



England's Seaside Towns
A 'benchmarking' study



England's Seaside Towns
A 'benchmarking' study

November 2008

Christina Beatty, Steve Fothergill and Ian Wilson
Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research
Sheffield Hallam University

Department for Communities and Local Government

The findings and recommendations in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department for Communities and Local Government.

Many of the statistics presented in this report have been compiled from data held on NOMIS (the National On-line Manpower Information System).

Department for Communities and Local Government
Eland House
Bressenden Place
London
SW1E 5DU
Telephone: 020 7944 4400
Website: www.communities.gov.uk

© Queen's Printer and Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 2008

Copyright in the typographical arrangement rests with the Crown.

This publication, excluding logos, may be reproduced free of charge in any format or medium for research, private study or for internal circulation within an organisation. This is subject to it being reproduced accurately and not used in a misleading context. The material must be acknowledged as Crown copyright and the title of the publication specified.

Any other use of the contents of this publication would require a copyright licence. Please apply for a Click-Use Licence for core material at www.opsi.gov.uk/click-use/system/online/pLogin.asp, or by writing to the Office of Public Sector Information, Information Policy Team, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 4DU

e-mail: licensing@opsi.gov.uk

If you require this publication in an alternative format please email alternativeformats@communities.gsi.gov.uk

Communities and Local Government Publications
PO Box 236
Wetherby
West Yorkshire
LS23 7NB
Tel: 0300 123 1124
Fax: 0300 123 1125
Email: communities@capita.co.uk
Online via the Communities and Local Government website: www.communities.gov.uk

November 2008

Product Code: 08ACST05588

ISBN: 978-1-4098-0620-2

Contents

	Summary	7
1.	Purpose and scope of the report	10
2.	Geographical coverage	11
3.	Statistical evidence	14
	3.1 Population	14
	3.2 Employment	19
	3.3 Economic status	25
	3.4 Skills and qualifications	28
	3.5 Benefits	31
	3.6 Seasonal unemployment	38
	3.7 Earnings	40
	3.8 Business stock	43
	3.9 Migrant workers	45
	3.10 Economic output	47
	3.11 Housing	49
	3.12 Deprivation	53
4.	Assessment	64
	4.1 Just how disadvantaged are England's seaside towns?	64
	4.2 The variation between towns	64

List of tables

Table 1: Population of England's principal seaside towns, 2006 (ranked by size)	16
Table 2: Population growth in England's principal seaside towns, 1971–2006 (ranked by % growth 2001–2006)	17
Table 3: Age distribution of population of England's principal seaside towns, 2006 (ranked by share of population aged 60/65+)	18
Table 4: Employment in England's principal seaside towns, 2006 (ranked by estimated total employment)	21
Table 5: Change in employment in England's principal seaside towns, 1998–99 to 2005–06 (ranked by percentage growth)	22
Table 6: Employment by sector in England's principal seaside towns, 2006 (ranked by share in Distribution, hotels and restaurants)	24
Table 7: Employment rate in England's principal seaside towns, 2006	26
Table 8: Occupational Structure of residents in employment in England's principal seaside towns, 2001 (ranked by share of managers and professionals)	27
Table 9: Highest qualifications of working age population in England's principal seaside towns, 2001 (ranked by share with Level 4/5)	29
Table 10: Estimated share of pupils achieving 5 or more A*–C grades at GCSE in England's principal seaside towns, 2006	30
Table 11: Working age claimant rates in England's principal seaside towns, May 2007 (ranked by total)	33
Table 12: Change in working age claimant rates in England's principal seaside towns, August 1999 – May 2007 (ranked by total)	34
Table 13: Pension Credits claimant rate in England's principal seaside towns, May 2007	37
Table 14: Average seasonal fluctuation in claimant unemployment rates in England's principal seaside towns, 2001–2007	39
Table 15: Median hourly earnings in England's principal seaside towns, 2007	42
Table 16: VAT registered businesses in England's principal seaside towns, 2006 (ranked by stock per 10,000 residents)	44

Table 17: New NI registrations by non-UK nationals in England's principal seaside towns, 2005–06 and 2006–07 (ranked by % of local working age population)	46
Table 18: GVA per head in NUTS 3 region containing England's principal seaside towns, 2004	48
Table 19: Tenure in England's principal seaside towns, 2001 (ranked by owner occupation rate)	50
Table 20: Overcrowded households in England's principal seaside towns, 2001	51
Table 21: Households lacking key amenities in England's principal seaside towns, 2001	52
Table 22: Average overall deprivation ranking of LSOAs in England's principal seaside towns, 2007	56
Table 23: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on income deprivation domain, 2007	57
Table 24: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on employment deprivation domain, 2007	58
Table 25: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on health deprivation and disability domain, 2007	59
Table 26: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on education, skills and training domain, 2007	60
Table 27: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on barriers to housing and services domain, 2007	61
Table 28: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on crime domain, 2007	62
Table 29: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on living environment domain, 2007	63

List of figures

Figure 1: Location of England's principal seaside towns	13
Figure 2: Employment change in England's principal seaside towns, 1998–2006	23
Figure 3: Claimant unemployment rate in England's principal seaside towns, 1984–2008	35
Figure 4: IS lone parent claimant rates in England's principal seaside towns, 1999–2007	35
Figure 5: IB/SDA claimant rates in England's principal seaside towns, 1999–2007	36
Figure 6: Seasonal fluctuations in claimant unemployment rate in England's principal seaside towns, 2001–2008	40

Summary

This report has been commissioned to help inform policy development in response to the 2007 Select Committee inquiry into England's coastal towns. The report presents a range of statistical evidence on socio-economic conditions and compares the figures with regional and English averages.

The report focuses on 'seaside towns' (or resorts) rather than all places around the coast. The statistics cover the 37 largest seaside towns in England, each with a population of at least 10,000. The towns are accurately defined at ward-level, generally by their built-up area, and sometimes bringing together adjacent towns in the same urban area.

The main body of the report is organised into 12 sections, each dealing with a particular topic such as population, benefits or earnings. The key findings from the data are that:

Population

- England's principal seaside resorts have a combined population of just under 2.9 million, or nearly 6 per cent of England's population – as much as a small region.
- Their population is growing, but in recent years more slowly than in England as a whole.
- The share of the population over state pension age is markedly above the English average (24 per cent compared to 19 per cent).

Employment, skills and qualifications

- Employment has also been growing in England's principal seaside towns as a whole – up by 7.5 per cent between 1998–99 and 2005–06 compared to 6.9 per cent in England as a whole.
- The employment rate is nevertheless below the English average (72 per cent compared to 74 per cent in 2006) but there are big variations between individual seaside towns.
- Skill levels and achievement at school are slightly below average, but again there are variations between towns.

Benefits and seasonal unemployment

- The share of adults of working age claiming the three main benefits for the non-employed is above average – 13.3 per cent compared to 11.2 per cent in England as a whole in May 2007.

- Incapacity benefit claimants are by far the largest group of non-employed working age benefit claimants in England's principal seaside towns.
- There is still seasonal unemployment in seaside towns, but on average the claimant unemployment rate across the towns varies by only 0.5 percentage points between summer and winter.
- A sub-set of mainly smaller seaside towns are more badly affected by seasonal unemployment (eg Skegness and Newquay)

Earnings and business stock

- Average earnings for both males and females in the districts containing seaside towns are often substantially below the English average.
- The stock of VAT registered businesses and the rate of new registrations varies between seaside town districts, but overall is not dissimilar to regions outside London.

Migrant workers

- Overall, the districts containing seaside towns have attracted rather fewer migrant workers than the English average, but Brighton and Bournemouth are exceptions and the figures probably understate the situation in the towns themselves.

Economic output

- Gross Value Added (GVA) per head in the sub-regions containing seaside towns is almost always below the English average.

Housing

- Seaside towns have an unusual pattern of housing tenure – a markedly low share of households in social housing and high levels of private renting more akin to London.
- Housing overcrowding in seaside towns is generally not widespread.

Deprivation

- 26 of the 37 principal seaside towns in England have an overall level of deprivation greater than the English average.
- On most individual domains within the Indices of Deprivation, with the notable exception of crime, a majority of seaside towns have above-average deprivation.

The report concludes that, taking account of a range of evidence, on average England's principal seaside towns are rather more disadvantaged than the rest of the country, but not markedly so.

However, there is considerable variation between seaside towns, with some towns faring markedly better than others and in quite a number of cases better than England as a whole.

The 'economic' data suggests that Bognor Regis, Exmouth, Greater Bournemouth, Greater Brighton, Greater Worthing, Sidmouth, Southport, Swanage, Whitley Bay and Whitstable/Herne Bay have the stronger local economies among seaside towns.

The same data suggests that Bridlington, Clacton, Great Yarmouth, Ilfracombe, Lowestoft, Morecambe/Heysham, Penzance, Skegness, Thanet, Torbay and Whitby have the weaker local economies among seaside towns.

Among the larger seaside towns/areas, with more than 100,000 people, the economic data also points to a ranking of disadvantage from Thanet (the most disadvantaged) through Torbay, Hastings, Greater Blackpool, Isle of Wight, Southend, Greater Brighton and Greater Bournemouth to Greater Worthing (the least disadvantaged).

1. Purpose and scope of the report

This report has been commissioned by the Department for Communities and Local Government to help inform the need for policy development in response to the 2007 Select Committee report on England's coastal towns¹. It presents a range of statistical evidence on socio-economic conditions in seaside towns, and compares the figures with regional and English averages.

The report follows specifically from one of the recommendations of the review of evidence on coastal towns² commissioned by Communities and Local Government to inform the Cross-Whitehall Coastal Towns Working Group established in 2008. The review identified four priorities for research:

- a 'benchmarking' exercise for seaside towns
- a study of incapacity claimants in seaside towns
- an assessment of the role of seaside tourism
- a review of the costs and funding of service delivery in seaside towns.

The purpose of the benchmarking exercise is to identify, on a range of up-to-date indicators, the extent to which England's seaside towns differ from the regions of which they form part and from the national average. The figures are also intended to help identify the towns with the most significant social and economic problems.

The report covers the key socio-economic issues for which data is reasonably readily available. However, the report is not intended to provide a comprehensive digest of all the statistics that might conceivably be assembled for seaside towns, and it has been produced as a timely response to the first priority identified in the evidence review.

¹ Communities and Local Government Committee (2007) *Coastal Towns*, Second report of session 2006–07, House of Commons HC 351, The Stationery Office, London.

² S Fothergill (2008) *England's Coastal Towns: a short review of the issues, evidence base and research needs*, report to Communities and Local Government, published as supplementary government evidence to the Communities and Local Government Committee.

2. Geographical coverage

The review of existing evidence commissioned by Communities and Local Government³ argued that for most purposes 'coastal towns' are not a coherent category. What coastal towns all share is an exposure to the sea – which is relevant to issues such as erosion, flood protection and pollution – but in other respects they differ enormously. Portsmouth and Sunderland, for example, are major industrial and commercial centres on the coast, very different in character from seaside resorts such as Scarborough, Great Yarmouth or Blackpool.

In contrast, the review argued that 'seaside towns' (or 'seaside resorts' – these terms are much more interchangeable) are a more clearly identifiable group of places. Because of their history of tourism, and in most cases the continuing significance of this sector, they tend to share a number of features that distinguish them from other places along the coast or inland. This includes a specialist tourist infrastructure (promenades, piers, parks etc), holiday accommodation (hotels, boarding houses, caravan sites) and a distinctive resort character that is often reflected in the built environment. Moreover, while some resorts have fared better than others, they have all to a greater or lesser extent faced challenges arising from the changing structure of the UK holiday trade.

Whilst recognising that some environmental concerns potentially apply to everywhere along the coast, the Cross-Whitehall Coastal Towns Working Group largely shared this view. There was also agreement that in practice the main concern of the 2007 Select Committee report had been with seaside towns/resorts.

The benchmarking study therefore covers *seaside towns*, not everywhere along the coast.

There are nevertheless practical problems in accurately identifying and defining seaside towns. A key issue is that with a few exceptions they do not match district boundaries. Most seaside towns form only one part of a wider district (Southport, which is part of Sefton district on Merseyside, is a good example). In a few cases the built-up urban area spills over into neighbouring districts (the Greater Blackpool area, which includes Lytham St Anne's in Fylde district and Fleetwood in Wyre district as well as Blackpool itself, is an example). A further complication is that there is no hard-and-fast dividing line between seaside towns and other places along the coast.

The benchmarking study uses the definition of seaside towns originally developed for the 2003 report, *The Seaside Economy*⁴, widely referenced by the Select Committee and in evidence to its inquiry. The *Seaside Economy* report identified 43 'principal seaside towns' around the coast of Britain, of

³ S Fothergill (2008) op.cit.

⁴ C Beatty and S Fothergill (2003) *The Seaside Economy*, final report of the seaside towns research project, CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University.

which 37 are in England. These are shown on Figure 1. The list of towns was drawn up in consultation with the British Resorts Association (now BRADA). Its aim was to cover resorts, rather than everywhere along the coast, and to include seaside towns that were places in their own right rather than just part of a bigger town or city.

The *Seaside Economy* list excludes the very smallest seaside towns with a population of less than 10,000⁵. Extending the list to include every coastal town with a claim to resort status, including the very smallest, would increase the list to at least 100 towns in England, though some of these would be very small. Accurate identification of the seaside towns with a population of less than 10,000 would require significant new investment in mapping and in data assembly and was ruled out for the present benchmarking study.

A number of points are worth noting about the towns on the *Seaside Economy* list. Bournemouth, Brighton, Blackpool and Worthing comprise wider areas than just the town at their core. To denote this, the title 'Greater' is attached to each of these towns in the present report. For example, 'Greater Bournemouth' includes Christchurch and Poole. There are other instances where neighbouring towns have been added together to produce more meaningful units – Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate are included together as 'Thanet' for example, and Hastings and Bexhill as a single town. The whole of the Isle of Wight is included, partly because seaside tourism is widely spread throughout the island and partly because its separation from the mainland accentuates the extent to which it functions as a discrete labour market.

