the range of opportunities available in Newcastle and Edinburgh which can be reached by car and train) many are forced to work outside its boundaries. Were Berwick to attract new inward investment and accompanying skilled jobs in future there may be potential demand for such jobs from those individuals who currently commute.

7.6 Respondents’ perceptions of Berwick Borough and its future development

7.6.1 Introduction

Respondents were asked a series of questions about the advantages and disadvantages of living in (or close to) Berwick Borough and issues that they felt should be prioritised in future by Berwick Borough Council. Given that they already have links with Edinburgh and Newcastle for employment, respondents were also asked whether they felt stronger links should be developed with these two cities in future, and if so/if not why/why not.

7.6.2 Advantages of living in/near to Berwick Borough

Respondents were asked to indicate up to three advantages of living in or near the Borough of Berwick. A wide range of factors were listed by respondents, and these were grouped together with the top four advantages listed in Table 20 below.

From the data presented in Table 20 it is clear that the main advantages of living in/close to Berwick Borough are related to the quality of life of the area and the high quality countryside and coastline. These advantages were each mentioned by approximately 60.0% of commuters. The availability of transport routes was mentioned by 36.0% of respondents suggesting that the accessibility of the Borough to other places is also perceived to be one of its advantages. It would be interesting to compare this proportion to a sample of people taken from the wider population of the Borough to see if other residents, and particularly non-commuters, also believe this is one of the Borough’s key advantages. 18.0% of respondents cited the history of the Borough (and especially of Berwick town) and the availability of local places of interest and outdoor activities as key advantages. In terms of ‘Other’ responses, four respondents cited that one of the key advantages of living in/close to the Borough was its proximity to both Edinburgh and Newcastle, whilst others mentioned that Berwick town

offered a range of good services all within walking distance, giving it a degree of self-sufficiency (thus reducing the dependence of residents on other places).

Table 20: The advantages of living in/close to Berwick Borough

	Number of individuals who gave this response (n = 49)
Quality of life (including safe/low crime, friendly, quiet, space, peaceful)	30 (60%)
High quality countryside and coastline	29 (58%)
Availability/accessibility of major transport routes (rail and road)	18 (36%)
History of the area (especially Berwick town) and local places of interest/opportunities for outdoor activities	9 (18%)

Five northbound respondents commented that a key advantage was the availability of cheaper housing compared to Edinburgh. If Berwick does want to develop on the back of growth in Edinburgh in future, it may be that it could be marketed to those working in Scotland's capital on this basis. However, the limitations placed on house building in the North East Regional Spatial Strategy will restrict the availability of housing in future, and increasing external demand for housing in Berwick from in-migrants will further restrict the supply of housing available for local people.

One of the key elements of the rationale for this study was to explore the extent to which the ability to commute out of Berwick was perceived by commuters as being a key advantage of the Borough. Therefore a more basic analysis of responses to this question was undertaken to see how many respondents said that the availability of key transport routes was the top advantage of living in/close to the Borough. This analysis revealed that 10 southbound commuters felt that this was the top advantage, and two northbound commuters. Therefore, mirroring the conclusions reached in Section 7.5, for this sample of commuters, this is just one of the advantages of Berwick Borough.

7.6.3 Disadvantages of living in/close to Berwick Borough

Respondents were also asked to list up to three disadvantages of living in/close to the Borough of Berwick. Although a larger number of factors were listed in response to this question than to the previous question regarding the advantages of the Borough, four factors can again be differentiated as receiving the most responses (see Table 21).

Table 21: The disadvantages of living in/close to Berwick Borough

	Number of individuals who gave this response (n = 49)
Limited retail offer (i.e. absence of major retailers)	16 (32%)
Limited leisure and recreation activities	16 (32%)
Poor local employment prospects (generally low skilled and low paid)	10 (20%)
Distance to skilled, well paid jobs, major retailers, sporting events, hospitals, airports, etc.	10 (20%)

The data shows that the limited services on offer in Berwick are perceived as being the major disadvantages of living in/close to the Borough. The limited employment offer in the Borough is cited by 20% of respondents as being a major disadvantage, as is the distance of the Borough to major retailers, sporting events etc. The importance attached to the latter is interesting when compared to the previous table where 36.0% of respondents felt that the accessibility of major transport routes in the Borough was as a major advantage. It seems to highlight the paradox of Berwick's location: it is peripheral in terms of its distance from major

conurbations, yet the presence of the strategic A1 and East Coast Mainline in the Borough make it relatively accessible to both centres.

