Population movement within the UK

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Chapter 6

Introduction

This chapter and Chapter 7 deal with the movement of people, both within the UK and between the UK and other countries. Internal migration refers to people changing address within the UK and is the focus of this chapter.[1] International migration refers to the movement of people into and out of the UK and is covered in Chapter 7.

Internal migration is a very important component of population change for local areas within the UK, both because it changes the total numbers of people resident in each area and because it may alter the composition of the population. Internal migration is a 'zero-sum game': any net migration gain in one area can take place only through a net loss somewhere else, with consequences for labour supply and the need for housing, schools, shops and other services. The biggest social policy issues in recent years have been the 'North-South drift' (the movement of people from the northern areas of the UK to southern areas) and the 'urban-rural shift' (the movement of people from inner cities to the suburbs and more rural areas).

Even where internal migration is having little effect on the size of populations, it may still be altering population composition. The characteristics of the people moving into an area can be substantially different from those of the people moving out. For example, London normally gains many more young adults than it loses through migration to and from other parts of the UK. At the same time, London usually has a large net outflow of older adults to the rest of the UK.2

There are two main sources of data on internal migration used in this chapter. The first is the 2001 Census, which asked where people had been living one year previously and compared this with their Census-day address. The second source uses administrative records produced when people re-register with a new NHS general practitioner (GP) after moving house. Further information on these sources is provided in the box 'Sources of data on internal migration'.

This chapter has five main sections. The first looks at how many people in the UK change address in a year and what proportion of these moves takes place over short distances. The second section identifies which types of people are most prone to change address and which tend to move over longer rather than shorter distances.

The third section examines the degree of variation around the country in the extent of address changing. It highlights the regions, districts and census wards with the highest and lowest proportions of residents moving to their census address from somewhere else in the UK during the previous 12 months. Fourth, the chapter describes the overall patterns of population redistribution produced by this within-UK migration, focusing primarily on the shifts between the North and South and between the more urban and more rural parts of the country. Finally, examples are given of distinctive geographical patterns of migration, looking at different age groups, ethnic groups and occupations.

Sources of data on internal migration

The two main sources of internal migration data used in this chapter differ considerably in nature, even in their definition of a migrant.

The migration data from the 2001 Census are based on a comparison of each individual's address on Census day (29 April 2001) with the address they stated they were living at one year previously (29 April 2000). An individual's 'address' in the census is the place that they consider to be their 'usual residence', that is, where they live most of the time.

An internal migrant in the 2001 Census is defined as a person resident in the UK on Census day who was living at a different address in the UK 12 months previously.

Therefore the census counts a maximum of one move per person during the twelve month period, does not cover any intermediate moves made during that year and excludes moves by people who moved away but then returned to the original address within the one-year window. Census data are only available every ten years.

In contrast, the National Health Service Central Register (NHSCR) provides a continuous monitoring of migration, but does not record all types of move. It is restricted to changes of address being made between former health authorities by patients registered with NHS general practitioners (GPs). In this context, a person's address is the address registered with their GP and a migrant is defined as a person who re-registers with a GP in a different former health authority from their previous GP.

The NHSCR is generally regarded as providing the best available proxy data on internal migration but it is known that people who move quite frequently and only rarely need a medical consultation (most notably young adult men) may be slow to re-register with a GP or may not re-register after every move.

The census migration data used in this chapter include moves of armed forces personnel, whereas the NHSCR data do not. Both the NHSCR data and 2001 Census migration data include the movements of students to and from places of higher education. The 1991 Census did not measure the migration of students, since students were counted as resident at their family home, but the 2001 Census enumerated students at their term-time address, bringing the census migration data into line with the NHSCR data.

Further information on these two data sources can be found in the appendix.

How many move?

According to the 2001 Census, over seven million UK residents were migrants in the sense that they were living at a different usual address from that of 12 months earlier. As 407,000 of these had been living outside the UK, the total number of residents who had moved from one address in the UK to another during the pre-census year was just under 6.7 million. This figure includes 467,000 people who indicated that they had 'no usual address one year ago' (see the appendix for further information on this group).

The 6.7 million internal migrants represent 11.4 per cent of the population living in the UK, meaning that roughly one in nine people had moved. This 11.4 per cent figure for 2001 ('2001' is used here, and below, as a shorthand for the 12 months to Census day) was relatively high by UK standards and reflects the fact that migration rates vary over time, principally in response to the prevailing economic climate. The rate of internal migration recorded by both the 1991 and 1981 Censuses was significantly lower. This is likely to reflect the fact that the country was in the grips of economic recession in 1991 and 1981, with people finding it harder to get new jobs or sell their houses.[3]

Direct comparisons of migration rates recorded by the 2001 Census and those from the 1991 and 1981 Censuses are problematic. The earlier censuses excluded both moves of students to and from university and moves of infants aged under one, while the 2001 Census migration data includes these moves. However, an idea of the degree of volatility of migration over time can be obtained from the NHSCR. As shown in Figure 6.1, the total level of movement between 'health areas' in England and Wales has fluctuated between 30 and 39 per 1,000 residents since 1975. The level of migration has been almost one-third higher at the peak of an economic cycle (as in 1987 to 1989 and 2000 to 2002) than in the depths of recession (as in 1990 to 1991). A similar pattern of variation over time is found for moves between Government Office Regions and moves within them, but the relative degree of fluctuation is slightly greater for the latter.

The majority of moves are over short distances. Though the standard area tables from the 2001 Census do not provide breakdowns by full type of move or by distance of move, these can be calculated from the data contained in the Individual Sample of Anonymised Records (ISAR). The results show that, of those who are known to have changed address in the UK in the pre-census year (that is, excluding those moving from outside the UK and those with no usual address one year previously), almost three out of every five (59.6 per cent) stayed within the same local authority district. Roughly another one in five (21.6 per cent) changed district but did not cross a Government Office Region or country boundary, while 18.8 per cent did cross a regional or country boundary. The latter includes those who moved in or out of London.

In terms of distance moved, again according to the ISAR, over two in five (43.0 per cent) of those within-UK migrants had moved no further than 2 km. Another 10.6 per cent had moved between addresses that were 3 to 4 km apart, while 12.1 per cent were 5 to 9 km from their previous address. Thus for almost two-thirds (65.7 per cent) of these migrants, less than 10 km separated their current and previous addresses. At the other extreme, just one in 15 (6.7 per cent) had moved 200 km or more. Altogether only 18.5 per cent had moved at least 50 km.

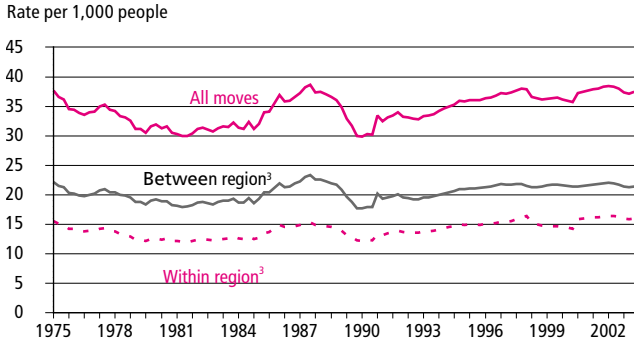
Who moves and how far?

It is well known that some types of people move home more frequently than others and some tend to move more locally than others.[4] The ISAR can be used to illustrate some of the differentials in migration behaviour within the UK.

Gender is one of the most fundamental of demographic characteristics, but it is not a major discriminator of migration behaviour except in certain contexts such as the movement of armed forces personnel. Males were the slightly more migratory in 2001, with 11.7 per cent at a different address from one year previously compared with 11.2 per cent of females. Males also tended to move slightly further, with 19.1 per cent moving 50 km or more compared with 18.0 per cent of females. While 42.2 per cent of males moved no more than 2 km, the comparable figure for females was 43.7 per cent.

Figure 6.1

Rates of migration[1] between NHSCR[2] areas of England and Wales, per 1,000 people rolling annual averages: by quarter, 1975 to 2004



1 Data are rolling annual averages by quarter, starting from the year ending 31 December 1975.
2 NHSCR areas refer to Family Health Service Areas (FHSAs) up to 1999 and former Health Authorities (HAs) from 2000 onwards. Estimates of internal migration within regions between quarter one 1999 and quarter one 2001 were slightly affected by this changeover.
3 Region refers to Wales and the Government Office Regions of England.

Source: Data from National Health Service Central Register

Part of these differences is likely to arise from the fact that women, living longer on average than men, tend to account for more of the higher age groups, which have below-average migration rates and distances.

Turning to ***age***, there is a marked contrast between the migration of younger adults and people aged 45 and over at the Census (Figure 6.2). For the latter, the propensity to move house falls with increasing age up to around age 75. Above this age, the percentage migrating rises again, reflecting the greater incidence of 'defensive moves' prompted by loss of partner or increasing frailty and involving getting closer to relatives or moving into smaller dwellings or special accommodation.[5] Although longer-distance retirement migration takes place among people in their 60s, the increasing spread of age of retirement means that the official retirement ages of 60 for women and 65 for men produce barely perceptible blips in the profile.

The highest levels of residential mobility are for those in their late teens and early 20s,[6] as seen in the peak in Figure 6.2. This peak represents people starting and leaving university, as well as those leaving school and entering the labour market. It also includes people leaving the parental home to set up by themselves or with partners and others. The higher rate for women in their early 20s partly reflects the general age difference in partnerships, though women are also more likely to move into a dwelling already occupied by their boyfriend than the other way round. (This higher rate for women is consistent with the earlier observation that the all-age migration rate for men is slightly higher than for women because the former outnumber the latter at these more mobile ages.) The higher rate for men in their 30s and early 40s probably arises from divorce or separation more often involving the departure from the family home of the father than the mother.[7]

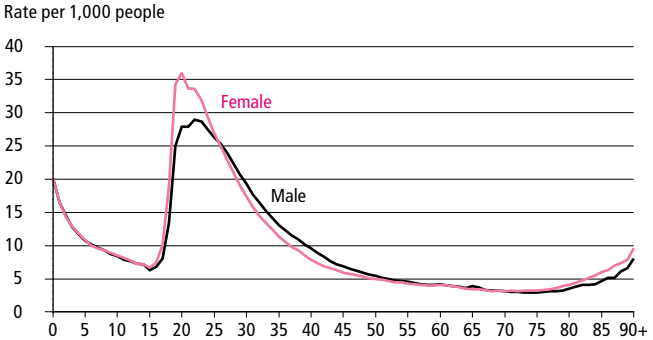
Evidently, the vast majority of people moving home within the UK are from the younger half of the age span. Data on absolute numbers of migrants by age (not shown here) reveal that people aged 45 and over made up only one in six (16.6 per cent) of all migrants despite constituting 40 per cent of all UK residents in 2001. The 16- to 29-year-olds accounted for just under two in five (38.9 per cent) of all people changing address, 30- to 44-year-olds for nearly a quarter (24.6 per cent) and the under 16s for almost one in five (19.8 per cent). Inevitably, the higher migration rates of young adults will be reflected in the variations between people for other characteristics, as – all other things being equal – migration rates will be highest for those characteristics most associated with younger members of the population.

