

*The Moving Escalator?
Patterns of Residential
Mobility in New Deal for
Communities areas*

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Key points

There is a dearth of evidence about the characteristics of those who move out of neighbourhoods undergoing regeneration, compared with stayers or in-movers. This analysis is based on a relatively small sample of those moving out of New Deal for Communities (NDC) areas between 2002 and 2004. Nevertheless, it does provide valuable insights into the different characteristics of, and outcomes for, different 'mobility' populations.

A number of key **conclusions** can be derived from this analysis:

- when compared with in-movers, those leaving the 39 NDC neighbourhoods are more likely to be older, in employment and to move into owner-occupied accommodation
- in-movers nevertheless provide a potential resource on which to build longer term sustainable change in that they are younger, healthier and better educated than those who **stayed** in NDCs between 2002 and 2004
- on the broader canvas, this evidence tends to support the notion of a 'moving escalator' in neighbourhood renewal: those in jobs and who are in, or who intend to enter, the owner-occupied sector are being replaced by those who are less likely to be in employment and who are more likely to be relatively less well off and to live in rented accommodation
- those who flagged up an intention to move in 2002 were in the event more likely to do so than those who intended to remain; attitudes and aspirations are therefore often realised through subsequent actions: this may conceivably help Partnerships plan ahead by estimating future residential turnover
- people move for a range of area-based, environmental and property-related reasons: the most important specific reasons for leaving were to access a better choice and quality of housing, lower crime rates in non-NDC areas, fewer problems of anti-social behaviour, more policing, and the quality of the local environment; not many leave primarily because of employment related factors
- it is not possible definitively to indicate whether NDC interventions in relation to say training or job mentoring actually encourage people to move; what evidence is available is mixed: there are no differences between out-movers and stayers in relation to having heard of, or being involved with, their local NDC; on the other hand out-movers are more likely than stayers to have undertaken, and to see benefits arising from, personal training and education
- one third of those who left between 2002 and 2004 would have been inclined to stay in NDC areas if improvements had taken place in terms of local housing and environmental standards

- but once people leave they are unlikely ever to return, both because they prefer their new location and because they identify continuing problems in their previous NDC location
- compared with those who stayed in NDC areas between 2002 and 2004, outmovers are more likely to be satisfied with their accommodation, the area and their overall quality of life and they are much less likely to want to move again
- there is evidence too that outmovement is associated with improvements to health and socio-economic status
- Twenty-seven per cent of outmovers had not wanted to move from their 2002 NDC accommodation; but by 2004 more improvements had occurred for these 'forced outmovers' than was true for those who stayed in NDCs; such changes were not however as positive as had occurred for outmovers as whole
- considerable changes in tenure occurred for outmovers: whereas 38 per cent were in owner-occupation in 2002, fully 48 per cent were so two years later; moving places is often associated with tenure change; those who leave NDC areas, and in turn move into owner-occupation, are much more likely to be satisfied than the (admittedly small) group of outmovers moving from owner-occupation to renting.

This evidence contains clear **policy implications** for neighbourhood renewal:

- housing design and tenure are critical factors influencing mobility; policies could seek to maximise opportunities for residents to realise their housing preferences locally, throughout the life cycle, by providing, or facilitating the provision of, more diverse property types, sizes and designs in all tenures, but especially in the owner-occupied sector
- encouraging people to stay is not just about housing measures; it also centrally bound up with environmental issues and, in particular, the widespread perceptions of high levels of crime and anti-social behaviour in renewal areas such as NDCs; these are critical key 'push' factors for those leaving NDC areas; the dilemma for Area Based Initiatives (ABIs) is that improvements to housing, environmental infrastructure and crime reduction can take a considerable period of time to introduce because of the complexity of problems and the high capital investment often required; some households will not wait around until the benefits from such measures start to materialise
- the shift in the ethnic profile between outmovers and in-movers is striking; this may well reflect a process whereby members of some BME communities are moving into these areas due to more constrained mobility choices in the housing market; this carries messages about the potential need to develop pro-active community cohesion strategies to confront any local tensions which may arise from changes in the ethnic profile

- the characteristics of in-movers in some areas is likely to be increasingly shaped by economic in-migration, especially from EU accession states; the impact of NASS dispersal policies has emerged as an important local issue in some NDC areas, especially those in London; NDCs have only limited resources to deal with housing and social problems arising from major influxes of economic migrants
- this evidence suggests that relatively wide geographical areas may be affected by residential mobility stemming from area based regeneration; only a quarter of out-movers relocate to areas within 2km of the NDC concerned
- the scale of out-, and in-, moving over time will be strongly affected by the housing market context for the neighbourhood concerned; 'tight' housing markets, as in parts of London, are likely to experience less turnover than will other areas, characterised by lower demand; the need to build in assumptions about residential turnover in regeneration programmes has often been neglected in the past; but it is a vital ingredient in informing an appropriate balance between place-, and people-, based measures
- finally, there is the wider issue about the role which NDC areas have traditionally played in urban housing markets; at least some have provided cheaper rented, and indeed owner-occupied, accommodation for relatively disadvantaged groups and first time buyers; if housing programmes in NDCs ultimately reduce the availability of cheaper accommodation, presumably this demand will increase in other similar neighbourhoods; this has always been a central dilemma for renewal and regeneration: improving one area may displace demand for lower cost housing elsewhere.

Evidence presented here is unable **directly** to address one key policy issue: do ABI interventions of themselves encourage people to leave? It is not possible to trace through the impact on these movers of what may, in any area, be in excess of over a hundred NDC funded interventions. But it seems **plausible** to assume that through time, as an increasing portfolio of NDC funded training, job mentoring, job search, and educational attainment projects are implemented, this may 'encourage' some beneficiaries to leave. If this proves to be the case:

- area based renewal programmes may need to look for a sensible balance between place-based measures, encouraging people to stay, and person-based measures, stimulating out-migration arising from project beneficiaries seeking economic or educational opportunities beyond the neighbourhood
- there may be a case for thinking through the phasing of interventions: if an intensive push is placed on people-based measures before improvements are made to the local environment and the housing market, this may well encourage outmigration
- measures which are probably most likely to encourage people to leave are those impacting on personal labour market skills and employment-related initiatives; in some instances there may be an argument for thinking radically here and postponing the introduction of **new** 'person-based' initiatives until place based improvements have been put in place.

1 Introduction

- 1.1 Area based initiatives (ABIs), such as New Deal for Communities (NDC), tend to assume two overarching goals:
- improving the beneficiary neighbourhood
 - and also the life chances of those living in it.
- 1.2 But there can be tensions between these two objectives. One of these is addressed in this report: what will be the impact of renewal policies on the stability of populations living in beneficiary areas?
- 1.3 On the one hand, regenerating the neighbourhood, through, say, reducing crime and improving housing and the physical environment, should make the area more attractive to existing residents¹. As fewer residents want to leave the area, and those who do are replaced more rapidly, population turnover should be lower and, thus, community stability and cohesion improve². Evaluations of previous ABIs such as City Challenge have stressed the importance of developing strong links between housing renewal and other policy dimensions such as crime, environmental improvements, employment and training³.
- 1.4 On the other hand, improving life chances, through education, health promotion, training, job mentoring and so on, may help the job prospects and material circumstances of local residents. As a result, more may want, and be able to, leave the area. If these outmovers are in turn replaced by relatively more disadvantaged households NDCs may find themselves working with steadily more deprived communities.
- 1.5 Some evidence of this process, often termed the 'moving escalator' problem, was found during Phase 1 of the evaluation. For example, Beatty et al (2005)⁴, in a study of drivers of mobility in NDC areas using the 2002 and 2004 Ipsos MORI NDC Household Surveys, found that:
- thirty-eight per cent of NDC residents want to move out of the area in 2004; 16 percentage points higher than the national average
 - those most likely to want to move were women; younger people; residents from African-Caribbean communities; those with higher qualifications, those in working households; and those living as social and private tenants

1 Beatty C, Cole I, Grimsley G, Hickman P, and Wilson I (2005) *Housing & the Physical Environment: Will residents stay and reap the benefits?*

<http://ndcevaluation.adc.shu.ac.uk/ndcevaluation/Reports.asp>

2 Kearns A and Parkes A (2003) 'Living in and leaving poor neighbourhood conditions in England'. *Housing Studies*, Vol. 18, No 6: 827-851

Parkes A, Kearns A, Atkinson R (2002) 'What makes people dissatisfied with their neighbourhoods?' *Urban Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 13: 2413-2428

3 ODPM (2005) *City Challenge: final national evaluation*

4 Beatty C, Cole I, Grimsley G, Hickman P, and Wilson I (2005) op.cit

- the diverse and complex motivations behind mobility aspirations could be grouped into four main factors relating to property, the area, personal circumstances, and work based considerations.

