

**POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION IN THE
UNITED KINGDOM: Internal Migration
Trends in the 70s and 80s**

John Stillwell

WORKING PAPER 91/4

SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY • UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Working Paper 91/4

**POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM:
Internal Migration Trends in the 70s and 80s**

John Stillwell
School of Geography
University of Leeds
Leeds LS2 9JT

Paper presented at an Open Meeting on 'Migration in Britain: Research Progress and Prospects', arranged by the IBG Working Party on Migration and held at the London School of Economics on 27 September, 1991.

Abstract and Acknowledgements

In 1988, a Limited Life Working Party on 'Internal Migration' was established under the aegis of the Institute of British Geographers who recognized that the patterns and processes of migration within the UK, particularly flows between regions and labour market areas, were constituting an issue of major policy concern. The Economic and Social Research Council and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation both agreed to act as co-sponsors of the Working Party.

The activities of the Working Party took two principal directions. The first involved a major review of progress made by recent migration research and an identification of the main challenges and opportunities which the academic community and its funding sponsors should be addressing over the next few years. The second utilised evidence from a variety of different information sources to provide an account of the dynamics of migration during the 1980s and, where more recent data was unavailable, of changes in migration occurring during the previous decade.

The results of the Working Party's activities are to be published by Belhaven Press in January 1992 as twin volumes under the title of Migration Process and Patterns Volume I: Research Progress and Prospects and Volume II: Population Redistribution in the United Kingdom.

This paper contains a selection of the findings of research conducted primarily by those members of the Working Party who contributed to the second initiative and whose efforts are gratefully acknowledged by the editors of both volumes. The paper illustrates how the level of internal migration in Britain has fluctuated over time, identifies how migration propensities vary by population sub-group, demonstrates the changing geographical patterns of sub-national movement and presents a synopsis of regional perspectives. Details from the paper should not be quoted without permission.

Population Redistribution in the United Kingdom: Internal Migration Trends in the 70s and 80s

1. Introduction

Data from General Household Surveys undertaken during the 1980s have shown that in any one year period, between 7 and 11 per cent of Britain's population migrate, whilst over the period of a decade, more than half the population change their place of usual residence.

The volume, composition and spatial pattern of the migration flows occurring within the United Kingdom during the 1980s have not remained constant. Changing economic and social conditions within and between regions stimulate and reflect concomitant changes in migration behaviour.

Under these circumstances and given the importance of the migration component of population change at subnational level, it is essential to monitor and interpret trends in migration levels, patterns and processes on a continuous basis.

The findings reported in this paper are divided into sections which focus in turn on fluctuations in the overall level of migration, the differential migration propensities of sub-group populations, the changing spatial patterns of net and gross movements, the role of the South and the migration characteristics of other regions. The following section introduces the range of data that has been utilised and the final section contains some concluding comments.

2. Information sources

Eclectic use has been made of all available information on migration since no source provides an ideal picture of the developments which have occurred.

Much of the analysis conducted by the LLWP and reported in Volume II is based on interpretation of the patterns of change revealed by an annual time series of migration data from mid-1975 to mid-1989 provided by OPCS from the National Health Service Central Register (NHSCR) and distributed to each of the contributors via the University of Leeds.

However, use is also made of population estimates and vital statistics, the Special Migration Statistics (Set II) from the 1981 Census, the Longitudinal Study linking a sample of records from the 1971 and 1981 Censuses, survey data sets including the Labour Force Surveys and unpublished data from the Nationwide Anglia Building Society.

The NHSCR contains details of all patient re-registrations which involve the transfer of records from one Family Practitioner Committee area (called Family Health Service Authority since 1990) to another. The FPC areas conform for the most part with shire counties, metropolitan districts and groups of London boroughs in England and Wales. Scotland and Northern Ireland are included in the data set as single units.

The NHSCR data are counts of 'movements' taking place which differ conceptually from Census 'transitions', are obtained from a different at risk population, involve different operational measurement problems and have different spatial and temporal coverage. However, the degree of association between aggregate gross and net migration rates obtained from the two sources at various spatial scales suggests that the patterns revealed by the two sources are very similar.

Whilst there are a number of well-documented shortcomings associated with the NHSCR data which limit its utility, there is no doubt that the register does provide an immensely valuable source of data with which to monitor the dynamics of population redistribution in the United Kingdom, particularly in inter-censal years.

3. The changing level of migration

The propensity to migrate within Britain has fluctuated appreciably over the last 30 years. Census data indicates that the level of internal migration activity in the country fell by 21 per cent during the 1970s having increased by 9 per cent during the 1960s. Just over 5 million people changed their address in the year prior to the 1981 Census compared with 6.25 million in 1970-71.

The NHSCR data shows a decline from 1.91 million moves between FPC areas in 1975-76 to a low of 1.59 million in 1981-82 and then a rise to a peak of 2.05 million in 1987-88. Figure 1 illustrates annual totals of movements between the UK standard regions over the whole period. The most recently available figures for mid-1989 to mid-1990 show a significant decline in inter-regional movement at the end of the decade.

Figure 2 presents the NHSCR time series moves between both FPC areas and regions expressed as rates per thousand population whereas Figure 3 endeavours to link NHSCR and Census figures by using 1980-81 as the base year of an index against which other values in the time series can be compared.

Part of the explanation for the fluctuating migration propensity is likely to be found in the effects of changes in the economy on employment, incomes and housing. During 1979-83, the British economy experienced its severest post-war recession with widespread unemployment and redundancy. Migration levels were at their lowest ebb in 1981-82. Thereafter, as the increase in unemployment declined to 1985-86 and was followed by increasing reductions in unemployment to 1988, the migration level increased by 28.5 per cent. The first signs of the beginning of the current recession and the slowing down of the housing market consequent upon high mortgage interest rates are seen in the fallback in the migration propensity in 1988-89.