As regards age differences in distance of move, the most distinctive group is the under 16s, of whom fully half (50.9 per cent) relocate within 2 km of their previous address, almost three-quarters (74.2 per cent) move less than 10 km, and only 4.9 per cent move 200 km or more. While this reflects migration decisions made by their parents, one important consideration for the latter is minimising the disruption to their children's schooling. The age group with the next highest proportion of the shortest moves is 75 and over, with 68.7 per cent moving under 10 km and reflecting the 'defensive' nature of most moves at this age mentioned above. Long distance moves are undertaken most commonly among 16- to 29-year-olds, with 8.2 per cent of their moves being of at least 200 km. The only other broad age group with a proportion of such moves that is higher than the national figure of 6.7 per cent is the 55- to 64-year-olds, with their 7.4 per cent probably reflecting the long distances moved by some people at retirement.[8]

In the remainder of this section, only the more extreme cases are noted, so as to indicate the range of migration behaviour in 2001 and build up an overall picture of the factors influencing the propensity to change address and the distance moved.

Figure 6.2

Percentage of residents[1] known to have changed address within the UK: by age and sex, 2001[2]



1 Excludes residents living outside the UK one year ago and those with no known address one year ago.
2 Data refer to moves during the 12 months prior to the 2001 Census.

Source: Data from 2001 Census special tabulation – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

Marital status

- Single never-married people had the highest propensity to change address (16.4 per cent had moved in the year before the census), while the widowed had the lowest (5.8 per cent).
- Among those who did move, the widowed were also the group that moved most locally (69.3 per cent moving less than 10 km), closely followed by the divorced and the

separated. The remarried were the longest-distance movers (20.7 per cent moving at least 50 km), followed by the single never-married.

Family type

- Cohabiting couples with no children had by far the highest propensity to migrate, with 30.5 per cent moving in the previous year. At the other extreme were married couples with no children living in the household, with only 5.6 per cent moving – presumably mainly older families whose children had already left home.
- Lone mothers were the shortest-distance movers (79.1 per cent moved less than 10 km), followed by cohabiting couples. Married couples with no children were the longest-distance movers (with 22.6 per cent moving at least 50 km). Individuals not in a family moved the next furthest.

Health

- More healthy people change address more often and move over longer distances. In terms of general health over the previous 12 months, 12.5 per cent of people describing their health as 'good' had moved, compared with 8.6 per cent saying 'not good'. However, there were large numbers of 'health-related' moves among the very old.
- The proportion of movers who remained within 10 km of their previous address rose from 64.8 per cent for those describing their health as 'good' to 67.4 per cent for 'fairly good' and 70.8 per cent for 'not good'. The pattern for those with or without limiting long-term illness was very similar.

Housing tenure

- Private renting was the sector with the highest turnover of population, with 33.7 per cent of its residents having moved into their accommodation within the 12 months prior to the census. This is more than twice the level of the next highest sector – renting from housing associations, co-operatives and other voluntary and charitable bodies, at 13.7 per cent.
- Owner-occupying residents were the least migratory, especially those who were outright owners (only 4.9 per cent of whom had lived at their present address for less than 12 months). This is because they are predominantly older people who have had time to pay off their mortgages.
- Distance of move also varies greatly by tenure.[9] People moving into accommodation rented from councils in England and Wales and equivalent bodies in Scotland and Northern Ireland were much more likely to come from the local area, with only 15.6 per cent moving 10 km or more. By contrast, 43.4 per cent of outright owners and 31.9 per cent of owners with a mortgage or loan had moved from at least 10 km away.

Economic activity of people aged 16 to 74

- By far the most migratory group at the time of the census was students. Of the economically inactive students (both part-time and full-time students aged 16 to 74), 27.0 per cent were living at a different address from that of one year before. This percentage is lower than might be expected since students aged 16 and above in schools and further education institutions are included and this group is likely to be less migratory than higher education students. The economic group next most likely to have moved was those unemployed and seeking work, where 19.0 per cent had been living at a different address twelve months earlier.
- The least migratory were the retired, of whom only 3.8 per cent moved in the year before the census, followed by part-time self-employed people without employees, at 7.8 per cent.
- The group moving over the longest distances was the economically inactive students. One-third (33.1 per cent) of those who moved were at least 50 km from their previous address. A quarter (25.0 per cent) of the relatively small proportion of retired people who had moved in the year before the census had moved 50 km or more, as had almost 23 per cent of those who were unemployed and seeking work in the week before the census.
- Those groups whose migrants were least likely to move over a long distance comprised the self-employed with employees (only 12.3 per cent moving at least 50 km) and the permanently sick or disabled (12.5 per cent).

Industry

- Those employed in the week before the 2001 Census were classified into 17 categories according to the business of their employer (further details of this industrial classification can be found in the appendix.
- The two industrial classes with the highest proportion of employees making within-UK moves in the pre-census year were people working in hotels and restaurants and those working for international organisations such as the United Nations, with 18.8 per cent and 18.5 per cent moving respectively. Least migratory were those working in agriculture, hunting and forestry (9.0 per cent), education, manufacturing, and mining and quarrying.

- In terms of the distance moved by those changing address, those working in construction had the highest proportion of people moving less than 10 km, at 72.4 per cent, followed by workers in manufacturing and fishing. The highest proportions moving 50 km or more were for public administration and defence (32.2 per cent) and hotels and restaurants (24.3 per cent).

Occupation

- Several alternative classifications are available in the ISAR, including the Standard Occupational Classification 2000, the International Standard Classification of Occupations and the NS Socio-economic Classification (see the appendix for further details). Drawing selectively from all three, it is found that that the highest mobility is for members of the armed forces, 31.5 per cent of whom were at a different address at the census from that of 12 months earlier and with fully two out of three (67.0 per cent) of these having moved at least 50 km.
- Full-time students come close to this migration rate (25.2 per cent of the group), with almost one-third of these moving 50 km or more.
- Higher professionals (excluding self-employed) saw one in five of their number moving in the pre-census year, over a quarter of whom had moved 50 km or more.
- Health professionals, those in culture, media and sport occupations, those in customer service occupations and those in protective service occupations such as security staff all had migration rates of at least 18 per cent. The proportions moving 50 km or more were particularly high for protective services (42.1 per cent) and health professionals (36.0 per cent).
- At the other extreme, migration rates were lowest for people in agricultural occupations, for people in skilled metal and electrical trades and for transport and mobile machine drivers and operators. These latter two groups also had the lowest proportions of migrants moving 50 km or more, along with skilled construction and building trades and process/plant/machine operatives – all with under 12.5 per cent moving 50 km or more.

Qualifications

- People who changed address the least were those with no qualifications at all.
- Generally, the higher the qualification level, the higher was the proportion moving long distances.

Ethnicity

- Across the UK as a whole, 14.1 per cent of people in non-White ethnic groups changed address within the UK in the pre-census year, a rather higher proportion than for the White population (11.2 per cent). This difference probably arises from the younger average age of the former.
- Out of the four generic ethnic minority groups in England and Wales, Asians were least migratory (11.9 per cent changing address), followed by those of Black and Mixed ethnic origins. Those from Chinese and other ethnic groups were the most migratory (18.8 per cent).
- The proportion of migrants moving under 10 km in Scotland was slightly higher for Whites than non-Whites, the reverse of the situation in Northern Ireland and England and Wales. Among non-Whites, the Black group had the highest proportion of these short-distance moves, and the Chinese the lowest.

Geographical differences in migration behaviour

People's propensity to change address varies not only between types of people but also between places, though the two may well be connected in the sense that places differ in the make-up of their populations by age, ethnicity and the other dimensions associated with migration behaviour (as outlined in the previous section). This section examines variation across the UK between places defined at three different geographical levels:

- regional/country level, defined in terms of England's Government Office Regions and the countries of Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland;
- district level, defined in terms of the local and unitary authorities of England and Wales, the council areas of Scotland, and the local government districts of Northern Ireland; and
- ward level, using the 2001 Census standard wards.

Attention is focused on known within-UK moves in the pre-census year. However, at the regional/country level, a broader context is provided by also considering moves made by people who had no usual address one year prior to the census and by people who are known to have been living outside the UK then.

Region/country level

The migration experience of each region/country is shown in Table 6.3. It can be seen that there are some quite substantial regional differences across the UK. In relative terms, the most marked is for the proportion of residents who are known to have been living outside the UK one year before the census. This ranges from 0.3 per cent of residents in Wales to 1.7 per cent for London. Only the latter, together with the adjacent South East and East regions of England, have proportions at or above the national figure, indicating the degree of concentration of international arrivals in this corner of the UK (see Chapter 7). The proportion declaring that they had no usual address one year ago was also highest in London at 1.4 per cent, but otherwise the inter-regional range is much smaller, with values of 0.6 to 0.8 per cent.

The proportion of residents who are known to have moved within the UK is highest for the South West, at 11.6 per cent. Also with rates of at least 11.0 per cent of residents are London, the South East, and Yorkshire and the Humber. Northern Ireland's population contains the smallest proportion of within-UK migrants, at 8.3 per cent, followed by the West Midlands.

These differences in within-UK migration rates are partly driven by the level of within-region movement (shown in the penultimate column of Table 6.3). Thus Yorkshire and the Humber and the South West had within-region migration rates of over 9 per cent, while Northern Ireland's rate of internal movement was 7.6 per cent.

The degree to which migrants have moved across regional and country boundaries within the UK also plays a part. Northern Ireland recorded by far the lowest rate, as is understandable in view of its physical separation from the rest of the UK. The North West and North East also appear to have been weak attractors in the year to 2001. The highest presence of migrants from elsewhere in the UK are shown by the 3.2 per cent figures for Wales and Scotland. Rates of in-migration of 2.4 per cent or more were also registered by the South West, the South East, the East Midlands and the East, probably reflecting their attraction to migrants from London and the West Midlands.