There are notable omissions from the list. Redcar is excluded because it is essentially an integral part of industrial Teesside. Cleethorpes and Southsea are excluded because they cannot be meaningfully separated from Grimsby and Portsmouth respectively, the bigger towns of which they form part. The population threshold means that places such as Hunstanton, Wells, Sheringham and Cromer along the North Norfolk coast are excluded, along with a number of towns in Devon and Cornwall such as Salcombe, Fowey, Padstow and Bude.

What needs to be emphasised is that the list of 'principal seaside towns' used in the study is first and foremost an analytical tool. The list is not intended to suggest that other smaller places do not have a claim to seaside town status or that they should be excluded from any seaside town policy initiative.

For each seaside town covered in the report the boundaries are accurately defined at ward-level⁶. Where ward boundaries have changed through time the different sets of boundaries have been matched, including by reference to the underlying geography of the area, to allow comparisons through time. In a small number of cases, affecting a handful of smaller towns⁷, boundary

⁵ The original criteria was a minimum population of 8,000 in 1971. Population growth means that all the towns on the *Seaside Economy* list now exceed 10,000.

⁶ The initial building blocks for defining the towns were the pre-1974 local authority districts, when boundaries were generally drawn tightly around the towns and most seaside towns were typically a county borough, metropolitan borough or urban district in their own right.

⁷ Bridlington is the most significant example.

changes do introduce a small discontinuity and this needs to be kept in mind in comparing pre- and post-2001 trends. The discontinuities are not sufficiently serious to affect the figures for seaside towns as a whole.

The boundaries of the towns, defined by wards, have also been accurately matched to Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs) to enable the use of data compiled at LSOA level, such as the Indices of Deprivation.

It is also important to note that where the name of the seaside town and the local authority district are the same, this does not imply that the areas are identical. The figures are in all cases for the town, not the district.

Figure 1: Location of England's principal seaside towns



Source: The Seaside Economy

3. Statistical evidence

3.1 Population

Table 1 shows the population of each of England's 37 principal seaside towns in 2006.

Table 2 shows the population change in these towns between 1971 and 2001 and between 2001 and 2006. The 1971–2001 figures, from Census of Population, are affected by minor definitional changes⁸ and in some cases by boundary changes⁹. The 2001–06 figures are the ONS mid-year population estimates and can be subject to error and revision.

Table 3 shows the age structure of the seaside town population in 2006, differentiating between three groups – the under 16s, those of working age, and those over state pension age (60 for women, 65 for men).

Key points

- England's 37 principal seaside towns have a combined population of just under 2.9 million. This represents 5.7 per cent of the population of England as a whole. Adding in the smaller seaside towns (with a population of less than 10,000) would probably bring the total to around 3.1 million.
- The population of England's seaside towns is greater than the total population of the North East region (2.5 million)
- Seaside towns vary a lot in size. The largest (Greater Bournemouth) has a population larger than the combined population of the 15 smallest seaside towns on the list. The seven largest seaside towns account for half of the English seaside town population.
- Seaside towns have a growing population. Over the 2001–06 period their estimated growth (about 0.35 per cent a year) differed only marginally from the average over the previous thirty years (about 0.4 per cent a year).
- However, whereas between 1971 and 2001 population growth in seaside towns was faster than the English average, since 2001 it has fallen behind. If this is confirmed by subsequent data it represents the reversal of a long-established trend.
- Virtually all seaside towns have shared in population growth over the full 1971–2006 period.

⁸ In 2001 students were recorded where they were living in term-time whereas previously they had been counted at their home address. This has the effect of lowering the recorded population growth in most seaside towns, which mostly lack universities or other higher educational institutions, but may boost the recorded growth in Brighton in particular.

⁹ Newquay, Skegness and Bridlington are particularly affected.

- Whilst there appear to be some notable changes in trend in individual towns (Greater Blackpool and Greater Bournemouth are examples) the recent figures should be treated with caution.
- Taking the long view, the fastest growth in population has occurred in some of the smaller seaside towns, especially but not exclusively in the South West.
- The seaside town population is skewed towards older age groups. The share of the population over state pension age is 5 percentage points higher than the English average (24 per cent compared to 19 per cent) and higher than the average for any English region.
- The share of the population of working age in seaside towns is correspondingly lower – 58 per cent compared to 62 per cent for England as a whole.
- Only Greater Brighton has a share of the population over state pension age that is below the English average. This may owe something to large numbers of students at Brighton's two universities.

Table 1: Population of England's principal seaside towns, 2006 (ranked by size)	
	Population
Greater Bournemouth	335,500
Greater Brighton	284,300
Greater Blackpool	264,600
Greater Worthing	191,300
Southend-on-Sea	159,900
Isle of Wight	138,500
Torbay	133,200
Hastings/Bexhill	127,100
Thanet	122,300
Eastbourne	94,900
Southport	90,400
Weston-super-Mare	76,300
Whitstable/Herne Bay	69,700
Lowestoft	63,900
Folkestone/Hythe	60,100
Great Yarmouth	58,300
Clacton	58,000
Scarborough	54,900
Weymouth	52,000
Morecambe/Heysham	50,800
Bognor Regis	42,300
Bridlington	39,200
Whitley Bay	38,400
Exmouth	34,200
Dawlish/Teignmouth	30,300
Deal	29,200
Newquay	23,500
Penzance	21,600
Falmouth	21,100
Skegness	20,400
Burnham-on-Sea	19,100
Sidmouth	13,700
Whitby	13,700
Minehead	12,100
Ilfracombe	11,300
St Ives	11,200
Swanage	10,100
Seaside towns	2,877,200
North East	2,555,700
North West	6,853,200
Yorkshire and the Humber	5,142,400
East Midlands	4,364,200
West Midlands	5,366,700
East of England	5,606,600
London	7,512,400
South East	8,237,800
South West	5,124,100
England	50,762,900

Source: ONS mid-year population estimates

**Table 2: Population growth in England's principal seaside towns, 1971–2006
(ranked by % growth 2001–2006)**

	1971–2001		2001–2006	
	no.	%	no.	%
Skegness	5,300	39	1,500	8
Newquay	6,900	46	1,500	7
Weston-super-Mare	20,900	41	4,500	6
Eastbourne	18,700	26	5,100	6
Whitstable/Herne Bay	15,500	31	3,500	5
Morecambe/Heysham	6,300	15	2,500	5
Bridlington	10,500	39	1,900	5
Sidmouth	1,100	9	600	4
Isle of Wight	23,200	21	5,600	4
Ilfracombe	1,000	10	400	4
Exmouth	7,100	28	1,200	4
Burnham-on-Sea	6,500	55	600	3
Clacton	17,900	47	1,900	3
Minehead	3,600	45	400	3
Lowestoft	9,700	19	1,800	3
Great Yarmouth	6,400	13	1,500	3
Torbay	20,400	19	3,200	2
Dawlish/Teignmouth	7,500	34	700	2
Greater Worthing	27,000	17	3,900	2
Weymouth	8,500	20	1,000	2
Penzance	1,800	9	400	2
Greater Blackpool	–4,100	–2	4,600	2
Scarborough	1,000	2	900	2
Bognor Regis	7,200	21	600	2
Deal	3,300	13	400	1
Folkestone/Hythe	3,500	6	800	1
Falmouth	2,700	15	300	1
Thanet	10,900	10	1,500	1
Hastings/Bexhill	20,200	19	1,300	1
Whitby	900	7	100	1
Greater Brighton	–3,200	–1	2,000	1
St. Ives	1,300	13	0	0
Whitley Bay	400	1	100	0
Southport	5,800	7	100	0
Swanage	1,600	18	0	0
Southend-on-Sea	–2,500	–2	–500	0
Greater Bournemouth	46,400	16	–3,700	–1
Seaside towns	321,200	12.9	52,200	1.8
North East	–163,600	–6.1	15,600	0.6
North West	–378,200	–5.3	80,200	1.2
Yorkshire and the Humber	62,800	1.3	165,800	3.3
East Midlands	520,200	14.2	174,600	4.2
West Midlands	121,300	2.4	86,000	1.6
East	934,100	21.0	206,100	3.8
London	–356,900	–4.7	190,000	2.6
South East	1,170,600	17.1	214,400	2.7
South West	816,400	19.9	180,700	3.7
England	2,726,800	5.9	1,313,200	2.7

Sources: Census of Population, ONS mid-year population estimates

Table 3: Age distribution of population of England's principal seaside towns, 2006 (ranked by share of population aged 60/65+)			
	% of total population		
	0–15	16–59/64	60/65+
Sidmouth	13	45	43
Minehead	15	52	33
Swanage	15	53	33
Clacton	17	51	32
Dawlish/Teignmouth	16	54	30
Burnham-on-Sea	16	54	30
Bognor Regis	15	55	30
Bridlington	17	54	29
St Ives	15	57	28
Greater Worthing	17	56	27
Skegness	17	57	27
Isle of Wight	17	57	26
Eastbourne	17	57	26
Torbay	17	57	26
Exmouth	17	57	26
Penzance	17	58	26
Hastings/Bexhill	18	56	26
Deal	18	57	26
Southport	17	57	25
Whitstable/Herne Bay	19	56	25
Greater Blackpool	18	58	25
Lowestoft	19	57	24
Weymouth	17	59	24
Greater Bournemouth	17	59	24
Thanet	19	56	24
Whitby	17	59	24
Scarborough	18	59	23
Falmouth	17	60	23
Morecambe/Heysham	19	58	23
Great Yarmouth	19	58	23
Weston-super-Mare	18	59	23
Folkestone/Hythe	19	59	23
Ilfracombe	19	59	22
Newquay	16	62	22
Southend-on-Sea	19	59	21
Whitley Bay	19	60	21
Greater Brighton	16	66	18
Seaside towns	17	58	24
North East	18	62	20
North West	19	62	19
Yorkshire and the Humber	19	62	19
East Midlands	19	62	19
West Midlands	20	61	19
East of England	19	61	20
London	19	67	14
South East	19	62	19
South West	18	60	22
England	19	62	19

Source: ONS mid-year population estimates

3.2 Employment

Table 4 shows the employment in England's principal seaside towns in 2006. Two figures are presented here. The first is the number of employee jobs recorded by the government's Annual Business Inquiry (ABI). The second is an estimate of the total number of people in work in the towns, adding in the self-employed excluded from the ABI and deducting 'double jobbing' (where employees are counted more than once by the ABI). To derive these estimates the 2006 ABI figures have been adjusted upwards by the ratio between the number of self-employed and employees in each town, from the 2001 Census of Population, and downwards by the proportion of double-jobbers from Labour Force Survey data for GB for 2001.

Table 5 shows the change in the number of employee jobs in each town between 1998–99 and 2005–06. The ABI data for small areas can show erratic fluctuations from year to year, which to some extent reflect sampling errors. To help offset these fluctuations, the employment figures here are based on a comparison between two-year averages¹⁰.

Figure 2 compares the trend in employment in these 37 seaside towns with the trend for England as a whole over the period 1998 to 2006¹¹. These figures are from the ABI and exclude the self-employed.

Table 6 shows the structure of employment in 2006, from the ABI. Employment is broken down into eight sectors¹² and the figures refer to the jobs located in the towns, not those held by residents, which will differ because of commuting. The figures are ranked by the share of employment in 'distribution, hotels and restaurants'. This is the sector where many tourist-related jobs are concentrated and the ranking of the towns therefore offers a rough guide to the extent to which local employment depends on tourism.

Key points

- In all, more than 1.2 million jobs are located in England's principal seaside towns.
- The four largest seaside towns (Bournemouth, Brighton, Blackpool and Worthing) account for more than half a million jobs.

¹⁰ In addition a small number of corrections have been made to the raw ABI data to allow for apparent errors and omissions in some years' data. The towns affected by these corrections are Greater Bournemouth, Greater Brighton and Isle of Wight. The corrections were based on comparisons between earlier and later years' figures.

¹¹ The figures here are for individual years, not two-year averages. The figures for 2006 are for September whereas the data for earlier years is for December. The Office for National Statistics estimates that the change of month *lowers* the national employment total by between 150,000 and 350,000 (0.6 to 1.3 per cent), for example because of the exclusion of temporary retailing jobs in the run up to Christmas. However, the effect in seaside towns of the shift may be to *raise* recorded employment because of the inclusion in September, towards the end of the summer season, of additional jobs related to tourism. These factors should be kept in mind in interpreting small differences between recent trends in seaside towns and the England average. The effect on recorded employment growth will potentially be greatest in the seaside towns where tourism is an especially large component of the local economy.

¹² Agriculture and fishing, and energy and water, have been merged in these tables. There is little employment recorded in either of these groups in seaside towns.

- Employment in the 37 principal seaside towns has been growing a little faster than the national average – by 7.5 per cent between 1998–99 and 2005–06, compared to 6.9 per cent across England as a whole. This confirms a trend identified in the *Seaside Economy* report¹³. The rate of employment growth in seaside towns appears to have accelerated, compared to the 1971–2001 period covered in that report, but the difference between seaside towns and the national average has narrowed.
- All but two seaside towns (Folkestone/Hythe and Scarborough) have shared in the recent employment growth but nine in total, including Greater Blackpool, have seen slower growth than the English average.
- Recent employment growth has been impressive in a number of smaller seaside towns in the south West, including Newquay, Minehead, St Ives, Burnham-on-Sea, Penzance, Sidmouth and Ilfracombe.
- The share of jobs in distribution, hotels and restaurants is markedly higher in seaside towns (30 per cent compared to an English average of 24 per cent). The share of jobs in this sector is lower than the English average in only Hastings/Bexhill.
- In 16 mainly smaller seaside towns, the share of employment in distribution, hotels and restaurants is at least 10 percentage points higher than the national average. In Newquay in Cornwall the share is more than 30 percentage points higher.
- Manufacturing and banking, finance, insurance and business services are under represented in most seaside towns – especially in comparison with levels in London and the South East.
- Jobs in public administration, education and health are over-represented in most seaside towns.

¹³ C Beatty and S Fothergill (2003) op. cit.