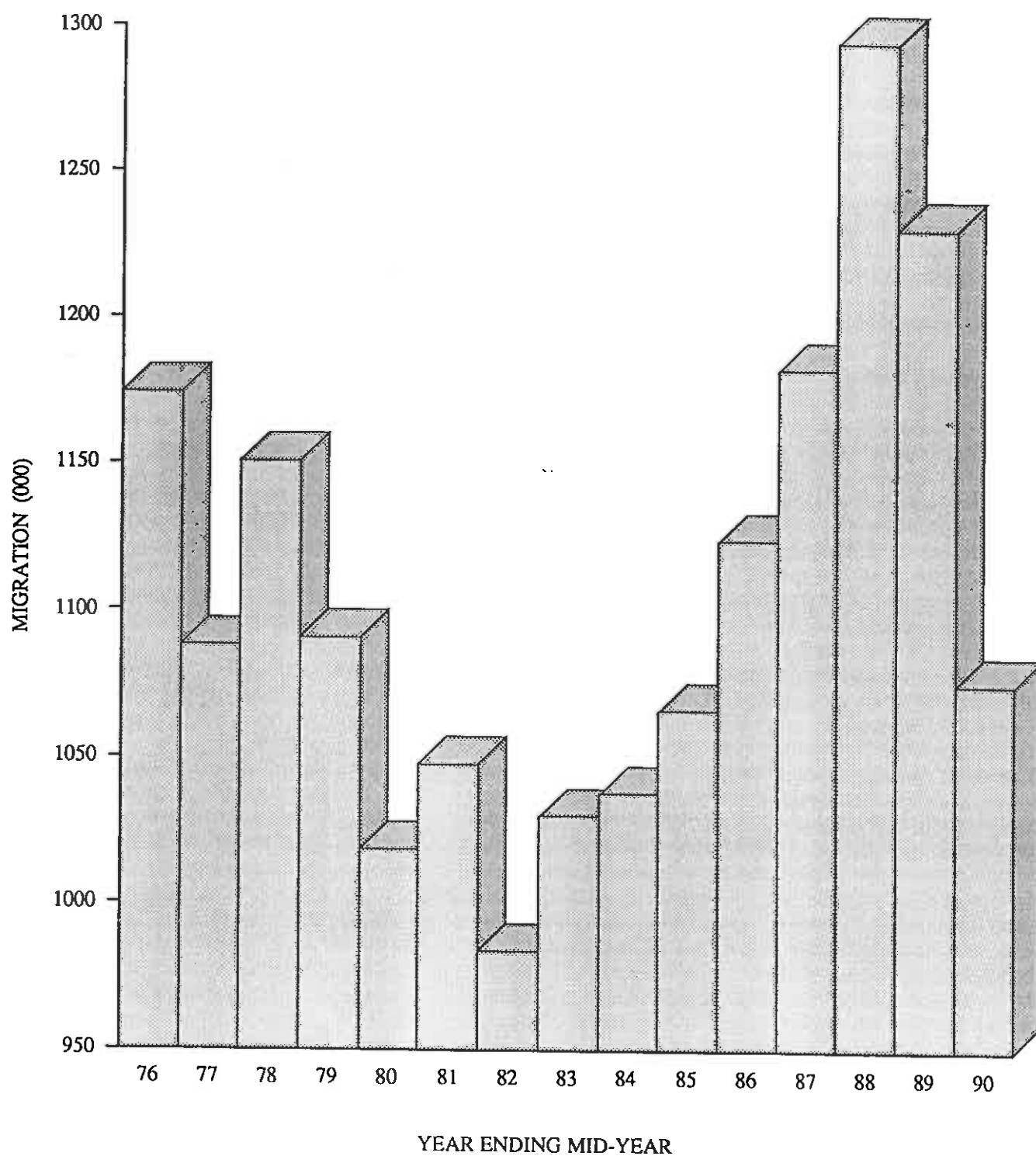


Figure 1: Yearly inter-regional movement totals, 1975-90

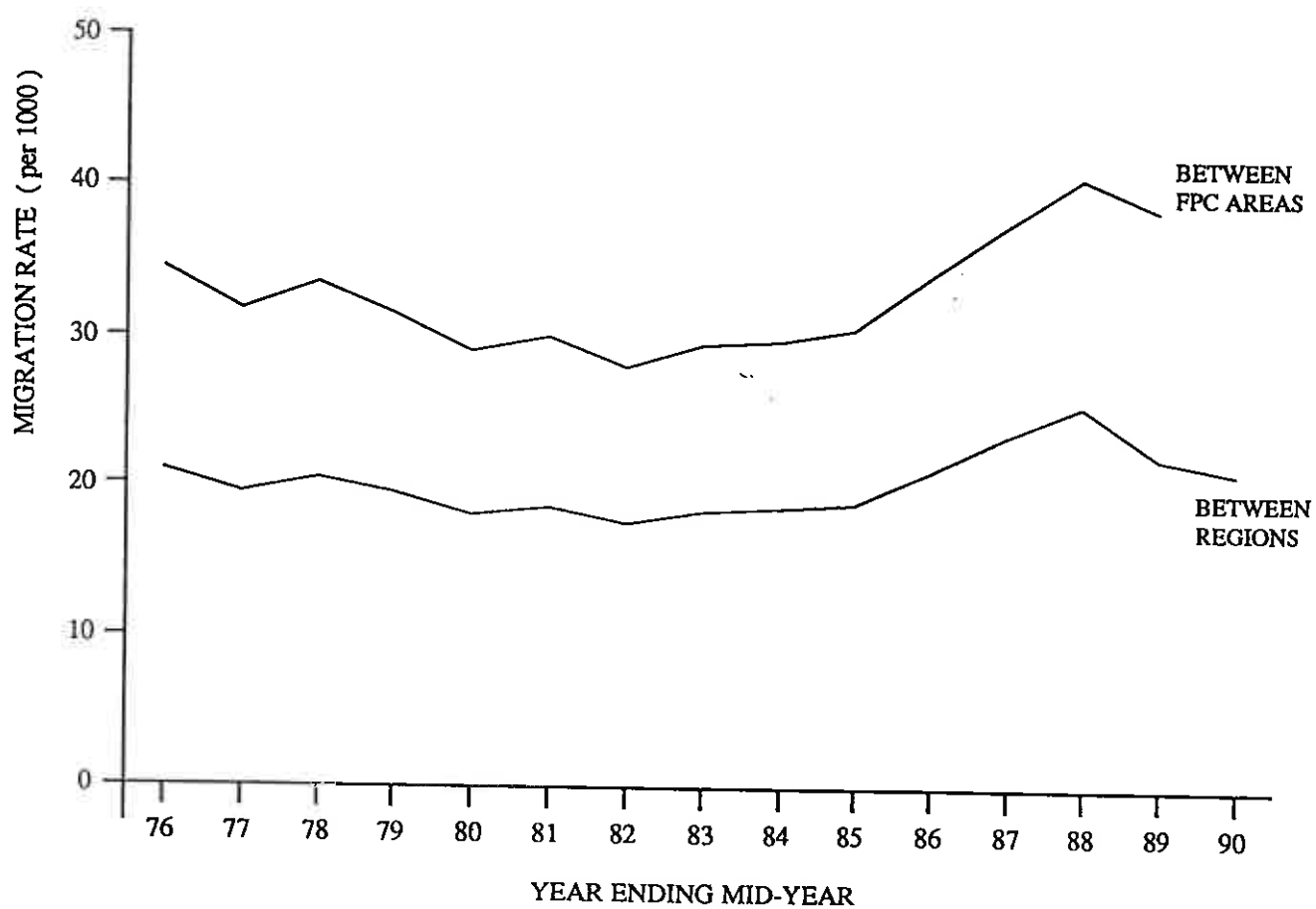
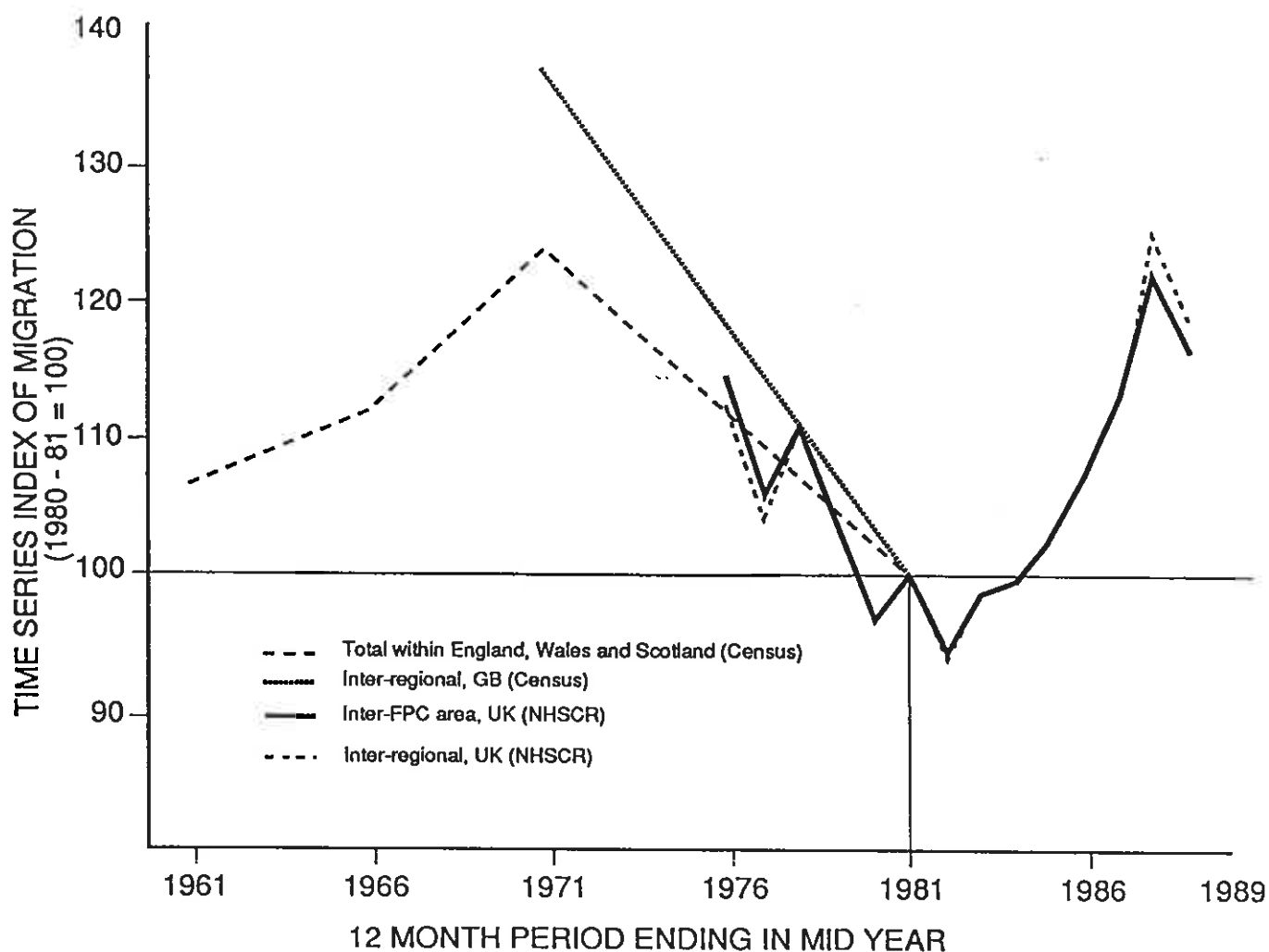


Figure 2: Migration rate time series, 1975-90



Sources: (i) Census data from Stillwell and Boden
 (1986, Tables 1 and 2)
 (ii) NHSCR data from Table 3.1
 (iii) Adapted from Rees (1989b)

Figure 3: The changing level of migration, 1960-1989 (Source: Stillwell et al., Volume 2, Chapter 3)

4. Variations in the propensity to migrate

Migration propensities and patterns vary considerably according to a number of variables including age, gender and marital status, position in family life cycle, motivation and distance moved, occupation and education, social class, labour market position, housing market status and ethnicity. In this section, a selection of the compositional characteristics of Britain's internal migration are reviewed and some of the features of change are identified.

4.1 Age and position in life cycle

Migration exhibits age variation reflecting the stages in the life cycle through which individuals pass and at which migration becomes a more or less likely event. The child dependent component of the schedule based on moves between FPC areas ends at age 16 and is followed by a steeply rising migration rate which reflects movement into new households by late adolescents and young adults in the process of entering the labour force or moving to institutions of higher education. In 1980-81, half the moves recorded in the NHSCR were of individuals aged 20-24. A retirement component is apparent in the migration rates occurring at this spatial scale.

These characteristics are apparent from Figures 4 and 5 which illustrate observed quinary age group schedules of migration flows and rates respectively and which also map out temporal fluctuations in age-specific migration using time series indices. In absolute terms, it appears that the numbers of children and teenagers migrating in Britain declined significantly in the late 1970s and early 1980s relative to 1975-76 and that levels of movement of these age groups have not yet returned to those evident in 1975-76. However, when the flows are standardised for population cohort size, the peak propensity to migrate in 1987-88 exceeds the 1975-76 level by more than 10 per cent for those aged 5-14.

Figure 4 also shows for example that, at the other end of the age range, the volume of elderly migration (aged 75+) increased by over 50 per cent between 1982-83 and 1987-88. Although the corresponding index of rates of movement is not out of line with those of other elderly groups, there are important implications for housing and service provision for larger numbers of migrants in this particular sub-group.

The level of disaggregation by age is inevitably an important consideration in the interpretation of age group propensities. Figure 6 demonstrates how the choice of quinary age groups conceals interesting variations in the migration rates of young adults which are in part attributable to the nature of the NHSCR data.

The factors generating the age-specific mobility profiles are of course closely related to the family life cycle, the type of household and the stages of economic activity through which an individual passes. Table 1 contains unpublished data from a Nationwide Anglia Building Society survey of house purchasers in