1.6 This paper builds on these broad brush findings from Phase 1 of the evaluation. In particular, this paper considers five key issues:

- who is moving out of NDC areas, who is moving in, and who is staying?
- why are people moving out of NDC areas?
- where are residents moving to by tenure and geography?
- has life improved for outmovers?
- do outcomes differ for 'forced' outmovers?

1.7 The wider implications of these findings for area based renewal and regeneration are outlined in the final section.

2 Methodology

2.1 Data used in this analysis are drawn from various Ipsos MORI Surveys:

- 2002 Household Survey (19,574 respondents)
- 2004 Household Survey (19,633 respondents)
- 2002 – 2004 Household Longitudinal element (10,638 respondents)
- 2004 Household Movers' Survey (459 respondents).

2.2 The 2002 Household Survey provides baseline characteristics for residents living in NDC areas, including information about moving intentions and levels of satisfaction with the area. Used in combination with the 2002 Household Survey, the 2004 Survey provides information about the characteristics of residents who stayed in the area between 2002 and 2004 (the panel). Finally, the 2004 Movers' Survey provides important insights into the attitudes, motivations and outcomes for a relatively small group of residents who left NDC areas between these two dates.

2.3 In line with previous experience of ABI evaluations, tracking movers proved a challenging and difficult process. A number of methods were used including:

- friends and family contacts (residents were asked to provide these as part of the 2002 Survey)
- the National Change of Address Database
- return of address cards
- calling mobiles
- interviewer tracing at/around previous address
- the electoral register.

2.4 Ipsos MORI successfully tracked and interviewed 459 movers of the 3,515 'potential movers' who may have re-located between 2002 and 2004⁵. Of these 473, 330 had moved outside the NDC area ('outmovers') and 129 had moved within the NDC area ('within area movers').

⁵ Ipsos MORI (2005) Movers' Survey 2004 Technical Report: the potential mover universe is calculated using the household survey contact sheet for those respondents interviewed in 2002 but not in 2004. Briefly, any address NOT coded as respondent: 'still living in household'; 'died'; 'refused/no contact' or 'other, not needed, withdrawn' is classified as a 'potential mover'.

- 2.5 This paper explores change in relation to **three key groups** derived from these data sources:
- **within area stayers:** those remaining within NDC areas: a combined group of 10,767 respondents, made up of the panel (10,638 longitudinal respondents who were interviewed at the same address in 2002 and 2004) and within area movers (129 respondents interviewed in 2004 as 'movers' but who had not moved outside the NDC area)
 - **inmovers:** those moving into NDC areas and interviewed as part of the 2004 NDC Household Survey, constituting 2,225 respondents
 - **outmovers:** the 330 respondents interviewed as part of the 2002 NDC Household Survey, who moved out of the 39 areas between 2002 and 2004 and who were subsequently traced.
- 2.6 In addition, outcomes are identified for a subset of outmovers: '**forced outmovers**'. Of the 330 outmover respondents interviewed in 2004, 93 (27 per cent) indicate they did not want to move from their old area.
- 2.7 Finally, moving intentions are explored for '**trapped**' respondents. Respondents are deemed to be 'trapped' if they want to move from their property, but do not think they will do so within the next two years.
- 2.8 It should be pointed out that because of the small size of the outmovers population, the use of statistical techniques, such as logistic regression modelling, is limited. Analysis, therefore, is restricted to descriptive techniques, and for the forced outmovers, to simple frequencies.
- 2.9 It should also be noted that a separate Movers' Survey will not be undertaken in the 2006-2009 Phase 2 of the evaluation. However, further evidence regarding outcomes for movers will be forthcoming through:
- individual level administrative data covering worklessness benefits and possibly educational attainment rates
 - the 2006 Household Survey will reveal patterns across different 'mobility' groups including 2004-2006 stayers and those moving into NDC area between 2004 and 2006; it will also be possible to tease out the broad characteristics of those who left between 2002 and 2006
 - conceivably, via more focussed work on outmigration within some or all of six NDC case study areas.

3 Who is moving?

3.1 The 2005 NDC Interim Evaluation⁶ briefly addressed the characteristics of different 'mobility' populations. For convenience key conclusions are reiterated below for the three mobility groups of interest (movers, in-movers, and within area stayers):

3.2 Key findings include (Table 1):

- **in-movers and out-movers are younger than stayers:** Only 26 per cent of within area stayers are aged between 16 and 34 compared with 52 per cent of out-movers and 76 per cent of in-movers
- **a higher proportion of in-movers are from Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups:** 32 per cent of in-movers are from BME groups compared with 22 per cent of stayers and 14 per cent of out-movers
- **out-movers are more likely to be employed:** 71 per cent of working age out-movers are in employment; 24 percentage points higher than for in-movers (47 per cent) and 16 points higher than for stayers (55 per cent)
- **in-movers have lower incomes:** 20 per cent of in-movers report a weekly household income of less than £100 per week compared with 11 per cent of stayers and eight per cent of out-movers
- **in-movers and out-movers are healthier:** 31 per cent of stayers indicate having a long term limiting illness, compared with 17 per cent of out-movers and only 13 per cent of in-movers
- **a lower proportion of in-movers are owner occupiers:** 16 per cent of in-movers are owner occupiers, compared with 38 per cent of stayers and 48 per cent of out-movers
- **within area stayers have lower educational attainment:** approximately a third of working age in-, and out-, -movers have at least NVQ level 4 qualifications compared with only 17 per cent of stayers.

6 NRU/ODPM (2005) *New Deal for Communities: An interim Evaluation: Research Report 17*
<http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/publications.asp?did=1625>

Table 1: Characteristics of mobility populations (2004)

	% Within area stayer	% Inmover	% Outmover
Age			
16-34	26	76	52
34-44	22	14	21
45-55	17	5	10
55+	36	5	17
Ethnicity			
White	77	64	85
Asian	11	16	8
Black	11	16	6
Worklessness & finance			
Employed (a)	55	47	71
Unemployed (a)	9	13	7
Economically active (a)	64	61	78
Household income <£100	11	20	8
Health			
Feel health good	41	60	59
Long term limiting illness	31	13	17
Household composition			
Lone parent household	15	16	12
Large adult household	13	23	17
Tenure			
Owner occupier	38	16	48
Private renter	5	36	18
Social renter	56	46	31
Education			
NVQ 4+ (a)	17	30	33
Participation (2002)			
Heard of NDC	69	N/A	68
Involved in NDC	12	N/A	13
Involved in voluntary organisation	13	N/A	13