A range of other factors were listed by respondents as being disadvantages of living in/close to the Borough. These included: a lack of investment in the town centre (four respondents); the lack of a “forward-looking agenda” in the Borough (five respondents); the Borough’s limited health services (five respondents); the rise in population during the summer months as the Borough’s caravan parks fill up (three respondents); the lack of affordable housing locally (three respondents); and a perceived lack of regional funding and resources (three respondents). Interestingly, the Borough’s housing situation was not rated a key disadvantage by many respondents, and instead was rated by many respondents as a key reason for moving to the Borough. This perhaps reflects that housing affordability is not a key issue for the Borough’s commuting residents on higher incomes, particularly when the price of housing in Berwick is compared with the price in their place of work.

7.6.4 Priorities for Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council in the next five years

Respondents were asked to indicate what they felt should be the top three priorities for Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council in the next five years to improve the local economy. Table 22 below shows the top five responses in terms of number of respondents who mentioned them.

Table 22: Respondents’ opinions on the priorities for Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council for the next five years

	Number of individuals who gave this response (n = 49)
Encourage inward investment to bring in new highly skilled, well paid jobs	21 (42%)
Invest in improving the ‘look’ of the town centre (e.g. by bringing in new retailers and cleaning the streets)	19 (38%)
Improve Berwick’s leisure and entertainment offer	14 (28%)
Improve the quality/quantity of Berwick’s tourism offer (particularly drawing on the history of Berwick to ‘differentiate’ the town, and reducing the seasonality of the sector)	13 (26%)
Transport (including increasing the frequency of train services stopping at Berwick and improving the A1) *	13 (26%)
Stop major retailers and bring in local, independent shops and support farmers markets and street fairs	10 (20%)

* No Edinburgh commuters mentioned the need for transport improvements perhaps reflecting the better standard of the A1 between Edinburgh and Berwick. It was slightly surprising that no Edinburgh commuters mentioned the need to lobby for better rail services from Berwick to Edinburgh in this question.

Almost half of respondents felt that a top priority for the Council should be bringing in more inward investment and therefore new businesses and jobs to the Borough. Critically, respondents cited the need for highly skilled, well paid jobs. However, these businesses will only come to Berwick if skilled labour is available locally therefore there would also need to be a focus on improving the skills base of the local economy, either by bringing in in-migrants or training/re-training the local population (or a combination of both). Many respondents also recognised the importance of Berwick town centre for attracting businesses and tourists. Interestingly in the context of current plans for a new supermarket in Berwick, a number of respondents explicitly argued against having more major retailers in Berwick and instead said that the Council should focus on encouraging more local, independent shops (although some respondents disagreed and stated that the focus should be on attracting major retailers to the town for convenience).

A number of ‘other’ priorities cited by respondents are perhaps worth mentioning. One was the need to change local attitudes, both amongst local residents (which one person

commented were dominated by an attitude which said “*It was good enough for granddad therefore its good enough for me*”) and at the Council which two respondents felt could be more “*pro-active*” and “*vibrant*”. Several respondents commented on the need for a more flexible rural planning system to allow for more new house building, including both affordable housing and executive housing to attract commuters.

7.6.5 Developing future links to Edinburgh or Newcastle

The questionnaire asked respondents “In your opinion, should Berwick’s residents and businesses focus on developing stronger links to Edinburgh or to Newcastle in future?” Respondents were given four possible answers: Edinburgh, Newcastle, Neither or Not sure (the latter was designed to provide an option for those respondents who felt that both should receive equal focus). Respondents were also asked to give the reason/s why they had given their answer.