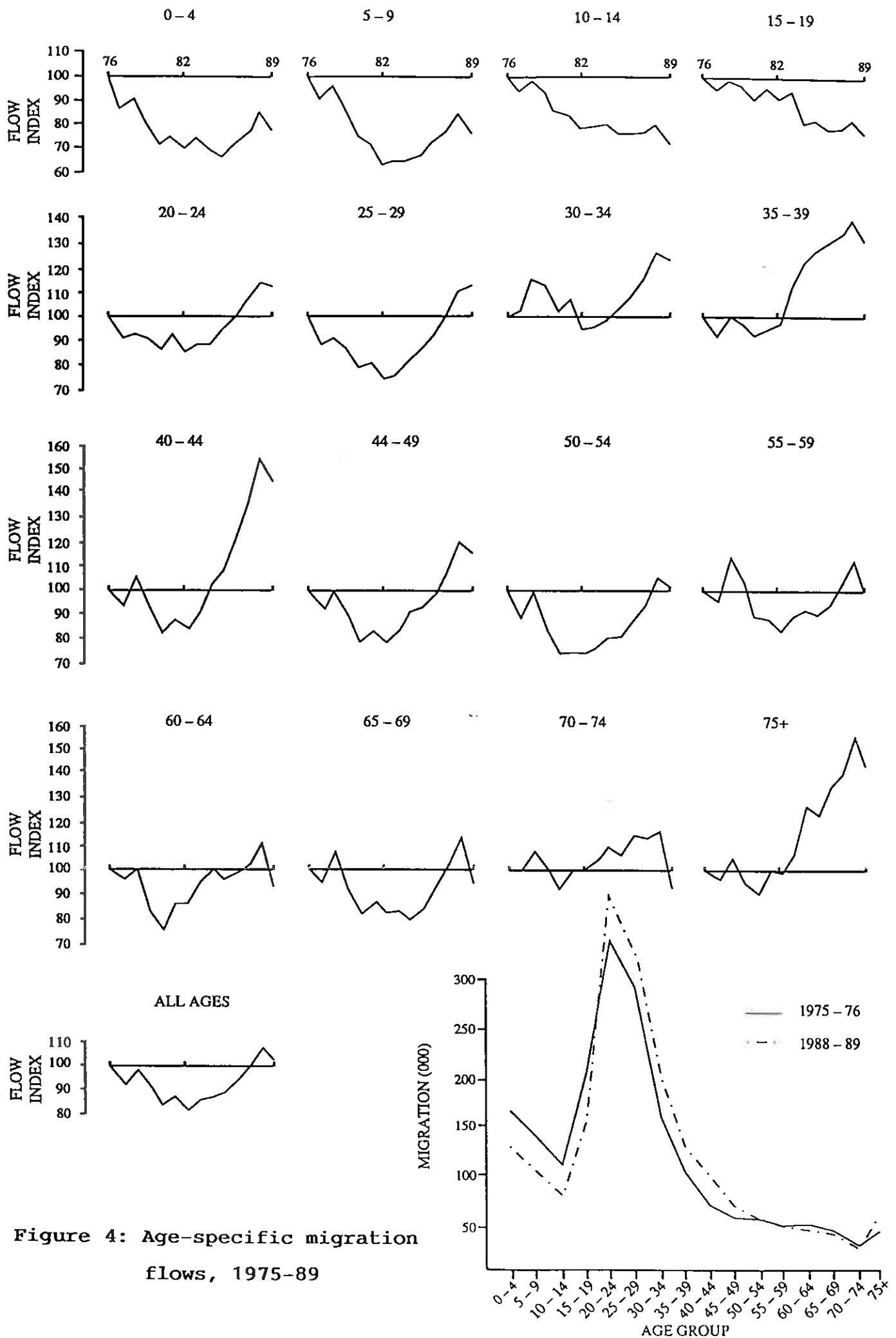


Figure 4: Age-specific migration flows, 1975-89

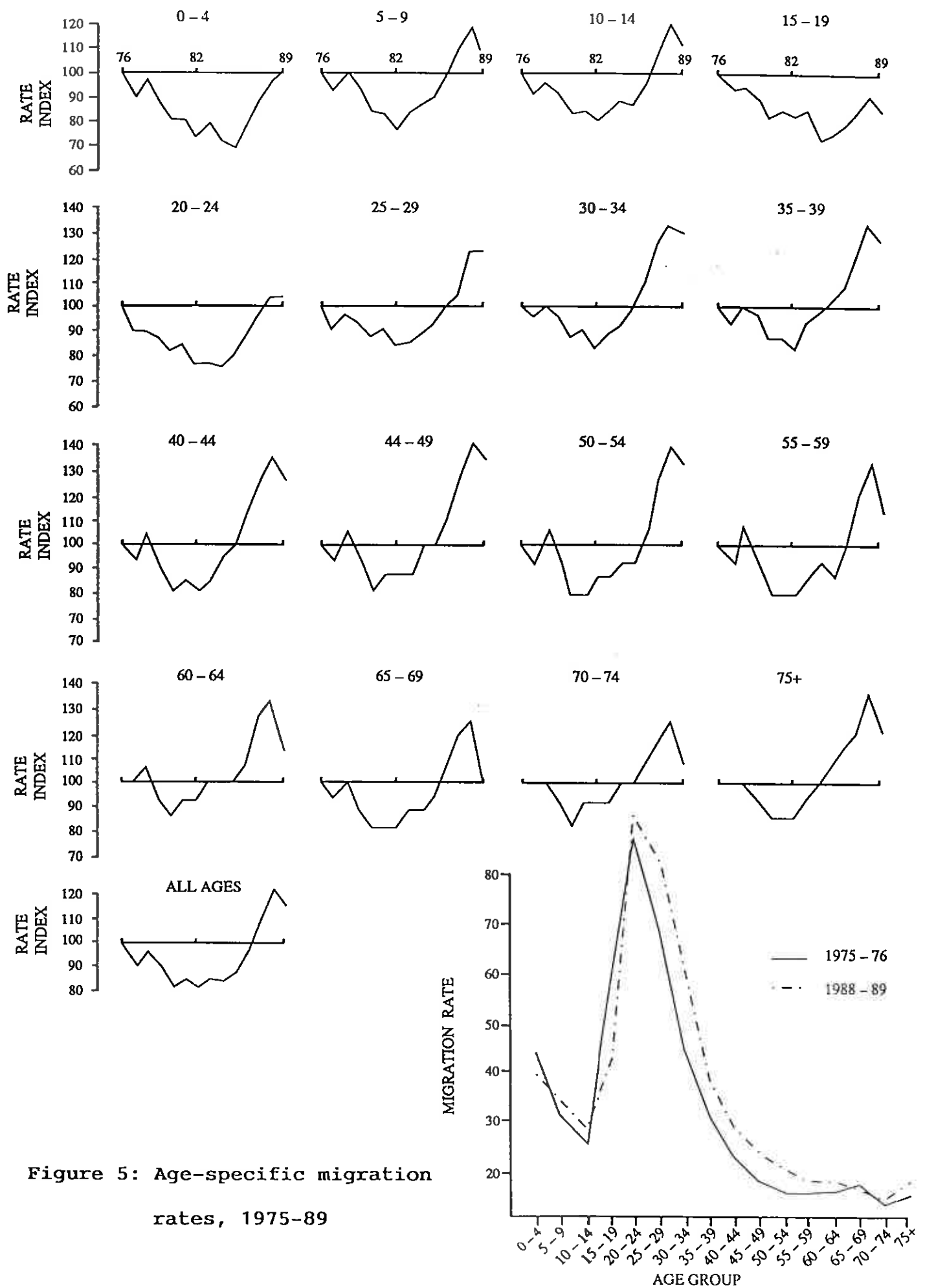
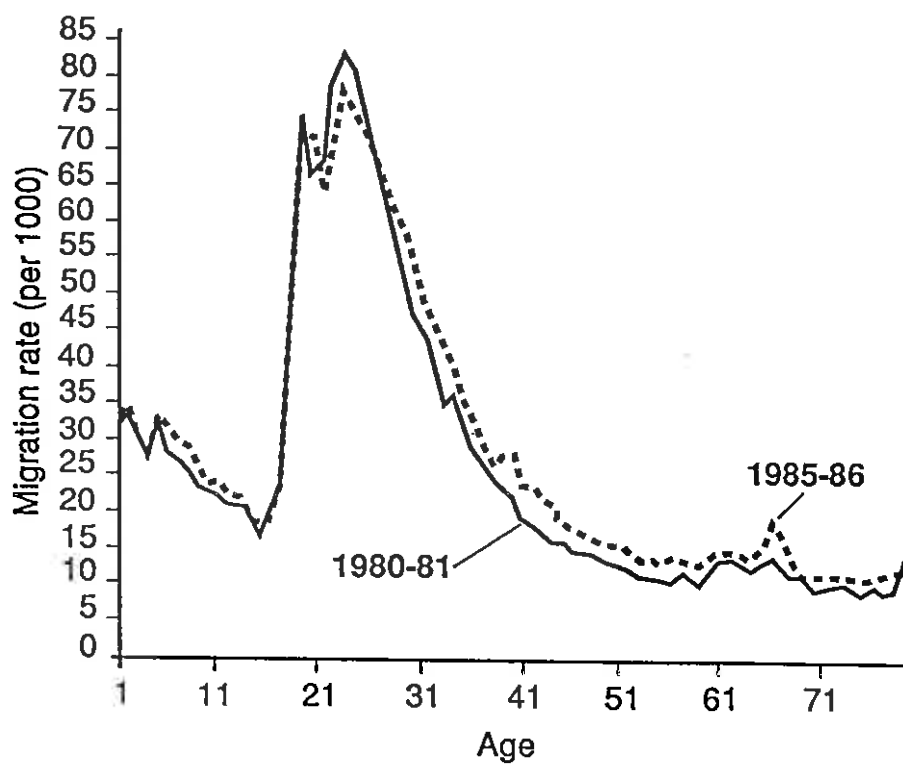


Figure 5: Age-specific migration rates, 1975-89



Source: PUD (OPCS)

Figure 6: National migration rate schedules, 1980-81 and 1985-86
(Source: Stillwell et al., Volume 2, Chapter 3)

1981, showing how migration rates (in percentage terms) vary by stage in life cycle whereas Table 2 presents mobility rates by type of household from the 1987 LFS.

4.2 Employment and occupation

Most migration occurs over short distances. The 1981 Census indicates that 69 per cent of migration takes place over a distance of less than 10 km whereas only 13 per cent involves moving more than 80 km. The distance profile of moves varies according to reason for moving with employment-related moves tending to be over longer distances than moves for other reasons.

The Nationwide Anglia Building Society survey in 1981 suggested that 15 per cent of all migrations were for work-related reasons, accounting for 80 per cent of moves over 100 miles.

LFS data reveal that job-related flows rose from 552,000 in 1980-81 to 816,000 in 1986-87 as economic circumstances improved. The LFS indicates that after those in work, the next largest groups contributing to job-related migrants are students and the unemployed (Table 3).

The 1987 LFS provides information on persons moving during 1986-87 as a percentage of those changing from one labour market status to another (Table 4). Movements into education from another class, for example, display a relatively high likelihood of being associated with an inter-regional move, notably from employment, whereas the unemployed are more likely to move inter-regionally to take up education opportunities rather than jobs.

Job-related migration varies by occupation. Managers, administrators and professionals have the highest rates whilst unskilled manual workers have the lowest rates. Increases in migration rates since 1980-81 are most marked for those groups displaying the highest propensities (Table 5). Moreover, the proportion of all job-related moves accounted for by managers and administrators, professionals and associate professional and technical workers (top 3 SOC groups) rose from 38 per cent in 1980-81 to 53 per cent in 1986-87 (Table 6). Rates of mobility have been increased by growth in the number of employment opportunities since 1984.

4.3 Social class and housing tenure

Changes in social class composition and housing tenure as well as household structures and consumption patterns are likely to have influenced the levels and patterns of internal migration in Britain during the 1980s, but here again the NHSCR data tells us nothing about the motivations or the social circumstances of migrants either before or after their move.

Existing evidence from the OPCS Longitudinal Study does provide some fascinating insights into social changes taking place in the 1970s. The country's social class structure has been altered with the decline in the manual 'blue collar' working class, the rapid growth of the 'service class' of professional, technical and managerial employees, and by a reversal of the decline of the

Table 1: Stage in life cycle of house purchasers, 1981

Stage in family life cycle	All house purchasers (%)	Purchasers changing job/work location (%)
Single without child(ren)	23.8	17.6
Single with child(ren)	2.5	1.2
Married without child(ren)	36.9	29.1
Married - youngest child 0-5	20.8	32.7
Married - youngest child 6-10	8.7	10.9
Married - youngest child 11-15	5.3	6.2
Married - youngest child 16+	2.0	2.3

Source: Nationwide Anglia Building Society unpublished data
(Owen and Green, Volume 1, Chapter 2)

Table 2: Mobility rates by broad household type

Type of household	% moving	% moving between regions
One adult aged 16-59	23.1	5.7
Two adults aged 16-59	20.8	4.9
Small family	16.3	6.5
Large family	13.3	5.2
Large adult household	7.4	2.1
Two adults, one or both 60+	3.8	1.1
One adult aged 60+	3.8	0.5
All	10.6	2.6

Source: 1987 LFS (Owen and Green, Volume 1, Chapter 2)

Table 3: Economic circumstances one year ago of job-related movers, 1986-87

Economic circumstances 1986	Job-related movers (%)	Job-related mobility (%)
Working	69.5	2.5
Laid off/short time	0.2	6.2
Unemployed	11.4	3.7
On government scheme	0.8	3.6
Student	11.8	4.4
Retired	0.2	0.3
Looking after family	3.4	0.7
Sick/disabled	0.6	0.5
None of these	2.3	1.2

Source: 1987 LFS (Owen, Volume 2, Chapter 12)

Table 4: Inter-regional migrants as percentage of those changing economic status, 1986-87

