Centre for Longitudinal Studies

CLS Cohort Studies

Working Paper 2008/4

A Profile of Population Change in Rural England

Heather Joshi
Brian Dodgeon
Gareth Hughes

November 2008

A profile of population change in Rural England

Heather Joshi
Brian Dodgeon
Gareth Hughes

November 2008

First published in 2008 by the
Centre for Longitudinal Studies, Institute of Education, University of London
20 Bedford Way,
London
WC1H 0AL
www.cls.ioe.ac.uk

ISBN 1 898453 68 3

The Centre for Longitudinal Studies (CLS) is an ESRC Resource Centre based at the Institution of Education. It provides support and facilities for those using the three internationally-renowned birth cohort studies: the National Child Development Study (1958), the 1970 British Cohort Study and the Millennium Cohort Study (2000). CLS conducts research using the birth cohort study data, with a special interest in family life and parenting, family economics, youth life course transitions and basic skills.

This document is available in alternative formats. Please contact the Centre for Longitudinal Studies.
tel: +44 (0)20 7612 6875
email: info@cls.ioe.ac.uk

Acknowledgements

This work was funded by the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) through the Rural Evidence Research Centre (RERC) based at Birkbeck College, University of London. It does not however represent the views of the Department. We thank Janet Gawn of DEFRA for her comments, and John Shepherd and Peter Bibby of RERC for providing the rural classification of wards used in this paper. Colleagues at the Centre for Longitudinal Studies and cohort families themselves have helped to make it possible to use evidence from the Millennium Cohort Study. The permission of the Office for National Statistics to use the Longitudinal Study is gratefully acknowledged, as is the help provided by ONS staff, particularly Kevin Lynch, and the staff of the Centre for Longitudinal Study Information & User Support (CeLSIUS). CeLSIUS is supported by the ESRC/JISC Census of Population Programme (Award Ref: H 507 25 5179). The authors alone are responsible for the interpretation of the data. Census output from the ONS Longitudinal Study is Crown copyright and is reproduced with the permission of the Controller of HMSO and the Queen's Printer for Scotland.

Abstract

A new official classification of rurality has been developed for England on the basis of settlement patterns. This paper investigates some differences in the socio-demographic profile of Rural and Urban England taking evidence from the Millennium Cohort Study, and the ONS Longitudinal Study spanning 4 censuses since 1971. We conclude that the social and demographic profile of rural England is not enormously different from the urban. There are systematic tendencies for more prosperous people to be living in the 'countryside', especially in the smaller and more dispersed settlements, and conversely for the poorest people to be living in cities and large towns, but the differences are not absolute: neither group is totally absent from either environment. The high degree of exchange of population - an exodus from rural areas in youth, matched by an influx of adults in mid-life (not just at retirement ages, and not just those with rural origins) means there is considerable churning of the population. There is some evidence of selective in-migration raising average educational attainment in rural areas, but other flows bring rural and urban averages closer together. The migration flow contributing most to rural-urban differences is not internal but international. The minority ethnic groups, of immigrants and their descendants, have settled almost exclusively in urban areas. Multi-cultural variation in factors such as family size, overcrowding, female employment, religion and beliefs about the family, affects the urban average, tending to exaggerate the otherwise small differences between the rural population and urban population of white British and Irish ethnicity.

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the world there is a recognition that rural and urban areas are different social as well as physical settings. This paper seeks to establish how some of these differences are changing in a post-industrial country like England, where agriculture also accounts for very little of the workforce. There has been a counter-urban shift in the spatial distribution of population 'cascading down the settlement hierarchy', in Britain (Champion 1989a, b, Champion 2001), and some other OECD countries (Boyle et al 1998, Boyle and Halfacree, 1998). The redistribution has involved different types of people from those who traditionally inhabited rural areas. To investigate the social profile of contemporary rural areas requires a definition, and a map, of the places classified as 'rural', one of the most contentious aspects of the study of counter-urbanization (Mitchell 2004). Administrative district boundaries sometimes contain areas which are unambiguously urban, but they seldom encompass areas which are wholly 'rural'. We adopt the official DEFRA rural classification newly produced in 2004, and confront it with two sets of micro-social data.

1.1 Literature review

Many authors have looked at migration patterns between areas of Britain in the late 20th Century, and the features of rural communities which differ from the urban, but few have used the DEFRA classification, with the exception of Champion and Shepherd (2006) and Champion (2004). They summarise reports of one-year migration between rural and urban wards of England at the 2001 Census, and between rural- and urban-type districts 1993-2003. This shows that the out-migration of younger people from rural locations to study or find work, is more than counter-balanced by middle-aged in-migration, leading to an ageing demographic profile of the countryside. They also show that the migration flows are socially selective in other ways.