Table 23: Developing future links with Edinburgh or Newcastle

	Southbound commuters	Northbound commuters	Total sample (n = 49)
Newcastle	9	2	11 (22%)
Edinburgh	7	7	13 (26%)
Both	4	3	7 (14%)
Neither	1	3	4 (8%)
Not sure	10	3	14 (28%)
Other (London*)	1	0	1 (2%)
Total	32	18	50

* This respondent felt that stronger links should be developed with London specifically for tourism and leisure purposes. It is assumed that he was referring to the possibility of encouraging more visitors from the south of England to visit Berwick.

Interestingly, the responses are relatively evenly split between Edinburgh and Newcastle, with 26.0% of respondents opting for the former and 22.0% for the latter. Given that the proportion of respondents travelling to these cities was relatively similar - 36.0% of the sample were commuting to Edinburgh (18 respondents) and 40.0% (20 respondents) to Newcastle – this might have been expected. However the number of southbound commuters who answered Edinburgh to this question is perhaps surprising and may reflect non-employment links that individuals commuting to Newcastle have with Edinburgh. The data suggests that the location of Berwick allows people to earn a living in Newcastle while benefiting from the cultural and leisure offer of the Edinburgh and the Lothians city region, although further research is required to explore this in more detail.

Some 28.0% of the sample answered ‘Not sure’ to this question, with most commenting that the reason for giving this answer was that they felt links should be better developed with both cities as Berwick lies equidistant from them. Many respondents stated that their answer to this question reflected a personal preference, with most respondents preferring Edinburgh as a place to undertake retail and leisure activities. Others answered Edinburgh because of the better road transport links northwards on the A1 from Berwick, while for some, the political changes in Scotland recently made stronger links with Edinburgh more attractive. Only a small number of individuals responded ‘Neither’ to this question, probably reflecting an equal importance attached to both cities, with these respondents recognising the need for Berwick itself to grow and not become dependent on either Edinburgh or Newcastle. Given the media and political coverage given to this issue recently (see for example, BBC 2008a, b, c), and its important in terms of the future of the Berwick Borough (see for example Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council 2007), all comments made by respondents are given in Figures 1A and 2A in Appendix Two. It would be interesting to compare the responses of commuters (with their existing employment links to these city regions) to those of individuals working locally in Berwick.

Respondents were also asked to indicate at the end of the questionnaire if they had any other comments on issues raised by the question. In response, individuals made comments on a range of different issues and these comments are included in Figure 3A in Appendix Two. Many of the comments made by northbound commuters related strongly to the cost of, and lack of train services between Berwick and Edinburgh. Additional comments from southbound commuters reflected on a broader range of issues, though again improvements to transport infrastructure were noted as being important.

8. Conclusions

This section summarises the key findings from the project, with reference back to relevant literature on commuting and to current policies shaping the future of the Berwick Borough, not least the Government's focus on city regions. Some suggestions are also made for issues to target through future research.

- Before drawing any conclusions it is important to emphasise again that the results of the study draw on a relatively small sample of individuals commuting from Berwick station. It is possible to highlight interesting issues revealed by the data but further research is required to draw firm conclusions.
- Analysis of the characteristics of the survey sample found that approximately two thirds of respondents were males and one third females. This supports the traditional pattern of commuting where males tend to be more likely to commute than females. Analysis of the age of respondents found a fairly normal distribution in the sense that there were few commuters in the younger and older age bands. The modal band was 36-45 (with 38% of respondents), suggesting a slightly younger age profile amongst this sample than was found by Romani *et al.* (2003). Most respondents in this sample had partners, although only approximately 30% of the sample had children. Almost 90% of respondents stated that they owned their own home either with/without a mortgage.
- The majority of respondents had partners who were in some form of employment, either full-time, part-time or self-employment. The employment locations of respondents' partners varied, with some working locally in/close to Berwick, some working in other locations in the Scottish Borders/Northumberland and some working further afield, including in Newcastle and Edinburgh. For some respondents therefore, Berwick represented a 'compromise' in terms of place of residence allowing both partners to commute to their job. Four northbound respondents stated that their partner also worked either part time or full time in Edinburgh. These couples are choosing to live some distance from their place of work and to both commute.
- More than three in four respondents in the sample worked full time and, in line with previous research, 86% of respondents were classified in Occupational Major Groups 1 and 2 (Managers and Senior Officials and Professional Occupations).
- At the time of the 2001 Census, 121 people commuted out of Berwick station for work. Whilst it is not known how many people have stopped commuting since then, 66% of the respondents in this sample have started commuting since 2001. Anecdotal evidence from commuters who have travelled for some years from Berwick would appear to support the view that the number of people commuting has increased in recent years, although further research would be required to ascertain if this perception accurately represents reality, and indeed to explore which locations have become more popular for Berwick based commuters, particularly given the changing employment offer of both Edinburgh and Newcastle in recent years.
- Most respondents commuted from Berwick station five times a week, with those working further afield (and particularly London) travelling once a week. Respondents were found to have long working days (including commuting time) with many north- and southbound commuters arriving back in Berwick station approximately 12 hours after they departed. On top of this, many respondents (particularly southbound commuters) lived some distance from Berwick station adding further to the time spent away from home for the working day.
- Given that environmental concerns have been rising up the political and public agenda in recent years, it was perhaps surprising that only four respondents noted