Economic status in 1986	Economic status in 1987				
	Emp	Unemp	Educ	Inact	Ret
Employment	2.3	7.9	21.9	6.2	4.0
Unemployment/Scheme	3.9	2.3	9.6	2.5	1.3
Education	8.9	3.9	5.7	16.4	34.6
Inactivity	5.7	4.9	16.5	2.3	0.7
Retirement	3.4	-	-	0.8	1.2

Source: 1987 LFS (Owen and Green, Volume 1, Chapter 2)

Table 5: Job-related mobility rates by SPC major group, 1980-87

SOC major group	1980-81 (%)	1983-84 (%)	1986-87 (%)
Managers & administrators	2.6	5.0	4.8
Professionals	1.9	4.6	4.9
Assoc. professional & technical	1.9	3.5	4.4
Clerical & secretarial	1.5	1.3	1.4
Craft & skilled manual	0.9	1.2	1.5
Personal & protective service	2.1	4.4	5.0
Sales occupations	1.7	1.8	1.3
Plant and machine operators	1.0	1.2	1.2
Other occupations	1.3	1.6	1.8

Source: 1981, 1984 & 1987 LFS (Owen, Volume 2, Chapter 12)

Table 6: Proportion of job-related moves accounted for by each SOC major group, 1980-87

SOC major group	1980-81 (%)	1983-84 (%)	1986-87 (%)
Managers & administrators	18.8	11.9	22.1
Professionals	9.0	8.4	15.9
Assoc. professional & technical	9.7	8.8	15.3
Clerical & secretarial	17.6	16.9	9.2
Craft & skilled manual	10.4	16.9	9.4
Personal & protective service	8.6	6.9	13.3
Sales occupations	7.7	7.6	3.7
Plant & machine operators	8.2	11.2	4.5
Other occupations	9.9	11.4	6.6

Source: 1981, 1984 & 1987 LFS (Owen, Volume 2, Chapter 12)

smaller 'petite bourgeoisie'. This is important because inter-regional migration rates vary with occupational class. Since the 'service class' has an inter-regional migration rate of more than twice the national average, one might have expected aggregate migration rates during the 1970s to have risen due to class changes. Clearly other factors were more important since the NHSCR data indicate falling propensities.

A very notable feature of the migration rates of those changing social class between 1971 and 1981 was the high migration rates (standardised by social class) of those entering the 'service' class (Table 7) and the intimate linkages between social promotion and geographic mobility which are implied.

The rate of net migration to the South East for those making the transition from education in 1971 to professional occupations in 1981 is very high at 64 per thousand (16.7 per thousand for managers). Alternatively, a rate of net loss of -15 per thousand is identified for those persons classified as professionals (-10.5 per thousand for managers) in 1971 and 1981. This strengthens the concept of the South East as a 'social escalator' region which attracts young, ambitious people from middle class backgrounds, enables them to benefit from accelerated social promotion through the region's labour and housing markets and then allows them to 'cash in' these benefits by 'stepping off' the escalator through migration from the South East later in their careers or on retirement. However, not all inter-regional migrants achieve social promotion - some clearly move downwards to unemployment.

Previous research has identified differentials in migration propensity by housing tenure, with council tenants exhibiting least mobility whilst the private rented sector is the most geographically mobile. The association between changes in tenure and inter-regional mobility can be identified from the LS (Table 8). However, LFS data for 1986-87 shows tenants in public sector housing to have similar rates of mobility to owner occupiers (Table 9).

4.4 Ethnicity

The main Asian and Afro-Caribbean ethnic groups in Britain exhibit migration propensities are different not only from those of the UK population, but also from one another.

The LS shows us that, at the regional scale over 1971-81, the West Indian population was very immobile, whilst Indians and Pakistanis recorded net rates well in excess of those in the sample with UK origins. Low pay, lack of skills, inadequate access to information about vacancies, uncertainty about job security, reluctance to break social ties, reliance upon council housing are all factors responsible for stifling long distance migration by West Indians.

The broader geographical spread of Indians and Pakistanis across the country, their efficient information networks, their entrepreneurial instinctiveness and their propensity for owner occupation are among the reasons why Asians record very different

Table 10: Mobility rates by ethnic group, 1986-87

Ethnic group	% moving	% moving between regions
White	10.5	2.5
West Indian/Guyanese	11.4	1.2
Indian	9.6	2.7
Pakistani	14.4	2.6
Bangladeshi	22.5	4.9
Chinese	20.4	7.9
African	15.5	3.9
Arab	33.5	18.7

Source: 1987 LFS (Owen and Green, Volume 1, Chapter2)

Table 7: The association between inter-regional migration and changes in social class, 1971-81

Social class in 1971	Social class in 1981				
	SC	PB	WC	BC	UN
Service class	103	117	89	73	115
Petite bourgeoisie	185	69	161	100	190
White collar	165	163	77	77	157
Blue collar	209	168	136	75	133
Unemployment	215	104	113	79	70

Notes: (i) Data refer to those in the labour market in England and Wales at both dates

(ii) Inter-regional migration rates (England & Wales = 100) standardised by social class in 1971

Source: OPCS LS (Fielding, Volume 2, Chapter 13)

Table 8: The association between inter-regional migration and changes in housing tenure, 1971-81

Housing tenure in 1971	Housing tenure in 1981		
	OO	CT	OT
Owner occupiers	94	121	232
Council tenants	192	37	337
Other tenants	141	67	63

Notes: See Table 7

Source: OPCS LS (Fielding, Volume 2, Chapter 13)

Table 9: Mobility rates by housing tenure, 1986-87

Housing tenure	% moving	% moving between regions
Owner occupiers	9.1	2.2
Renters	13.3	3.3
- public sector	9.2	1.1
- private sector	29.0	11.4

Source: 1987 LFS (Owen and Green, Volume 1, Chapter 2)

levels of migration.

However, LFS data for 1986-87 indicate that whilst West Indians have retained their position as least mobile group at the inter-regional scale, Indians appear to have the lowest propensity to migrate intra-regionally (Table 10).

5. The spatial structure of migration flows

Geographical analysis of migration patterns requires the adoption of different sets of spatial units with which to investigate particular processes. In this section, important features of the redistribution of the population through migration over time are presented using macro divisions of the national territory. Spatial patterns at the most detailed FPC area scale are then illustrated with selected examples.

5.1 Reversal of the traditional North-South balance

Total net loss from the North increased steadily between 1975 and 1987, widening the 'migration gap' to over 60,000 moves per year in 1984-87 (Figure 7). Since 1987, as the tempo of movement from the South rose sharply (Figure 8), the North's net loss was transformed into a net gain of 7,000 in 1988-89. By the end of the period, both the 'industrial heartland' and the 'periphery' had benefited from this reversal of fortunes.

5.2 Continuation of counterurbanisation trends

The 1980s has also seen the preservation of the distinctive pattern of net migration losses from each of the old metropolitan counties (containing the principal cities) and net gains in the areas outside those counties (containing smaller cities, towns and rural areas). The rising tempo of migration from metropolitan areas in the second half of the decade has exceeded the pace of movement in the opposite direction (Figure 8).

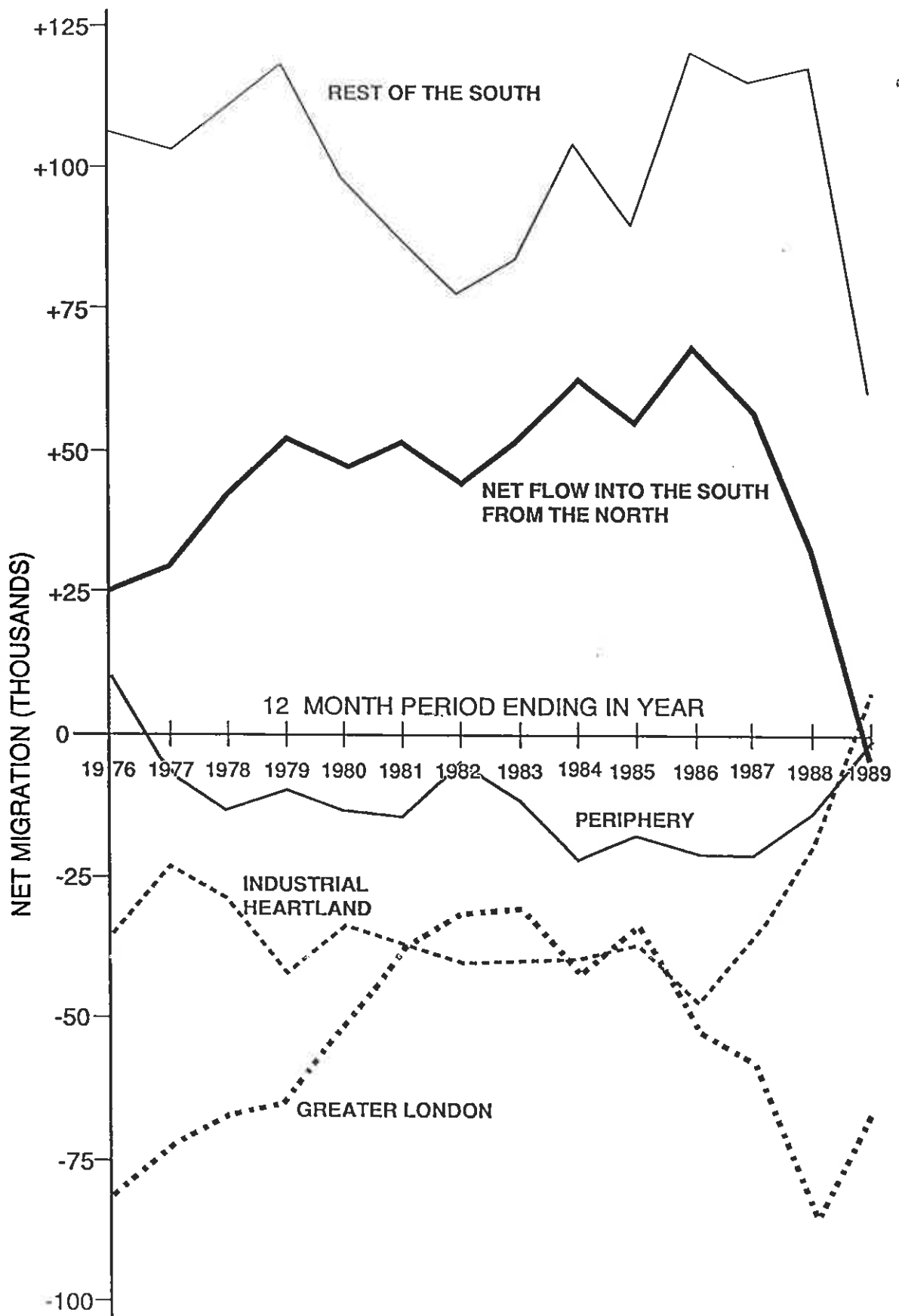
5.3 Shifting focus of net in-migration

The spatial pattern of metropolitan losses and nonmetropolitan gains is evident from the mid-decade map of net migration rates for FPC areas (Figure 9). By 1988-89, the focus of high net in-migration had shifted to Wales and the west of England, with fewer shire counties having gains above 20 per thousand and with several metropolitan districts in northern England registering gains.

Inevitably the patterns of age-specific net migration differ appreciably from those of the aggregate distribution. The series of three maps depicting the changing distribution of the 20-24 year age group (Figure 10) show that between 1980 and 1989, the patterns of net gains became more concentrated in the south of the country and in particular on London.