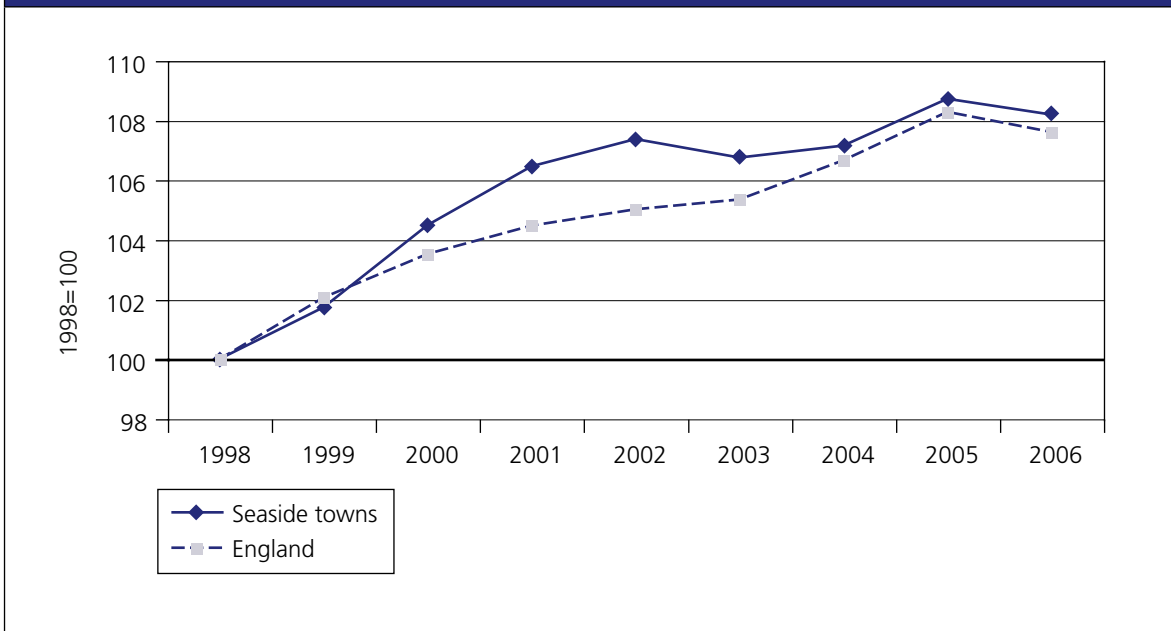
**Table 4: Employment in England's principal seaside towns, 2006
(ranked by estimated total employment)**

	Employee jobs	Estimated total employment
Greater Bournemouth	155,500	175,400
Greater Brighton	127,500	146,600
Greater Blackpool	104,800	120,000
Greater Worthing	72,300	81,500
Southend-on-Sea	61,200	68,500
Isle of Wight	50,100	58,300
Torbay	48,600	57,200
Hastings/Bexhill	40,800	47,100
Eastbourne	38,100	43,200
Thanet	35,300	39,700
Southport	33,900	38,300
Weston-super-Mare	28,600	31,500
Great Yarmouth	28,300	31,100
Scarborough	22,900	26,000
Folkestone/Hythe	22,600	25,000
Lowestoft	21,800	23,600
Whitstable/Herne Bay	16,100	18,400
Weymouth	15,300	17,200
Clacton	15,000	17,100
Morecambe/Heysham	15,000	16,400
Bognor Regis	12,800	14,600
Bridlington	9,700	11,400
Newquay	9,300	11,100
Whitley Bay	10,100	10,900
Exmouth	9,000	10,100
Penzance	8,100	10,100
Skegness	8,000	9,400
Dawlish/Teignmouth	7,100	8,500
Falmouth	7,200	8,400
Burnham-on-Sea	6,100	6,900
Sidmouth	5,100	6,400
Whitby	5,300	6,200
Minehead	5,300	6,200
St Ives	4,600	6,000
Deal	5,200	5,800
Ilfracombe	3,400	4,200
Swanage	2,900	3,600
Seaside towns	1,072,900	1,221,900
North East	1,044,100	1,106,200
North West	3,010,700	3,281,600
Yorkshire and the Humber	2,230,700	2,431,300
East Midlands	1,848,600	2,021,500
West Midlands	2,377,400	2,594,800
East	2,378,700	2,654,900
London	3,996,600	4,485,500
South East	3,668,700	4,108,300
South West	2,211,100	2,516,800
England	22,766,600	25,192,500

Sources: Annual Business Inquiry, Census of Population

Table 5: Change in employment in England's principal seaside towns, 1998–99 to 2005–06 (ranked by percentage growth)		
	Number	%
Newquay	2,100	31
Minehead	1,100	28
St. Ives	800	24
Eastbourne	5,900	18
Burnham-on-Sea	900	17
Clacton	2,100	16
Whitby	700	16
Bridlington	1,300	16
Penzance	1,000	15
Sidmouth	600	14
Ilfracombe	400	13
Deal	600	12
Weston-super-Mare	3,000	12
Weymouth	1,500	11
Isle of Wight	4,900	11
Thanet	3,600	11
Dawlish/Teignmouth	700	11
Whitley Bay	1,000	10
Torbay	4,200	10
Hastings/Bexhill	3,600	10
Greater Bournemouth	13,600	10
Morecambe/Heysham	1,200	9
Southport	2,700	9
Swanage	200	9
Exmouth	700	8
Greater Brighton	9,700	8
Falmouth	500	8
Skegness	500	7
Whitstable/Herne Bay	800	5
Southend-on-Sea	2,300	4
Lowestoft	700	4
Greater Worthing	2,000	3
Greater Blackpool	2,400	2
Great Yarmouth	400	1
Bognor Regis	0	0
Scarborough	-100	0
Folkestone/Hythe	-2,700	-10
Seaside towns	75,200	7.5
North East	96,700	10.1
North West	184,500	6.6
Yorkshire and the Humber	183,600	8.9
East Midlands	117,000	6.7
West Midlands	74,300	3.2
East	201,000	9.3
London	168,300	4.4
South East	198,900	5.7
South West	240,400	12.2
England	1,464,700	6.9

Source: Annual Business Inquiry

Figure 2: Employment change in England's principal seaside towns, 1998–2006

Source: Annual Business Inquiry

Table 6: Employment by sector in England's principal seaside towns, 2006 (ranked by share in Distribution, hotels and restaurants)

	% of all employee jobs							
	Agriculture, energy etc.	Manufacturing	Construction	Distribution, hotels, restaurants	Transport and communications	Banking, etc.	Public administration etc.	Other services
Newquay	0	2	3	55	2	9	23	5
Minehead	0	4	3	49	3	7	29	6
St Ives	0	3	4	46	3	27	13	4
Skegness	1	9	2	42	3	8	24	11
Whitby	0	8	4	41	3	8	31	6
Sidmouth	0	1	7	39	2	8	32	11
Weymouth	0	2	4	39	4	13	33	6
Bridlington	1	6	5	36	2	7	36	6
Falmouth	0	15	3	36	3	15	23	5
Deal	1	2	6	36	3	11	35	6
Exmouth	0	4	4	36	3	12	36	4
Torbay	0	6	4	35	3	13	33	5
Swanage	1	4	5	35	3	12	33	6
Penzance	1	3	2	35	5	11	36	7
Scarborough	0	4	4	34	2	10	39	6
Morecambe/Heysham	0	9	7	34	7	11	27	6
Southport	0	5	4	33	3	13	35	7
Isle of Wight	1	9	4	32	4	10	33	6
Weston-super-Mare	0	5	4	32	4	16	34	5
Clacton	0	8	3	32	3	10	37	7
Dawlish/Teignmouth	0	2	6	32	5	9	40	6
Whitley Bay	0	2	4	31	1	9	48	5
Great Yarmouth	2	7	3	31	5	11	34	7
Ilfracombe	1	16	2	31	6	6	30	7
Bognor Regis	0	3	4	31	3	15	40	4
Eastbourne	0	7	3	31	2	15	37	5
Whitstable/Herne Bay	0	12	6	30	3	12	32	6
Greater Blackpool	0	7	3	30	3	14	35	7
Thanet	0	10	4	29	5	10	38	4
Burnham-on-Sea	0	25	4	29	5	7	27	3
Lowestoft	1	9	6	28	5	14	31	5
Greater Bournemouth	0	10	4	28	4	22	28	5
Folkestone/Hythe	1	8	5	26	6	19	31	5
Southend-on-Sea	0	7	3	25	4	22	34	6
Greater Worthing	2	10	3	24	3	21	34	5
Greater Brighton	1	4	3	24	5	26	30	7
Hastings/Bexhill	0	10	3	23	3	14	43	4
Seaside towns	1	7	4	30	4	17	33	6
North East	1	12	6	22	5	16	32	5
North West	1	13	5	24	6	19	28	5
Yorkshire & the Humber	1	14	5	23	6	18	28	5
East Midlands	2	16	5	23	6	17	26	5
West Midlands	1	15	5	24	6	18	27	5
East	2	11	5	25	6	20	26	5
London	0	5	3	21	7	34	23	7
South East	2	9	4	25	6	24	25	5
South West	2	11	4	26	5	18	29	5
England	1	11	5	24	6	22	26	5

Source: Annual Business Inquiry

3.3 Economic status

Table 7 shows the share of the working age population in employment (including self-employment). The figures for seaside towns are estimates based on the employment rate in each town in the 2001 Census, adjusted by the percentage point change between 2001 and 2006 in the relevant district¹⁴ from the Labour Force Survey (LFS). In places where the town and district boundaries largely coincide this is a reliable method, but the estimates will be subject to error where the boundary differences are more substantial. The regional and England figures are from the LFS.

The remaining working age population in each district will be either unemployed or economically inactive. The LFS data is insufficiently reliable at the local scale to allow either of these categories to be separately identified.

Table 8 shows the occupational breakdown of residents in employment in 2001, from the Census. The figures here are grouped into four broad categories and ranked according to the share in managerial and professional occupations. The LFS data for local areas is insufficiently robust to allow these figures to be reliably up-dated.

Key points

- The average employment rate in seaside towns is just below the England average – 72 per cent compared to 74 per cent.
- There is substantial variation in the employment rate between seaside towns – from 78 per cent in Whitley Bay, Greater Worthing and Sidmouth to just 62 per cent in Clacton.
- All except three seaside towns have lower employment rates than the regions of which they form part. The exceptions are Whitley Bay (North East), Sidmouth (South West) and Southport (North West).
- The occupational structure in seaside towns as a whole is not fundamentally different from the English average, though managers and professional are very slightly under-represented and 'other manual workers' (which will include many in service activities related to the tourist trade) slightly over-represented.
- There is however substantial variation between towns. The proportion of managers and professionals is almost twice as high in Whitley Bay and Greater Brighton as in Great Yarmouth and Lowestoft.
- 'Other manual workers' – essentially workers in low-grade manual jobs – account for 40 per cent or more of residents in employment in 16 seaside towns. In Skegness the proportion is 50 per cent.

¹⁴ Where seaside towns straddle more than one district, the percentage point change is a population-weighted average. LFS figures for local areas tend to fluctuate because of the small sample size, so the measurement of change used here is between three-year averages (ie 2000/01/02 compared to 2005/06/07).

Table 7: Employment rate in England's principal seaside towns, 2006	
	% of working age
Whitley Bay	78
Greater Worthing	78
Sidmouth	78
Exmouth	76
Weston-super-Mare	75
Newquay	75
Whitstable/Herne Bay	74
Ilfracombe	74
Dawlish/Teignmouth	74
Southend-on-Sea	74
Minehead	74
Greater Bournemouth	74
St. Ives	73
Isle of Wight	73
Southport	73
Hastings/Bexhill	73
Scarborough	73
Burnham-on-Sea	73
Greater Brighton	72
Weymouth	72
Eastbourne	72
Torbay	72
Swanage	71
Bognor Regis	71
Whitby	71
Morecambe/Heysham	71
Greater Blackpool	70
Skegness	70
Deal	69
Penzance	69
Falmouth	68
Folkestone/Hythe	68
Lowestoft	68
Thanet	67
Bridlington	65
Great Yarmouth	65
Clacton	62
Seaside towns	72
North East	71
North West	72
Yorkshire and the Humber	74
East Midlands	76
West Midlands	73
East	77
London	69
South East	79
South West	78
England	74

Sources: Census of Population, Labour Force Survey, ONS mid-year population estimates

Table 8: Occupational Structure of residents in employment in England's principal seaside towns, 2001 (ranked by share of managers and professionals)

	% of workforce			
	Managers and professional	Other white collar	Skilled manual	Other manual
Whitley Bay	33	32	8	27
Greater Brighton	30	30	10	31
Southport	28	27	11	35
Sidmouth	27	22	15	36
St Ives	26	20	17	36
Southend-on-Sea	26	31	11	32
Swanage	25	22	16	37
Greater Bournemouth	25	28	13	35
Dawlish/Teignmouth	25	25	14	36
Greater Worthing	25	29	12	34
Whitstable/Herne Bay	24	26	14	36
Bognor Regis	24	25	13	38
Greater Blackpool	24	27	11	38
Eastbourne	24	26	13	37
Weymouth	24	27	13	36
Isle of Wight	23	23	15	39
Weston-super-Mare	23	25	12	40
Newquay	23	23	15	38
Hastings/Bexhill	23	27	13	37
Torbay	23	24	14	40
Falmouth	22	23	15	39
Thanet	22	24	13	41
Exmouth	22	26	13	39
Folkestone/Hythe	22	28	11	39
Skegness	21	16	12	50
Scarborough	21	22	14	43
Deal	21	26	11	42
Burnham-on-Sea	21	22	15	42
Ilfracombe	21	18	16	45
Penzance	21	21	16	42
Minehead	20	19	14	47
Bridlington	20	19	16	45
Whitby	20	16	14	49
Morecambe/Heysham	20	24	13	44
Clacton	19	21	15	45
Great Yarmouth	17	21	14	48
Lowestoft	17	21	15	46
Seaside towns	24	26	12	37
North East	21	25	12	41
North West	24	26	12	38
Yorkshire and the Humber	23	25	13	40
East Midlands	24	24	13	39
West Midlands	24	25	13	38
East	27	27	12	34
London	32	33	8	26
South East	30	28	11	31
South West	25	26	13	36
England	26	27	12	35

Source: Census of Population

3.4 Skills and qualifications

Table 9 shows the highest qualifications of the working age population. These figures are taken from the 2001 Census. The Labour Force Survey data for small areas is insufficiently robust to allow reliable up-dating. The qualifications are grouped into standard 'levels':

Level 4/5	Degree or equivalent
Level 3	A levels, NVQ level 3 or equivalent
Level 2	5 O levels or good GCSEs, NVQ level 2 or equivalent
Level 1	Less than 5 O levels, good GCSEs or equivalent, NVQ level 1

Table 10 shows the estimated share of school pupils achieving 5 or more A*–C grades at GCSE in 2006.