that one reason for commuting by train was the lower environmental impact than travelling by another mode of transport. More common reasons included: convenience, quicker and more economic than travelling by car, particularly given recent rises in fuel prices; and less stressful and tiring than driving. The lack of, and cost of parking in central Edinburgh was cited by many northbound commuters, as was the lack of dual carriageway (and associated safety concerns) by commuters to Newcastle. It would be interesting to conduct a similar study in the future to see if environmental reasons become more important in explaining an individual's decision to use the train rather than another mode of transport to get to work, and to explore the factors that would encourage car-based commuters to travel by train. The time and money spent travelling and the unreliability of trains were cited as the main disadvantages of commuting.

- Half the sample of commuters in this study spent no time participating in voluntary and community sector activities per week, and 72% respondents stated that commuting prevented them from participating more fully. This finding mirrors that of Green (2001) and Putnam (2000). This is an important finding if Berwick is to continue to attract more commuters in future. These individuals tend to be highly skilled and thus could provide important 'human capital' to the voluntary and community sector, but, for many, their decision to commute prevents them from participating in such activities.
- The data on the geography of respondents' spending reveals some interesting patterns. It is clearly the case that commuters do spend a proportion of their income outside their local area. But this is perhaps not surprising, especially in the case of leisure and entertainment and non-food/household goods where opportunities for local spending are likely to be extremely limited in many of the rural locations in which respondents lived. Although much more detailed research is required into spending patterns, the degree of leakage is perhaps less than expected. This may represent a number of factors, including the level of services provided in Berwick and the spending decisions of respondents' partners, many of whom spend more time in the local area, and particularly in Berwick. Moreover, it seems that Berwick may gain some spending from those who pass through Berwick station but who do not live in the town itself. If Berwick's services were to be improved, particularly in terms of leisure/entertainment options, then it may be able to claw back some spending from other locations (particularly Edinburgh). It is also important to consider the extent to which improving the number of stopping train services in Berwick (perhaps to increase the attractiveness of the town to more commuters) may well result in more income leakage.
- The survey also explored why individuals choose to live in/close to Berwick, with the aim of ascertaining the importance of the Borough's transport links in this residential location decision-making. Overall, the transport infrastructure was mentioned by 38.8% of respondents, but it was more important in the residential decisions of southbound commuters. Other reasons were also important in drawing individuals to live in the Borough, including its perceived high quality of life, the availability of appropriate housing and the quality of the local scenery, coastline and landscape.
- In terms of employment decisions, the reasons why individuals commute out of the local Berwick area strongly reflected the limited local labour market which offers few well paid jobs, particularly in skilled and professional occupations. Nevertheless, a number of individuals stated a desire to work locally if the right opportunities were available, not least due to the disadvantages of commuting.
- When asked about the advantages of living in/close to the Berwick Borough, several respondents again cited quality of life reasons and the quality of the landscape and scenery in the area. 36% of respondents felt that the availability/accessibility of major transport routes was a key advantage of the Berwick Borough. The disadvantages of the Berwick Borough are likely to be common to rural areas/small towns anywhere, including the limited retail and leisure offer and the poor local employment prospects. Interestingly, compared to the 36% of respondents who cited the major transport routes as being one of the advantages of the Borough, 20% of respondents cited the distance from airports, skilled well paid jobs, major retailers etc. as a disadvantage of living in the Borough. This seems to highlight the 'paradox' of Berwick's remote location but access to strategic transport routes.