The distances moved by people changing address within the UK can be calculated by country and region from the ISAR (Table 6.4). The North East and North West had the highest

Table 6.3

Residents by address 12 months prior to the 2001 Census: by UK country and Government Office Region, 2001[1]

Numbers and percentages

Country, Government Office Region	Total number of residents	Same address	Address outside the UK one year ago	No usual address one year ago	At known UK address	In region/ country of current residence	In different region/ country
North East	2,515,442	***88.7***	***0.4***	***0.7***	***10.2***	*8.8*	*1.4*
North West	6,729,764	***88.8***	***0.4***	***0.8***	***10.1***	*8.7*	*1.3*
Yorkshire and the Humber	4,964,833	***87.7***	***0.5***	***0.7***	***11.1***	*9.3*	*1.8*
East Midlands	4,172,174	***88.0***	***0.5***	***0.7***	***10.9***	*8.5*	*2.5*
West Midlands	5,267,308	***89.2***	***0.5***	***0.7***	***9.6***	*8.0*	*1.6*
East	5,388,140	***88.4***	***0.7***	***0.7***	***10.2***	*7.9*	*2.4*
London	7,172,091	***85.8***	***1.7***	***1.4***	***11.1***	*9.0*	*2.2*
South East	8,000,645	***87.3***	***0.9***	***0.7***	***11.1***	*8.5*	*2.6*
South West	4,928,434	***87.1***	***0.6***	***0.7***	***11.6***	*9.1*	*2.6*
Wales	2,903,085	***88.8***	***0.3***	***0.7***	***10.1***	*7.0*	*3.2*
Scotland	5,062,011	***88.4***	***0.6***	***0.7***	***10.3***	*7.1*	*3.2*
Northern Ireland	1,685,267	***90.7***	***0.4***	***0.6***	***8.3***	*7.6*	*0.7*
United Kingdom	58,789,194	***88.0***	***0.7***	***0.8***	***10.6***	*10.6*	*0.0*

1 Data refer to moves during the 12 months prior to the 2001 Census.

Source: Data from 2001 Census Key Statistics – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

Table 6.4

Distance moved by people changing address within the UK in the year prior to the 2001 Census: by UK country and Government Office Region of usual residence in 2001[1]

Percentages

Country, Government Office Region	0–2 km	3–9 km	10–49 km	50–199 km	200 km and over	All
North East	*53.8*	*20.8*	*11.3*	*6.5*	*7.5*	*100*
North West	*50.4*	*22.8*	*12.2*	*8.0*	*6.6*	*100*
Yorkshire and the Humber	*46.8*	*22.6*	*13.4*	*10.2*	*7.0*	*100*
East Midlands	*42.9*	*21.2*	*15.4*	*16.2*	*4.2*	*100*
West Midlands	*45.0*	*24.7*	*14.3*	*12.6*	*3.4*	*100*
East	*37.3*	*21.0*	*21.9*	*14.3*	*5.4*	*100*
London	*38.0*	*30.2*	*16.9*	*9.0*	*6.0*	*100*
South East	*37.5*	*21.3*	*18.8*	*16.1*	*6.4*	*100*
South West	*38.9*	*20.5*	*14.4*	*15.6*	*10.6*	*100*
Wales	*46.2*	*20.2*	*14.8*	*11.1*	*7.7*	*100*
Scotland	*46.7*	*19.8*	*15.7*	*8.7*	*9.1*	*100*
Northern Ireland	*47.2*	*21.1*	*17.1*	*6.7*	*8.0*	*100*
United Kingdom	*43.0*	*22.7*	*15.8*	*11.8*	*6.7*	*100*

1 Excludes those with no usual address one year ago.

Source: 2001 Census Individual SAR – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

Table 6.5

Percentage of residents at 2001 Census known to have changed address within the UK in the previous 12 months: highest and lowest ten districts in the UK[1,2]

Percentages

Rank	District	Percentage	Rank	District	Percentage
1	Oxford	*20.1*	434	Cookstown	*5.9*
2	Cambridge	*19.5*	433	Strabane	*6.0*
3	City of London	*17.0*	432	Dungannon	*6.2*
4	Southampton	*16.9*	431	Fermanagh	*6.3*
5	Exeter	*16.9*	430	Magherafelt	*6.3*
6	Wandsworth	*16.9*	429	Newry and Mourne	*6.3*
7	Ceredigion	*16.6*	428	Castlereagh	*6.6*
8	Nottingham	*16.6*	427	East Dunbartonshire	*6.6*
9	Manchester	*16.3*	426	Armagh	*6.8*
10	Lancaster	*15.9*	425	Omagh	*6.8*

1 Excludes those with no usual address one year ago.
2 Includes both residents who have moved from outside the district and residents who have moved within the district.

Source: Data from 2001 Census Key Statistics – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

proportions moving very short distances (over half of migrants moved less than 2 km), whereas the smallest proportions of very short distance migrants were among those moving within and into the South East and East. London has a particularly high proportion of migrants moving 3 to 9 km, possibly reflecting its situation as a large densely-populated urban area. At the other extreme, the South West and Scotland had the highest proportions of migrants who had moved at least 200 km, reflecting their positions at the two extremities of the mainland.

District level

Table 6.5 lists the top and bottom ten districts in the UK for the proportion of their 2001 Census residents who one year earlier were living at a different address in the UK.

The highest proportion is for Oxford, at 20.1 per cent – nearly double the national figure of 10.6 per cent (see Table 6.3). Cambridge comes a close second, suggesting the importance of students moving to these university towns or moving within them during their time there. Southampton, Exeter, Ceredigion (containing Aberystwyth), Nottingham, Manchester and Lancaster also have a substantial university presence. The City of London – the 'Square Mile' – contains a very small population and one that clearly has a high turnover, while the presence of Wandsworth in the list may similarly reflect the degree of local churn at the centre of a major city like London. Three other London boroughs not shown here (Westminster, Camden and Hammersmith and Fulham) appear among the twenty districts with the highest proportions of residents changing address within the UK.

At the other extreme, some districts have little more than half the national within-UK migration rate. All but one of the lowest ten are in Northern Ireland, primarily reflecting the low turnover of population within the province (Table 6.3). The exception is East Dunbartonshire on the edge of the Clydeside conurbation in Scotland.

Map 6.6 presents the picture for the whole of the UK. This confirms the importance of students in the proportion of residents who changed address in the year before the census. In Scotland, for instance, Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Stirling are the only areas with the top rate shown, similarly Durham and Newcastle in the North East of England. Other areas with high scores include districts with a military presence such as Forest Heath (Suffolk) and Richmondshire (North Yorkshire), coastal and rural retirement areas especially in the South West, and Central and Inner West London.

At the other end of the scale are places that contain low-turnover populations or are attracting fewest incomers from the rest of the UK. Besides the case of Northern Ireland already noted, these districts fall into two main categories. A considerable number are suburban districts around the larger cities, as around Glasgow, Liverpool, Birmingham/ Wolverhampton and some inner parts of the Home Counties. A second group comprises areas with an above-average proportion of blue-collar workers or a previous history of such work, such as some of the South Wales valley districts and Outer East London Boroughs (Map 6.6).

Ward level

Table 6.7 shows the wards with the highest and lowest proportions of residents who had changed address within the UK in the year prior to the 2001 Census. Keele ward tops the list, with nearly two out of every three residents having moved from another address in the UK in the previous year. This is due to a large proportion of housing in this ward being student accommodation. The other nine wards in the top ten also contain student accommodation such as halls of residence.

At the other extreme, in Lissan ward in Cookstown barely one in 40 residents was new to their census-time address. Not surprisingly, given the district-level results, all but one of these lowest ten were in Northern Ireland. The exception was in East Dunbartonshire, Scotland.

Population redistribution produced by within-UK migration

With around one in ten people changing address each year, migration has the potential to cause big shifts in population distribution. To a large extent, people moving in to areas replace the people leaving. In many cases, the types of people moving in are similar to those moving out or, at least, have similar characteristics to those of the previous residents when they originally moved in to the area. Nevertheless there are also some important cases where migration is producing shifts in the geographical distribution of the population or is altering the population profiles of certain areas in the short or longer term. This section focuses primarily on the two main spatial dimensions of net within-UK migration (that is, inflow minus outflow), namely what have long been dubbed the 'North-South drift' and the 'urban-rural shift'.