Besides his initial work on the 1980s, Champion (2001) has also documented the phenomenon of counter-urbanisation in the one-year migration flows at the 1991 Census by district. He has looked at longer term flows in the net movement out of metropolitan areas between 1971 and 1991 (Champion and Atkins 2000) which does not involve a distinction of specifically rural areas within the non-metropolitan,

.

The use of the ONS Longitudinal Study to get a 20-or 30-year perspective on migration to and from more populous areas has demonstrated the 'escalator' effect of increasing prosperity by moving to the South-East before possibly leaving for a less stressful environment in middle age (Fielding 1992, Bruegel 1999). However these have used a more general regional geography, without attempting to make a precise distinction between urban and rural areas.

There is also a large qualitative literature based on case studies of particular localities which complement quantitative data on general trends, e.g. Little and Morris (2005) Stockdale et al (2000) and Matthews et al (2000) to which the findings presented here offer a broader context.

1.2 Objectives of this paper

What this paper offers to the study of rural England, which has not been attempted before, is to confront the new official classification of rural areas with nationwide quantitative indicators from longitudinal data sources over a thirty-year period since 1971, allowing analyses of 10-year, 20-year and 30-year migration flows between urban and rural areas (as opposed to just one-year moves), differentiated according to the most recent definition available.

The new classification developed for the government agency concerned with rural affairs, is based purely on settlement patterns (Countryside Agency, 2004 and Champion and Shepherd, 2006). We use supplementary quantitative evidence to ask what types of people, in terms of age, sex, social advantage and deprivation are more likely to be found in, stay in or move into and out of rural areas taken as a whole.

We also show how migration in England has changed the socio-demographic profile in rural areas, and discuss whether it leads to the homogenisation or differentiation of social characteristics in rural and urban England. What the longitudinal evidence can show is how far counter-urbanisation involves the colonisation of rural areas by affluent former city dwellers.

Our data from the Office for National Statistics Longitudinal Study (LS) and the Millennium Cohort Study (MCS) record the social profile of geographical mobility in and out of rural areas of England. This is, to our knowledge, the first study to apply this new definition to any longitudinal data set, i.e. one which tracks individuals through time; and it documents the relative affluence of rural England thus defined, and is circulated to encourage other research to explore the classification further.

Section 2 of the paper describes the geography and Section 3 the datasets used. Section 4 looks at dynamic features of the demographic profile between 1971 and 2001, using the LS and focussing on migration. The fifth section compares selected indicators of the social composition of rural and urban dwellers using both census evidence from 1971 and 2001, and survey evidence from the first two rounds of the Millennium Cohort Study in 2001-2 and 2003-4, turning a spotlight on selected groups, particularly groups with indicators of advantages and disadvantages visible in both sources.

The conclusions summarize the descriptive conclusions and review the lessons and limitations of combining the new geography with microdata sources.