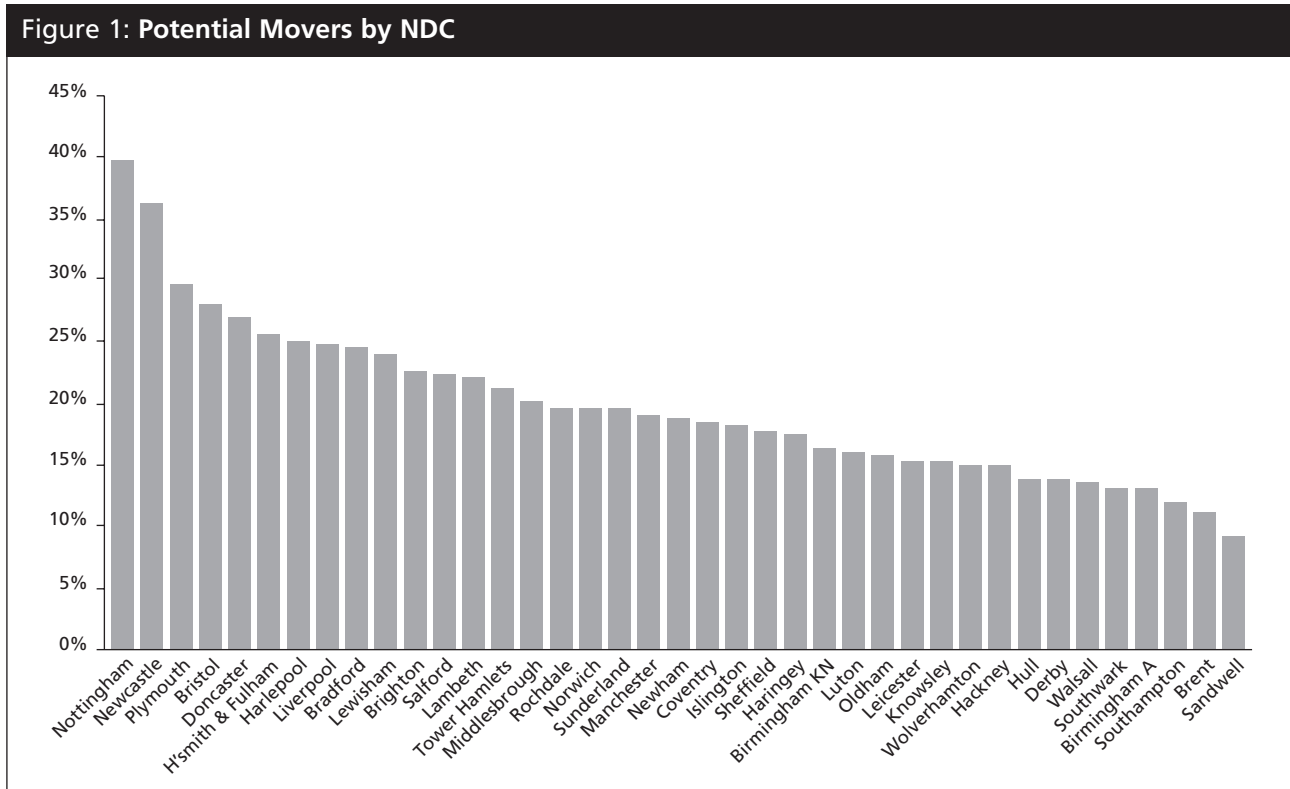
Base: All; Within area stayers (10,767), Inmovers (2,225), Outmovers (330)

(a) Working age only, Within area stayer (7,658), Inmover (2,136), Outmover (288)

Source: MORI/NOP

- 3.3 Mobility patterns are not consistent across all NDCs due in part to factors such as different populations within NDCs and contrasting 'roles' these areas play in the wider district. Figure 1 presents percentages of 2002 respondents who are potential movers by 2004 by NDC area. Potential movers are calculated using the household survey interviewers contact sheet for those respondents interviewed in 2002 but not in 2004. Briefly, any address NOT coded as respondent: 'still living in household'; 'died'; 'refused/no contact' or 'other, not needed, withdrawn' is classified as a 'potential mover'.

- 3.4 Proportions vary considerably across the 39 NDCs. For example, in Nottingham and Newcastle, NDCs with large student populations, over 35 per cent of respondents in 2002 are classified as potential movers by 2004. This contrasts with, for example, Sandwell and Brent where less than 12 per cent of 2002 respondents are potential movers.



Base: All; NDC aggregate (19,574)

Source: MOR/NOP

- 3.5 Although mobility patterns are not consistent across all NDCs, evidence from the 2004 Household surveys indicate that, as had generally been assumed in regeneration policy for many years, those moving out of ABIs tend to be replaced by relatively more disadvantaged groups.

4 Why did residents move?

- 4.1 If NDCs are to encourage more residents to stay within the neighbourhood, it is important to understand why people move out and what, if anything, might be done to reduce this process.

MOVING INTENTIONS

- 4.2 Table 2 shows responses from the 2002 Household Survey to questions regarding moving intentions. Survey questions include:

- do you want to move from this property?
- do you think you will move from this property in the next two years?
IF YES, ASK: when will you move?
 - within next 3 months
 - over 3 and up to 6 months from now
 - over 6 months and up to a year from now
 - over a year and up to 2 years from now
 - yes, but don't know when

- 4.3 Answers to these questions can be combined to create a 'trapped' indicator. Respondents are deemed to be 'trapped' if they want to move from their property, but do not think they will do so within the next two years.

- 4.4 Responses to these questions provide a strong indication that **intentions to move tend subsequently to be translated into action within the following two years**. In 2002 39 per cent of all respondents indicated they **wanted** to move from their property. However, this figure rises to fully 64 percent for those who had moved out by 2004. And whereas 32 percent of all respondents **intended** to move in 2002, this figure again rose to 65 per cent for those who actually had moved by 2004. Interestingly only 22 per cent of stayers had the intention of moving in 2002. The Survey also indicates that, as would be expected, outmovers were also less likely to be 'trapped': in 2002 11 per cent of outmovers indicated being trapped, four percentage points lower than for within area stayers.

Table 2: Wanting to move; 2002 responses by 2004 mobility populations

	% NDC aggregate	% Within area stayer	% Outmover
Want to move	39	33	64
Intend to move	32	22	65
Plan to move within two years	19	10	48
Plan to move within six months	6	2	18
Trapped	14	15	11

Base: All; NDC aggregate (19,574), Within area stayers (10,767), Outmovers (330)

Source: MORI/NOP

- 4.5 In addition to wanting to move from their **properties**, when interviewed again in 2004, 70 per cent of outmovers responded that they had also wanted to move from their old **area**, compared with just 27 per cent who hadn't wanted to move and for whom relocation was thus 'forced'.

MOTIVATIONS FOR MOVING

- 4.6 The 2004 Movers' Survey provides insights into the motivations behind relocation away from NDC areas. Outmovers were asked: 'why did you move out of your old area?' (Table 3). Area related problems emerged as the single most important factor. But, not surprisingly, there are marked differences between all outmovers and those 'forced' to move: over a third (36 per cent) of all outmovers cite area-related problems in their former NDC neighbourhoods as a reason for moving, this is true for only 18 percent of forced movers.

Table 3: Outmovers: reasons for moving

Why did you move out of your old area?	% Outmovers	% Forced outmovers
Area related	36	18
Personal	23	27
Property related	21	23
Work	10	8

Base: All; Outmovers (330), Forced outmovers (93)

Source: MORI/NOP

- 4.7 Area related problems for the 330 outmovers fell into a number of sub-categories including:
- problems with neighbours (eight per cent)
 - increase in crime (seven per cent)
 - area deteriorating (six per cent)
 - drugs (five percent)
 - gangs hanging around (four per cent)
 - unsafe (three percent)
 - noise (two per cent).
- 4.8 Although area-related problems as a whole proved to be the most important single **generic** reason for leaving NDC areas, the most frequently mentioned **specific** factors were either because of particular work based factors (10 per cent) or housing related, especially 'wanting a bigger property' (11 per cent). Exploration of household composition for those who moved (Table 4), indicates that some 34 per cent experienced change in the previous two years. A large proportion had experienced an expansion in household size: 29 per cent saw the birth of a child/children, 14 per cent had a non-relative join the household, nine per cent had a relative join the household, and six per cent had a child/children return to the household.