The estimates refer to the pupils living in the towns, rather than the schools located there. The ward-based figures for seaside towns for 2002 have been up-dated by the percentage point change in the relevant district between 2002 and 2006¹⁵. The published data for 2006 for small areas (LSOAs) has too many omissions to allow pupil performance in seaside towns to be measured directly.

Key points

- Across seaside towns as a whole, the level of qualifications of the workforce is not fundamentally different to the English average.
- Workers with the highest level of qualifications (Level 4/5) are under-represented in seaside towns (17 per cent of the workforce compared to 21 per cent for England as a whole) but not to any important extent compared to the averages for regions outside London and the South East (16–20 per cent).
- A number of seaside towns – Clacton, Great Yarmouth and Skegness in particular – do however have a very low proportion of workers with high-level qualifications. Greater Brighton and Whitley Bay are exceptional in having a share of highly qualified workers well in excess of the English average.
- In 13 seaside towns at least a quarter of the workforce has no formal qualifications – rising to nearly 40 per cent in Skegness.
- The estimated share of pupils in seaside towns achieving 5 or more A*–Cs at GCSE is marginally below the English average – 54 per cent compared to 58 per cent.
- None of the seaside towns have an especially low share achieving 5 A*–Cs, at least compared to some inner urban areas.

¹⁵ Where seaside towns straddle more than one district the figure is population-weighted.

Table 9: Highest qualifications of working age population in England's principal seaside towns, 2001 (ranked by share with Level 4/5)

	No qualifications	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4/5	Other
Greater Brighton	17	16	19	13	29	5
Whitley Bay	15	17	24	9	29	7
Southport	21	20	23	9	20	7
Sidmouth	19	21	24	9	20	7
Greater Bournemouth	19	21	24	11	18	7
Swanage	21	20	24	8	18	8
Falmouth	19	18	24	13	18	8
Eastbourne	21	20	23	10	18	7
Dawlish/Teignmouth	23	20	23	8	17	8
Weymouth	21	22	24	8	17	8
St Ives	22	19	25	7	17	9
Greater Worthing	21	22	24	9	17	7
Exmouth	20	22	23	11	16	7
Bognor Regis	21	21	24	10	16	8
Scarborough	26	20	21	9	16	9
Penzance	24	19	24	8	16	8
Isle of Wight	23	22	23	7	16	9
Whitstable/Herne Bay	23	22	23	8	16	9
Deal	24	22	23	8	15	8
Hastings/Bexhill	25	22	23	8	15	8
Folkestone/Hythe	24	21	23	8	15	8
Southend-on-Sea	24	22	24	9	14	7
Greater Blackpool	27	21	22	8	14	8
Torbay	24	23	24	8	14	8
Weston-super-Mare	22	24	25	8	14	7
Morecambe/Heysham	25	22	23	8	13	8
Thanet	27	22	22	7	13	8
Whitby	31	21	20	7	13	9
Burnham-on-Sea	26	23	24	7	13	8
Minehead	24	22	26	8	12	8
Newquay	22	21	26	9	12	9
Bridlington	33	21	19	6	12	9
Ilfracombe	27	23	23	7	11	9
Lowestoft	31	22	20	7	10	10
Clacton	34	22	20	7	9	9
Great Yarmouth	34	22	21	6	8	9
Skegness	39	20	20	6	7	8
Seaside towns	23	21	23	9	17	7
North East	28	19	21	8	16	7
North West	26	19	21	9	18	7
Yorkshire and the Humber	27	19	20	9	17	7
East Midlands	25	20	21	9	18	7
West Midlands	28	19	21	8	17	7
East	22	21	23	9	19	7
London	19	14	18	11	33	5
South East	18	19	23	10	23	6
South West	20	20	23	10	20	7
England	23	19	21	9	21	7

Source: Census of Population

Table 10: Estimated share of pupils achieving 5 or more A*–C grades at GCSE in England's principal seaside towns, 2006

	%
Whitley Bay	81
Deal	69
Minehead	66
Sidmouth	65
St. Ives	65
Southport	65
Whitstable/Herne Bay	63
Swanage	63
Eastbourne	60
Southend-on-Sea	59
Weymouth	59
Folkestone/Hythe	59
Exmouth	56
Greater Bournemouth	56
Penzance	55
Newquay	55
Dawlish/Teignmouth	55
Greater Blackpool	55
Morecambe/Heysham	54
Greater Brighton	54
Thanet	54
Whitby	53
Greater Worthing	52
Falmouth	52
Bognor Regis	52
Bridlington	50
Scarborough	50
Burnham-on-Sea	50
Lowestoft	49
Torbay	48
Isle of Wight	48
Hastings/Bexhill	48
Weston-super-Mare	46
Ilfracombe	45
Skegness	44
Great Yarmouth	43
Clacton	41
Seaside towns	54
North East	57
North West	57
Yorkshire and the Humber	55
East Midlands	55
West Midlands	56
East of England	59
London	58
South East	60
South West	58
England	58

Source: DfES

3.5 Benefits

Table 11 shows the percentage of the working age population in May 2007 claiming each of the three main benefits for the non-employed – Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA)¹⁶, Income Support (IS) paid to lone parents, and Incapacity Benefit/Severe Disablement Allowance (IB/SDA)¹⁷. These three benefits are mutually exclusive (ie an individual claimant cannot receive more than one at the same time) so there is no double-counting. Seaside towns are ranked by the total claimant rate of the three benefits.

In May 2007 there were 39,000 JSA claimants, 36,000 IS lone parent claimants and 147,000 IB/SDA claimants of working age in England's 37 principal seaside towns. This compares to figures for England as a whole of 719,000 JSA claimants, 664,000 IS lone parent claimants and 2,166,000 IB/SDA claimants.

Table 12 shows the percentage point change in the claimant rate of each of these three working-age benefits between August 1999 and May 2007, the longest period for which ward-level data on all three benefits is available¹⁸. The seaside towns are ranked by the percentage point increase/decrease.

Over the August 1999 to May 2007 period there was a reduction in the 37 towns of 20,000 in the number of JSA claimants, of 10,000 in the number of IS lone parent claimants, and an increase of 9,000 in the number of IB/SDA claimants. This compares with a reduction of 284,000 JSA claimants and 142,000 IS lone parent claimants, and an increase of 5,000 IB/SDA claimants over the same period for England as a whole.

Figure 3 compares the average claimant unemployment rate in seaside towns and in England as a whole between 1984 and 2008¹⁹. This is the longest period for which this data can be compiled.

Figure 4 compares the claimant rate for IS as a lone parent in seaside towns and in England as a whole between 1999 and 2007. The figures are for August each year except for 2007 (May). This is the longest period for which this data can be compiled.

Figure 5 compares the IB/SDA claimant rate in seaside towns and in England as a whole between 1999 and 2007. Once more, the figures are for August (except 2007) and cover the longest period for which this data is available.

Table 13 shows the share of persons over state pension age (60 for women, 65 for men) claiming pension credits. Although take-up of pension credits

¹⁶ Because of the way records are held the figures for JSA claimants differ very marginally (by 0.1 per cent for seaside towns as a whole) from the claimant count unemployment figures.

¹⁷ The IB/SDA figures include IB claimants who fail to qualify for IB itself because of a poor National Insurance (NI) record and instead mostly receive IS with a disability premium. The Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) counts these as IB 'NI credits only' claimants and includes them in the headline IB figures. Severe Disablement Allowance is a benefit that is closed to new claimants, who now claim IB instead. The DWP also includes SDA claimants in the headline incapacity claimant numbers.

¹⁸ The working age population in 2006 is used as the denominator for these calculations.

¹⁹ The working age population in 2006 is again used as the denominator. Changes in population over this period are not sufficiently large for the use of a single denominator to introduce a significant distortion.

is less than comprehensive, this is a useful guide to the distribution of pensioners living on low incomes.

Key points

- Across seaside towns as a whole the share of working age adults claiming the three main benefits for the non-employed is above average (13.3 per cent compared to 11.2 per cent in England as a whole).
- Incapacity claimants are by far the largest group of non-employed working age claimants. In England's 37 principal seaside towns they account for 8.8 per cent of the working age population – or nearly one-in-eleven of all adults aged between 16 and state pension age.
- The average incapacity claimant rate in seaside towns is well ahead of the English average – 8.8 per cent compared to 6.9 per cent.
- The average claimant rates for Jobseeker's Allowance and for Income Support as a lone parent are much closer to the English average (2.4 and 2.2 per cent respectively in seaside towns, compared to 2.3 and 2.1 per cent).
- There are important variations between seaside towns. The overall claimant rate is roughly three times higher in Skegness, Great Yarmouth and Clacton than in Swanage or Sidmouth.
- The IB/SDA claimant rate in Skegness is very high indeed – 14.6 per cent. If the town of Skegness were a district on its own, it would rank seventh on this indicator out of more than 400 districts across Britain as a whole, and second in England.
- In seaside towns the share of working age residents claiming the three main non-employed benefits fell by 1.3 percentage points between 1999 and 2007 – exactly the same rate as in England as a whole
- Between 1999 and 2007 the number of JSA and IS lone parent claimants in seaside towns fell slightly faster than average (1.2 and 0.6 percentage points compared to 0.9 and 0.4 percentage points in England as a whole) but the IB/SDA claimant rate rose by 0.6 percentage points whilst the England figure remained unchanged.
- Most seaside towns have shared in the reduction in claimant numbers, but there are a handful of exceptions.
- Claimant unemployment in England's principal seaside towns has followed the national trend, but the gap between the rate in seaside towns and the English average has narrowed since the early 1990s.
- Around a quarter of seaside town resident over 60/65 draw on pension credits – much the same as the English average – but there are important differences between individual towns. Some of these differences are likely to reflect the scale of the influx of affluent retirees.

Table 11: Working age claimant rates in England's principal seaside towns, May 2007 (ranked by total)

	% of working age population			
	JSA	IS as lone parent	IB/SDA	Total
Skegness	3.4	2.5	14.6	20.5
Great Yarmouth	5.2	3.2	11.6	20.0
Clacton	3.7	3.4	12.2	19.3
Penzance	2.8	2.6	13.2	18.6
Bridlington	3.5	2.3	11.7	17.4
Ilfracombe	2.3	2.8	11.8	16.9
Hastings/Bexhill	3.0	2.9	10.3	16.2
Thanet	3.3	3.0	9.8	16.1
Lowestoft	4.3	2.7	9.0	15.9
Greater Blackpool	2.4	2.2	11.2	15.8
Morecambe/Heysham	3.0	2.2	10.6	15.8
Weston-super-Mare	1.8	2.4	11.3	15.4
Scarborough	3.2	2.7	9.4	15.4
Torbay	2.4	2.3	10.2	14.9
Folkestone/Hythe	3.6	2.7	8.3	14.6
Southend-on-Sea	2.9	2.7	7.7	13.4
Weymouth	1.6	1.7	9.4	12.7
Eastbourne	2.5	2.2	8.0	12.7
Burnham-on-Sea	1.6	1.7	9.3	12.6
Minehead	1.5	1.8	9.2	12.6
Whitby	2.3	1.8	8.4	12.5
Greater Brighton	2.5	2.1	7.5	12.1
Isle of Wight	2.1	2.1	7.9	12.1
Dawlish/Teignmouth	1.2	1.6	9.0	11.9
Southport	1.9	1.5	8.3	11.8
Newquay	2.0	1.6	8.0	11.7
Deal	1.9	1.7	7.8	11.5
Falmouth	1.8	1.9	7.7	11.5
St Ives	1.6	1.3	8.5	11.4
Bognor Regis	2.0	1.8	7.2	10.9
Greater Bournemouth	1.4	1.9	7.4	10.7
Greater Worthing	1.3	1.7	6.8	9.9
Whitstable/Herne Bay	1.7	1.6	6.5	9.7
Exmouth	1.1	1.2	7.0	9.3
Whitley Bay	1.7	0.7	5.6	8.0
Swanage	0.7	1.3	5.4	7.3
Sidmouth	0.7	0.8	4.9	6.4
Seaside towns	2.4	2.2	8.8	13.3
North East	3.1	2.4	10.4	15.8
North West	2.6	2.3	9.7	14.5
Yorkshire and the Humber	2.6	2.0	7.5	12.1
East Midlands	2.2	1.7	6.7	10.6
West Midlands	3.1	2.3	7.4	12.8
East	1.8	1.7	5.2	8.7
London	2.9	3.2	6.2	12.2
South East	1.4	1.5	4.8	7.7
South West	1.4	1.5	6.4	9.3
England	2.3	2.1	6.9	11.2