- Respondents identified a range of priorities for Berwick Borough Council over the next five years, but most important was the need to encourage inward investment to bring in new skilled jobs to the town. As well as encouraging some commuters to work locally, this will help all local residents, and may help to stem the flow of young people leaving the Borough in search of better job prospects. Gillespie's (2006) report also highlights the need to improve the employment offer of Berwick itself. Improvements to Berwick town centre, to its tourism and leisure offer and to its transport infrastructure were also cited by respondents.
- The question of whether Berwick should be in England or Scotland has received much press attention recently. Some 60% of respondents to a poll held by ITV's Tonight Programme felt that Berwick should return to Scotland. When asked in this survey if Berwick's residents and businesses should focus on developing stronger links with Edinburgh or Newcastle in future, respondents were relatively evenly split with 22% stating Newcastle and 26% stating Edinburgh. However, the number of southbound commuters who stated Edinburgh in this question was surprising, possibly reflecting a personal preference for this city, non-employment links that individuals have to the city, the better road infrastructure to the north of Berwick or recent political changes north of the border. Some respondents felt that as Berwick was equidistant from both centres links to both should be developed whilst others recognised the need for Berwick to generate its own growth and not become dependent on either conurbation. Whilst many of the reasons given by respondents for focusing on links with Newcastle related to the fact that Berwick is in Northumberland and England, respondents' reasons for citing Edinburgh more often cited the economic growth and job opportunities available in the city, and the strength of Edinburgh's tourism sector.
- Once again acknowledging the small sample size in this study, it does seem that Berwick Borough Council's decision to emphasise Berwick's growth in relation to the Edinburgh and the Lothians city region (see for example, Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council 2007) may be supported by many respondents in this study, including individuals who currently commute to work in locations to the south of Berwick.
- Overall, the study suggests that there may be an argument for Berwick 'marketing' its potential as a base for commuters as one element of a future development strategy, particularly as evidence suggests that people are more willing to commute, and to commute longer distances than in the past. This study suggests that people have a strong desire to live in/close to the Borough as a result of its transport infrastructure, but, more importantly, as a result of its quality of life, high quality environment and scenery and its relatively affordable housing (for those on higher incomes). Moreover, whilst some commuters' income does leak from the local economy, Berwick also gains some spend as a result of people from other locations travelling through the mainline station (although this may be displaced from other locations in Northumberland and the Scottish Borders). It seems that whilst many individuals in this survey are willing to commute for the foreseeable future, they are willing (and indeed keen) to change their behaviour if appropriate job opportunities were to arise locally. These individuals represent an important source of knowledge, skills, experience and networks for the Berwick economy if they could be persuaded to work or set up enterprises locally leading to diversification and new job creation in the local economy. As more individuals find opportunities for local employment, the human capital of the local area increases and as a result more inward investment is likely to be drawn in.
- However, marketing itself as a commuter location would have to be done with due regard to other changes taking place in the Borough, including the ageing population and the problem of housing affordability for residents dependent on low paid jobs within the Borough, which is exacerbated by the Borough's high levels of second/holiday home ownership and limited potential to increase housing supply. However, as environmental issues continue to rise up the political agenda, efforts may need to be made to encourage people to commute by public transport rather than by car. Lobbying of the train companies may be required to ensure an adequate and affordable service exists for both northbound and southbound commuters from Berwick. At the same time as taking advantage of the leisure and entertainment offer

available in both Newcastle and Edinburgh, Berwick's own offer needs to be improved to ensure that levels of spending leakage from the Borough do not increase as a result of any service improvements that are made.