Table 4: Outmovers, changes to household composition 2002 to 2004	
	%
Change to household	34
Change(s) (a)	
Birth of child/ren	29
Living with different partner/spouse	17
Non-relative joined household	14
Joined different household	12
Other relative joined household	9
Partner/spouse left household	7
Child/ren left household	7
Non-relative left household	7
Child/ren returned to household	6
Other relative left household	5
Death of partner/spouse	3
Death of other household member	0
Other	5

Base: All outmovers (330); (a) All those that have had a change to the household (111)

Source: MORI/NOP

RETAINING AND RE-ATTRACTING OUTMOVERS

- 4.9 Could NDC Partnerships have made changes which would have prevented outmovers from leaving these areas? Some 34 per cent of outmovers when asked if ‘any improvement or changes could have been made to your old area that would have encouraged you to stay’ indicated this to be the case. Better housing (17 per cent), reduced crime (17 per cent), and improved policing (13 per cent) are the most frequently stated improvements which would have encouraged movers to stay in their previous NDC location (Table 5).

Table 5: Retaining outmovers: Improvements to NDC areas

What improvements or changes could have been made to your old area?	%
Rebuild/better housing	17
Reduce crime	17
More/improved policing	13
Cleaner/tidier	10
Teenagers/kids had been kept off street	9
Make it safer/better security	9
Less drugs	9
Nicer neighbours/people	9
Property prices	4
Landlords/get rid of landlords	4
CCTV Cameras	3
Others	34

Base: All out of area non temporary movers wishing to see improvements (106)

Source: MORI/NOP

- 4.10 Could NDC areas attract back former residents? In 2004 only 28 per cent of outmovers indicated that they would consider moving back to their previous NDC address. Seventy per cent would not. Those who would **not** consider a move back to their old areas were asked why (Table 6). The most commonly cited reasons proved to be: 'prefer it/like it better here' (22 per cent), crime in the NDC areas (13 per cent), NDCs being rough areas (11 per cent), problems with neighbours (8 per cent), and drug use (7 per cent).

Table 6: Outmovers: Why would you not consider moving back to the area around your old home?

	%
Prefer it/like it better here	22
Crime in the area	13
Not a nice area/rough area	11
Not nice people/neighbours	8
Too much drug use	7
Unsafe here	7
Has deteriorated/gone down hill	6
Closer to work	5
Near family/my family are here	5
Quieter/peaceful here	5
Too built up/too like London	2
Anti-social people/behaviour	2
Smaller houses/houses too small	2
Not a good place to bring up children	2
Too many gangs/youths hanging about	2
Others	25
Dont know	3

Base: All out of area non-temporary movers not considering moving back (224)

Source: MORI/NOP

DO NDC INTERVENTIONS ENCOURAGE PEOPLE TO LEAVE?

- 4.11 Is there any evidence that NDC interventions encourage people to leave? The argument is often made that if ABI activities enhance personal skills, experience, and material well-being, beneficiaries will leave, these, usually deprived, areas. Renewal agencies will thus be faced with attempting to improve outcomes for a constantly evolving groups of residents: the ‘moving escalator’ problem. In practice ‘place based’ interventions in themes such as environmental improvements, health facilities, crime, constructing new or improving existing, dwellings, and so on, should help retain people. But it is conceivable that if education, training, job mentoring initiatives and so on are introduced at the same time, they will actually accentuate relocation away from the area.

- 4.12 It is not possible from this evidence definitively to indicate whether specific NDC interventions have positively encouraged out migration. Data does not provide a direct link between NDC interventions and subsequent behaviour. But it is possible to make inferences from what is available.
- 4.13 First, as is indicated in Table 3 above, area based factors are the single most important generic reason for encouraging people to leave. Outmovers were leaving not because of what NDCs were doing, but rather what they weren't.
- 4.14 Second, there is nothing to suggest that the 2002 outmovers were participating more in NDC activities than were those who stayed (Table 1). Sixty-nine per cent of stayers had heard of their local NDC, 12 per cent had been involved with it, and 13 per cent had been involved with other local organisations on a voluntary basis during the previous three years. The equivalent figures for outmovers were 68 per cent, 13 per cent, and 13 per cent respectively. These figures do not suggest that those who left between 2002 and 2004 were any more 'engaged with', and therefore conceivably benefiting from, their local NDC than were those who stayed.
- 4.15 But third, there is some evidence that those who left NDC were more inclined to undertake, and see benefits arising from, training and education. In 2004, 30 per cent of outmovers were either undertaking education or training or had completed it in the previous 12 months, and 54 per cent would like to do more training or education courses. The equivalent figures for stayers were 23 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. It is not possible definitively to state whether person based interventions encourage out migration. But maybe there is a hint here that they might. It seems plausible to assume that as NDCs introduce a raft of person based interventions these may collectively further encourage outmigration for those able and willing to move.
- 4.16 Evidence from the 2004 Movers' Survey indicates that many outmovers had wanted, and intended, to leave their NDC location in 2002. Outmovers tend to leave for a mix of area and housing based factors. Had appropriate environmental and housing policies been implemented by NDCs about a third of outmovers might have stayed. But once they leave the NDC area only about a quarter indicate they would ever return. It is not possible precisely to quantify relationships between NDC interventions and any subsequent out migration. Those who left NDC areas between 2002 and 2004 were no more, or less, engaged with their local NDC than were those who stayed.

5 Where did residents move to by tenure and geography?

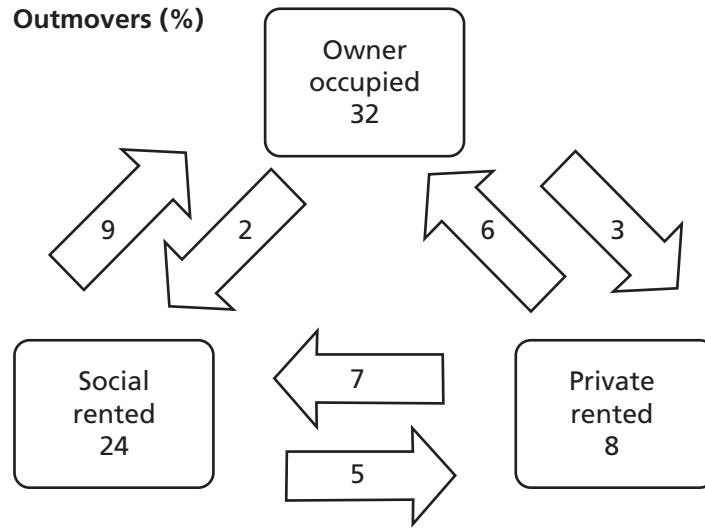
- 5.1 This section addresses two issues: where did residents move to in relation to tenure and how far did they go?

TENURE

- 5.2 Tenure patterns changed quite sharply across the group of 330 **outmovers** (Figure 2). Although around two thirds (64 per cent) of outmovers moved into the same tenure type as they previously occupied in NDC areas, around a third changed tenure. The most notable flows occurred towards owner occupation and, in particular, away from social renting. Nine per cent of outmovers relocated from social rented properties to owner occupied homes, whereas only two per cent of owner occupiers moved into social renting. Flows are also evident from private renting to owner occupation. Six per cent of outmovers moved from private renting to owner occupation; just three per cent moved in the opposite direction.
- 5.3 This scale of change contrasts with more stable patterns of tenure apparent for **within area stayers**. Most (93 per cent) of within area stayers remained in the same tenure type. For example, 54 per cent of within area stayers were social tenants at both points in time. The largest identifiable flow is a shift from social renting to owner occupation: three per cent of within area stayers moved from social renting to owner occupation, whilst only one per cent moved from owner occupation to social renting.
- 5.4 As **inmovers** were not interviewed in 2002, analysis of this third mobility group is restricted to their 2004 NDC tenure type. Nearly half (46 per cent) of inmovers were accommodated in social rented housing, 36 per cent in private rented housing, and only 16 per cent in owner occupied properties.
- 5.5 However, the overall impact of these flows created only small net changes. In 2002, at the aggregate level, 32 per cent of NDC residents were owner occupiers, 57 per cent social tenants and 10 per cent private tenants. Two years later the equivalent figures were 34 per cent, 55 per cent, and 10 per cent respectively.