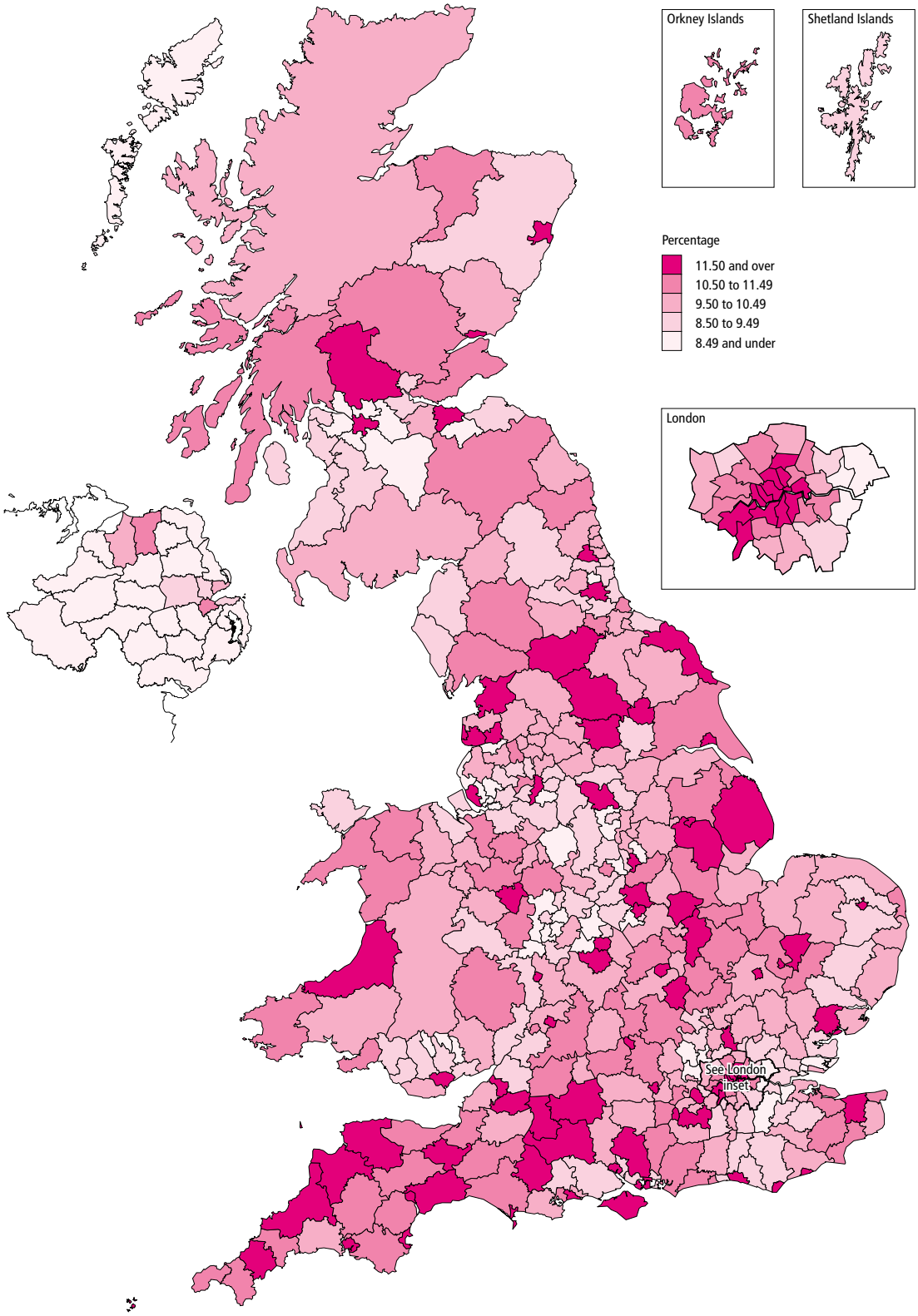
Migration between North and South

Southward net migration dates back at least to the Great Depression era of the early 1930s and has been continuing in recent decades. As shown in Figure 6.8, however, the level of

Map 6.6

Percentage of residents known to have moved within the UK during the year prior to the 2001 Census: by unitary authority or local authority, 2001[1]

United Kingdom



1 *Data refer to persons changing their address of usual residence between April 2000 and April 2001.*

Source: 2001 Census – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; and Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

Table 6.7

Percentage of residents at 2001 Census known to have changed address within the UK in the previous 12 months, highest and lowest ten wards in the UK[1,2]

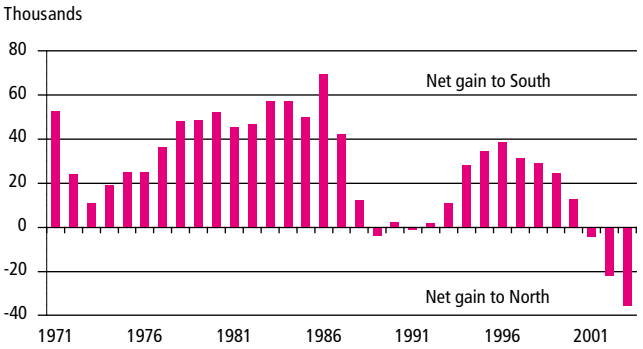
Rank	Ward	Percentage	Rank	Ward	Percentage
1	Keele, Newcastle-under-Lyme	*63.7*	10,626	Lissan, Cookstown	*2.7*
2	Llanbadarn Fawr, Ceredigion	*58.6*	10,625	Termon, Omagh	*3.1*
3	Heslington, York	*58.0*	10,624	Shantallow East, Derry	*3.1*
4	Headingley, Leeds	*52.6*	10,623	Ardboe, Cookstown	*3.3*
5	Menai, Gwynedd	*52.1*	10,622	Dunnamore, Cookstown	*3.5*
6	Elvet, Durham	*52.0*	10,621	Balmuildy and Park, East Dunbartonshire	*3.6*
7	St Nicholas, Durham	*51.5*	10,620	Lisnasharragh, Castlereagh	*3.6*
8	Logie, Stirling	*49.7*	10,619	Ladybrook, Belfast	*3.6*
9	Aberystwyth Central, Ceredigion	*49.4*	10,618	Lasnacree, Newry & Mourne	*3.6*
10	Cathays, Cardiff	*47.6*	10,617	Silver Bridge, Newry & Mourne	*3.7*

1 Excludes those with no usual address one year ago.
2 Includes both residents who have moved from outside the district and residents who have moved within the district.

Source: 2001 Census Key Statistics – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

Figure 6.8

Net migration between North and South[1] of the UK: 1971 to 2003[2]

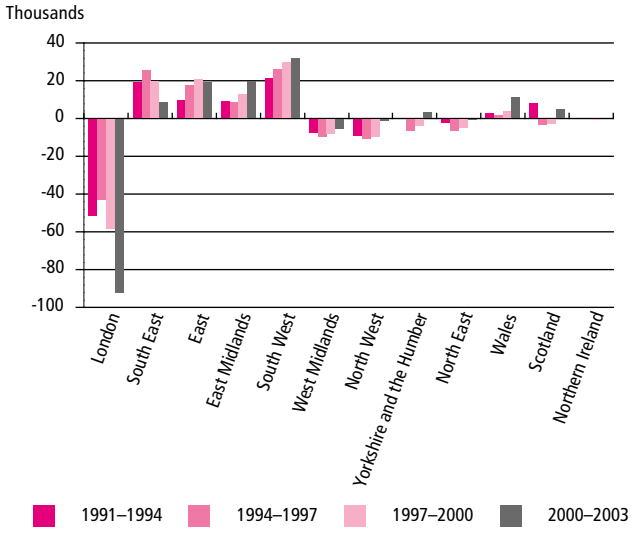


1 The South comprises the Government Office Regions of London, South East, South West, East and East Midlands; 'the North' is the remainder of the UK.
2 Data refer to calendar years.

Source: Data from National Health Service Central Register; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

Figure 6.9

Net within-UK migration by Government Office Region and country: annual average: 1991–1994 to 2000–2003



Source: Data from National Health Service Central Register; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

population redistribution resulting from this process fluctuates considerably in the short term and has, on average, reduced since the 1980s. The average for the three decades to the year 2000 was an annual gain of 31,000 people for the South (defined as the Government Office Regions of London, South East, South West, East and East Midlands). The figures for 1971 to 1980 and 1981 to 1990 were higher than this, at 34,300 and 38,000 respectively, but for 1991 to 2000 it was down to 21,200.

Moreover, while the level had been running at around twice its long-term average in the mid 1980s, there have been two periods since then when either the flows between North and South have been roughly in balance (1989 to 1992) or there has been a significant reversal of flow (2001 to 2003). The North's net gain of just over 35,000 people from the South in 2003 is unprecedented, at least as far as can be judged from the NHSCR records which began in 1971 and from the migration data provided by the census from 1961 onwards.

Figure 6.9 shows the separate contributions to the North-South net shifts made by the nine Government Office Regions of England and the other three countries of the UK between 1991 and 2003. The single most impressive feature is the scale of net migration loss from London and the massive acceleration in this since the mid-1990s. In 1994 to 1997 London's net migration loss to the rest of the UK averaged 43,400 a year, but it had moved up to nearly 60,000 by 1997 to 2000 and to 92,400 in 2000 to 2003. Indeed, by 2002 to 2003 (not shown separately), the figure had risen to just over 110,000.

Throughout this period the main recipients of London's exodus were the other four regions of the South. Over most of the period shown in Figure 6.9, the latter absorbed not only all London's net losses but also the net losses from the North, notably from the other four regions of England. In the last few years shown, however, this was no longer the case. While the East Midlands and the South West saw a further acceleration in their net gains, the rate of net inflow to the East and the South East reduced, particularly so the latter. As a result, the extra losses from London since 1999 are paralleled by upward shifts in net migration balance in the North. All seven areas there were affected, but Wales, the North West and Yorkshire and the Humber saw the greatest absolute change over this period and Northern Ireland the least.

Various factors are likely to be responsible for these recent changes in London's migration balance. One is the marked acceleration in the UK's net migration gains from overseas since the early 1990s and London's predominant role in accommodating this (see Chapter 7). This, however, has perhaps served only to accentuate a well-established tendency for London to see its out-migration to other parts of the UK rise during the later years of a national economic boom. Regularly, as the nation emerges from a recession, London drives the process of recovery. Initially, this draws in extra migrants from other parts of the UK, but as the recovery leads to inflationary pressures in London, its residents take advantage of the higher value of their homes to move out, first mainly to the two adjacent regions but later on further out, including to the North. Meanwhile, potential migrants from the North become increasingly deterred by London's rising house prices and eventually by the narrowing of the job gap as the recovery spreads out across the UK.

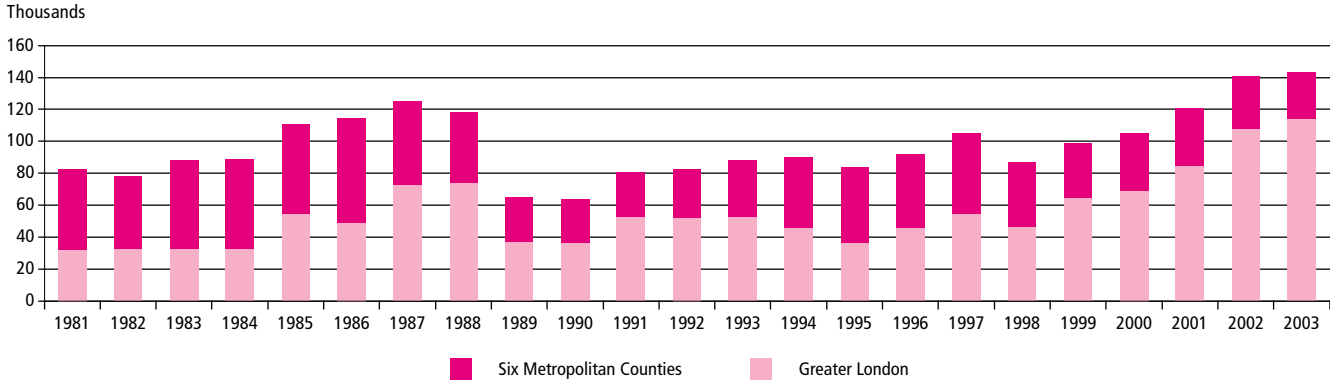
Urban-rural migration

London's role as a driver of the UK's regional migration patterns can also be associated with the process of urban out-migration. Starting in the 19th century, the growth of suburbs around the cores of the cities led to the latter becoming home to an increasing proportion of the country's urban dwellers. Later on, partly as a result of government policies aimed at reducing densities in the original cores of the larger cities, notably the post-war New and Expanded Towns programme, there was an absolute population loss from many of these areas and faster growth in the suburbs and the separate cities and towns further away. Despite the official abandonment of the urban dispersal programme in the 1970s, the urban-rural shift remains a major element of internal migration.[10]

The scale, persistence and pervasiveness of the urban exodus can be illustrated in a number of ways. First, Figure 6.10 shows net migration out of 'metropolitan England', defined as Greater London and the six former metropolitan counties of Greater Manchester, Merseyside, South Yorkshire, Tyne and Wear, West Midlands and West Yorkshire. In all, since 1981 metropolitan England has lost 2.25 million people as a result of net migration exchanges with the rest of the UK, an average of 97,800 a year. Like the North-South dimension shown in Figure 6.8, the scale varies over time, most notably dropping from 125,100 in 1987 to barely half this in 1989 and 1990 before moving upwards again fairly steadily through the 1990s and then accelerating markedly to reach almost 143,500 in 2003.