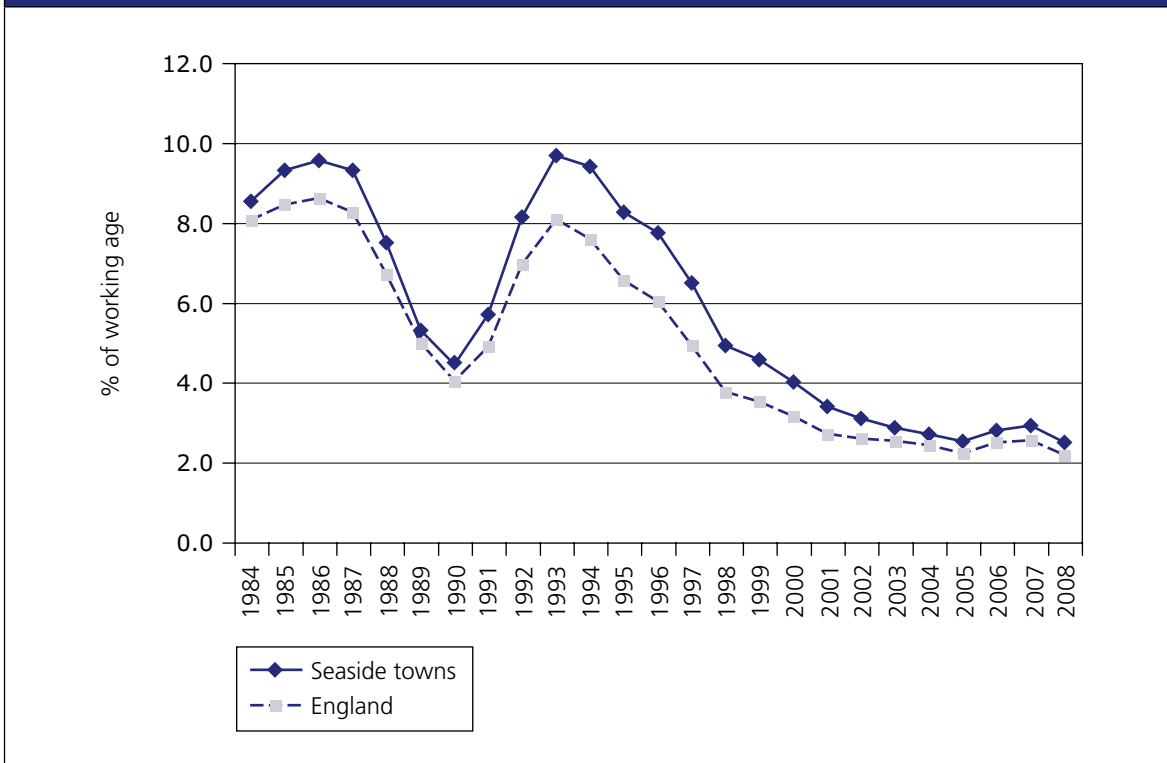
Source: DWP

Table 12: Change in working age claimant rates in England's principal seaside towns, August 1999 – May 2007 (ranked by total)

	Percentage point change			
	JSA	IS as lone parent	IB/SDA	Total
Skegness	1.6	0.1	0.8	2.5
Weston-super-Mare	-0.7	-0.1	2.2	1.4
Eastbourne	-0.2	-0.5	1.5	0.8
Minehead	-1.9	0.0	2.6	0.7
Clacton	-0.1	0.0	0.7	0.6
Burnham-on-Sea	-0.2	-0.4	1.1	0.4
Greater Worthing	-0.4	-0.4	0.6	-0.3
Hastings/Bexhill	-0.9	-0.7	1.2	-0.5
Bognor Regis	-0.1	-0.4	-0.1	-0.5
Weymouth	-1.0	-0.5	1.0	-0.6
Newquay	-1.7	-0.4	1.1	-1.0
Torbay	-1.4	-0.8	1.1	-1.1
Southend-on-Sea	-1.3	-0.8	0.9	-1.2
Scarborough	-1.3	-0.8	1.0	-1.2
Greater Bournemouth	-1.3	-0.6	0.6	-1.2
Folkestone/Hythe	-0.8	-0.9	0.4	-1.3
Great Yarmouth	-2.2	-0.6	1.5	-1.4
Greater Blackpool	-0.3	-0.7	-0.3	-1.4
Isle of Wight	-1.6	-0.5	0.6	-1.5
Whitstable/Herne Bay	-1.1	-0.8	0.3	-1.6
Sidmouth	-0.7	-0.6	-0.4	-1.6
Thanet	-1.8	-0.9	1.0	-1.7
Ilfracombe	-1.7	-0.6	0.5	-1.7
Exmouth	-1.1	-1.2	0.5	-1.7
Dawlish/Teignmouth	-1.3	-0.4	-0.1	-1.9
Greater Brighton	-2.1	-0.5	0.5	-2.1
Penzance	-2.5	-0.8	1.2	-2.1
Bridlington	-1.9	-0.9	0.6	-2.1
Morecambe/Heysham	-1.2	-1.4	0.4	-2.2
Lowestoft	-1.7	-0.6	0.2	-2.2
Swanage	-1.2	-0.8	-0.3	-2.4
Deal	-0.7	-1.0	-0.8	-2.4
Southport	-1.7	-0.5	-0.6	-2.8
St Ives	-2.1	-1.1	-0.1	-3.3
Falmouth	-2.9	-0.6	0.2	-3.3
Whitby	-1.6	-0.7	-1.1	-3.4
Whitley Bay	-1.7	-0.5	-1.4	-3.6
Seaside towns	-1.2	-0.6	0.6	-1.3
North East	-1.9	-0.8	-1.3	-4.0
North West	-1.1	-0.9	-1.0	-2.9
Yorkshire and the Humber	-1.3	-0.6	-0.3	-2.1
East Midlands	-0.7	-0.4	0.1	-1.0
West Midlands	-0.7	-0.3	0.0	-1.0
East	-0.5	-0.3	0.4	-0.3
London	-1.1	-0.2	0.4	-0.9
South East	-0.5	-0.3	0.4	-0.4
South West	-1.0	-0.5	0.6	-0.8
England	-0.9	-0.4	0.0	-1.3

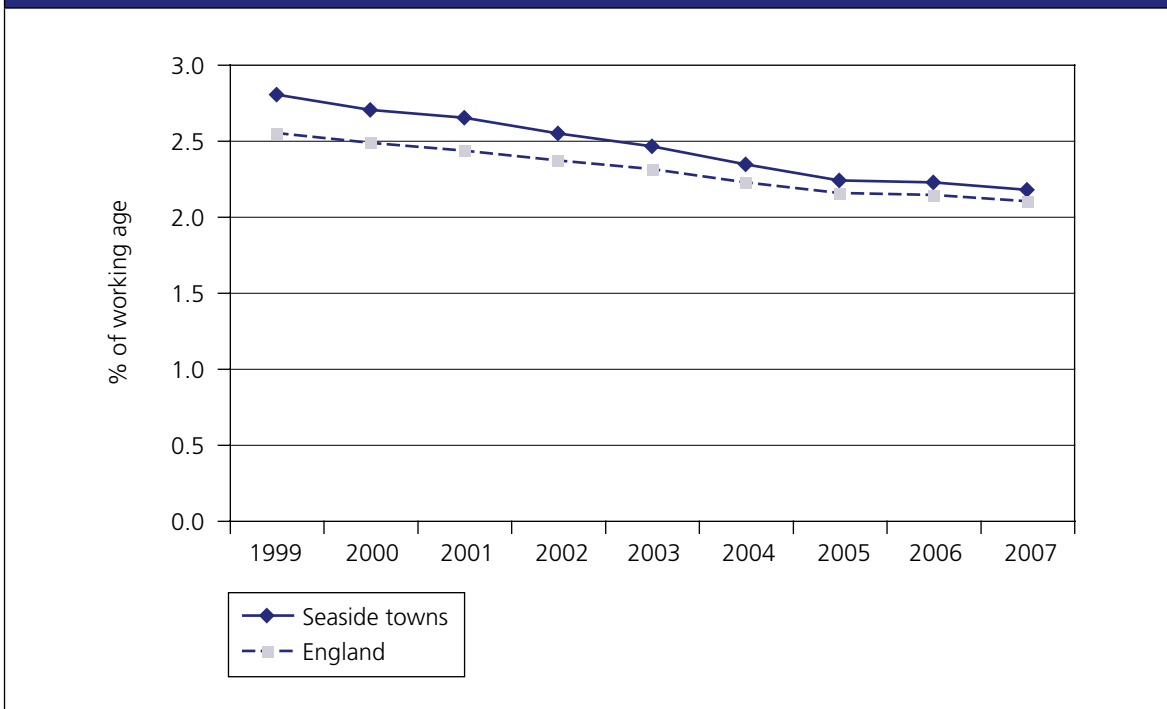
Source: DWP

Figure 3: Claimant unemployment rate in England's principal seaside towns, 1984–2008



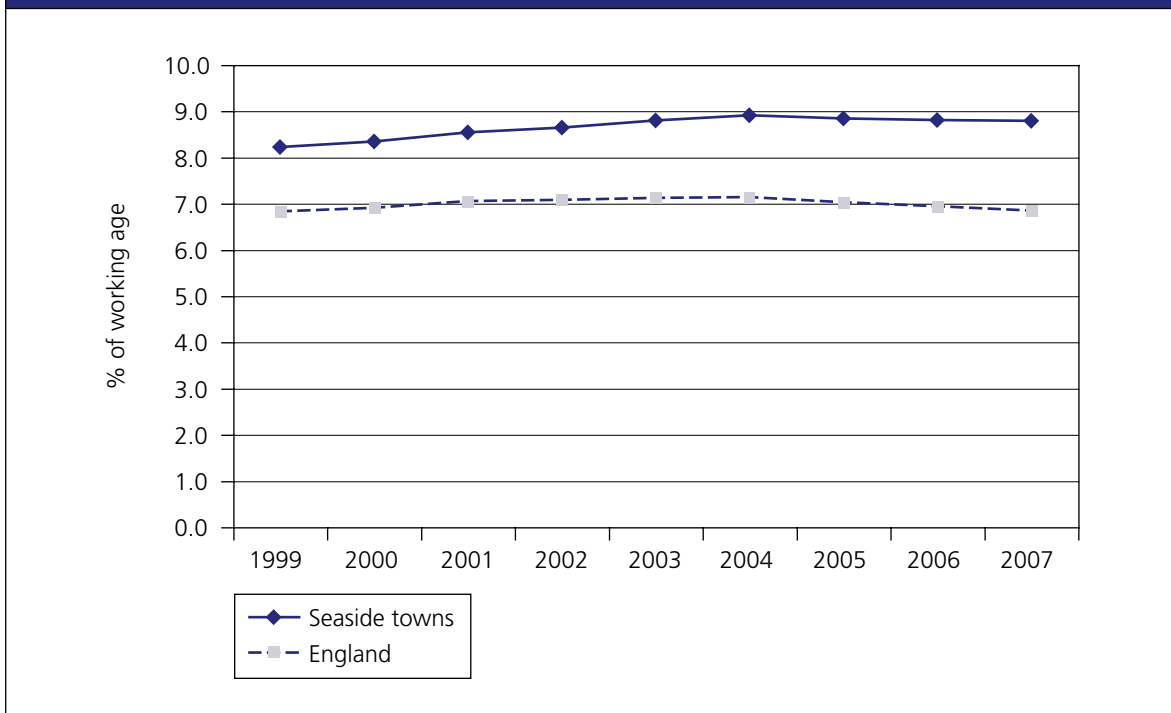
Figures are for January each year
Sources: DWP, ONS

Figure 4: IS lone parent claimant rates in England's principal seaside towns, 1999–2007



Sources: DWP, ONS

Figure 5: IB/SDA claimant rates in England's principal seaside towns, 1999–2007



Sources: DWP, ONS

Table 13: Pension Credits claimant rate in England's principal seaside towns, May 2007

	% of persons aged over 60/65
Skegness	34.0
Great Yarmouth	33.8
Ilfracombe	33.3
Whitby	29.5
Penzance	29.0
Bridlington	28.8
Thanet	28.6
Scarborough	28.3
Morecambe/Heysham	28.1
Greater Blackpool	26.3
Torbay	26.2
Weston-super-Mare	26.1
Falmouth	26.1
Lowestoft	26.0
Greater Brighton	25.8
Folkestone/Hythe	25.8
Clacton	25.7
Newquay	25.2
Southend-on-Sea	24.8
Hastings/Bexhill	23.4
Southport	23.4
St Ives	23.2
Deal	22.7
Burnham-on-Sea	22.5
Isle of Wight	22.1
Greater Bournemouth	21.9
Whitstable/Herne Bay	21.4
Weymouth	21.1
Dawlish/Teignmouth	21.0
Eastbourne	20.6
Exmouth	20.0
Bognor Regis	19.7
Whitley Bay	19.7
Minehead	18.4
Greater Worthing	18.1
Swanage	17.1
Sidmouth	10.8
Seaside towns	24.0
North East	31.4
North West	27.7
Yorkshire and the Humber	27.3
East Midlands	23.6
West Midlands	27.3
East	20.7
London	28.3
South East	17.9
South West	20.2
England	24.2

Sources: DWP, ONS

3.6 Seasonal unemployment

Table 14 shows the average annual fluctuation in the claimant unemployment rate²⁰ between January and July in each seaside town, over the period 2001–07. The towns are ranked according to the scale of the seasonal fluctuation.

Figure 6 shows the quarterly claimant unemployment rate in seaside towns for the period January 2001 to January 2008.

Key points

- There is a seasonal cycle in claimant unemployment in seaside towns, but on average this is not large – just 0.5 percentage points.
- Only four seaside towns – Skegness, Newquay, St Ives and Great Yarmouth – experience a seasonal fluctuation of two percentage points or more, and the first three of these towns are quite small.
- 27 of the 37 seaside towns experience seasonal fluctuations in claimant unemployment of less than one percentage point.
- A number of seaside towns, including Greater Bournemouth, Greater Brighton and Greater Worthing (three of the four largest in population terms) experience seasonal fluctuations in claimant unemployment that are the same or less than the average for England as a whole.
- The scale of recent seasonal fluctuations in claimant unemployment in seaside towns is a little smaller than in the first part of the present decade. This is consistent with earlier evidence²¹.

²⁰ Using the 2006 working age population as the denominator.