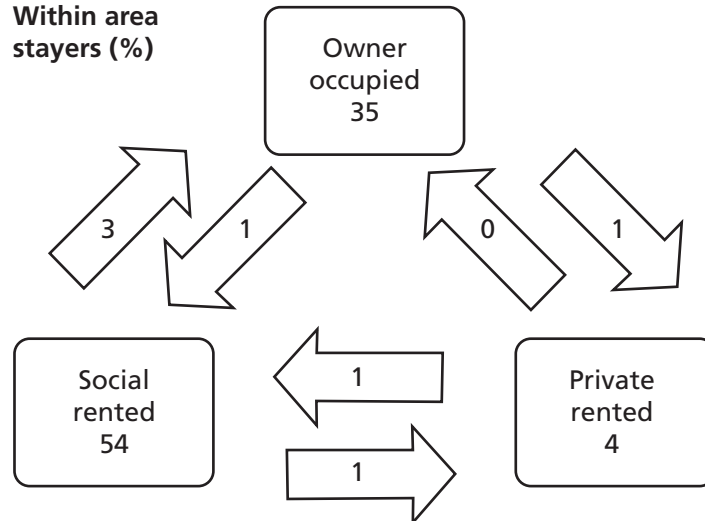
Figure 2: Tenure flows 2002-2004

Outmovers (%)



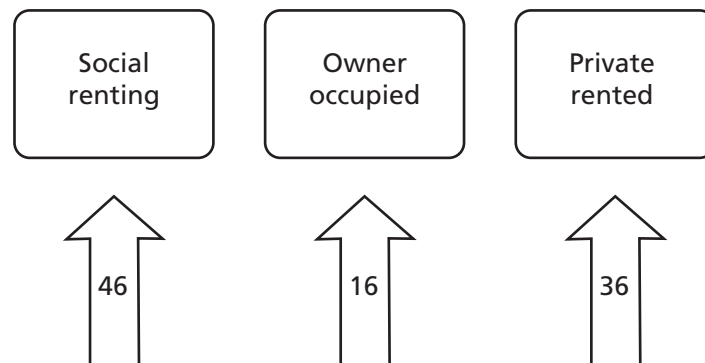
Base: All outmovers (330)

Within area stayers (%)



Base: All within area stayers (10,767)

Inmovers (%)

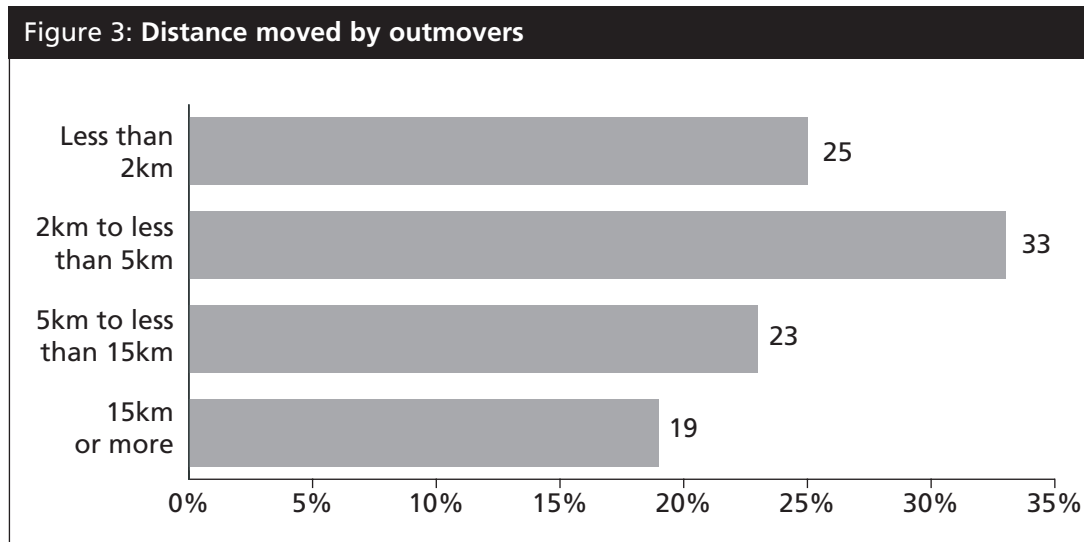


Base: All inmovers (2,225)

Note: Total percentages will not sum to 100 due to 'some other way' category not being included
 The within area stayers figures assumes the within area mover group is a representative proportion of the total group.
 The figures presented are percentages of each group; when looking at overall movements the relative size of each population needs to be considered.

DISTANCE MOVED

- 5.6 Postcode analysis enables a calculation to be made of approximate distances moved (Figure 3). Most (58 per cent) outmovers relocated less than five kilometres away from their old homes. Only a fifth moved more than 15 kilometres. But equally so only a quarter moved to new houses less than two kilometres from their previous residence. Once people relocate they do tend to move away from the immediate vicinity of their previous NDC address.



Base: All outmovers (330)

Source: MORI/NOP

- 5.7 Relationships between motives for movement and distances involved are illustrated in Table 7. Area-related problems is the most commonly cited factor for outmovers relocating within 15 kilometres of their current home. However, as would be expected, work related reasons is the driving motivation behind 32 per cent of those moving more than 15 kilometres

Table 7: Motivation for relocation by distance moved

	% less than 2km	% 2km to less than 5km	% 5km to less than 15km	% 15km or more
Property related	30	26	9	18
Area related	45	31	43	23
Personal reasons	14	25	28	26
Work related	0	7	6	32

Base: All outmovers (330)

Source: MORI/NOP

- 5.8 Evidence from the 2004 Movers' Survey indicates that relocation tends to be associated with a marked drift towards owner-occupation. Most do not however relocate far from their previous NDC address. Those that do move further tend to relocate for work based factors.

6 Has life improved for movers in their new areas?

6.1 This section explores the contrasting attitudes of outmovers, inmovers and stayers in relation to:

- changes in aspirations to move
- quality of life
- levels of satisfaction with accommodation and the area
- socio-economic and employment status
- health.

Outcomes are also explored for ‘forced outmovers’: the 27 per cent of outmover respondents who, when interviewed in 2004 indicated they did not want to move from their old area.

CHANGES IN ASPIRATIONS TO MOVE

6.2 Table 8 illustrates responses to the question ‘do you want to move from this property?’ The proportion of outmovers wanting to move more than halved from 64 per cent in 2002 (when they were all in NDC areas) to 28 per cent in 2004 (when living in their new area). As would probably be expected this 2004 outmovers’ figure is lower than for either stayers (37 per cent) or inmovers (39 per cent). Interestingly too those who were forced to move from their 2002 property, and who might therefore be more inclined to move again, actually recorded lower ‘wanting to move’ totals than did either inmovers or stayers.

Table 8: Wanting to move: changes 2002 to 2004 by mobility populations				
Want to move	% Within area stayer	% Inmover	% Outmover	% Forced outmover
2002	33	n/a	64	47
2004	37	39	28	33

Base: All; Within area stayers (10,767), Inmovers (2,225), Outmovers (330), Forced outmovers (93)
Source: MORI/NOP

QUALITY OF LIFE

- 6.3 Table 9 illustrates, for each of the four mobility populations, the proportion of respondents indicating their quality of life is good. Whilst the proportion of stayers for whom the quality of life is good remained stable between 2002 (78 per cent) and 2004 (79 per cent), there was a marked change for outmovers. Ninety-two percent of outmovers defined their quality of life as 'very good' or 'fairly good' in 2004, 13 percentage points higher than in 2002. Changes are not so marked for forced outmovers but are still higher than for the stayers. They might not have wanted to move, but there was a five percentage points increase in those regarding their quality of life as good once they had done so.

Table 9: Quality of life good change 2002 to 2004 by mobility populations				
Want to move	% Within area stayer	% Inmover	% Outmover	% Forced outmover
2002	78	n/a	79	84
2004	79	78	92	89

Base: All; Within area stayers (10,767), Inmovers (2,225), Outmovers (330), Forced outmovers (93)
Source: MORI/NOP

LEVELS OF SATISFACTION WITH ACCOMMODATION AND THE AREA

- 6.4 Outmovers are more satisfied with their current, rather than their former, accommodation (Table 10). Ninety-one per cent were satisfied in 2004, compared with 79 per cent in 2002. In terms of flows, twelve per cent of residents who were dissatisfied in 2002 were satisfied in 2004, whilst only five per cent moved in the opposite direction.