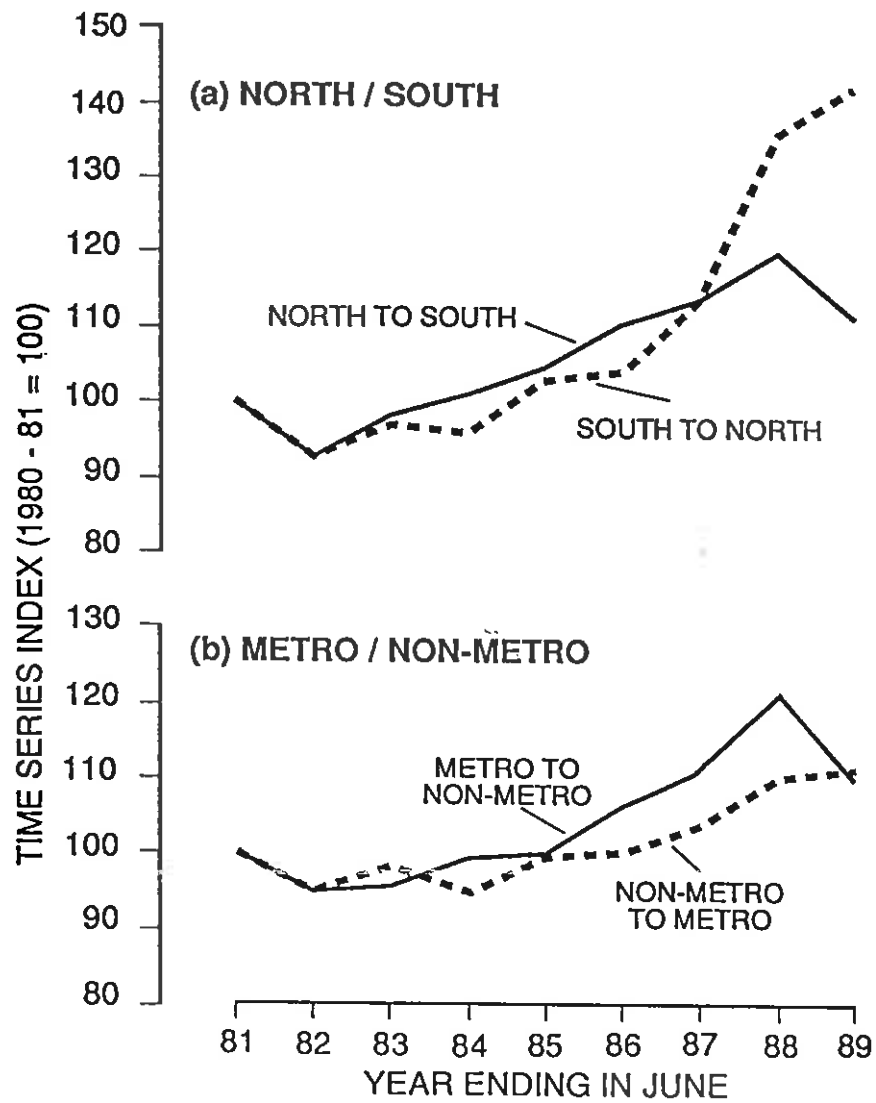
5.4 Net migration age profiles

The age profiles of net migration rates for FPC areas classified



Source: Computer summaries and PUD (OPCS)

Figure 7: Net migration for broad regional divisions, 1975-89
(Source: Stillwell et al., Volume 2, Chapter 3)



Source: Computer summaries and PUD (OPCS)

Figure 8: The tempo of gross migration change, 1981-89 (Source: Stillwell et al., Volume 2, Chapter 3)

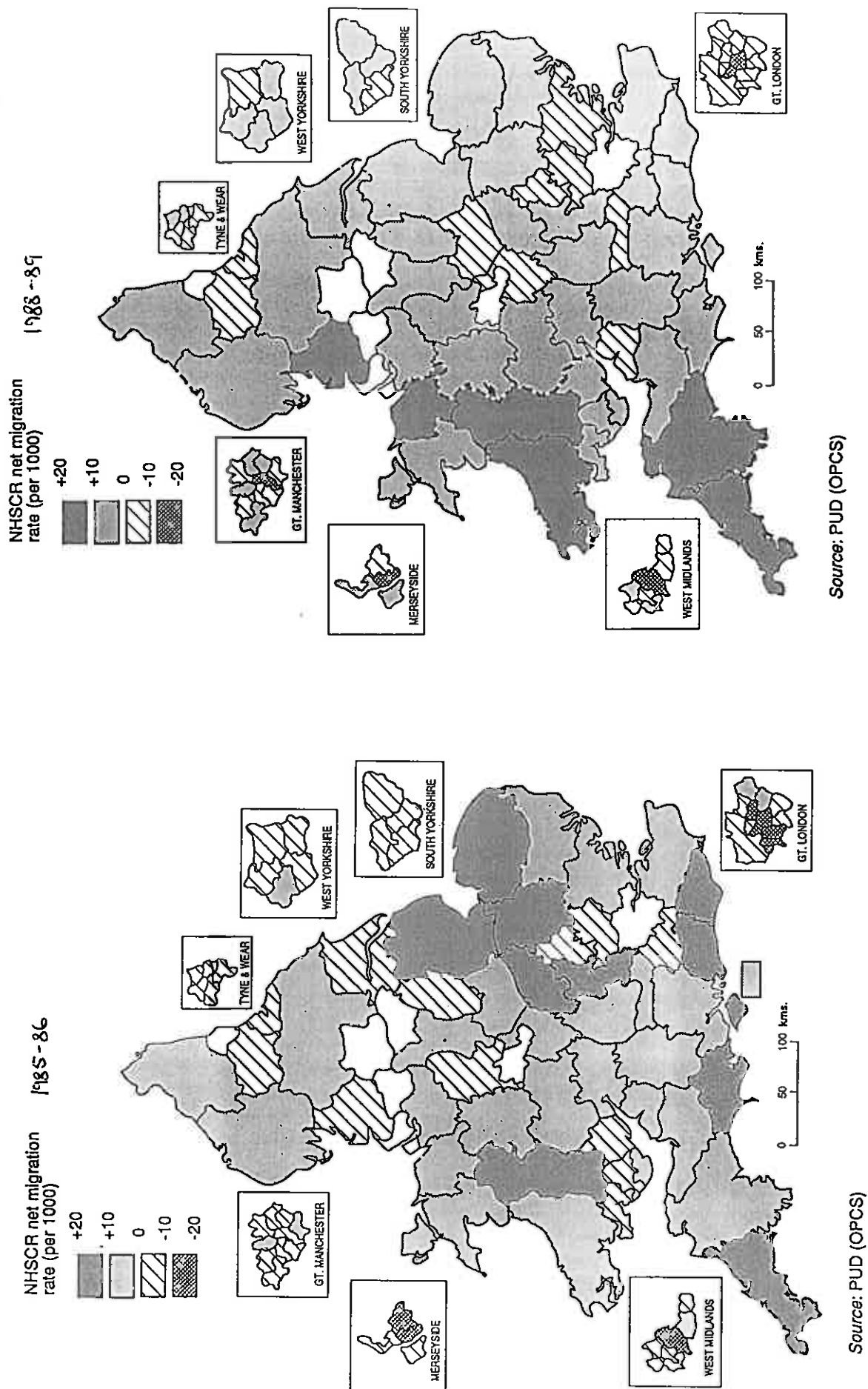


Figure 9: Spatial pattern of net migration rates, 1985-86 and 1988-89 (Source: Stillwell et al., Volume 2, Chapter 3)

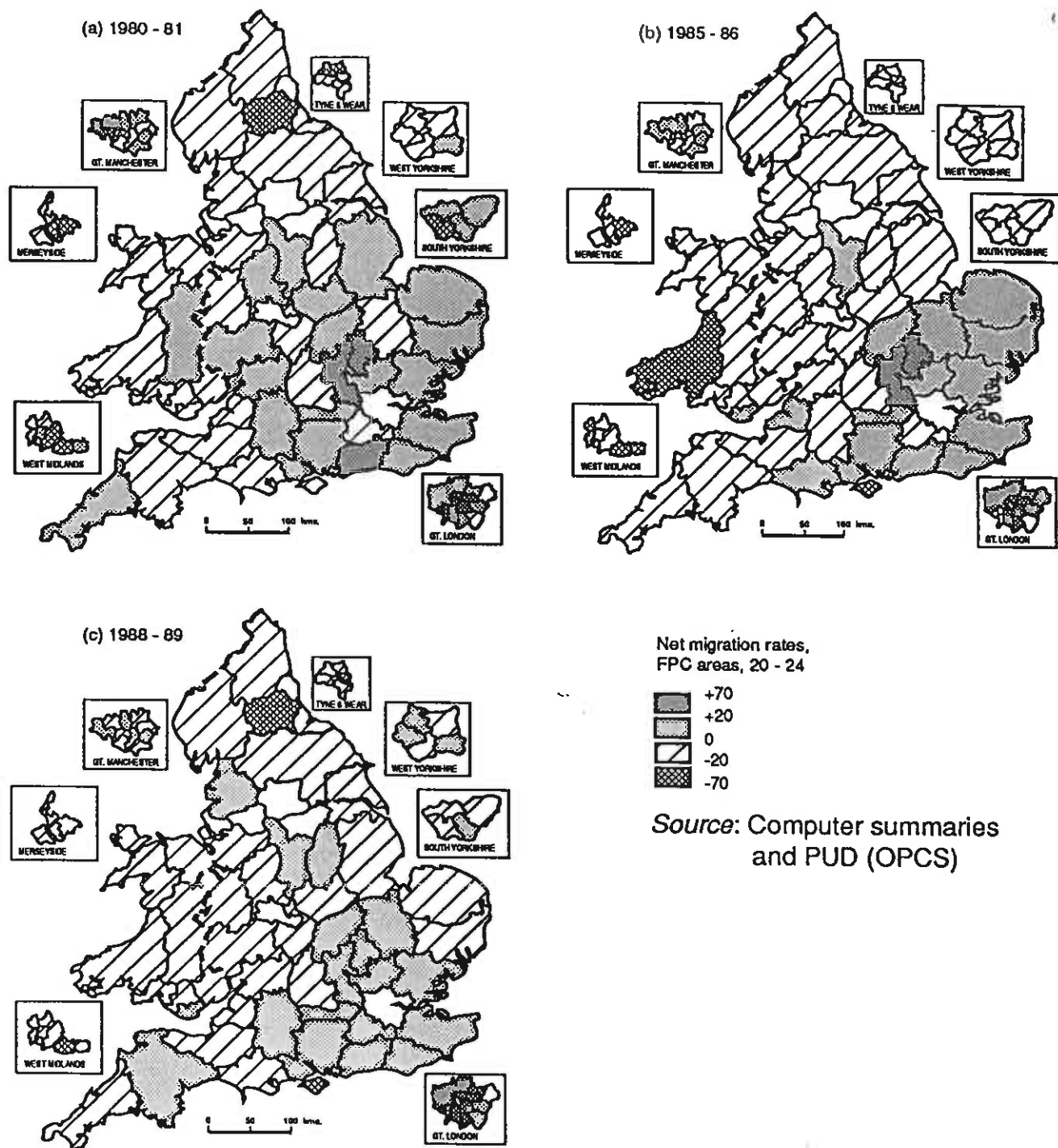


Figure 10: Spatial pattern of net migration rates, 20-24 age group, 1980-1989 (Source: Stillwell et al., Volume 2, Chapter 3)

into these aggregate spatial divisions (Figure 11) in 1980-81 and 1985-86 demonstrate the ages of major gain by the South are not coincident with those of metropolitan Britain.