Figure 6.10

Greater London and six metropolitan counties:[1] net out-migration to the rest of the UK, 1981 to 2003



1 The six metropolitan counties are Tyne and Wear, Greater Manchester, Merseyside, South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and West Midlands.

Source: Data from National Health Service Central Register

Unlike the North-South dimension, the net metropolitan exodus is very persistent: there is no recorded year with a reversal of flow, nor any time where this has seemed even a remote possibility. This is particularly true of London (as shown in Figure 6.9 from 1991 onwards), but is also the case for the rest of metropolitan England. Since the end of the 1980s the scale of net loss from the six metropolitan counties has remained below the level of the mid 1980s. More recently, while it has fallen from its 1997 peak, its level in 2003 was still above that of the early 1990s (Figure 6.10).

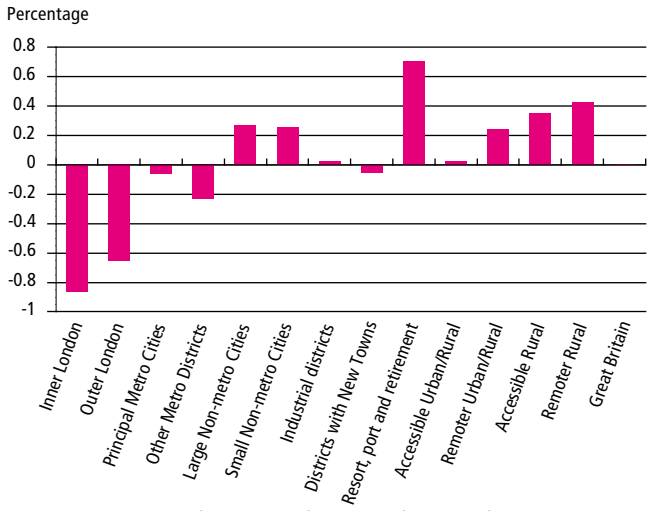
The pervasiveness of net urban-rural migration across the whole country is shown in Figure 6.11. This uses a classification of local and unitary authorities based on urban status, function and distance from metropolitan England (see the appendix for further details). All four metro types of district recorded net migration loss in the year before the 2001 Census, whereas net gains are found for eight of the other nine types, the exception being the districts with New Towns and reflecting the winding down of the New Towns programme since the 1970s.

Moreover, there is a pretty regular association between 'urbanness' and net migration rate (Figure 6.11). The highest rates of net loss are recorded for Inner and Outer London, with the lower figure for the latter signifying a degree of outward population movement within the capital. At the rural end of the scale, the two types of rural district recorded a stronger rate of net gain than the mixed urban/rural districts, with remoteness conveying a clear premium in both cases. Resorts and retirement districts, however, gained migration at an even higher rate than these, greatly out of line with what would be expected from their intermediate position in the urban hierarchy. Both types of non-metro city also recorded stronger migration balances than their urban status would have predicted.

The importance of the urban-rural dimension can also be gauged from the pattern of net migration gains at district level (Table 6.12). Rural areas and resorts feature strongly in the list

Figure 6.11

Net within-UK migration in the year prior to the 2001 Census: as a percentage of 2001 residents, for a district classification of Great Britain[1]



1 See the appendix for details of this classification of Local Authorities, Unitary Authorities and Council Areas.

Source: Data from 2001 Census Key Statistics – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland

Table 6.12

Ten UK districts with the highest and lowest rates of net within-UK migration: as a percentage of total population, in the year prior to the 2001 Census

Rank	Highest	Percentage	Rank	Lowest	Percentage
1	Isles of Scilly	*2.55*	434	Newham	*–1.68*
2	North Kesteven	*1.72*	433	Shetland Islands	*–1.52*
3	East Northamptonshire	*1.71*	432	Ealing	*–1.46*
4	Forest Heath	*1.70*	431	Surrey Heath	*–1.44*
5	East Devon	*1.55*	430	Hounslow	*–1.41*
6	Warwick	*1.50*	429	Harrow	*–1.35*
7	Eastbourne	*1.49*	428	Kensington and Chelsea	*–1.30*
8	Torbay UA	*1.41*	427	Brent	*–1.30*
9	Torridge	*1.40*	426	Haringey	*–1.26*
10	North Dorset	*1.35*	425	Islington	*–1.22*

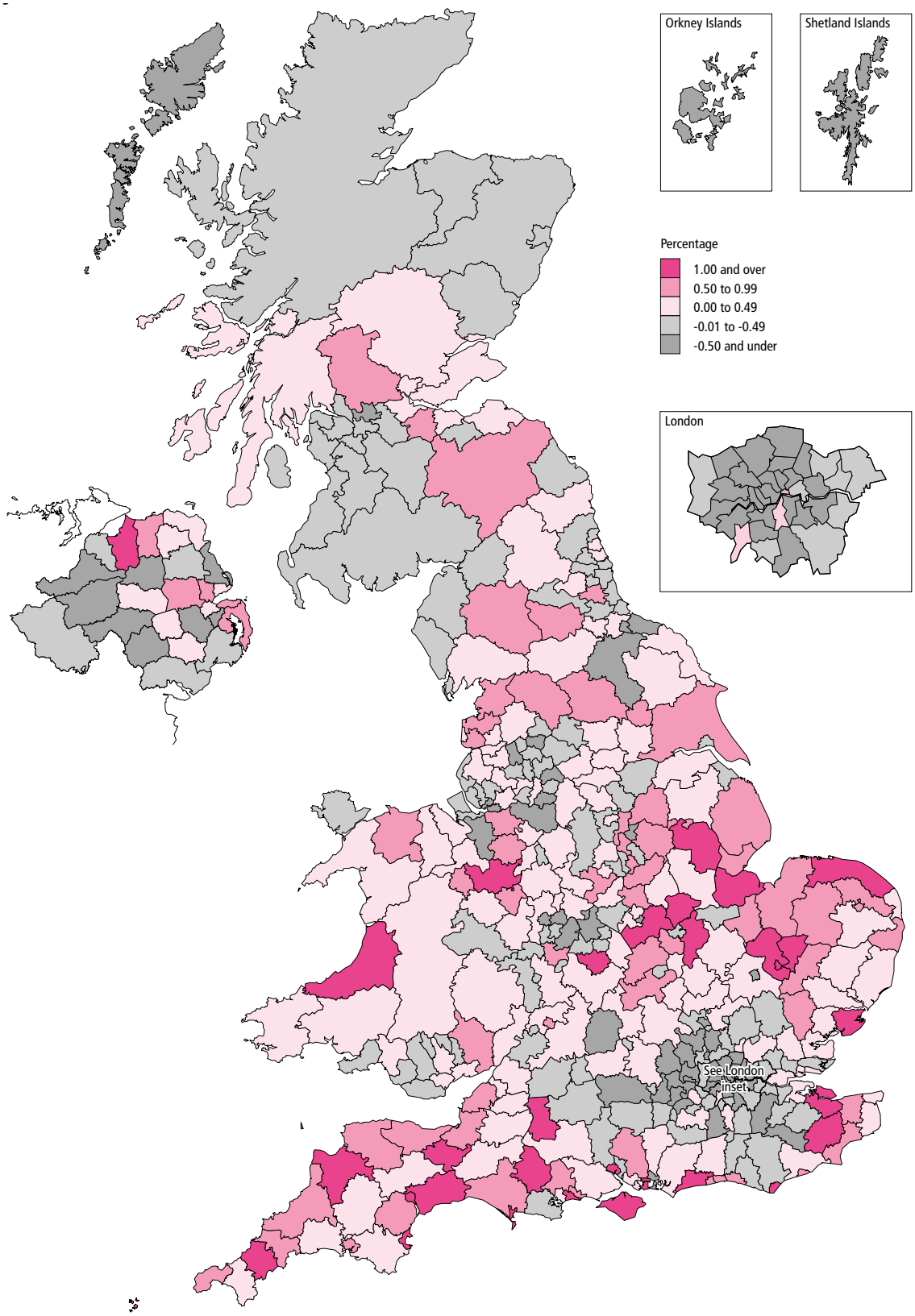
1 The percentage for the Isles of Scilly is based on a small number of residents, hence a small absolute number of migrants may have a disproportionate effect in percentage terms.

Source: Data from 2001 Census Key Statistics – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

Map 6.13

Net within-UK migration as a percentage of all residents: by unitary authority or local authority, 2001[1]

United Kingdom



1 *Data refer to persons changing their address of usual residence between April 2000 and April 2001.*

Source: 2001 Census – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

of districts with the highest rate of net within-UK migration gains during the year before the 2001 Census. At the other extreme, London boroughs dominate the list of top ten areas losing population due to net within-UK migration.

Map 6.13 amplifies this picture. Particularly clear for the two highest categories is the coastal strip of districts around the South West peninsula and extending along the south coast. Here, net migration gains from the rest of the UK are equivalent to at least 0.5 per cent of Census populations. The fast-gaining areas also include much of East Anglia and Lincolnshire, together with areas that fringe the main urban centres of the Midlands and North of England.