Table 10: Outmovers: Satisfaction with accommodation: change 2002 to 2004				
Satisfied with accommodation 2002 (%)	Satisfied with accommodation 2004 (%)			Total
	Satisfied	Neither	Dissatisfied	
Satisfied	74	1	5	79
Neither	5	0	1	6
Dissatisfied	12	1	2	15
Total	91	2	8	100

Base: All outmovers (330)
Source: MORI/NOP

- 6.5 Whilst satisfaction with accommodation improved for outmovers (12 percentage points), and even more so for forced outmovers (by 13 percentage points), satisfaction for stayers actually declined by one percentage point from 85 per cent in 2002 to 84 per cent in 2004 (Table 11).

Table 11: Satisfied with accommodation change 2002 to 2004 by mobility populations

Satisfied with accommodation	% Within area stayer	% Inmover	% Outmover	% Forced outmover
2002	85	n/a	79	73
2004	84	80	91	86

Base: All; Within area stayers (10,767), Inmovers (2,225), Outmovers (330), Forced outmovers (93)
Source: MORI/NOP

- 6.6 Not surprisingly a large majority (78 per cent) of outmovers felt their 2004 accommodation was better than was the case in 2002 (Table 12). Only eight per cent considered it worse. In contrast, sixty-one per cent of forced outmovers considered it better, but fully 15 per cent (almost double that for all outmovers) thought it worse.

Table 12: Outmovers: Attitudes to current and previous accommodation

Would you say that this accommodation is better, worse or about the same than the accommodation you were in when we last interviewed you	% Outmover	% Forced outmover
Better	78	61
Worse	8	15
About the same	13	23
Don't know	1	1

Base: All; Outmovers (330) Forced outmovers (93)
Source: MORI/NOP

- 6.7 Table 13 cross-tabulates out-mover perceptions of the quality of their accommodation, with tenure change between 2002 and 2004. Those moving from social or private renting into owner occupation are most likely to indicate their current accommodation is better (90 per cent and 89 per cent respectively). At the other end of the scale, those in that relatively small group of former owner-occupiers moving to either private or social rented accommodation, are least likely to indicate the quality of their accommodation has improved (67 per cent and 69 per cent respectively).

Table 13: Outmovers: changes in tenure by attitudes to accommodation				
Tenure		Accommodation better/ worse 2004		
2002	2004	Better	Worse	About the same
Social renter	Owner occupier	90	0	7
Private renter	Owner occupier	89	0	11
Private renter	Social sector renter	88	12	0
Owner occupier	Social sector renter	80	20	0
Owner occupier	Owner occupier	79	4	17
Private renter	Private renter	79	6	15
Social sector renter	Private renter	78	9	13
Social renter	Social sector	69	19	12
Owner occupier	Private renter	67	11	22

Base: All outmovers (330)

Source: MORI/NOP

6.8 Outmovers also reveal marked increases in levels of satisfaction with their **local area** (Table 14). In 2002, 53 per cent of subsequent outmovers indicated they were satisfied with their area as a place to live. By 2004 this had increased by fully 38 percentage points to 91 per cent. Although they did not want to move from their former neighbourhoods, by 2004 forced outmovers also indicate a marked increase in the proportion satisfied with their area (from 61 per cent in 2002 to 80 per cent in 2004). The equivalent rise for those staying in their NDC area was just six percentage points.

Table 14: Satisfied with area as place to live: change 2002 to 2004 by mobility populations				
Satisfied with area	% Within area stayer	% Inmover	% Outmover	% Forced outmover
2002	62	n/a	53	61
2004	68	65	91	80

Base: All; Within area stayers (10,767), Inmovers (2,225), Outmovers (330),

Forced outmovers (93)

Source: MORI/NOP

6.9 In the light of evidence presented above it is not therefore surprising that 79 per cent of outmovers (61 per cent of forced movers) indicate that their current **area** is a better place to live than their former NDC location. Only six per cent of all outmovers and 11 per cent of forced outmovers thought it was worse (Table 15).

Table 15: Outmovers: attitudes to current and previous areas

Taking everything into account, would you say this area as a place to live is better, worse or about the same as your old area?	% Outmover	% Forced outmover
Better	79	61
Worse	6	11
About the same	14	26
Don't know	1	2

Base: All; Outmovers (330) Forced outmovers (93)

Source: MORI/NOP

- 6.10 In addition to being more satisfied, outmovers also indicate feeling more secure in their new neighbourhood. Sixty-nine per cent of outmovers feel safer in their new area, whilst only seven per cent feel less safe. Although, this outcome is not as positive for forced outmovers, the majority (53 per cent) of those who did not want to leave their old neighbourhoods nevertheless felt safer in their new area.

Table 16: Outmovers: feelings of safety in current and previous areas

Would you say this area is more or less safe, or about as safe as your old area?	% Outmover	% Forced outmover
More	69	53
Less	7	11
About as safe	23	34
Don't know	1	2

Base: All; Outmovers (330) Forced outmovers (93)

Source: MORI/NOP

CHANGE IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS

- 6.11 In 2002, 35 per cent of working outmovers were in managerial/professional occupations. By 2004 this figure had increased to 42 per cent. In contrast, the proportion of NDC residents classified as managerial/professional remained constant over this period (26 per cent in 2002 and 25 per cent in 2004). Table 17 explores changes in socio-economic classification of outmovers between 2002 and 2004. Of outmovers who could be classified in both years, 20 per cent saw an 'improvement' in their status, whilst only 13 saw a worsening. In particular, flows occurred from other occupations to managerial/professional sectors: five per cent of outmovers moved from sales and service to managerial/professional, three per cent from both administrative/secretarial and skilled to managerial/professional and two per cent from machine operatives.

Table 17: Outmovers: Socio-economic classification: change 2002 to 2004

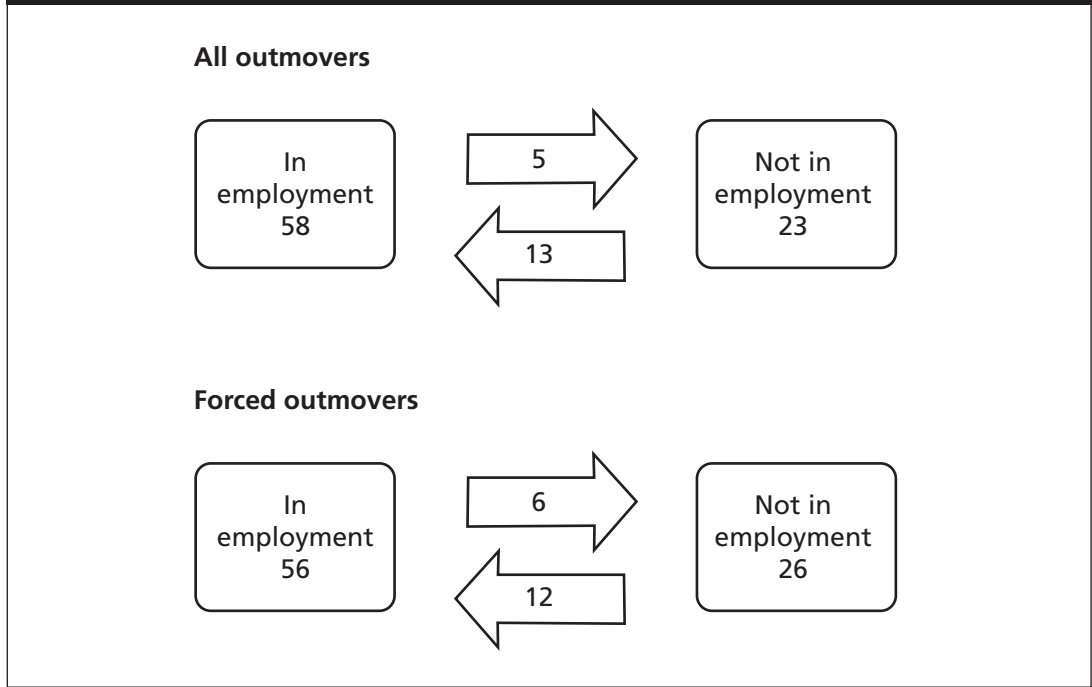
		SOC 2004					
		Managerial/ Professional	Admin & Sec	Skilled	Sales & service	Machine operatives	Elementary occupation
SOC 2002							
Managerial/ Professional	30	2	0	3	1	1	
Admin & Sec	3	7	0	1	0	0	
Skilled	3	0	8	0	2	0	
Sales & Service	5	2	1	6	0	1	
Machine operatives	2	0	2	0	8	1	
Elementary occupation	1	0	0	1	2	5	