- Given Berwick Borough Council's emphasis on creating balanced communities, attracting more commuters could be one strand of a multifaceted future development strategy which recognises the attractiveness of the Borough to many different groups. There is a need to balance the needs and demands of these diverse groups, but also to recognise and use the resources, skills and experience brought by these groups.
- The study has highlighted a number of interesting avenues for future research. These include exploration of: the spending patterns of commuters in more detail; the factors influencing the likelihood that commuters change their behaviour over time, perhaps deciding to work or set up a business locally; the factors that would encourage car-based commuters from the Borough to change their mode of travel and take the train; the extent to which trip-chaining is undertaken (e.g. one trip made for a number of different purposes) and thus the reduced environmental impact (although this may result in greater spending leakage); the ways in which locals and in-migrants differ in their employment decisions regarding working locally or commuting; the tangible ways in which Berwick could benefit from growth in the Edinburgh and Newcastle city regions and the shape of appropriate strategies to achieve this growth.

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Appendix One: Commuter Questionnaire



Commuting in Berwick upon Tweed

This survey asks a series of questions about your commuting journey and the ways in which commuting affects your lifestyle. The survey is part of a research project being done by Jane Atterton at the Centre for Rural Economy at Newcastle University. Berwick upon Tweed Borough Council would like to find out more about commuting patterns from Berwick station and they have made a financial contribution to this project. The findings will feed into other work they are doing on the future of Berwick. Your responses to the survey are completely confidential and anonymous.

1. Please state the postcode of your usual place of work: _____
2. Please state your employment status (please put a tick next to the option that best applies to you):
 - In full-time employment _____
 - In part-time employment _____
 - Self-employed _____
 - Other (e.g. seasonal or contract work) _____
3. Please state your occupation: _____
4. How long have you commuted to your current usual place of work from Berwick station? ____ years ____ months
5. Thinking about your employment immediately prior to your current job (if applicable), did you (please tick the option that best applies to you):
 - I. Commute from Berwick to another job elsewhere _____
If yes, please state the postcode of this place of work _____
 - II. Work locally in the Berwick area _____
If yes, please state the postcode of this place of work _____
 - III. Live and work elsewhere _____
If yes, please state where you worked _____
6. Please state why you changed from this job to your current job:

7. Please state up to 3 reasons why you commute to your current job by train rather than using another mode of transport (please list the reasons in order of importance, with the most important listed first):
 - I. _____
 - II. _____
 - III. _____
8. How many times per week do you commute to your current job: _____
9. On a normal working day, what time do you usually depart Berwick station and what time do you usually arrive back at Berwick station (if applicable)?

Usual time I depart from Berwick station _____
Usual time I arrive back at Berwick station _____

10. Please state up to 3 reasons (again listing the most important first) why you commute to your current job rather than work in your local area:

- I. _____
- II. _____
- III. _____

11. Please state up to 3 disadvantages of commuting (again listing the most important disadvantage first):

- I. _____
- II. _____
- III. _____

12. Thinking about your future employment aspirations, do you think you will still be commuting to your current job in 5 years time (please tick the option that best applies to you)?

Yes _____ No _____ Not sure _____

Please state the reason/s why you have given this answer

13. Please state your home postcode: _____

14. Please state how long you have lived at your current address:
____ years ____ months

15. Please state how long in total you have lived in the Berwick area:
____ years ____ months

16. Please state why you moved to your current place of residence, listing up to 3 reasons again in order of priority. Please be quite specific when giving reasons e.g. rather than stating 'location' please say what it is about the location that was attractive when you decided to move.

- I. _____
- II. _____
- III. _____

17. Thinking about your average weekly spending on food shopping, including your spending during the working day (e.g. on lunch) and household expenditure on food. Please estimate the proportion of your weekly food spending that takes place in the following areas:

- I. Locally (within 10 miles of your home): _____ %
- II. In the place where you work: _____ %
- III. Elsewhere:
Please list all locations: _____ %
_____ %
_____ %
_____ %
100%

18. Thinking about your average weekly spending on non-food shopping (including household goods, electrical items and clothes). Please estimate the proportion of your weekly non-food spending that takes place in the following areas:

- I. Locally (within 10 miles of your home): _____%
 - II. In the place where you work: _____%
 - III. Elsewhere: _____%
- Please list all locations: _____ %
 _____ %
 _____ %
 _____ %
 100%

19. Thinking about your average weekly spending on leisure and entertainment (including going to the cinema, restaurants and pubs, and undertaking sports activities, but excluding holidays). Please estimate the proportion of your weekly leisure and entertainment spending that takes place in the following areas:

- I. Locally (within 10 miles of your home): _____%
 - II. In the place where you work: _____%
 - III. Elsewhere: _____%
- Please list all locations: _____ %
 _____ %
 _____ %
 _____ %
 100%

20. How much time, on average, do you spend participating in local community and voluntary groups (including sports clubs) in Berwick (or in your place of residence) each week?