There are also some familiar features among the two categories of areas losing population through migration exchanges with the rest of the UK in 2000 to 2001 (Map 6.13). These include much of Northern Ireland (especially the more rural west), northern Scotland (especially the Shetlands and Eilean Siar), the Glasgow area and south-west Scotland, several of the larger English cities (including Liverpool and Birmingham) and many of the older industrial towns. Rather less expected is the way in which London's overwhelming picture of net migration loss (all except the City of London, Kingston upon Thames, and Lambeth) extends out deep into the Home Counties and indeed south into East Sussex and west into Wiltshire. This must be due largely to the tightness of the housing market in this broad zone, especially around that time as the 'house price ripple' of the late 1990s economic boom moved further out from London. The high net-loss outliers in rural West Oxfordshire and North Yorkshire are likely due to movements of military personnel.

Geographical patterns of migration for selected types of people

As shown earlier, migration can be a very selective process, involving some types of people much more than others. Differences in the characteristics of those moving in and those moving out can have a significant impact on the population composition of individual places. Chapter 2 describes many of the geographical variations in population characteristics that arise from internal migration and other factors. This chapter describes in further detail the geographical patterns of internal migration relating to four selected characteristics.

Age

One of the most important features of migration patterns by age is the difference by settlement size. Migration data from the 2001 Census support the assertion that young adults seek out the 'bright city lights' and show that families with children and older people are more likely to move out of large cities than to move to them. This is demonstrated in Table 6.14, which shows net migration by age group for seven categories of settlement ranging from London to 'other' (comprising urban areas of under 10,000 residents and rural areas).

London and the next three size categories down (places of 100,000 or more residents) recorded net losses of 0- to 15-year-olds and of all groups aged 30 and over, except for 75 and over, in the 100,000 to 250,000 category. By contrast, the three smallest size categories registered net gains of these ages, but net losses of young adults. Moreover, within these three size categories the severity of the losses increases regularly down the size hierarchy, both in terms of total

Table 6.14

Net within-UK migration in the year prior to the 2001 Census: by size of urban area and age group[1]

England

	Age group							
Population size of urban area	0–15	16–19	20–24	25–29	30–44	45–59	60–74	75 and over
Over 3 million[2]	**–24,846**	**–3,649**	27,956	4,458	**–30,608**	**–13,820**	**–10,227**	**–4,147**
750,000 to 3 million[3]	**–6,342**	10,290	961	**–3,971**	**–9,788**	**–5,625**	**–3,486**	**–1,947**
250,000 to 750,000	**–2,726**	19,003	3,582	**–837**	**–4,448**	**–1,915**	**–617**	**–1,060**
100,000 to 250,000	**–545**	7,489	551	469	**–2,790**	**–888**	**–450**	498
25,000 to 100,000	3,849	**–2,877**	723	2,738	4,564	1,369	2,816	2,044
10,000 to 25,000	5,765	**–8,382**	**–3,254**	1,273	5,933	2,820	3,937	3,122
Under 10,000[4]	22,745	**–21,612**	**–23,752**	**–1,744**	33,567	13,733	5,696	1,146

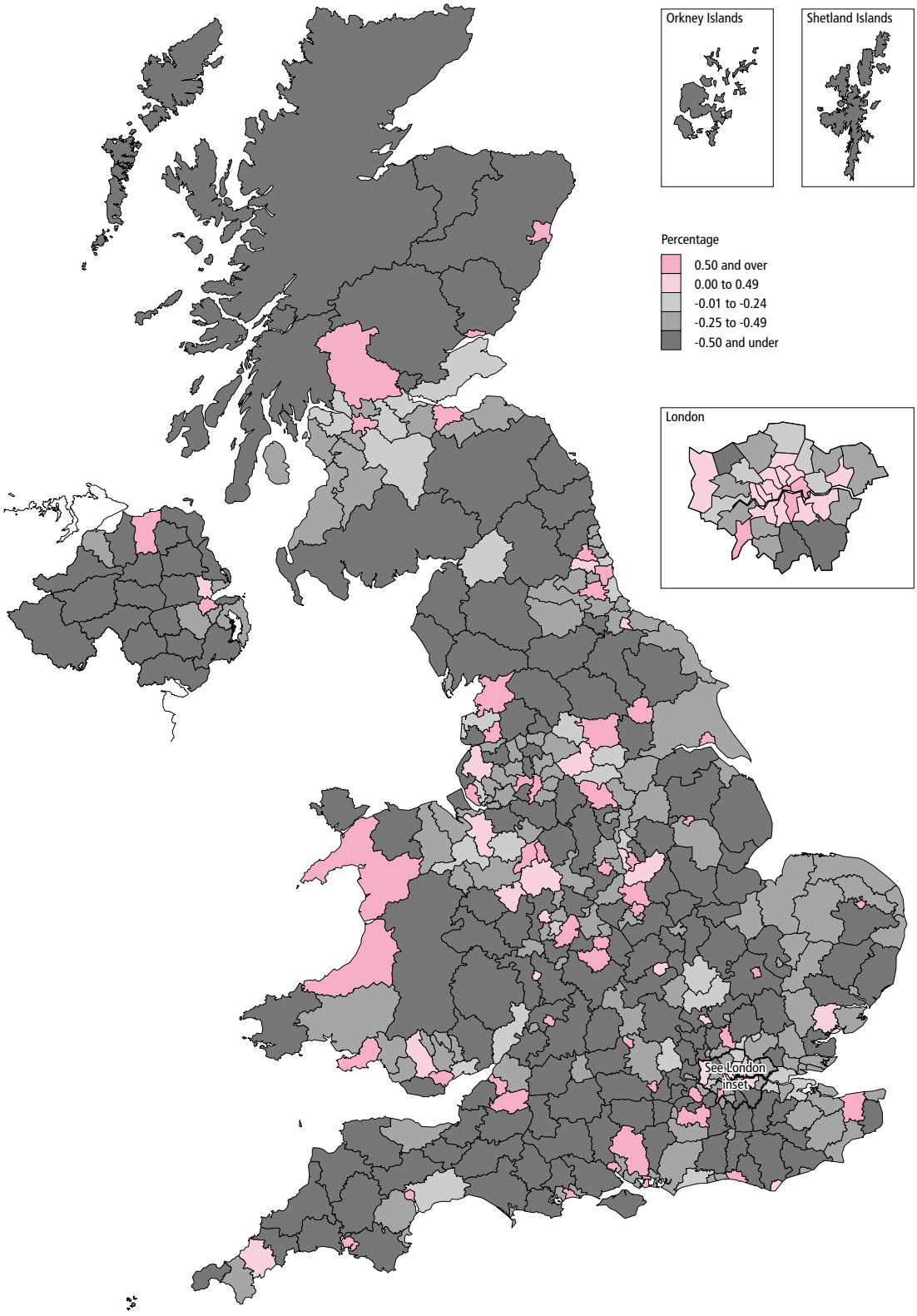
1 Bolding denotes net outflows.
2 This category refers to the Greater London conurbation.
3 This category refers to five conurbations: West Midlands, Greater Manchester, West Yorkshire, Tyneside and Merseyside.
4 This category includes rural areas.

Source: Data from 2001 Census Standard Tables – Office for National Statistics

Map 6.15

Net within-UK migration of full-time students as a percentage of all residents aged 16 to 74: by unitary authority or local authority, 2001[1]

United Kingdom



1 *Data refer to persons changing their address of usual residence between April 2000 and April 2001.*

Source: 2001 Census – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

numbers and the width of age band affected – just 16 to 19 for urban areas of 25,000 to 100,000, 16 to 24 for those of 10,000 to 25,000 and 16 to 29 for those of under 10,000 residents.

For most of the largest types of place, it is only for the 16- to 19-year-olds that substantial net gains occurred. The exception is London, which experienced a small net loss of 16- to 19-year-olds in 2001 but gained very large numbers of people aged 20 to 24. London's net loss of 16- to 19-year-olds arises from more of its school leavers going to university elsewhere in the UK than there are places taken up in London by students from elsewhere. London's gain of 20- to 24-year-olds probably reflects the capital's great attraction to university graduates from all over the UK, including returning Londoners.

Student migration

As mentioned earlier, the 2001 Census was the first census in the UK that has enumerated students at their term-time address (rather than their home address as in previous censuses) and therefore includes the movements to and from places of higher education in its migration statistics. Only the moves to and at university can, however, be identified, as those leaving university were no longer students at the time of the census. Map 6.15 shows the net effect on local populations of full-time students migrating to their place of study or changing residence at their place of study. The category also includes secondary-level students aged 16 and over moving home with their families, though this group rarely engages in long-distance moves because of the likely disruption caused to preparation for exams.

Not surprisingly, the districts gaining students on balance are those containing places of higher education. Oxford and Cambridge led the way in 2001, with their net migration gains of full-time students from elsewhere in the UK being equivalent to 3.5 and 3.3 per cent respectively of their total populations aged 16 to 74.

The majority of districts around the UK are net suppliers of students. The largest proportionate losses of students in 2001 – besides the two small special cases of Eilean Siar (the Western Isles) and the Shetlands – were recorded by Dungannon (Northern Ireland), Hambleton (North Yorkshire) and Malvern Hills. All these lost at least 1.2 per cent of their 16- to 74-year-olds through the movement of people aged 16 and over and in full-time education.

In London (see inset on Map 6.15) there is a striking contrast between the inner and outer boroughs. Most of the latter generated large numbers leaving for university elsewhere but contained no university places, Kingston and Hillingdon being the main exceptions. Inner London boroughs generated fewer university students and at the same time gained students moving out of university accommodation in central London at the end of their first year.

Ethnic origin

Maps 6.16 and 6.17 show the 2001 net migration balances for White and non-White people respectively. Both are presented in terms of percentages of all residents (White and non-White together), but the class intervals differ because of the much smaller migration balances for non-Whites in most districts. Because of this latter point, the picture for Whites shown in Map 6.16 is very similar to that for all people in Map 6.13. Probably the most notable difference is in London, where within-UK migration produced a net gain of Whites for Wandsworth and Southwark as well as an even stronger gain for Lambeth than for all persons.

For non-White migration exchanges with the rest of the UK (Map 6.17), however, the picture is substantially different from those in Maps 6.13 and 6.16. This is especially the case for London, within which migration has produced a clear decentralisation, with the majority of inner boroughs registering a net loss and the majority of outer ones a net gain.