Base: All outmovers currently working in 2002 and 2004 and who could be classified by SOC (160)

Source: MORI/NOP

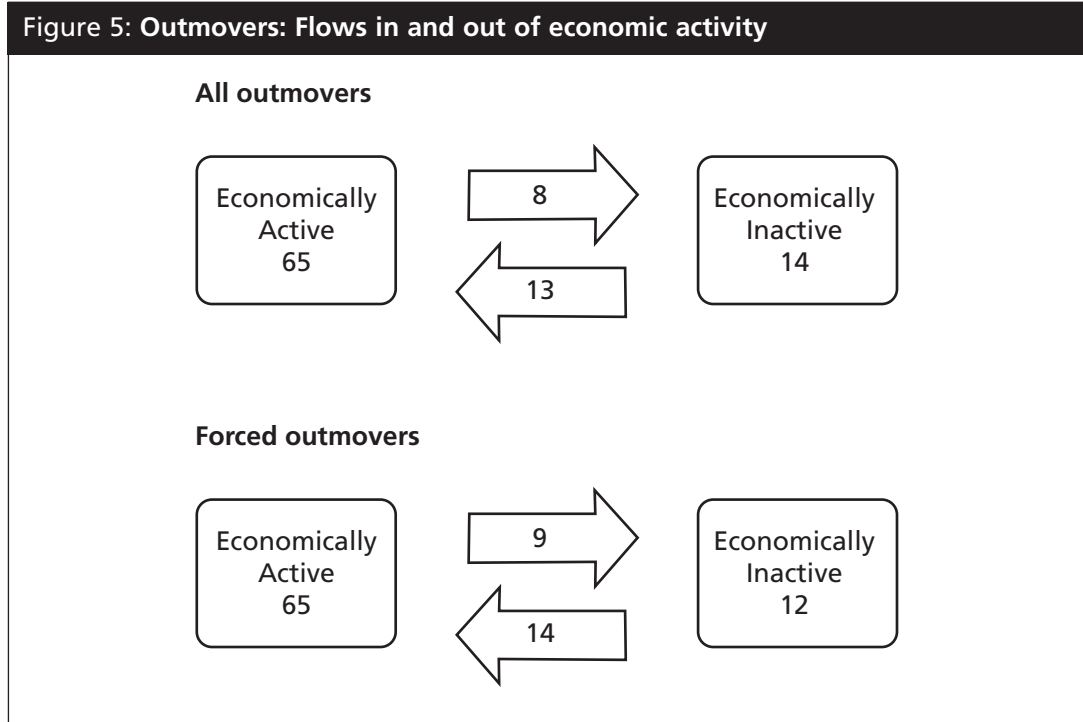
- 6.12 Figures 4 and 5 explore changes in employment and economic activity for outmovers of working age between 2002 and 2004. Trends in flows are similar for both all outmovers and forced outmovers.
- 6.13 Fifty-eight per cent of all outmovers were in employment in both 2002 and 2004, whilst 23 per cent were not in employment at both points. Analysis of employment flows indicates an eight percentage points net increase in those employed. Thirteen per cent moved into employment while only five per cent moved out. Whilst not as great for outmovers as whole, comparable improvements occurred for forced outmovers: twelve per cent moved into employment while only six per cent moved out.

Figure 4: Outmovers: Flows in and out of employment



Base: All working age in both 2002 and 2004; Outmovers (282), Forced outmovers (77)
 Source: MORI/NOP

6.14 A similar picture emerges when exploring outmover flows into, and out of economic activity between 2002 and 2004 (Figure 5). Sixty-five percent of outmovers and forced outmovers were economically active in both 2002 and 2004. Fourteen per cent of outmovers and 12 per cent of forced outmovers were economically inactive at both points. Flow analysis shows a five percentage point net increase in the proportion of both outmovers and forced outmovers in economic activity; approximately half of those who were economically inactive in 2002 were economically active in 2004.



Base: All working age in both 2002 and 2004; Outmovers (282), Forced outmovers (77)
Source: MORI/NOP

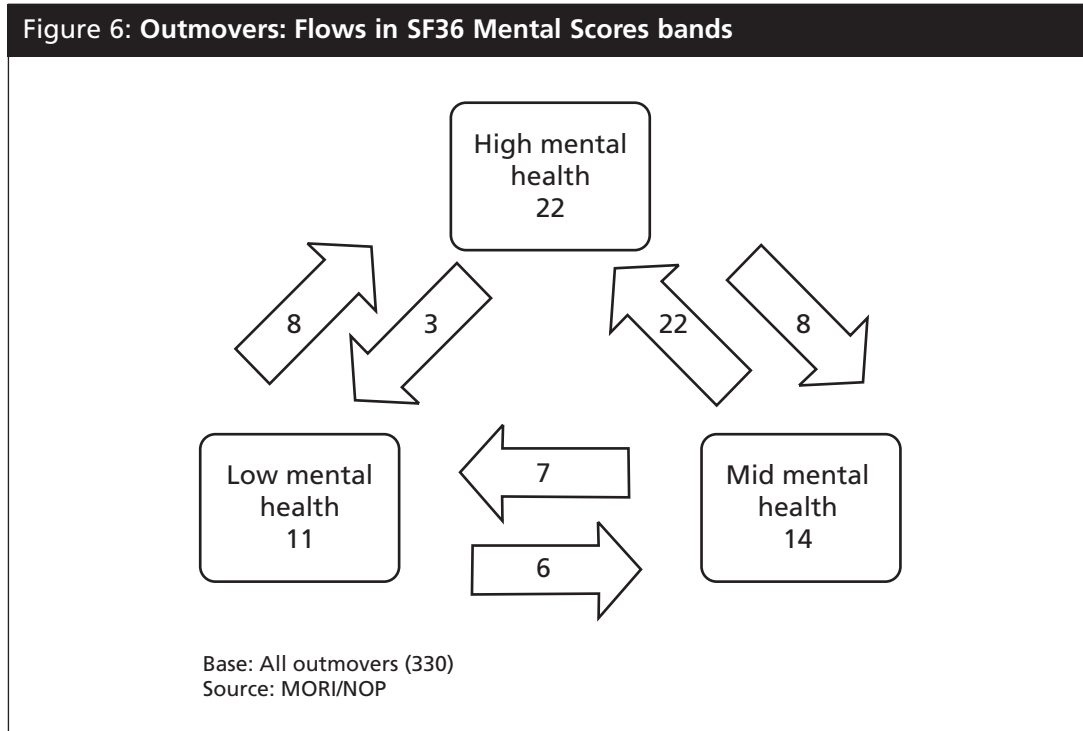
HEALTH

- 6.15 The final section in this chapter explores how health changed for those moving out of NDC areas. Out of area movers were asked whether they thought ‘moving from your old home had a positive or negative impact in your own or your family’s health?’. Table 18 illustrates that just over half (51 per cent) of respondents stated that the move had a positive impact. Of this group, 28 per cent said that the move had left them less stressed or more relaxed, whilst 18 per cent said they were happier or more settled. Although the proportion of forced outmovers who thought the move had a positive impact was slightly lower, fully 45 per cent indicated that it had a positive, only five per cent a negative, effect.