5.5 Increasing job mobility

All regions witnessed an increase in job-related mobility rates as economic fortunes improved between 1980-81 and 1986-87 according to the LFS, with the South consistently recording the highest rates. In net terms, the South recorded increasing net gains throughout the 1980s from the Midlands, the industrial North and the periphery (Figure 12). The Midlands acted as a net exporter to the South whilst importing from elsewhere. The net losses from the industrial North and the periphery became greater in absolute terms as national economic recovery proceeded, reflecting higher rates of job-related mobility.

5.6 Growth of 'old' elderly migration

Since 1975, the relatively low number of migrations of those aged 70-74 has varied very little from year to year. On the other hand, migrations around retirement age and by those aged 75+ have been among the most dynamic with particularly rapid growth among the oldest age group during the middle of the 1980s.

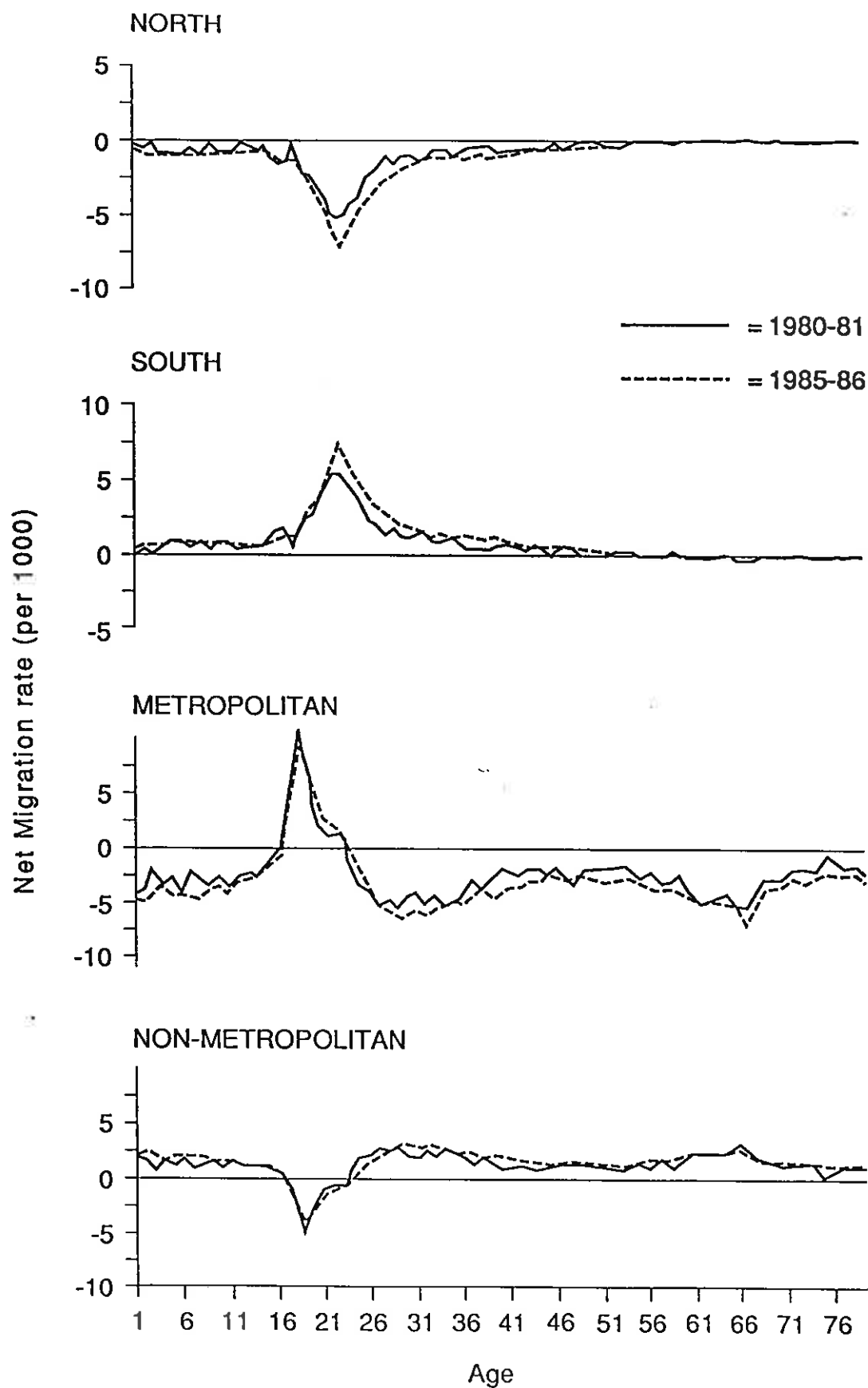
Compared to the patterns of other age groups, elderly migration origins concentrate in London but are by no means confined to the poorer, higher density, inner boroughs. The destination areas are also relatively concentrated in a few favoured areas although the 1980s has seen significant dispersion away from the home counties and traditional south coast counties to more peripheral and environmentally attractive rural areas such as Lincolnshire, North Yorkshire, Powys and some areas in rural West Midlands. The greatest change of all since 1975 has been the much greater dispersal of destination areas favoured by 75+ years migrants.

The NHSCR data show that there are distinctive elements in the spatial patterns of 'old' elderly migrations. There is a high rate of departure from the most popular retirement age destination areas and there is a strong in-movement to middle class metropolitan suburbs. Moreover, high rates of in-migration are found for areas which are gaining a disproportionate supply of special housing and care homes for the elderly. Changes in the availability of private, voluntary and public sector accommodation for frail and solitary elderly people are probably the cause of the most pronounced changes in patterns, such as the strongly increasing 'old' elderly flows into Sefton and some of the prosperous boroughs of south London.

6. The role of the South

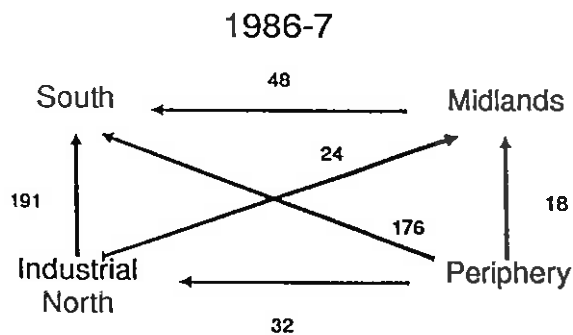
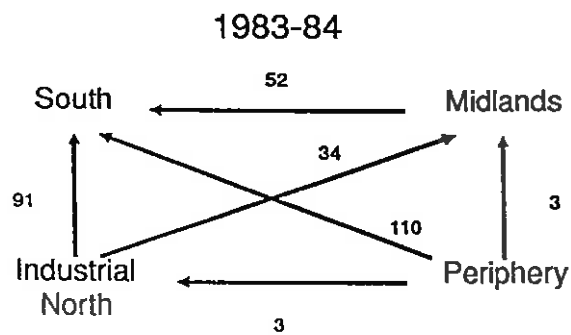
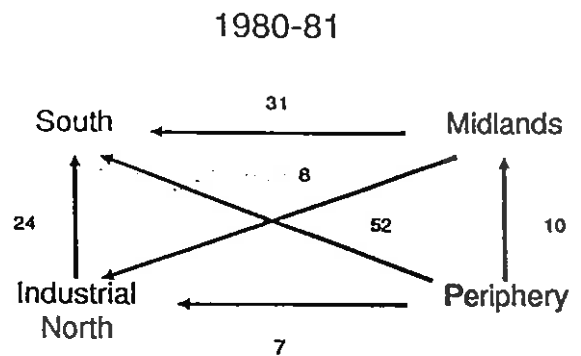
The 1980s was a decade in which the recovery from recession disproportionately favoured the South and led to the widening of the 'North-South divide'. The South was responsible for almost 90 per cent of the 885,000 national population growth estimated for 1981-89 and 85 per cent for the previous decade.

The share of the South's growth attributable to migration rose



Source: PUD (OPCS)

Figure 11: Age schedules of net migration rates, 1980-81 and 1985-86 (Source: Stillwell et al., Volume 2, Chapter 3)



South =	South East, East Anglia, South West
Midlands =	West Midlands, East Midlands
Industrial North =	Yorkshire & Humberside, North west
Periphery =	North, Wales, Scotland, N Ireland

Source: 1981, 1984 and 1987 Labour Force Surveys

Figure 12: Job-related net moves between spatial divisions, 1980-87 (Source: Owen, Volume 2, Chapter 12)

from 30 per cent in the 1970s to 70 per cent in the early 1980s. Internal migration gains grew rapidly in the mid 1970s and remained high until 1987, when a significant reduction took place. However, international migration became almost as important as internal migration in generating growth for the South in the mid-1980s (Figure 13).

6.1 The importance of London

London is the linchpin of the national migration system, the key nodal point in the interlocking mesh of migration streams. It is conventionally seen as attracting migrants from longer distances, particularly for further education and labour market reasons, and generating shorter distance migrants, many of whom are families and retirees. The preponderance of corporate headquarters inevitably attracts large numbers of well qualified individuals and, as has been mentioned in Section 4, London functions as a 'social escalator', assisting the promotion of young adults who are then dispatched as members of higher occupational groups to the rest of the South and beyond.

The net effect of these inflows to and outflows from London has been population losses. Losses through net internal migration declined in the first half of the 1980s, due largely to lower out-migration to other parts of the UK, but accelerated again in the latter half of the decade and were only offset by increases in immigration from overseas. London is the focal point for international migration and has been entirely responsible for the South's immigration gains.

6.2 ROSE in transition

Some sizeable changes have taken place in the 1980s in the net migration flows between London, the rest of the South East (ROSE), the counties adjacent to the South East (CASE), the remainder of the South, the Midlands and Wales (RSMW), and the rest of the UK (RUK) (Figure 14). London's annual net supply of migrants to ROSE grew by 25,000 between 1981-84 and 1987-89, its contribution to CASE doubled, and its exchange with RSMW became a net outflow of 6,000, after a gain in the earlier period. The most noteworthy change involved an increase of 29,000 in the net gain by RSMW from ROSE, overwhelming the increase in 10,000 from ROSE. The major result of changes in the streams and counterstreams between these spatial units was that ROSE experienced a significant contraction in its positive net migration balance due to reduced inflows from London and increased outflows to CASE and RSMW. By the late 1980s, it had begun to take on features more usually associated with London, comprising a switch to net losses of older working age and retirement age groups, a downward shift in the positive balances of younger working age and children and a major change for the 15-24 year olds into a substantial net inflow.