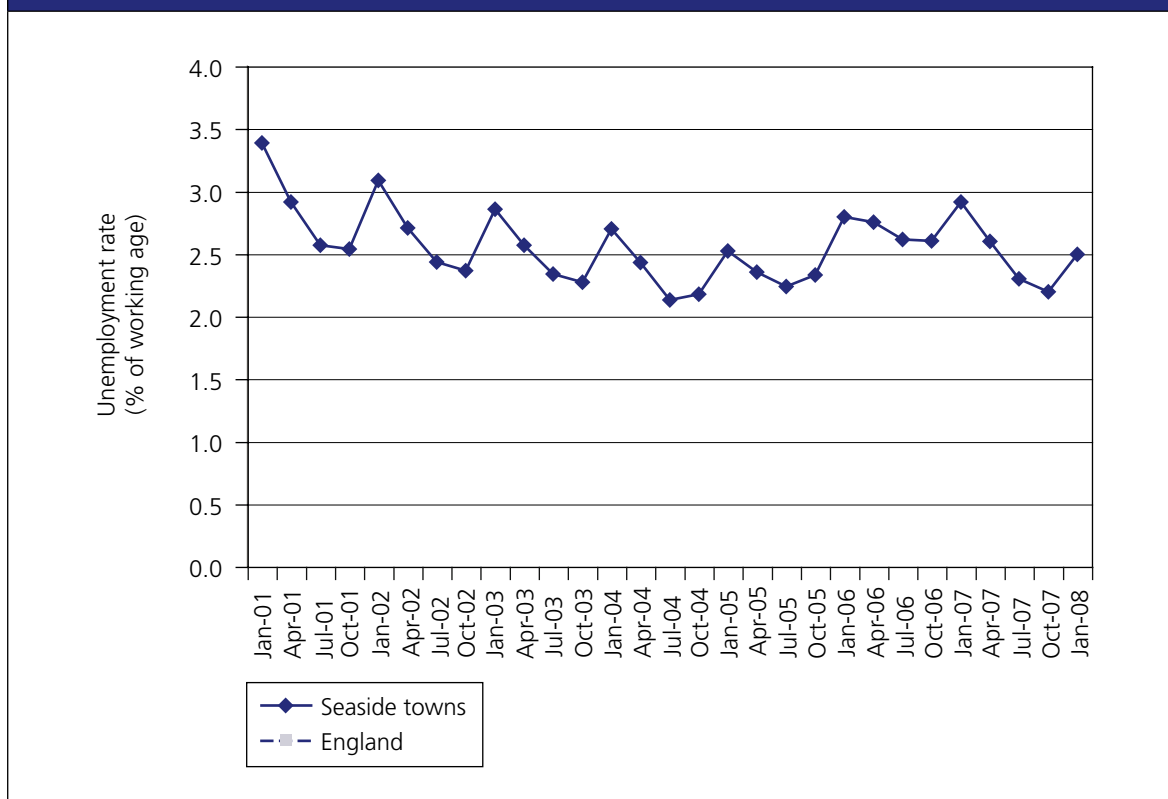
²¹ C Beatty, S Fothergill and R Powell (2006) *Coastal Proofing the Benefits System*, report to Lincolnshire Coastal Action Zone, CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University.

Table 14: Average seasonal fluctuation in claimant unemployment rates in England's principal seaside towns, 2001–2007

	Percentage points
Skegness	2.6
Newquay	2.3
St. Ives	2.2
Great Yarmouth	2.0
Ilfracombe	1.8
Minehead	1.7
Whitby	1.5
Bridlington	1.2
Isle of Wight	1.2
Scarborough	1.0
Penzance	0.9
Greater Blackpool	0.8
Weymouth	0.7
Torbay	0.7
Lowestoft	0.6
Morecambe and Heysham	0.6
Clacton	0.6
Dawlish/Teignmouth	0.5
Exmouth	0.5
Swanage	0.5
Falmouth	0.4
Burnham-on-Sea	0.4
Deal	0.4
Thanet	0.4
Hastings/Bexhill	0.4
Folkestone/Hythe	0.3
Sidmouth	0.3
Southend-on-Sea	0.3
Whitley Bay	0.3
Southport	0.3
Bognor Regis	0.3
Whitstable/Herne Bay	0.2
Weston-super-Mare	0.2
Greater Bournemouth	0.2
Greater Brighton	0.2
Eastbourne	0.2
Greater Worthing	0.1
Seaside towns	0.5
North East	0.4
North West	0.2
Yorkshire and the Humber	0.2
East Midlands	0.2
West Midlands	0.1
East of England	0.1
London	0.1
South East	0.1
South West	0.2
England	0.2

Sources: DWP, ONS

Figure 6: Seasonal fluctuations in claimant unemployment rate in England's principal seaside towns, 2001–2008



Sources: DWP, ONS

3.7 Earnings

Table 15 provides a guide to the median hourly earnings of men and women in England's principal seaside towns in 2007.

In the absence of ward-level earnings data, these figures are for the district containing the seaside town²². Where the seaside town forms only a small part of the district the figures are therefore unlikely to be wholly reliable, but there are a number of towns (eg Eastbourne, Southend-on-Sea, Torbay) where the match with district boundaries is much closer.

The earnings figures are for seaside town residents. Commuting flows mean that the earnings from employment in the town itself will in some cases differ substantially.

Key points

- The hourly earnings of seaside town residents, both male and female, are on average 7–8 per cent below the English average.

²² Where a seaside town straddles more than one district, the figure is a population-weighted average.

- The high figures for Weston-super-Mare, Greater Brighton and Southend-on-Sea are likely to be inflated by commuters (to London in two cases). The high figure for Bridlington is unreliable because the town is only a small part of its district (East Riding of Yorkshire).
- Earnings appear especially low in three small seaside towns in Cornwall – Penzance, St Ives and Newquay²³.
- In the vast majority of seaside towns, average hourly earnings for both men and women appear to be below the average for the region of which they form part – though precise comparisons are hampered because of the reliance on district data.

²³ The figures for Penzance and St Ives are the same because they are both part of Penwith district. Whitby and Scarborough also have the same figures because they are both part of Scarborough district, and Exmouth and Sidmouth because they are both part of East Devon.

Table 15: Median hourly earnings in England's principal seaside towns, 2007

	Male		Female
Weston-super-Mare	13.45	Greater Brighton	10.33
Greater Brighton	12.32	Southend-on-Sea	9.29
Bridlington	12.05	Weston-super-Mare	9.17
Southend-on-Sea	12.03	Eastbourne	8.94
Deal	11.86	Greater Worthing	8.73
Morecambe/Heysham	11.76	Southport	8.72
Southport	11.76	Deal	8.62
Whitstable/Herne Bay	11.67	Whitstable/Herne Bay	8.62
Folkestone/Hythe	11.51	Bognor Regis	8.56
Greater Worthing	11.29	Clacton	8.55
Greater Bournemouth	10.96	Exmouth	8.52
Eastbourne	10.93	Sidmouth	8.52
Burnham-on-Sea	10.71	Falmouth	8.35
Greater Blackpool	10.66	Greater Bournemouth	8.28
Clacton	10.65	Folkestone/Hythe	8.23
Hastings/Bexhill	10.60	Morecambe/Heysham	8.13
Isle of Wight	10.47	Bridlington	8.09
Thanet	10.35	Hastings/Bexhill	8.04
Falmouth	10.35	Dawlish/Teignmouth	8.03
Whitley Bay	10.31	Thanet	8.01
Bognor Regis	10.24	Weymouth	8.00
Exmouth	10.03	Greater Blackpool	7.96
Sidmouth	10.03	Whitley Bay	7.85
Dawlish/Teignmouth	9.68	Newquay	7.74
Scarborough	9.56	Skegness	7.61
Whitby	9.56	Burnham-on-Sea	7.56
Great Yarmouth	9.55	Ilfracombe	7.45
Lowestoft	9.47	Lowestoft	7.43
Ilfracombe	9.21	Isle of Wight	7.38
Weymouth	9.05	Torbay	7.28
Torbay	9.03	Great Yarmouth	7.23
Skegness	8.95	Scarborough	7.15
Newquay	8.63	Whitby	7.15
Penzance	8.23	Penzance	6.94
St Ives	8.23	St Ives	6.94
Minehead	*	Minehead	*
Swanage	*	Swanage	*
Seaside towns	10.89	Seaside towns	8.39
North East	10.39	North East	8.03
North West	11.09	North West	8.50
Yorkshire and the Humber	10.66	Yorkshire and the Humber	8.11
East Midlands	10.93	East Midlands	8.19
West Midlands	10.95	West Midlands	8.37
East	12.37	East	8.96
London	14.32	London	12.38
South East	13.24	South East	9.80
South West	11.15	South West	8.43
England	11.80	England	9.04

* not available

NB: Figures refer to districts covering seaside towns

Source: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings

3.8 Business stock

Table 16 shows the number of VAT registered businesses (per 10,000 residents) in seaside towns in 2006 and the number of new VAT registrations (again per 10,000 residents) in that year.

These are indicators of the scale of entrepreneurial activity. The figures exclude very small businesses below the VAT threshold. The nature of some of the businesses serving the seaside tourist industry (small B&Bs, kiosks etc) would suggest that these excluded businesses below the VAT threshold may be quite numerous in seaside towns. Some towns may be affected more than others by this exclusion.

Key points

- In relation to population, the stock of VAT registered businesses in England's principal seaside towns is a little lower than the English average. The figure for England as a whole is however boosted by London. The average for seaside towns (293 per 10,000) is actually not radically out-of-line with the other English regions (193–373 per 10,000).
- There are sizeable variations between seaside towns in the stock of businesses per 10,000 residents. The low business stock figures for Southport and Whitley Bay are likely to owe something to their role as commuter settlements for Merseyside and Tyneside respectively.
- The top ten slots in terms of the stock of businesses per 10,000 residents are all filled by small seaside towns in the South West.
- The rate of new VAT registrations in England's principal seaside towns is a little below the English average, though again not greatly out-of-line with the figures for several regions outside London.
- Although there are differences between seaside towns in the rate of new VAT registrations, all bar a few towns fall into a fairly narrow range.
- Greater Brighton and Greater Bournemouth – the two very largest seaside towns in terms of population – have the two highest rates of new VAT registrations (38 and 36 per 10,000 residents respectively).

Table 16: VAT registered businesses in England's principal seaside towns, 2006 (ranked by stock per 10,000 residents)

	Stock of VAT registered business per 10,000 residents	New VAT registrations in 2006 per 10,000 residents
Ilfracombe	477	32
Minehead	456	23
Exmouth	402	30
Sidmouth	402	30
Falmouth	391	35
Dawlish/Teignmouth	376	31
Burnham-on-Sea	375	31
Penzance	370	30
St. Ives	370	30
Swanage	365	25
Skegness	359	25
Greater Brighton	351	38
Bridlington	337	29
Greater Bournemouth	331	36
Scarborough	324	23
Whitby	324	23
Newquay	321	31
Weston-super-Mare	321	31
Southend-on-Sea	302	31
Bognor Regis	299	25
Folkstone/Hythe	292	29
Greater Worthing	287	26
Isle of Wight	284	23
Hastings/Bexhill	280	24
Whitstable/Herne Bay	275	27
Greater Blackpool	263	24
Torbay	262	24
Great Yarmouth	262	21
Lowestoft	258	21
Morecambe/Heysham	253	19
Clacton	251	21
Deal	244	23
Eastbourne	239	25
Weymouth	218	22
Thanet	211	23
Southport	208	19
Whitley Bay	169	20
Seaside towns	293	27
North East	193	18
North West	271	26
Yorkshire and the Humber	272	25
East Midlands	307	28
West Midlands	307	28
East	350	31
London	412	46
South East	373	35
South West	358	31
England	329	31

NB: Figures refer to districts covering seaside towns
Source: DBERR

3.9 Migrant workers

Table 17 shows the total number of new National Insurance registrations by non-UK nationals in 2005–06 and 2006–07 in each of the districts that include the whole or part of one of England's 37 principal seaside towns. The table also expresses these numbers as a percentage of the working age population²⁴ in the district.

These figures record where migrant workers were living at the time they first registered. They do not necessarily reflect where they are still living, or even whether they remain in the UK. At the present time, however, they are the only systematic local figures available on migrant workers.

Ward-level figures are not available to allow the seaside towns themselves to be distinguished and it is likely that the distribution of migrant workers within each district will be skewed to the places where appropriate accommodation and jobs are readily available. Seaside towns are often able to offer this accommodation, for example in sub-divided former boarding houses and on caravan sites. The seaside tourist economy is also likely to be a prime employer of migrant workers, for example in hotels and catering, bearing in mind the low-wage and often temporary nature of this work. It is therefore likely that where a seaside town forms only a small part of a district the figure will understate the number of migrant workers relative to the seaside town's working age population.

Key points

- Most of the districts covering seaside towns have attracted rather fewer migrant workers, in relation to their population, than the English average.
- The English average is however biased by London. Most seaside town districts are not radically out-of-line with the averages for regions outside London.
- Bournemouth and Brighton, the districts at the core of the two largest seaside towns, have attracted the greatest number of migrant workers, not only in absolute terms but also in relation to their working age population.
- Great Yarmouth's high figure may reflect its role as a residential base for migrant agricultural workers in Norfolk and Suffolk.

²⁴ 2006 data

Table 17: New NI registrations by non-UK nationals in England's principal seaside towns, 2005–06 and 2006–07 (ranked by % of local working age population)

Local authority (Seaside town)	no.	as % working age
Bournemouth (Greater Bournemouth)	6,870	6.9
Brighton and Hove (Greater Brighton)	9,530	5.7
Great Yarmouth (Great Yarmouth)	2,070	3.8
Arun (Bognor Regis, Greater Worthing)	2,990	3.8
Eastbourne (Eastbourne)	1,810	3.4
Blackpool (Greater Blackpool)	2,770	3.3
Southend-on-Sea (Southend-on-Sea)	2,830	3.0
Shepway (Folkestone/Hythe)	1,570	2.7
Lancaster (Morecambe/Heysham)	2,420	2.7
Restormel (Newquay)	1,600	2.6
Torbay (Torbay)	1,930	2.6
Hastings (Hastings/Bexhill)	1,310	2.5
Thanet (Thanet)	1,820	2.5
Canterbury (Whitstable/Herne Bay)	2,190	2.4
Dover (Deal)	1,430	2.3
West Somerset (Minehead)	430	2.3
Poole (Greater Bournemouth)	1,830	2.3
Sedgemoor (Burnham-on-Sea)	1,420	2.2
Penwith (Penzance, St. Ives)	760	2.0
East Lindsey (Skegness)	1,590	2.0
Purbeck (Swanage)	520	2.0
Worthing (Greater Worthing)	1,130	2.0
North Somerset (Weston-super-Mare)	2,240	1.9
Isle of Wight	1,450	1.8
Carrick (Falmouth)	950	1.8
Scarborough (Scarborough, Whitby)	1,070	1.7
Sefton (Southport)	2,580	1.6
Weymouth and Portland (Weymouth)	590	1.5
East Devon (Exmouth, Sidmouth)	1,070	1.5
Fylde (Greater Blackpool)	620	1.4
East Riding of Yorkshire (Bridlington)	2,750	1.4
North Devon (Ilfracombe)	690	1.3
Tendring (Clacton)	980	1.3
Rother (Hastings/Bexhill)	550	1.2
Teignbridge (Dawlish/Teignmouth)	810	1.1
Waveney (Lowestoft)	720	1.1
Adur (Greater Brighton, Greater Worthing)	360	1.0
Wyre (Greater Blackpool)	620	1.0
North Tyneside (Whitley Bay)	1,140	0.9
Christchurch (Greater Bournemouth)	210	0.9
North East	24,380	1.5
North West	100,490	2.4
Yorkshire and the Humber	78,230	2.4
East Midlands	79,540	2.9
West Midlands	89,770	2.7
East of England	106,180	3.1
London	479,730	9.5
South East	160,060	3.2
South West	75,430	2.4
England	1,193,810	3.8

Sources: DWP, ONS

3.10 Economic output

Table 18 shows Gross Value Added (GVA) per head.