- None _____
- Less than 2 hours _____
- 2 to 5 hours _____
- 6 to 10 hours _____
- More than 10 hours _____

21. Do you think that the time you spend commuting prevents you from participating more fully in these types of activity (please tick the option that best applies to you)?

Yes _____ No _____ I don't wish to participate more fully _____

22. Please list up to 3 advantages of living in/close to the Borough of Berwick (again listing the most important first):

- I. _____
- II. _____
- III. _____

23. Please list the 3 main disadvantages of living in/close to the Borough (again listing the most important first)

- I. _____
- II. _____
- III. _____

24. What do you think should be the top 3 priorities for Berwick Borough Council in the next 5 years to improve the local economy (again listing the most important first)?

- I. _____
- II. _____
- III. _____

25. In your opinion, should Berwick's residents and businesses focus on developing stronger links to Edinburgh or to Newcastle in future (please tick one answer)?

Edinburgh _____ Newcastle _____ Neither _____ Not sure _____

Please give the reason/s why you have given this answer

26. Please state the employment status of your spouse/partner (if applicable):

- In full-time employment _____
- In part-time employment _____
- Self-employed _____
- Other (e.g. seasonal or contract work) _____
- Not currently in employment (but looking for work) _____
- Not currently in employment (and not looking for work) _____

27. If your spouse/partner is in employment, please state the postcode of his/her place of work (or town if postcode not known): _____

28. Please tick whether you are: Male _____ Female _____

29. Please tick the age band that applies to you:

- 18-25 _____
- 26-35 _____
- 36-45 _____
- 46-55 _____
- 56-65 _____
- 65+ _____

30. How many people are under 18 years old in your household? _____

31. Please tick which option applies to you:

- Own my home (with/without a mortgage) _____
- Rent my home _____

32. Do you have any other comments on the issues raised in this questionnaire?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire can be returned by hand to Jane on the train, or by post (please collect a stamped, addressed envelope from Jane).

Appendix Two: Berwick's future links with Newcastle or Edinburgh

Figures 1A and 2A below contains the comments included by respondents in Question 25 which asked whether they felt Berwick's residents and businesses should develop stronger ties with Newcastle or Edinburgh in future. The responses are grouped according to whether respondents answered Newcastle, Edinburgh or Neither/Both/Not sure. The respondents' place of residence in either the Scottish Borders (SB) or Northumberland (N) is also noted as this may affect the nature of existing non-employment links (e.g. for leisure) with each city and thus the respondents perception about the importance of developing future links.

Figure 1A: Responses of southbound commuters regarding future links with Edinburgh or Newcastle

<p>Newcastle</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• "Berwick as always felt more English than Scottish" (N resident)• "Berwick should become the northern cultural centre for North Northumberland, with links to the Sage, the Baltic and Newcastle theatres" (N resident)• "[Berwick has] more natural direction/affinity particularly given unitary authority" (SB resident)• "[Berwick] could be developed as a main dormitory town to Newcastle or Edinburgh" (N resident)• "[Newcastle is] geographically closer (N resident)• "[Berwick] is part of England and Northumberland" (N resident)• "There may be historic and current ties to Edinburgh but Berwick is in England. Unless the border is to be re-drawn we must concentrate on England as Scotland will eventually go its own way" (SB resident) <p>Edinburgh</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• "Because of existing cultural and social ties" (SB resident)• "I prefer Edinburgh to Newcastle in terms of leisure and retail activities" (N resident)• "Better/safer road network" (N resident)• "Greater economic growth coming from Scotland" (N resident)• "Spin off tourist trade" (SB resident)• "Edinburgh knows how to attract tourism with high standards" (SB resident)• "Edinburgh is a more attractive place and has more going for it with higher growth than Newcastle. It is also a capital city" (N resident) <p>Neither/Both/Not sure</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• "Neither... I think links should develop with both" (SB resident)• "Not sure... Distance – England... with history of Scotland and Borders [sic]" (N resident)• "Both... both equidistant" (N resident)• "Not sure... because we are slap bang in the middle" (N resident)• "Not sure... as Berwick is equidistant to both I would say they need to develop strong links with both cities" (N resident)• "Not sure... depends on the business" (SB resident)• "Not sure... Edinburgh has better road access already and politically recognises the Borders region. Perhaps focus should be on Newcastle to try and improve access (both transport, road [A1] and rail) and political recognition (One North East)" (N resident)• "Not sure... They are both equally important to Berwick. Many people from Berwick work in Edinburgh's finance centres and in the diverse range of businesses in Berwick" (N resident)• "I think both. However, Edinburgh has advantages of a capital city and much more tourism to tap into" (SB resident)• "Not sure... Berwick is centrally located between the two. It would be a grave mistake to focus on one at the expense of the other" (N resident)• "Both... Berwick is equal distance from both cities" (N resident)
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Figure 2A: Responses of northbound commuters regarding future links with Edinburgh or Newcastle