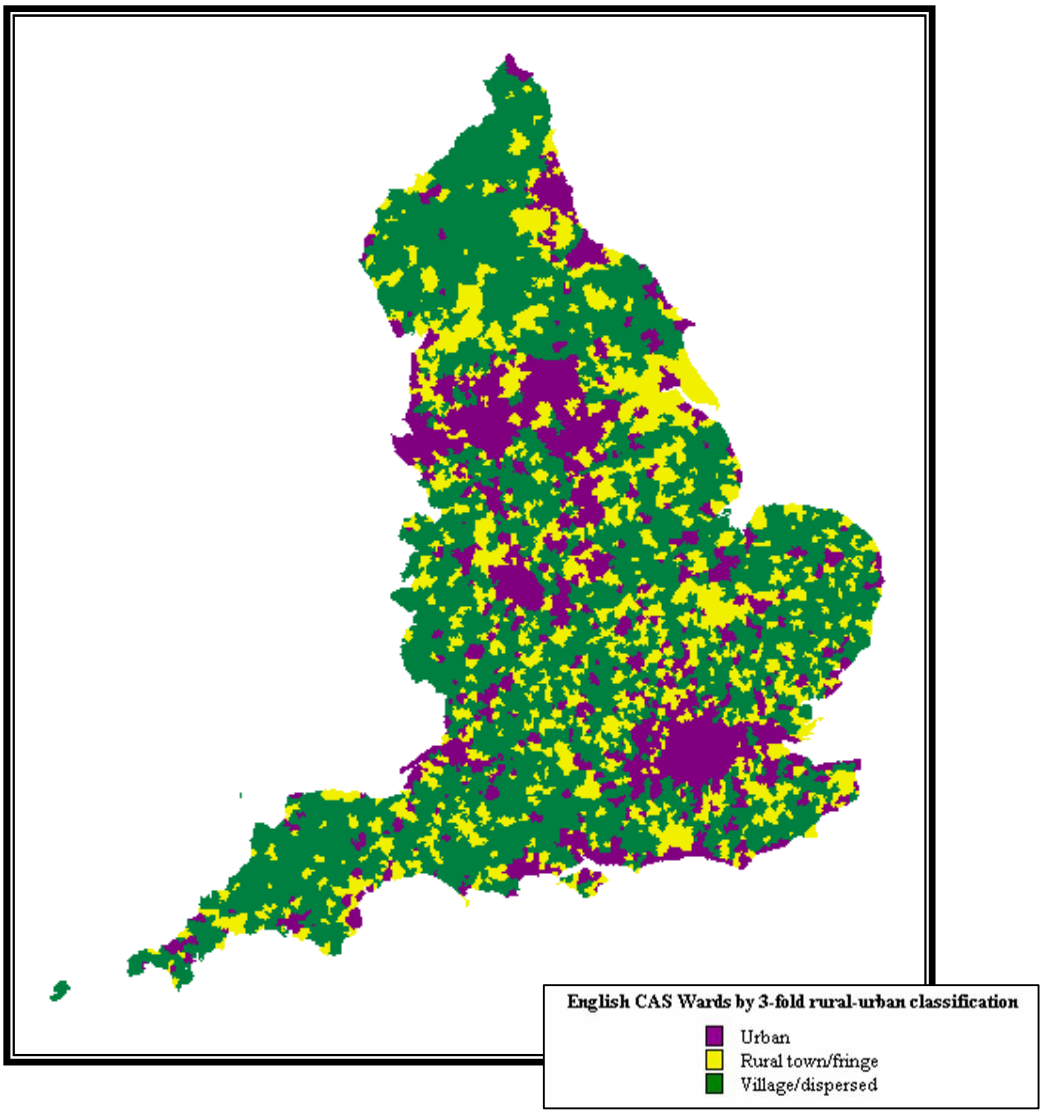
2. THE GEOGRAPHY

The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) is primarily concerned with rural affairs policy in England, given the devolution of government in the smaller UK countries. DEFRA commissioned a new classification of rural areas, prepared by the Birkbeck Rural Evidence Research Centre (ONS 2004). It looks at the size of settlements and the sparsity of human habitation. It is concerned with proximity to inhabited space rather than population density simply measured, and it does not use information about the occupations of the inhabitants or the functions of settlements. Indeed, few rural inhabitants are engaged in traditional 'rural' occupations: only 1.4 percent of economically active people living in rural England in 2001 (on the definition used here) were engaged in agricultural, forestry or fishing occupations. British agriculture is no longer labour-intensive: many rural inhabitants work in towns or in rural-based service industries such as tourism.

The new official classification was based on assigning very small zones (census output areas, average population around 350) to a hierarchy of settlement size, and also to a measure of proximity to other settlements. For our purposes it was necessary to work within the boundaries of electoral wards (average population 5,000) which may in practice contain output areas of different degrees of rurality. Based on the predominant characteristics of the output areas within each ward, it is possible to classify wards into urban (settlements of at least 10,000); small towns (up to 10,000) or town fringe; and 'villages and dispersed' (for village definition, see Bibby & Shepherd, 2004). This geography is illustrated in Figure 1.