The figures here refer to the NUTS 3 region²⁵ covering each seaside town, rather than the town itself, and generally cover a much larger area. NUTS 3 is the lowest level for which this data is produced.

GVA is a measure of the economic output of an area. In so far as some of the output of the tourist industry falls within the 'black economy', and therefore goes unrecorded, and in so far as omissions of this type are more widespread in seaside towns than in the rest of the country, the figures will understate the GVA of seaside towns.

The GVA figures presented here are expressed in relation to the resident population. Commuting has the effect of boosting the recorded GVA per head in areas with net in-commuting (eg London) and lowering the recorded GVA per head in areas with net out-commuting (which includes some seaside towns). In addition, a large retired population – a feature of virtually all seaside towns – lowers GVA per head relative to other areas.

Key points

- GVA per head in the areas containing seaside towns is nearly 20 per cent below the English average – though there are statistical distortions (see above) that are likely to accentuate the difference²⁶.
- In comparison to the averages for regions outside London, the disparities are not so large.
- With the exception of Weston-super-Mare, every one of England's principal seaside towns is located in an area where GVA per head is below the English average.
- Three of the four largest seaside towns – Greater Bournemouth, Greater Brighton and Greater Worthing – have a GVA per head towards the top end of the range.

²⁵ NUTS 3 regions are part of a standard EU-wide classification. In the UK, a NUTS 3 region is typically a unitary authority (eg Blackpool, Brighton and Hove) or a county (eg West Sussex, Dorset). Where a seaside town straddles more than one NUTS 3 region, the figure quoted here is a population-weighted average.

²⁶ The figure for seaside towns as a whole is weighed by the population of the towns rather than the NUTS 3 region of which they form part.

Table 18: GVA per head in NUTS 3 region containing England's principal seaside towns, 2004	
	England = 100
Weston-super-Mare	110
Bognor Regis	99
Greater Worthing	99
Greater Brighton	94
Greater Bournemouth	91
Whitley Bay	91
Lowestoft	85
Clacton	83
Scarborough	83
Whitby	83
Morecambe/Heysham	83
Deal	81
Folkestone/Hythe	81
Thanet	81
Whitstable/Herne Bay	81
Southend-on-Sea	80
Burnham-on-Sea	79
Minehead	79
Great Yarmouth	77
Dawlish/Teignmouth	76
Exmouth	76
Ilfracombe	76
Sidmouth	76
Skegness	76
Greater Blackpool	74
Swanage	70
Weymouth	70
Bridlington	69
Eastbourne	68
Hastings/Bexhill	68
Southport	65
Falmouth	63
Newquay	63
Penzance	63
St. Ives	63
Torbay	60
Isle of Wight	58
Seaside towns	81
North East	77
North West	86
Yorkshire and the Humber	85
East Midlands	90
West Midlands	87
East of England	94
London	150
South East	105
South West	92
England	100

Source: ONS

3.11 Housing

Table 19 shows the housing tenure in seaside towns, from the 2001 Census, ranked by the share of owner-occupiers. These are the most up-to-date local figures available.

Table 20 shows the share of households living in overcrowded conditions, again from the 2001 Census. The measure of overcrowding used here is the official standard: the figures are the share of households with an 'occupancy rating of minus 1 or less', where the occupancy rating is based on a comparison between the number of rooms and the size and age composition of the household.

Table 21 shows the share of households lacking key amenities – defined as sole use of a bathroom/shower and toilet or central heating. The figures are again from the 2001 Census.

Key points

- Overall, England's seaside towns have an unusual pattern of housing tenure: a slightly above average share of owner-occupiers, a markedly low share in social rented accommodation (council or housing association) and a distinctly above average share in private rented accommodation.
- In terms of the share in private rented accommodation, seaside towns are more alike London than any of the other English regions.
- There are however important differences between places. Nine seaside towns, including Greater Brighton, have a share in owner-occupation below the English average. Great Yarmouth stands out as having an unusually high share in social housing by the standards of seaside towns.
- The share of households in seaside towns living in overcrowded conditions is low. Two-thirds of seaside towns have an overcrowding rate below the English average, but the English average is inflated by London. By the standards of regions outside London, seaside towns are fairly average.
- Greater Brighton stands out as having a higher overcrowding rate than other seaside towns. This may owe something to Brighton's high population of young people and students.
- On average, a slightly higher proportion of households lack basic amenities in seaside towns, but this disguises huge variations between individual towns.
- Because the 'lack of basic amenities' figures is in practice greatly influenced by the absence of central heating, the presence of five towns in Cornwall or Devon among the top six may reflect a milder climate more than social disadvantage. The two towns at the top of the list – Penzance and St Ives, both in the very far south west of Cornwall – arguably have the mildest climate of all.

Table 19: Tenure in England's principal seaside towns, 2001 (ranked by owner occupation rate)

	% of households		
	Owner -occupiers	Social rented	Private rented sector
Whitley Bay	84	9	7
Sidmouth	81	10	9
Whitstable/Herne Bay	80	8	12
Southport	79	8	14
Clacton	79	9	13
Greater Worthing	78	10	12
Burnham-on-Sea	78	11	11
Isle of Wight	77	10	13
Swanage	76	11	13
Exmouth	76	11	13
Greater Blackpool	75	9	16
Bognor Regis	75	10	15
Deal	75	12	13
Greater Bournemouth	74	11	15
Dawlish/Teignmouth	74	9	17
Minehead	74	12	13
Torbay	74	8	18
Weymouth	73	13	14
St Ives	73	11	15
Southend-on-Sea	73	12	15
Weston-super-Mare	73	12	16
Morecambe/Heysham	73	8	20
Newquay	71	10	19
Lowestoft	70	16	14
Thanet	70	13	17
Bridlington	69	14	17
Hastings/Bexhill	69	14	18
Eastbourne	69	16	16
Folkestone/Hythe	68	14	19
Falmouth	67	15	18
Whitby	66	18	16
Scarborough	66	15	19
Ilfracombe	66	11	23
Greater Brighton	63	15	22
Penzance	62	18	20
Skegness	62	15	23
Great Yarmouth	62	24	15
Seaside towns	72	12	16
North East	64	28	9
North West	69	20	11
Yorkshire and the Humber	68	21	11
East Midlands	72	18	10
West Midlands	70	21	10
East	73	17	11
London	57	26	17
South East	74	14	12
South West	73	14	13
England	69	19	12

Source: Census of Population

Table 20: Overcrowded households in England's principal seaside towns, 2001

	% of households
Greater Brighton	3.0
Newquay	2.8
St Ives	2.4
Clacton	2.4
Eastbourne	2.3
Swanage	2.3
Southend-on-Sea	2.2
Greater Worthing	2.2
Greater Bournemouth	2.2
Torbay	2.1
Folkestone/Hythe	2.0
Bognor Regis	2.0
Whitstable/Herne Bay	1.9
Hastings/Bexhill	1.9
Greater Blackpool	1.9
Weston-super-Mare	1.8
Whitby	1.8
Thanet	1.7
Exmouth	1.7
Scarborough	1.7
Dawlish/Teignmouth	1.7
Weymouth	1.6
Ilfracombe	1.6
Penzance	1.6
Burnham-on-Sea	1.6
Isle of Wight	1.6
Skegness	1.6
Southport	1.5
Morecambe/Heysham	1.5
Bridlington	1.5
Great Yarmouth	1.4
Deal	1.4
Falmouth	1.3
Minehead	1.3
Lowestoft	1.2
Sidmouth	1.1
Whitley Bay	1.0
Seaside towns	2.0
North East	1.7
North West	2.0
Yorkshire and the Humber	2.0
East Midlands	1.6
West Midlands	2.2
East	1.9
London	4.6
South East	2.0
South West	1.6
England	2.3

Source: Census of Population

Table 21: Households lacking key amenities in England's principal seaside towns, 2001	
	% of households
Penzance	29.7
St Ives	22.0
Ilfracombe	20.2
Falmouth	20.2
Scarborough	18.3
Newquay	18.0
Morecambe/Heysham	17.8
Whitby	16.7
Great Yarmouth	15.5
Isle of Wight	15.4
Torbay	15.1
Dawlish/Teignmouth	15.1
Greater Blackpool	15.1
Bridlington	14.1
Skegness	11.9
Lowestoft	11.7
Greater Brighton	11.3
Southport	11.0
Exmouth	10.6
Weymouth	10.4
Burnham-on-Sea	10.1
Thanet	9.8
Folkestone/Hythe	9.4
Hastings/Bexhill	9.3
Swanage	8.6
Minehead	8.6
Eastbourne	8.5
Greater Worthing	8.3
Clacton	7.9
Greater Bournemouth	7.6
Weston-super-Mare	7.6
Bognor Regis	7.1
Southend-on-Sea	6.8
Deal	6.7
Whitstable/Herne Bay	6.5
Sidmouth	6.2
Whitley Bay	4.2
Seaside towns	11.1
North East	4.1
North West	12.1
Yorkshire and the Humber	13.4
East Midlands	6.1
West Midlands	11.5
East	5.5
London	8.5
South East	6.4
South West	10.1
England	8.9

Source: Census of Population

3.12 Deprivation

Table 22 shows the average rank of the Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs) in each of England's principal seaside towns on the overall Indices of Deprivation for 2007.

Tables 23 to 29 show the same information for each of the seven domains of the Indices of Deprivation 2007:

- Income
- Employment
- Health and disability
- Education and training
- Barriers to housing and access to services
- Crime
- Living environment.

A low number indicates high deprivation; a high number indicates lower deprivation. The average ranking of each town is a population-weighted average of the ranking of each constituent LSOA²⁷.

There are 32,482 LSOAs across England as a whole. Accordingly, an average ranking below 16,242 indicates that a town has an above average level of deprivation.

Because of the averaging process across deprived and more prosperous LSOAs within a town, very high or very low average rankings are on the whole unlikely. An average ranking of, say, 8,000 may in fact mean that a town is among the most deprived in England.

Key points

Overall ranking

- 26 of the 37 principal seaside towns have greater overall deprivation than the English average (ie a ranking below 16,242).
- Two substantial seaside towns – Greater Bournemouth and Greater Worthing – do however have lower deprivation than the English average.
- Penzance emerges as the most deprived seaside town of all but this position will partly reflect the town's unusual statistics on households without central heating.
- The high overall deprivation ranking of Skegness and Great Yarmouth is less evidently affected by unusual statistics.

²⁷ This proven method has previously been deployed by CRESR in research for Communities and Local Government on New Deal for Communities.

- Greater Blackpool does not emerge as one of the most deprived seaside towns. This reflects the inclusion of Lytham St Anne's and Fleetwood in the wider built-up area. Figures for Blackpool borough alone would unquestionably point to a higher level of deprivation.

Income deprivation

- 29 of the 37 principal seaside towns have greater income deprivation than the English average (ie a ranking below 16,242).
- Greater Bournemouth is again an important exception.

Employment deprivation

- 31 of the 37 principal seaside towns have greater employment deprivation than the English average (ie a ranking below 16,242).
- Skegness, Great Yarmouth, Penzance, Bridlington, Clacton and Ilfracombe all appear especially disadvantaged on this indicator.

Health and disability

- 28 of the 37 seaside towns have greater health and disability deprivation than the English average.
- Greater Blackpool and two other towns in the North West, Morecambe/Heysham and Southport fare particularly badly on this indicator, but Skegness is most deprived.

Education and skills

- 26 of the 37 seaside towns have greater education and skills deprivation than the English average.
- Greater Bournemouth and Greater Brighton are important exceptions.
- Clacton, Great Yarmouth, Skegness and Lowestoft fare particularly badly on this indicator.

Barriers to housing and access to services

- Around half the seaside towns have greater barriers to housing and access to services deprivation than the English average and around half have lower deprivation.
- There is an important North-South divide. All the seaside resorts north of a line from the Severn to The Wash have better-than-average access to housing and services – presumably because of lower house prices.
- St Ives and Penzance fare very badly on this indicator. This is likely to reflect to difficulty of accessing owner-occupation caused by a combination of low wages and house prices inflated by buyers from outside the area.

Crime

- None of the seaside towns fare particularly badly on this indicator. This is reflected in the lack of average rankings below 10,000.

Living environment

- 25 out of 37 seaside towns have greater living environment deprivation than the English average. This is surprising since air quality is one of the indicators and this is generally good in coastal locations. The figures suggest that the living environment data for seaside towns must be strongly influenced by poor housing conditions and the absence of central heating.
- That the five most deprived seaside towns on this indicator are all in Devon or Cornwall, where central heating is often less essential, would seem to confirm this interpretation.
- The poor ranking of Greater Brighton, Scarborough, Great Yarmouth, Morecambe/Heysham, Torbay and Greater Blackpool (in places 6 to 11 on this list) is more likely to reflect shortcomings in houses in multiple occupation.