<p>Newcastle</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• “Berwick is an English town in Northumberland” (SB resident)• “I don’t like Edinburgh. I have been shocked by the racism I have encountered there” (N resident) <p>Edinburgh</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• “Lots of highly paid people in Edinburgh who could upgrade their housing by a move to Berwick and would spend more in Berwick” (N resident)• “Easier access to Edinburgh, less commuting to Edinburgh. Better roads and less traffic” (N resident)• “Vested interest” (N resident)• “I partly say Edinburgh because I know the place better – but I think it would be easier and more popular than the Newcastle option” (N resident)• “More per capita spend per individual in Scotland” (N resident)• “Edinburgh is expanding faster. New government” (SB resident) <p>Neither/Both/Not sure</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• “Berwick is a big enough town to ‘stand alone’. Not enough is done to promote the town’s uniqueness “ (N resident)• “Neither...Berwick is a beautiful place and needs advertised as such. Local attitudes hold it back” (N resident)• “Both Edinburgh and Newcastle” (N resident)• “Neither... both are too far away to significantly matter” (N resident)• “Both. Berwick needs to attract commuters (skills base and inward investment) first. Once a critical mass of skill is built, employers may choose to relocate to Berwick. Good transport links, schools and supermarkets are crucial to this process” (N resident)• “Both. Don’t focus on one at the expense of the other. Also Berwick itself needs to growth without becoming ‘dependent’ on either” (N resident)
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Figure 3A: Other comments made by respondents in the questionnaire

Northbound commuters

- “The national and county border is a barrier, e.g. there is no local commuter train service, just the intercity. If there was a station at Reston, just over the border, a commuter service to Edinburgh would be more likely. Other services and facilities are affected by the border as the counties and countries on either side pursue different policies and different priorities. There is no ‘joined-up network’ (health, transport, education) crossing the border. I like the county and national border and don’t want it altered but I have to accept the difficulties associated with ‘border life’.”
- “I would be happy to stay in Berwick if commuting not so expensive after age 25 (young person’s railcard), and if train times were more regular between Edinburgh and Berwick. However, it is not likely that these will change so will have to move closer to work.”
- “Encourage better train times to Edinburgh for commuters – not half as good as for Newcastle.”
- “Do feel that the local council are constrained by funding and by local attitudes. Perception locally that council is over-staffed and ineffective.”
- “Train cost has risen from £12.50 to £19.30 in six years – ridiculous and uneconomic when compared to salary increases.”

Southbound commuters

- “Berwick needs its rail link to survive for goods/services/tourism/leisure as the car/fossil fuel dependency decreases (impact of climate change measured).”
- “Tourism is a vital part of the Berwick upon Tweed area and visitors need to be encouraged to stay in the area and visit all historical sites.”
- “Highlights that commute unlikely to be a feasible long-term option. Improvements needed to transport links to change this.”
- “Politically, Berwick is seen as a rural outpost of Northumberland. Feels somewhat neglected politically. Geographical location is a strength for both businesses and tourism but reliant on transport.”