6.3 The ripple effect

Changes in migration in the later 1980s indicate an outward ripple to places more distant from London of the type of

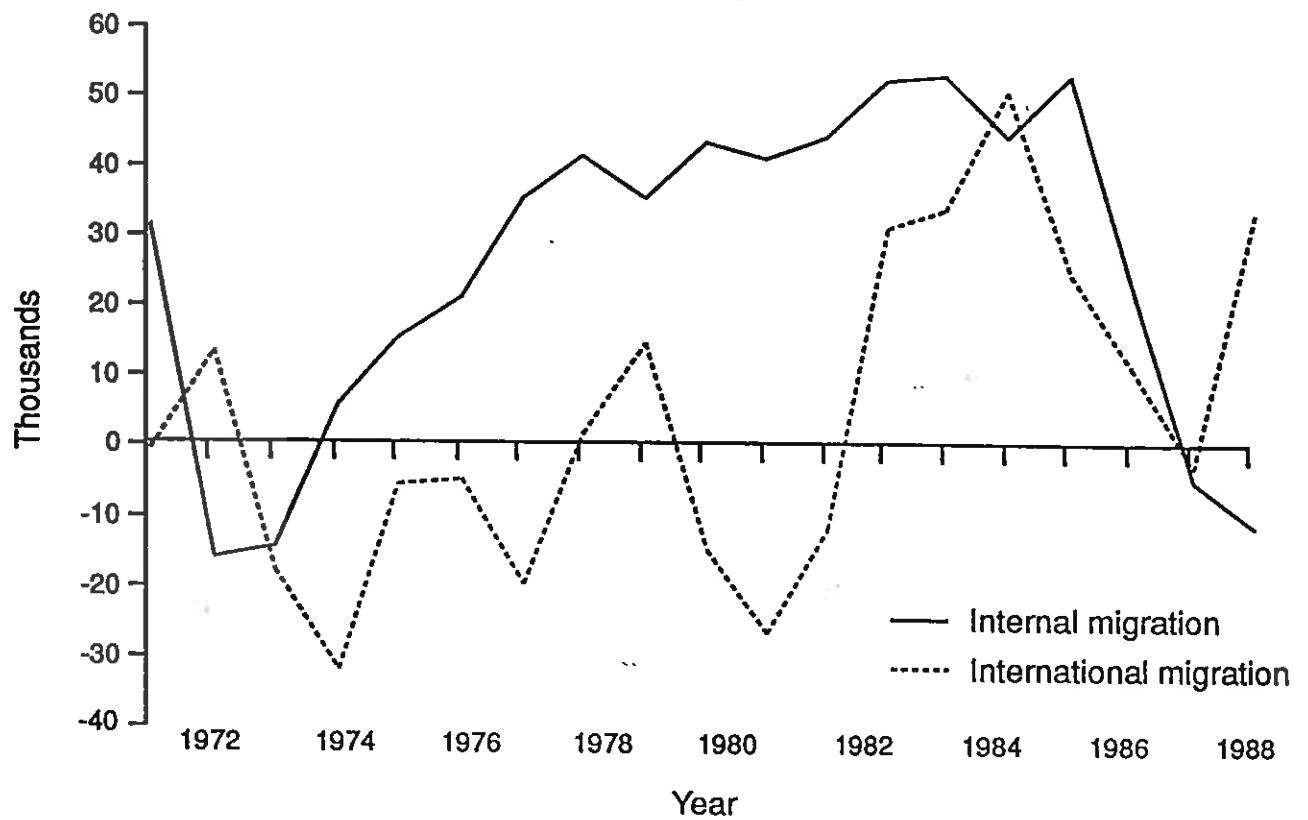
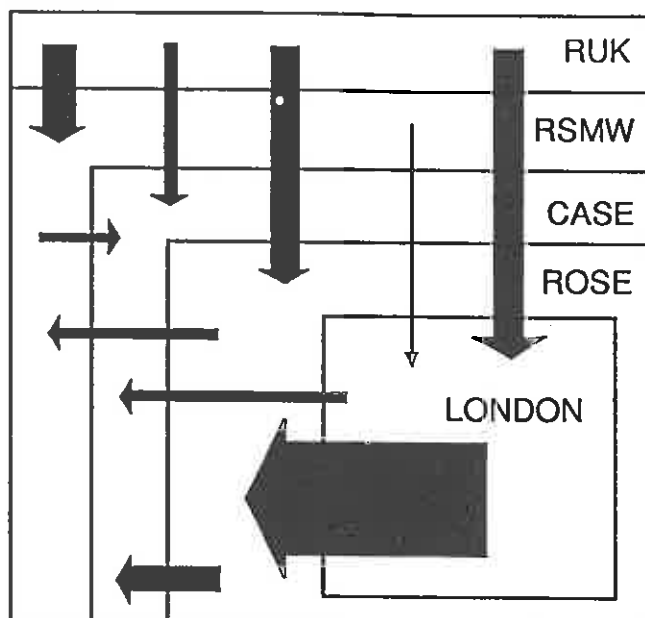
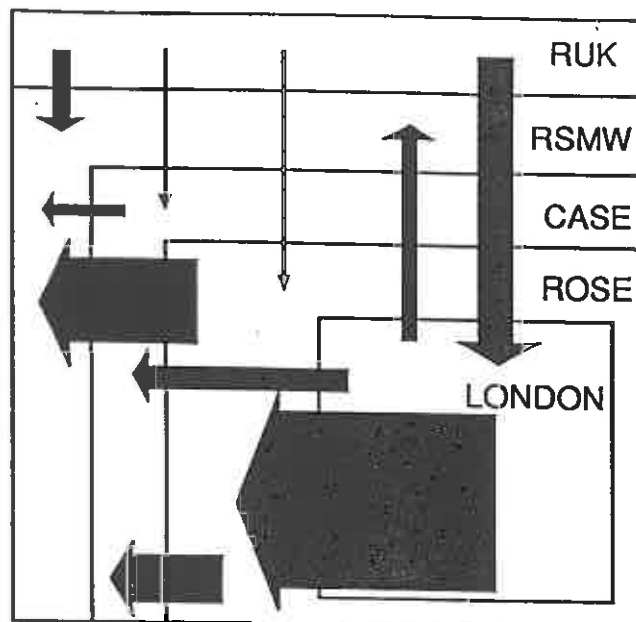


Figure 13: Annual trends in net internal and international migration, 1972-1988 (Source: Champion and Congdon, Volume 2, Chapter 11), the South

1981-84



1987-89



Average annual net flow (in thousands)



Figure 14: Net flows between major sub-division of the UK, 1980-84 and 1987-89 (Source: Champion and Congdon, Volume 2, Chapter 11)

migration patterns traditionally associated with places closer to it. By 1987-89, the retirement and older working age groups were, in net terms, spilling not only out of London but also out of ROSE to areas beyond CASE. Families were being squeezed in similar fashion doubtless in response to increasing house price differentials and labour market developments. On the other hand, 15-24 year olds were shifting away from the North in greater numbers at the end of the 1980s and were increasingly destined for ROSE rather than London. The overall result has been the fuller incorporation of much of the South East into London's metropolitan economy and the rapid growth of some major urban centres in the outer parts of the South East and in adjacent areas.

6.4 Ethnic minority group redistribution

The South East plays as much a pivotal role in the redistribution of the Asian and West Indian populations as it does for the native population. In 1971-81, 75 per cent of West Indian and 60 per cent of Indian gross migration either began or ended in the South East. The South East is less important as an origin or destination for Pakistanis overall.

The pattern of Indian migration during 1971-81 paralleled that of the UK population, probably reflecting similar changes in social class profile. West Indians and Pakistanis showed similar patterns (Figure 15), both groups abandoning the traditional areas of the North West, Yorkshire and Humberside and the West Midlands and being attracted to the East Midlands and the South East where opportunities for manufacturing and manual employment were better. Despite relatively high levels of inter-regional migration among the Asians, their regional distribution remained largely unchanged between 1971 and 1981. Net migration losses from existing centres of concentration appear to have been offset by fertility of those who remain.

7. Features of other regions

7.1 The Midlands

One of the most significant developments in the second half of the 1980s has been the substantial increase in net inward migration to Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire from ROSE.

It can be argued that there appears to be a clear link between regional migration trends and house price relativities. The house price differential between London and the East Midlands widened in the years following the recession of the early 1980s whereas wage differentials remained more stable. This coincided with an increase in migration into the East Midlands, particularly the southern counties. The house price differentials were such that they more than offset increased commuting costs, while wage rates for those working in the South East continued to remain higher, affording them greater purchasing power. However, as demand for properties increased, so the price differential reduced and pressure was more directed towards the northerly counties of the region.