Table 22: Average overall deprivation ranking of LSOAs in England's principal seaside towns, 2007

	Average ranking
Penzance	6,758
Skegness	7,004
Great Yarmouth	7,898
Ilfracombe	9,190
Clacton	9,193
St. Ives	10,980
Bridlington	11,257
Newquay	11,424
Hastings/Bexhill	11,666
Torbay	11,720
Morecambe/Heysham	11,732
Thanet	11,770
Scarborough	11,808
Lowestoft	11,856
Whitby	12,253
Falmouth	12,634
Greater Blackpool	12,719
Minehead	12,773
Greater Brighton	12,938
Eastbourne	13,236
Folkestone/Hythe	13,733
Dawlish/Teignmouth	14,430
Isle of Wight	14,481
Weston-super-Mare	14,817
Southend-on-Sea	15,039
Weymouth	15,644
Burnham-on-Sea	16,479
Southport	16,505
Deal	16,646
Greater Bournemouth	17,097
Bognor Regis	17,122
Greater Worthing	17,548
Exmouth	18,372
Whitstable/Herne Bay	18,428
Swanage	18,980
Whitley Bay	22,642
Sidmouth	23,464

Source: Indices of Deprivation

Table 23: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on income deprivation domain, 2007

	Average ranking
Great Yarmouth	8,015
Skegness	8,536
Penzance	8,838
Ilfracombe	9,585
Clacton	10,062
Bridlington	10,879
Thanet	11,468
Torbay	11,511
Lowestoft	11,889
Whitby	12,207
Morecambe/Heysham	12,393
Scarborough	12,514
Hastings/Bexhill	12,564
Folkestone/Hythe	12,686
St. Ives	13,022
Minehead	13,277
Greater Blackpool	13,313
Newquay	13,411
Isle of Wight	13,550
Southend-on-Sea	13,629
Weston-super-Mare	13,700
Eastbourne	13,792
Falmouth	14,111
Greater Brighton	14,432
Dawlish/Teignmouth	14,473
Deal	14,565
Burnham-on-Sea	15,816
Weymouth	15,848
Southport	15,920
Greater Bournemouth	16,353
Bognor Regis	16,460
Whitstable/Herne Bay	16,691
Swanage	16,957
Exmouth	17,165
Greater Worthing	18,068
Sidmouth	20,370
Whitley Bay	21,442

Source: Indices of Deprivation

Table 24: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on employment deprivation domain, 2007

	Average ranking
Skegness	4,668
Great Yarmouth	6,033
Penzance	6,540
Bridlington	6,661
Clacton	7,466
Ilfracombe	7,820
Lowestoft	9,040
Minehead	9,759
Torbay	9,896
Morecambe/Heysham	9,913
Thanet	10,151
Scarborough	10,322
Greater Blackpool	10,457
Hastings/Bexhill	10,654
Whitby	10,691
Dawlish/Teignmouth	11,457
Isle of Wight	11,602
Deal	11,781
Falmouth	11,783
Newquay	11,864
Folkestone/Hythe	12,123
Burnham-on-Sea	12,250
Weston-super-Mare	12,716
St. Ives	12,788
Southport	12,909
Weymouth	13,128
Eastbourne	13,323
Southend-on-Sea	14,137
Greater Brighton	14,274
Bognor Regis	15,913
Greater Bournemouth	16,231
Exmouth	16,589
Whitstable/Herne Bay	16,903
Whitley Bay	17,195
Greater Worthing	17,897
Swanage	19,177
Sidmouth	20,950

Source: Indices of Deprivation

Table 25: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on health deprivation and disability domain, 2007

	Average ranking
Skegness	6,359
Morecambe/Heysham	7,757
Penzance	8,429
Greater Blackpool	8,668
Southport	8,980
Clacton	9,225
Ilfracombe	9,946
Thanet	9,950
Scarborough	9,988
Great Yarmouth	10,007
Hastings/Bexhill	10,221
Torbay	11,187
Whitby	11,360
Bridlington	11,754
Folkestone/Hythe	12,183
Weymouth	12,473
Greater Brighton	12,847
St. Ives	13,032
Eastbourne	13,249
Deal	13,675
Lowestoft	13,717
Southend-on-Sea	13,896
Weston-super-Mare	13,936
Minehead	14,421
Isle of Wight	14,844
Burnham-on-Sea	15,280
Falmouth	15,549
Newquay	16,104
Greater Bournemouth	16,931
Bognor Regis	16,972
Dawlish/Teignmouth	17,091
Whitley Bay	17,662
Greater Worthing	18,102
Whitstable/Herne Bay	18,861
Exmouth	19,526
Swanage	21,702
Sidmouth	24,445

Source: Indices of Deprivation

Table 26: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on education, skills and training domain, 2007

	Average ranking
Clacton	5,174
Great Yarmouth	5,720
Skegness	6,033
Lowestoft	7,953
Whitby	9,828
Bridlington	10,069
Ilfracombe	11,054
Thanet	11,074
Morecambe/Heysham	12,517
Isle of Wight	12,603
Hastings/Bexhill	12,857
Minehead	12,925
Greater Blackpool	13,075
Folkestone/Hythe	13,278
Scarborough	13,295
Burnham-on-Sea	13,790
Torbay	13,913
Southend-on-Sea	14,013
Weston-super-Mare	14,279
Whitstable/Herne Bay	14,616
Greater Worthing	14,795
Deal	15,334
Bognor Regis	15,738
Weymouth	15,814
Penzance	16,095
Newquay	16,226
Exmouth	16,380
Eastbourne	16,441
Swanage	17,236
Greater Bournemouth	17,506
Dawlish/Teignmouth	17,526
Falmouth	17,620
Greater Brighton	17,878
St. Ives	18,886
Southport	20,284
Sidmouth	22,743
Whitley Bay	24,483

Source: Indices of Deprivation

Table 27: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on barriers to housing and services domain, 2007

	Average ranking
St. Ives	2,884
Penzance	3,087
Newquay	5,323
Falmouth	6,675
Eastbourne	7,812
Greater Brighton	8,411
Minehead	9,045
Dawlish/Teignmouth	9,978
Sidmouth	12,238
Hastings/Bexhill	12,384
Greater Worthing	13,231
Whitstable/Herne Bay	13,317
Bognor Regis	13,690
Isle of Wight	13,976
Torbay	14,807
Exmouth	14,819
Swanage	15,010
Clacton	15,158
Weston-super-Mare	16,499
Greater Bournemouth	16,530
Weymouth	17,497
Ilfracombe	17,700
Whitby	18,231
Thanet	18,371
Folkestone/Hythe	18,687
Burnham-on-Sea	20,201
Scarborough	20,839
Greater Blackpool	21,021
Southend-on-Sea	21,621
Skegness	21,838
Whitley Bay	21,946
Lowestoft	22,254
Morecambe/Heysham	22,964
Great Yarmouth	23,255
Bridlington	24,626
Deal	26,524
Southport	27,637

Source: Indices of Deprivation

Table 28: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on crime domain, 2007	
	Average ranking
Skegness	10,982
Great Yarmouth	12,923
Southend-on-Sea	13,004
Hastings/Bexhill	13,600
Greater Brighton	13,917
Penzance	14,074
Scarborough	14,152
Ilfracombe	14,559
Morecambe/Heysham	14,826
Newquay	14,936
Eastbourne	15,080
Torbay	15,815
Weston-super-Mare	15,858
Thanet	15,961
Clacton	16,063
Greater Blackpool	16,812
Bognor Regis	17,382
Bridlington	17,553
Greater Bournemouth	17,567
Lowestoft	17,645
Whitby	18,477
Folkestone/Hythe	18,486
Greater Worthing	18,639
Weymouth	18,923
Dawlish/Teignmouth	19,258
Swanage	19,731
St. Ives	20,036
Southport	20,276
Minehead	20,665
Exmouth	21,537
Falmouth	21,748
Deal	23,730
Burnham-on-Sea	23,732
Isle of Wight	23,849
Whitley Bay	23,898
Whitstable/Herne Bay	24,559
Sidmouth	28,639

Source: Indices of Deprivation

Table 29: Average ranking of seaside town LSOAs on living environment domain, 2007	
	Average ranking
Penzance	2,985
St. Ives	4,826
Falmouth	7,177
Ilfracombe	7,744
Newquay	7,847
Greater Brighton	9,472
Scarborough	10,141
Great Yarmouth	10,609
Morecambe/Heysham	10,639
Torbay	10,934
Greater Blackpool	12,553
Dawlish/Teignmouth	12,964
Whitby	13,382
Thanet	13,678
Greater Bournemouth	14,256
Swanage	14,265
Hastings/Bexhill	14,375
Lowestoft	14,500
Eastbourne	14,517
Greater Worthing	14,554
Folkestone/Hythe	14,912
Skegness	15,216
Weymouth	15,287
Southend-on-Sea	15,340
Bridlington	15,832
Southport	17,471
Bognor Regis	17,703
Exmouth	17,715
Isle of Wight	18,176
Minehead	18,189
Burnham-on-Sea	18,328
Clacton	18,586
Deal	18,805
Weston-super-Mare	20,179
Sidmouth	22,022
Whitstable/Herne Bay	22,329
Whitley Bay	23,935

Source: Indices of Deprivation

4. Assessment

The social and economic conditions in a locality tend to be complex and multi-dimensional, making it hard for any single indicator to encapsulate the full range or extent of disadvantage. This applies to England's seaside towns as much as anywhere else.

This report presents a range of statistics. Some of these are for a single point in time, others for trends over time. Inevitably, this is a difficult pattern to interpret. There is nevertheless interest in placing England's seaside towns in the context of wider social and economic patterns of disadvantage, and in identifying the most disadvantaged towns.

4.1 Just how disadvantaged are England's seaside towns?

The report includes nearly 30 indicators on which England's principal seaside towns can be ranked and compared with the average for England as a whole. On around three-quarters of these indicators, the average for the seaside towns is worse than for England as a whole. For example, seaside towns as a whole have a lower-than-average employment rate, an above average share of working age adults on benefits, lower average earnings and are more affected by seasonal unemployment than the rest of England.

On the other hand, the scale of the disparity between the seaside town average and the English average is not always large – earnings are a notable exception – and there are some variables on which seaside towns appear to be faring relatively well. For instance, recent employment growth in seaside towns has been faster than the English average and the reduction in benefit numbers is keeping up with the trend for England as a whole.

In addition, on most indicators there is a spread of performance, usually with several seaside towns showing better figures than England as a whole.

A balanced view, taking account of a range of statistical evidence, would be that on average England's principal seaside towns are rather more disadvantaged than the rest of the country, but not markedly so.

4.2 The variation between towns

The *Indices of Deprivation 2007* offer the best composite guide to the degree of disadvantage in individual towns. However, as noted in the present report there is reason to be sceptical about the interpretation of some of the housing data for several places in Cornwall and Devon, where the markedly lower proportion of households with central heating may in part reflect the

climate rather than disadvantage. For this reason the overall rankings on the deprivation indices – which place Penzance in West Cornwall at the very top among seaside towns – must be treated with caution.

Three domains within the Indices – income, employment, and education and skills – together offer a reasonable guide to the more 'economic' dimension of seaside town disadvantage.

Four towns appear every time on the list of the 10 least disadvantaged seaside towns, in terms of these 'economic' domains, and a further six appear twice. These towns, which might therefore be seen as having the **strongest local economies** among England's seaside towns, are *in alphabetical order*:

- Bognor Regis
- Exmouth
- Greater Bournemouth
- Greater Brighton
- Greater Worthing
- Sidmouth
- Southport
- Swanage
- Whitley Bay
- Whitstable/Herne Bay

The notable feature of this list is that seven of the 10 towns are located along a relatively short stretch of the south coast from Exmouth to Brighton. Two others on the list (Southport and Whitley Bay) function partly as more affluent commuter settlements for adjacent conurbations.

At the other end of the range, six places figure among the most disadvantaged ten seaside towns in all three of the 'economic' domains in the Indices of Deprivation, and a further five appear twice. These seaside towns, which might therefore be seen as having the **weakest local economies**, are *in alphabetical order*:

- Bridlington
- Clacton
- Great Yarmouth
- Ilfracombe
- Lowestoft
- Morecambe/Heysham
- Penzance
- Skegness

- Thanet
- Torbay
- Whitby

Most of these are small or medium-sized towns. Only one (Torbay) is located along the south coast, though a further two (Penzance and Thanet) could claim to be at its extreme ends.

That leaves 16 towns that, on the basis of the three economic domains in the deprivation indices, neither rank among the strongest or weakest seaside economies. These are, *in alphabetical order*:

- Burnham-on-Sea
- Dawlish/Teignmouth
- Deal
- Eastbourne
- Falmouth
- Folkestone/Hythe
- Greater Blackpool
- Hastings/Bexhill
- Isle of Wight
- Minehead
- Newquay
- Scarborough
- Southend-on-Sea
- St Ives
- Weston-super-Mare
- Weymouth

Nine of the seaside towns covered in this report have a population of more than 100,000 (in some instances because the figures pool together adjacent towns). These nine towns account for 60 per cent of the total population of England's 37 principal seaside towns (see Table 1 earlier).

On the basis of the same three domains within the deprivation indices – income, employment, and education and skills – it is possible to rank these nine towns. This ranking, which is the same in relation to all the 37 principal seaside towns or just the nine towns themselves, is *in order of disadvantage*²⁸:

²⁸ Greater Bournemouth and Greater Worthing actually have an equal average ranking in comparison to all 37 towns.

- Thanet
- Torbay
- Hastings/Bexhill
- Greater Blackpool
- Isle of Wight
- Southend-on-Sea
- Greater Brighton
- Greater Bournemouth
- Greater Worthing

It would be wrong to place too much emphasis on lists of this sort. None of the lists here purports to be based on more than a handful of indicators. In addition there are other indicators – the instability of school rolls caused by population turnover for example, which is a serious problem in a number of seaside towns – that are neither included in the *Indices of Deprivation* nor in the present report.

Detailed local geography also matters. In the case of Greater Blackpool, for example, figures for Blackpool borough in isolation would reveal a distinctly higher level of disadvantage. Likewise, within Thanet the worst deprivation tends to be found in Margate rather than Ramsgate or Broadstairs. More generally, within most seaside towns there are likely to be pockets of acute deprivation that are not reflected in average statistics for the town as a whole.

The lists here do however chime with a range of data and informed perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of different places.

ISBN 978-1-4098-0620-2

ISBN 978-1-4098-0620-2



9 781409 806202