Table 18: Impact of move on 'your and your family's health'		
	% Outmover	% Forced outmover
Positive impact	51	45
Negative impact	3	5
How has it had a positive impact?		
Less stress/more relaxed	28	
Happier/more settled	18	
Healthier now/eating better	12	
Take more exercise now (walks/bike rides etc)	10	
Safer	9	
Better/cleaner air	8	
More space	8	
Nicer area	4	
Close to family/friends	3	
Quiet here	2	
Better place for kids (can play out/walk more)	2	
Last place was cold/damp	2	
Nicer house	2	
Better people/neighbours	2	
All one level/no stairs	1	
Others	15	
Don't know	7	

Base: All; Outmovers (330) Forced outmovers (93); (a) All outmovers stating a move had a positive impact on the health of their family (169)
Source: MORI/NOP

6.16 Changes in the mental health of outmovers has been calculated using a modified SF36 mental health score. Scores on this index range from zero (worse possible mental health related quality of life) to 100. In order to compare outmovers responses in 2002 to 2004, scores have been classified as 'low' (low level of mental health), 'mid' or 'high'. This analysis further reinforces evidence that moving had a positive impact on health. Figure 6 illustrates that 47 per cent of outmovers were categorised in the same mental health band in both 2002 and 2004, 37 saw an improvement whilst only 17 per cent saw a deterioration. The most notable flows are from mid to high mental health scores (22 per cent) and from low to high (eight per cent).



- 6.17 Evidence from the 2004 Movers' Survey indicates that outmovers generally express higher levels of satisfaction with their accommodation and the area than is the case for either stayers or inmovers. There is evidence too that their health, and their socio-economic status improved after they left the NDC area. In short those who move appear to enjoy a higher 'quality of life' than either had been the case when they lived in NDC areas, or is true for stayers. Outcomes for forced outmovers are not as positive as for the outmovers group as whole, but in general are better than for stayers.

7 Conclusions and policy implications

- 7.1 There is a dearth of evidence about the characteristics of those who move out of neighbourhoods undergoing regeneration, compared with stayers or in-movers. This analysis is based on a relatively small sample of those moving out of NDC areas between 2002 and 2004. Nevertheless, it does provide valuable insights into the different characteristics of, and outcomes for, different 'mobility' populations.
- 7.2 A number of key **conclusions** can be derived from this analysis:
- when compared with in-movers, those leaving the 39 NDC neighbourhoods are more likely to be older, in employment and to move into owner-occupied accommodation
 - in-movers nevertheless provide a potential resource on which to build longer term sustainable change in that they are younger, healthier and better educated than those who **stayed** in NDCs between 2002 and 2004
 - on the broader canvas, this evidence tends to support the notion of a 'moving escalator' in neighbourhood renewal: those in jobs and who are in, or who intend to enter, the owner-occupied sector are being replaced by those who are less likely to be in employment and who are more likely to be relatively less well off and to live in rented accommodation
 - those who flagged up an intention to move in 2002 were in the event more likely to do so than those who intended to remain; attitudes and aspirations are therefore often realised through subsequent actions: this may conceivably help Partnerships plan ahead by estimating future residential turnover
 - people move for a range of area-based, environmental and property-related reasons: the most important specific reasons for leaving were to access a better choice and quality of housing, lower crime rates in non-NDC areas, fewer problems of anti-social behaviour, more policing, and the quality of the local environment; not many leave primarily because of employment related factors
 - it is not possible definitively to indicate whether NDC interventions in relation to say training or job mentoring actually encourage people to move; the evidence that is available is mixed: there are no differences between out-movers and stayers in relation to having heard of, or being involved with, their local NDC; on the other hand out-movers are more likely than stayers to have undertaken, and to see benefits arising from, personal training and education

- one third of those who left between 2002 and 2004 would have been inclined to stay in NDC areas if improvements had taken place in terms of local housing and environmental standards
- but once people leave they are unlikely ever to return, both because they prefer their new location and because they identify continuing problems in their previous NDC location
- compared with those who stayed in NDC areas between 2002 and 2004, outmovers are more likely to be satisfied with their accommodation, the area, and their overall quality of life, and they are much less likely to want to move again
- there is evidence too that outmovement is associated with improvements to health and socio-economic status
- Twenty-seven per cent of outmovers had not wanted to move from their 2002 NDC accommodation; but by 2004 more improvements had occurred for these 'forced outmovers' than was true for those who stayed in NDCs; such changes were not however as positive as had occurred for outmovers as whole
- considerable changes in tenure occurred for outmovers: whereas 38 per cent were in owner-occupation in 2002, fully 48 per cent were so two years later; moving places is often associated with tenure change; those who leave NDC areas, and in turn move into owner-occupation, are much more likely to be satisfied than the (admittedly small) group of outmovers moving from owner-occupation to renting.

7.3 This evidence contains clear **policy implications** for neighbourhood renewal:

- housing design and tenure are critical factors influencing mobility; policies could seek to maximise opportunities for residents to realise their housing preferences locally, throughout the life cycle, by providing, or facilitating the provision of, more diverse property types, sizes and designs in all tenures, but especially in the owner-occupied sector
- encouraging people to stay is not just about housing measures; it also centrally bound up with environmental issues and, in particular, the widespread perceptions of high levels of crime and anti-social behaviour in renewal areas such as NDCs; these are critical key 'push' factors for those leaving NDC areas; the dilemma for ABIs is that improvements to housing, environmental infrastructure and crime reduction can take a considerable period of time to introduce because of the complexity of problems and the high capital investment required; some households will not wait around until the benefits from such measures start to materialise

- the shift in the ethnic profile between outmovers and inmovers is striking; this may well reflect a process whereby members of some BME communities are moving into these areas due to more constrained mobility choices in the housing market; this carries messages about the potential need to develop pro-active community cohesion strategies to confront any local tensions which may arise from changes in the ethnic profile
- the characteristics of inmovers in some areas is likely to be increasingly shaped by economic in-migration, especially from EU accession states; the impact of NASS dispersal policies has emerged as an important local issue in some NDC areas, especially those in London; NDCs have only limited resources to deal with housing and social problems arising from major influxes of economic migrants
- this evidence suggests that relatively wide geographical areas may be affected by residential mobility stemming from area based regeneration; only a quarter of outmovers relocate to areas within 2km of the NDC concerned
- the scale of out-, and in-, moving over time will be strongly affected by the housing market context for the neighbourhood concerned; 'tight' housing markets, as in parts of London, are likely to experience less turnover than will other areas, characterised by lower demand; the need to build in assumptions about residential turnover in regeneration programmes has often been neglected in the past; but it is a vital ingredient in informing an appropriate balance between place, and people, based measures
- finally, there is the wider issue about the role which NDC areas have traditionally played in urban housing markets; at least some have provided cheaper rented, and indeed owner-occupied, accommodation for relatively disadvantaged groups and first time buyers; if housing programmes in NDCs ultimately reduce the availability of cheaper accommodation, presumably this demand will increase in other similar neighbourhoods; this has always been a central dilemma for renewal and regeneration: improving one area may displace demand for lower cost housing elsewhere.

7.4 Evidence presented here is unable **directly** to address one key policy issue: do ABI interventions of themselves encourage people to leave? It is not possible to trace through the impact on these movers of what may, in any area, be in excess of over a hundred NDC funded interventions. But it seems **plausible** to assume that through time, as an increasing portfolio of NDC funded training, job mentoring, job search, and educational attainment projects are implemented, this may 'encourage' some beneficiaries to leave. If this proves to be the case:

- area based renewal programmes may need to look for a sensible balance between place-based measures, encouraging people to stay, and person-based measures, stimulating out-migration arising from project beneficiaries seeking economic or educational opportunities beyond the neighbourhood
- there may be a case for thinking through the phasing of interventions: if an intensive push is placed on people-based measures before improvements are made to the local environment and the housing market, this may well encourage outmigration
- measures which are probably most likely to encourage people to leave are those impacting on personal labour market skills and employment-related initiatives; in some instances there may be an argument for thinking radically here and postponing the introduction of **new** 'person-based' initiatives until place based improvements have been put in place.