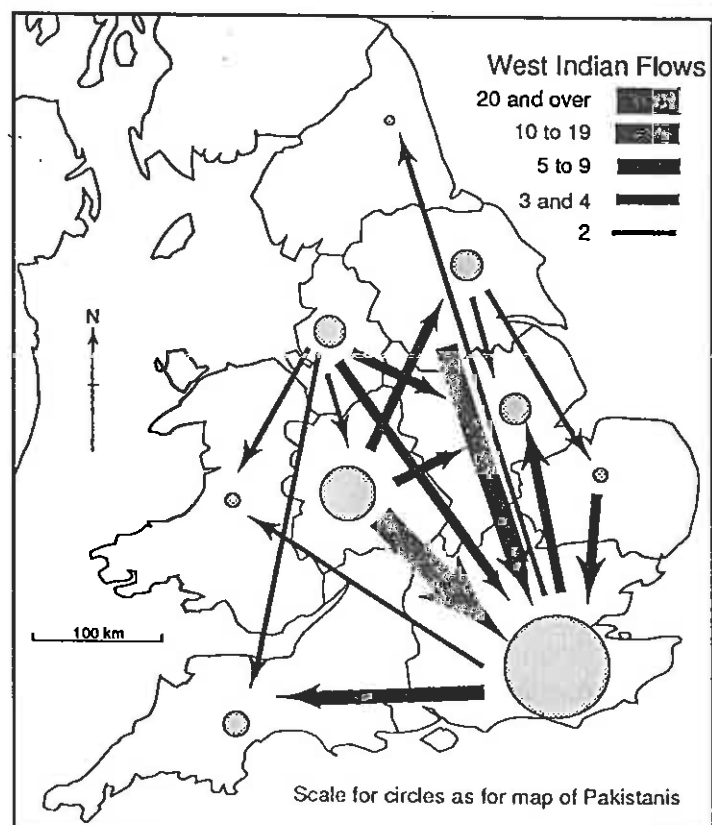
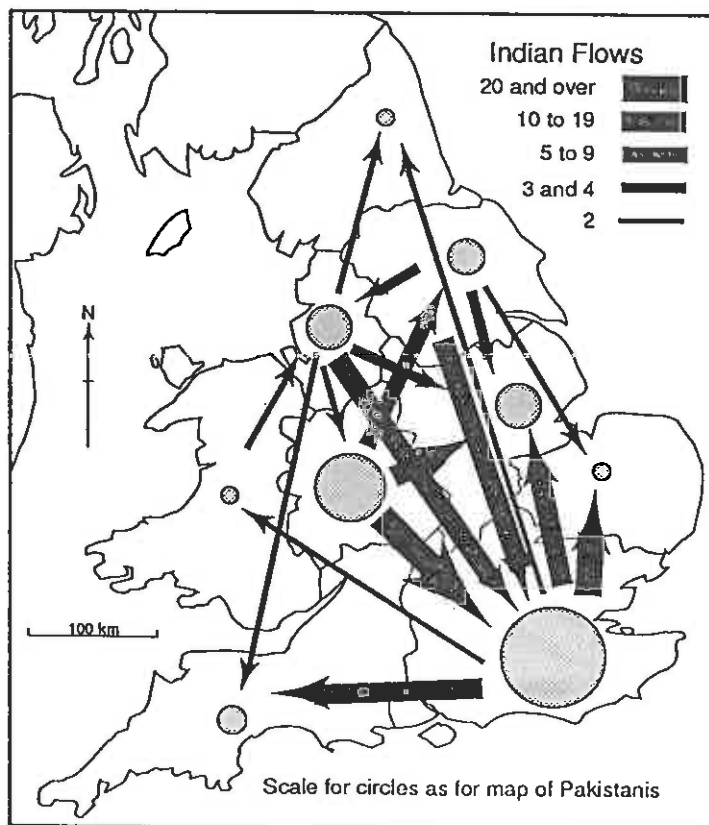
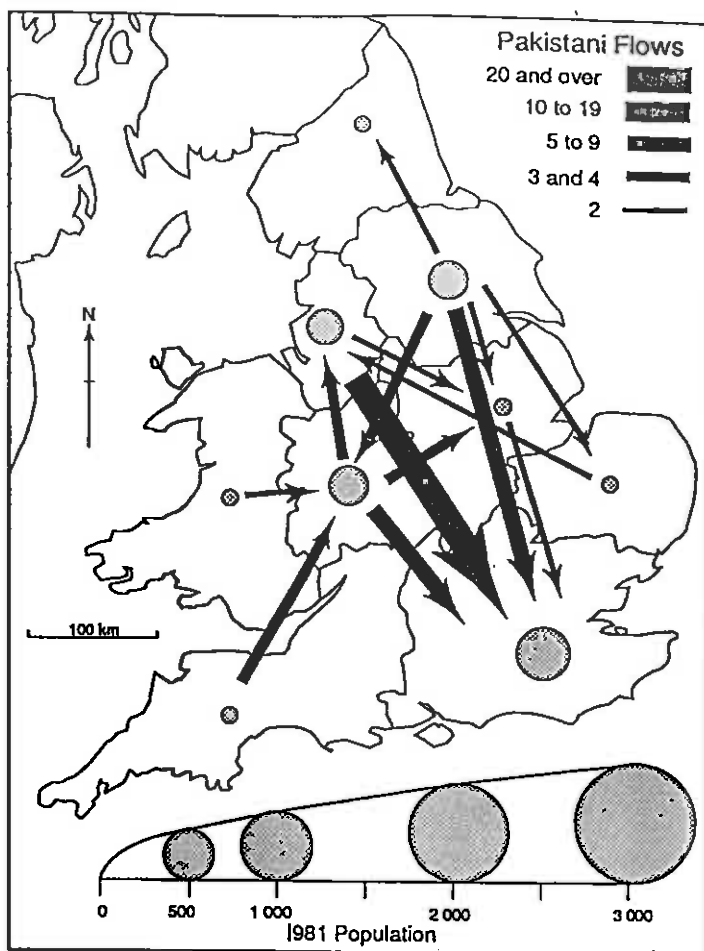
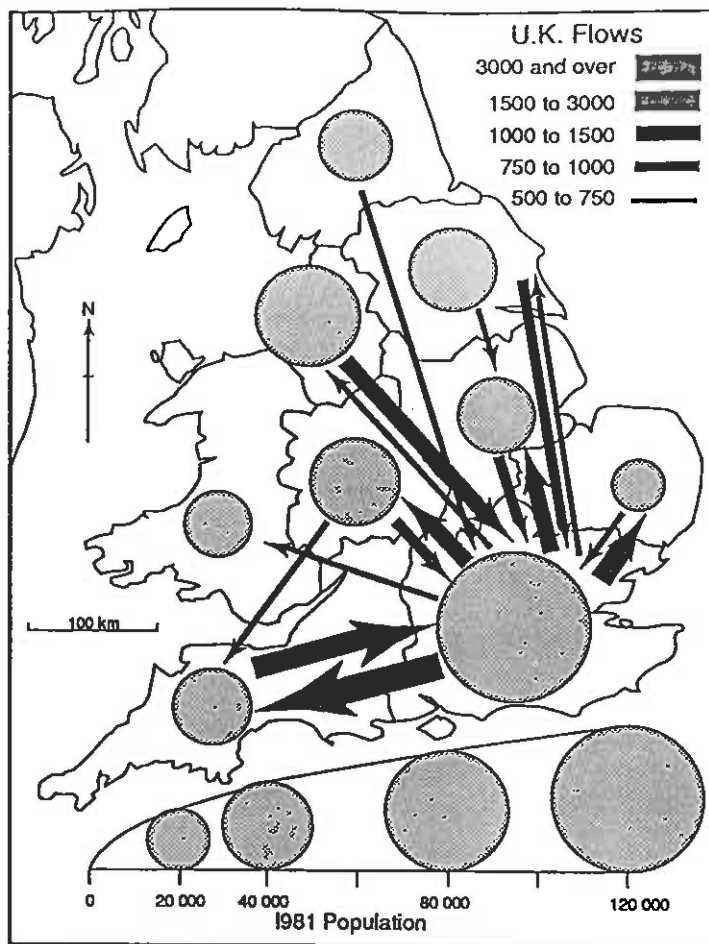


Figure 15: Migration flows of sub-group populations by region, 1971-81 (Source: Robinson, Volume 2, Chapter 15)

The availability of new housing has been one of the major factors influencing the scale and direction of population redistribution in the East Midlands. During the 1980s there has been a shift from 'planned' to 'unplanned' movement exemplified by the winding-up of the Corby and Northampton Development Corporations and more reliance on market forces to construct and sell new houses.

Leicester, Nottingham and Derbyshire, the three largest urban centres in the region, have continued to lose population by net outward migration and consequently suburbanisation and counterurbanisation processes have been occurring within the region both in connection with these centres and also due to the proximity of four major conurbations in adjacent regions.

Like the East Midlands, the West Midlands is not easily classified on economic performance as being in either the South or the North. Yet its net migration profile over 1975-89 is very different, having suffered net losses of population through migration in each year, although an improvement in the net migration balance in the latter years has matched an improvement in the region's economic position.

Within the region, it has been shown that decentralisation away from the metropolitan centre can be explained most satisfactorily by suburbanisation rather than counterurbanisation. SMS from the 1981 Census indicate that for the case study FPC area of Hereford and Worcester, the vast majority of in-migration from the adjacent conurbation was over short distances into the north east of the county, from which the level of commuting into the conurbation was high. Rural depopulation is still an important process in more remote parts of the county.

7.2 Wales

One of the key themes is the urban-rural shift of population, with continuing out-migration from the older industrial areas and immigration to the more rural areas. During the 1970s and 1980s in-migration has led to a reversal of the longterm population decline in many parts of rural Wales. A clear tendency towards an increase in net in-migration in the 30-44, 45-54 and over 55 age groups is also apparent from the mid-80s.

In the late 1980s, much of Wales along with the Midlands, shared in the spread of the economic recovery from the Greater South East.

The in-migration of people into rural Wales, many of them from outside the Principality, and the impact of such in-migrants on the destination communities is seen by many as a great threat to Welsh culture since the in-migration has radically changed the character of particular places. Thus the rural 'revival' is widely regarded as having the potential to destroy the linguistic and cultural traditions of these rural areas.

7.3 The North

In 1987-89, net migration rates for Yorkshire and Humberside, the North West and the Northern region experienced a turnaround from

losses to gains representing the dying outwash of the southern-led boom in economic activity and house buying.

Throughout the 1975-89 period, the region's principal cities saw greater outflows than inflows with a total net loss of 235,000 people constituting 9 per cent of their 1975 population. This balance was due to suburbanisation and counterurbanisation movements as well as net movements to the rest of the country.

The other metropolitan districts and industrial counties sustained net losses totalling 278,000, primarily as a results of movements to the rest of the UK, although they did gain consistently through suburbanisation from the principal cities of the North.

The five non-metropolitan shire counties experienced net inflows throughout the period, predominantly from the principal cities.

7.4 Scotland

Scotland has a tradition of net overseas emigration, the net balance of which was exceeded in the 1980s by net movements to the rest of the UK. Gross migration rates are highest to adjacent parts of northern England and for the most prosperous counties of southern England.

Strathclyde exhibits high levels of net loss to England, followed by Lothian, whereas the more rural regions in northern and southern Scotland all show net in-migration from the rest of the UK, no doubt reflecting the pull of oil-related employment in Highland and Grampian as well as the more geographically pervasive role peripheral counterurbanisation based on residential preference shifts in an anti-urban, pro-ruralist direction.

The traditional pattern of population decline and ageing through selective migration persists in most of the truly rural areas, especially in southern Scotland.

7.5 Northern Ireland

Although discrepancies exist in the estimates of migration between Northern Ireland and Great Britain that are available from the NHS registers in Southport, Edinburgh and Belfast, the Southport figures are of the right order of magnitude and show a time series of net losses to GB, two thirds of which come from the 15-29 age group.

Surveys suggest that the bulk of movement to GB is job-related and that there is a substantial counterstream of inmovement to Northern Ireland, which is likely to contain mostly people with Irish connections rather than 'primary' movers.

There has been a shift away from traditional destinations of Scotland and the North West in the 1970s to London and the South East in the 1980s. The fluctuations in outflows appear to have been governed by Britain's cycle of economic activity and although a proportion of the movers are unemployed or students,

the majority are employed persons who vacate their jobs in the province and move to new work in Britain.

8. Conclusions

Three points serve as conclusions. Firstly, the findings of Limited Life Working Party constitute a detailed picture of the patterns and temporal trends in migration during the last two decades. In this respect, they provide a particularly appropriate benchmark with which to compare the 1991 Census results soon to be published.

Second, population redistribution within the United Kingdom is the outcome of a combination of migration flows of individuals each distinguished by unique characteristics and influenced by sets of motivations which may be either conflicting or reinforcing or both. Patterns have been observed at particular spatial scales which enable us to conclude that whilst Britain in the 1980s continued to experience both counterurbanisation and suburbanisation flows, rural depopulation and urbanisation flows also remained important in certain types of locality. Inter-regional exchanges provide a further dimension and may be associated with one of the previous phenomena. The design of an accounting framework with which to clarify the relative importance of the migration flows associated with each of these major types of process is one priority for the future although the success of this recommendation is likely to depend on the availability of data with which to define one type of flow from another.

Third, whilst the NHSCR data have proved and will remain an invaluable source of information for monitoring migration change on a continuous basis in future, data from other existing and new sources must be utilised in order to understand more fully how migration interacts with wider economic, social and cultural processes. In the course of this project and in distributing the NHSCR data to a group of users, the framework for a national 'Migration Information System' has been partly developed. Resources are now required to operationalise a system which would present valuable opportunities for easier access to primary data sets to a wider audience as well as a range of tools for analysis and display of contemporary migration trends.

References

Champion, A.G. and Fielding, A. (1992) Migration Processes and Patterns Volume I: Research Progress and Prospects, Belhaven Press, London (in press)

Stillwell, J.C.H., Rees, P.H. and Boden, P. (1992) Migration Processes and Patterns Volume II: Population Redistribution in the United Kingdom, Belhaven Press, London (in press)

**Produced By
School of Geography
University of Leeds
Leeds LS2 9JT
From Whom Copies May Be Ordered**