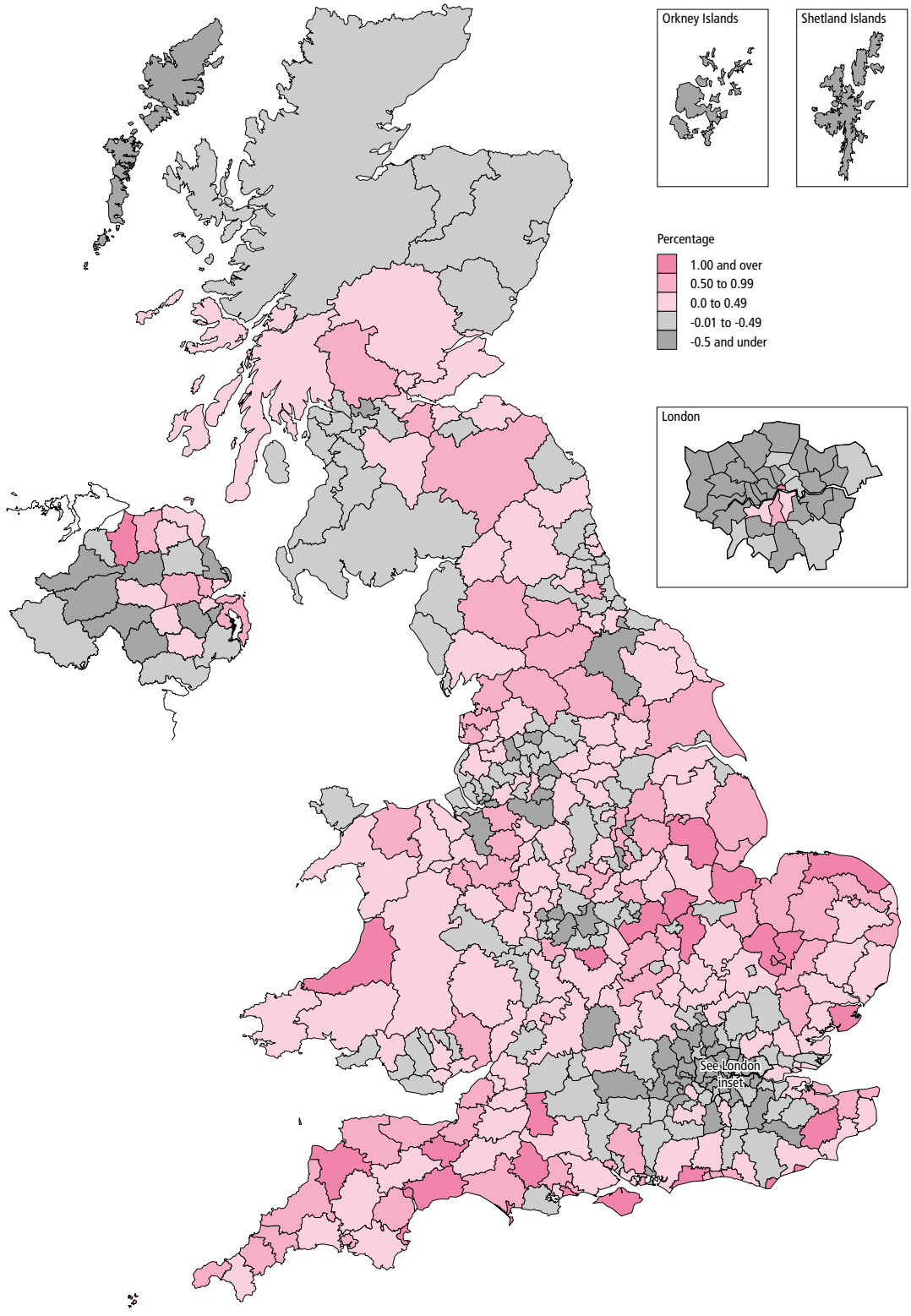
Indeed, of all UK districts, it was many in London that saw the largest absolute increases and decreases in non-White population due to within-UK migration. Hillingdon and Redbridge both gained at least 1,500 non-White residents in this way, while Brent, Lambeth and Ealing each lost over 1,700. In percentage terms, the national extremes are provided by the borough of Barking and Dagenham, with its net migration gain of non-Whites boosting its total population by 0.78 per cent, and by Haringey, which saw a 0.78 per cent net loss of total population because of its non-White migration. Clearly, London's non-White population – traditionally concentrated in its inner parts, with a few exceptions such as Brent – is following the well-trodden path of inner London residents in moving to the outer boroughs and adjacent suburbs as they prosper and their family requirements call for different housing.[11]

Beyond London's boundaries, evidence of similar decentralisation is found for a number of other cities. In particular, Birmingham, Cambridge, Glasgow and Newcastle recorded net migration losses of non-Whites, while adjacent districts saw net gains. In some other cases, including Reading, Bristol and Leicester, there were gains of non-Whites, but these represented a smaller proportionate increase in total population than was the case for adjacent districts, signifying a degree of relative decentralisation.

Map 6.16

Net within-UK migration of White people as a percentage of all residents: by unitary authority or local authority, 2001[1]

United Kingdom



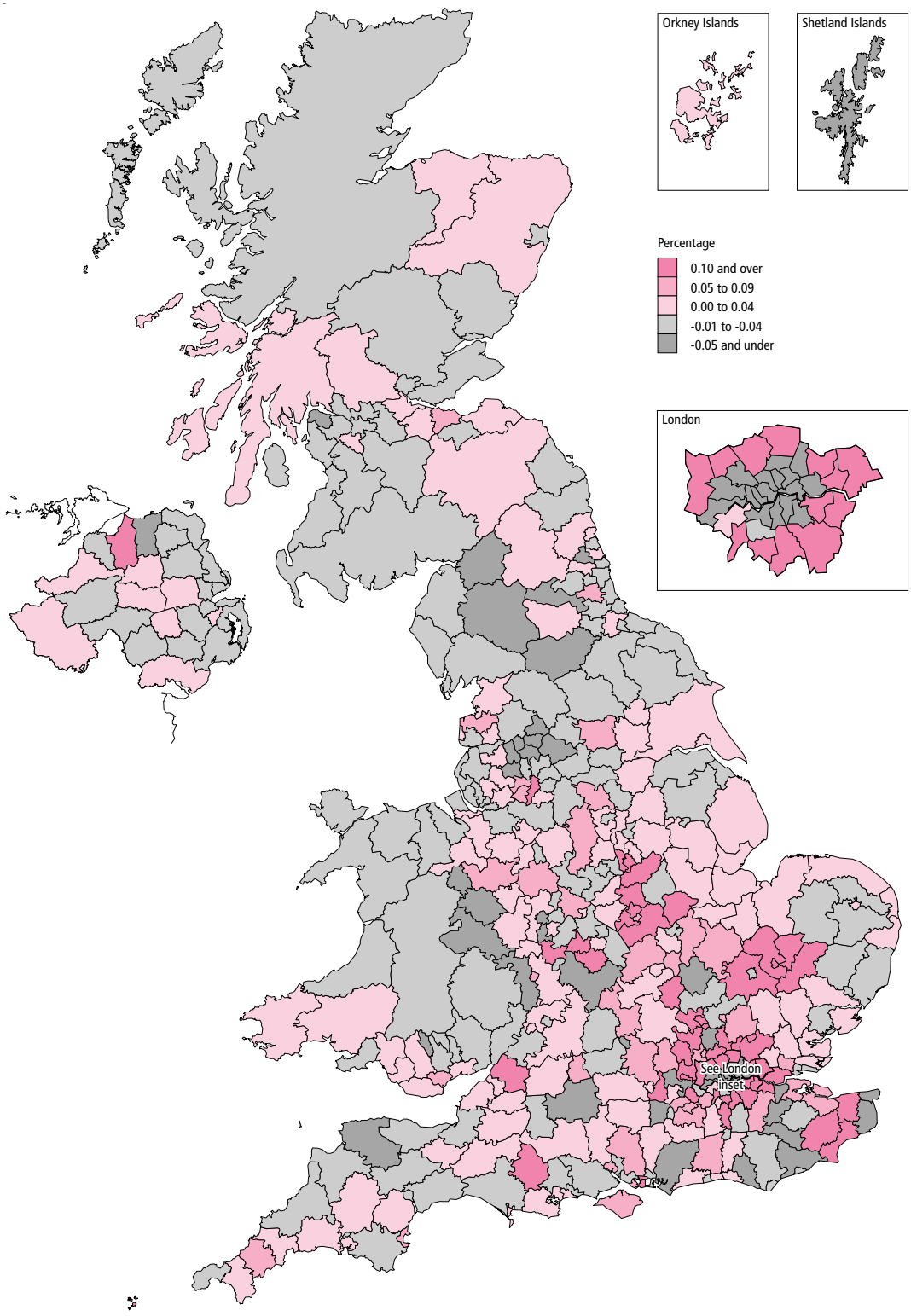
1 *Data refer to persons changing their address of usual residence between April 2000 and April 2001.*

Source: 2001 Census – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

Map 6.17

Net within-UK migration of non-White people as a percentage of all residents: by unitary authority or local authority, 2001[1]

United Kingdom



1 *Data refer to persons changing their address of usual residence between April 2000 and April 2001.*

Source: 2001 Census – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

Across the UK as a whole, 244 of the 434 districts registered an increase in non-White population due to within-UK migration. The overall picture of net gains and losses thus presents a considerably more complex picture than the image of 'White flight' from certain areas that is frequently conveyed by the media. On the one hand, it is clear that many of these 244 districts also had net inflows of White people (compare Map 6.17 with Map 6.16). On the other, as just shown, a fair number of districts – but especially London boroughs – that lost White population through their migration exchanges with the rest of the UK during this one-year period were also losing non-Whites through this process. This, however, does not necessarily mean that these latter districts were seeing an overall decline in their non-White populations, as in-migration from overseas and natural increase (the surplus of births over deaths) may have more than offset the effect of their within-UK migration losses.

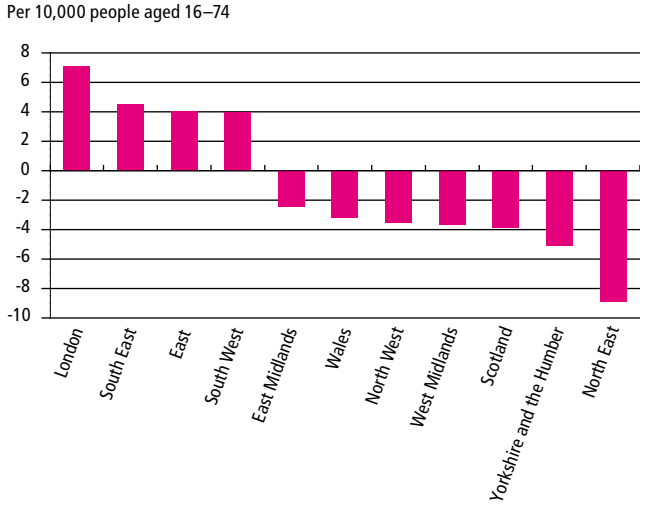
Higher managerial and professional occupations

The attraction and retention of more skilled elements of the workforce is seen as vital to regional growth and urban regeneration.[12] Figure 6.18 reveals a very unbalanced regional situation, with only the four most southerly regions of Great Britain making net gains through within-UK migration of people who were classified in higher managerial and professional occupations in the 2001 Census. The length of the columns is in proportion to the impact of this net migration on the total population aged 16 to 74. It can be seen that London performed most strongly on this indicator, with the other three most southern regions also recording considerable net gains. These four regions are markedly different from the rest of Great Britain. At the other extreme, the North East stands out with an especially high net loss of this group relative to its population size, followed by Yorkshire and the Humber.

Map 6.19 focuses on the inflow element of the migration of this group at district level across Great Britain and expresses it as a proportion of the total inflow of people classified by occupation. The strong attraction for this group of an arc extending from central and west London out through south central England and round to Cambridge is clearly apparent from the map. In addition, this group features strongly in the inflows to a number of other cities and/or their more salubrious suburbs across the rest of the country. The highest proportions of higher managerial and professional in-migrants were for the City of London, Cambridge, Westminster, Camden and Tower Hamlets, all with at least 33 per cent of classified in-migrants being in this group. At the other extreme, besides the special case of the Isles of Scilly, it is Easington (Co Durham), East Lindsey (Lincolnshire), Blackpool (Lancashire) and West Somerset that recorded the smallest proportion of in-migrants in higher managerial and professional occupations.

Figure 6.18

Net within-UK migration of people in higher managerial and professional occupations: by Government Office Region and country of Great Britain, 2001[1]



1 Data refer to moves during the 12 months prior to the 2001 Census.

Source: Data from 2001 Census Special Tabulation – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland

Conclusion

Both census and NHS-derived data have shown that the year leading up to the 2001 Census was characterised by relatively high levels of residential mobility in comparison with that at the time of the two previous censuses.

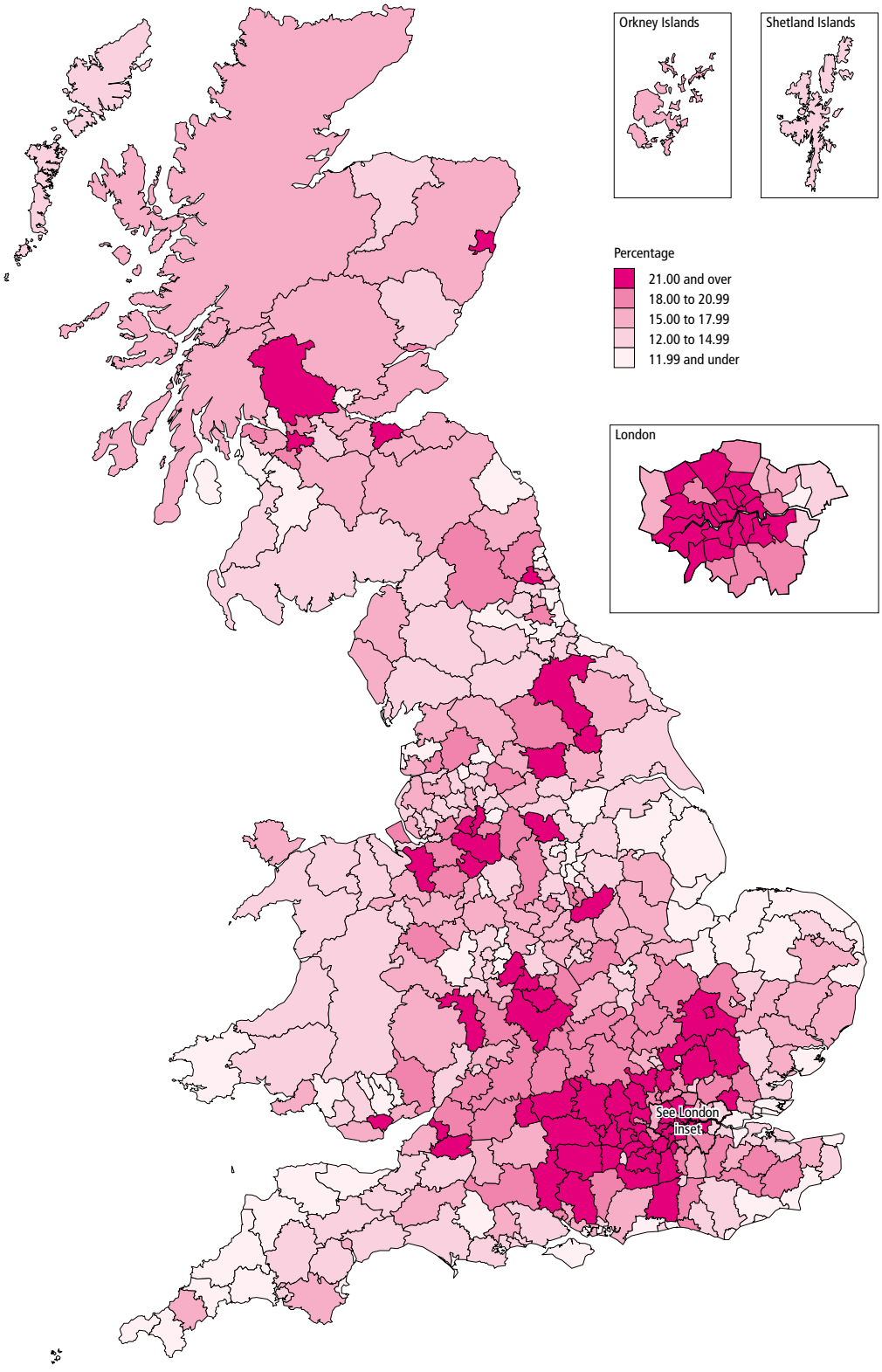
Among the main findings from this mainly census-based review is that some types of people change address much more often than others. This is especially so for young adults, including people moving to, at and from university (treated as migrants by the 2001 Census unlike previously). Second, some areas have a much higher population turnover than others. Third, changing address is very largely a short-distance process. Only students moving to and from higher education institutions and members of the armed forces are strongly associated with long-distance moves. Other groups moving above-average distances include people who at the census (that is, after their move) were married couples with no children at home, outright owner-occupiers, the retired, the unemployed and higher professionals. These are all patterns that have been observed in previous work, allowing confidence in the quality of the 2001 Census migration data, as well as suggesting that there have been no major changes in individual people's migration behaviour in recent years.

The net impact of this within-UK migration on the distribution of the population between areas has varied rather more over time. In particular, the 'North-South drift' has not only

Map 6.19

Higher managerial and professional in-migrants as a percentage of all in-migrants aged 16 to 74 from the rest of the UK: by unitary authority or local authority, 2001[1]

Great Britain



1 Data refer to persons changing their address of usual residence between April 2000 and April 2001.

Source: 2001 Census – Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland

fluctuated considerably in volume in response to economic cycles and other factors, but has also been running at a considerably lower average rate since the end of the 1980s. Indeed, the unusually large scale of net migration from South to North recorded in the first three years of the new century is unprecedented as far as can be judged from available records.

On the other hand, the pace of the urban-rural shift of population resulting from within-UK migration – while fluctuating somewhat over time – appears to be continuing at roughly the same overall rate. Though there are signs that the net migration losses of the large northern conurbations are diminishing, London's net loss has increased in recent years, resulting in substantial population gains for most other types of place. While traditional resort and retirement areas are the most affected, shire-county cities, smaller towns and more rural areas also gained population from the metropolitan losses in the year leading up to the 2001 Census. Moreover, this exodus from the cities included members of ethnic minority groups as well as White people.

The widespread nature of this dispersal process is underlined in the 2001 Census results by the great extent of the more heavily populated areas that were losing more people to the rest of the UK than they were gaining from them. Not just the main conurbations but also extensive areas around them are shaded grey in Map 6.13, signifying net loss of migrants. This is most marked for the large zone of net loss centred on London but stretches out a great distance, especially to the south and west. Only part of this can be attributed to the stage reached in the national economic cycle in 2001, when the house-price gradient between South and North was at its steepest. It would also seem that the growth of population pressures in south-eastern England arising from higher levels of both natural increase and net in-migration from overseas has led to a more permanent reduction in North-to-South migration.

Notes and references

1. For annual updates of internal migration for England and Wales, see *Population Trends.* For example: ONS (2005) Report: Internal migration estimates for local and unitary authorities in England and Wales, health authorities in England and former health authorities in Wales, year to mid-2004. *Population Trends* **121**, 90–103. Migration in Scotland is described in *Scotland's Population 2004: The Registrar General's Annual Review of Demographic Trends* (2005) and *Scotland's Census 2001 – Statistics on Migration*, Occasional Paper 15 (2005), both General Register Office for Scotland. A study of earlier patterns and trends in migration can be found in Tony Champion (1996) Population review; Migration to, from and within the United Kingdom. *Population Trends* **83**, 5–16.

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11. See also Simpson L (2004) Statistics of racial segregation: measures, evidence and policy. *Urban Studies* **41**, 661–681. Champion T (1996) Internal migration and ethnicity, in Ratcliffe P (ed), *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census Volume 3*, HMSO: London.

12. For more detail on the social composition of migration, see Champion T and Fisher T (2003) The social selectivity of migration flows affecting Britain's larger conurbations: an analysis of the 1991 Census Regional Migration Tables. *Scottish Geographical Journal* **119**, 229–246. Champion T and Fisher T (2004) Migration, residential preferences and the changing environment of cities, in Boddy M and Parkinson M (eds), *City Matters*, Policy Press: Bristol.