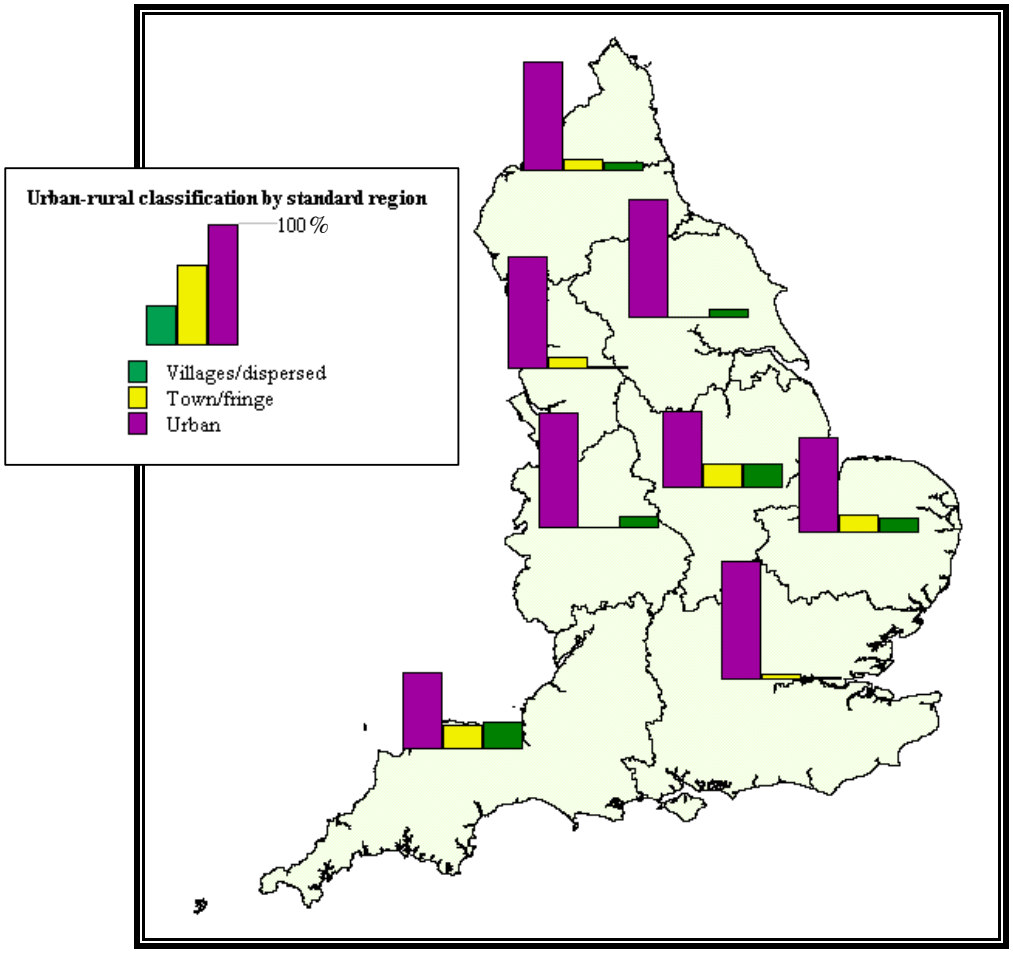
Although most of the surface area is shaded grey, it is only a minority of the population who lives there – 8 percent in 2001 in wards classified as villages or dispersed. 11 percent lived in the small towns or urban fringe, which we also classify as rural, and 81 percent in urban areas, which we do not attempt to differentiate in this paper by further features of settlement, such as population size, conurbation, inner city or inner/ outer suburbs.

Figure 1: Rurality of Wards in England in 2001



As it only covers a sample of wards, we cannot provide a detailed map locating the members of the Millennium Cohort across the whole of England, but Figure 2 summarises their distribution by region (the South East incorporates London). The rural minority is, as we would expect from Figure 1, more in evidence in the South West, the East Midlands and East Anglia than elsewhere.

Figure 2: Proportion MCS respondents by urban-rural classification in standard region, England 2000-2001



Source: Millennium Cohort Study Sweep 1, weighted by sampling weight2 for England

We do not attempt to reconstruct past histories of settlement patterns in classifying wards at censuses back to 1971. Constructing the indicator requires digitized settlement data which is only available so far for 2001. If a locality (ward) was classified as rural or urban in 2001, we hold that classification constant over the previous census years. We treat places that are urban or rural in 2001 as if they had been so described back to 1971. Any change in classification of localities is missed: Changes in rural/urban residence will only be recorded if they involve a geographical movement across ward boundaries. This would be straightforward to implement if ward boundaries also remained constant. as it was, for 1991 and 1981, but we had to create our own look-up table to link 1971 wards to 2001. This was done by taking advantage of the information that many LS members had not changed address between these censuses. In that case, their ward in 1971 could be given the same value of the rural classification as they had in 1981. Some of the smallest wards in 1971, accounting for 1.1% of the sample population, did not have any non-moving LS member, and had to be assigned an indicator which could only be dichotomous on the basis of the local government organization at that time into rural and urban districts.

3 THE DATA SETS

3.1 The ONS Longitudinal Study (LS)

The LS links individual records on 1% of the population of England and Wales across each Census since 1971 (see Hattersley and Creeser 1995 and Celsius/ONS website). It has already been used for a number of investigations of geographical, combined with social, mobility (Creeser and Gleave 2000), but this was one of the first projects to use the newly-available 2001 Census data link. A set of rural residence histories, focussing on the time points 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001, is combined with indicators of socio-economic position such as family structure, qualifications and housing tenure.

3.2 The Millennium Cohort Study (MCS)

The first survey of MCS consists of 18,818 babies born in the UK over a 12-month period in 2000/2001, and living in selected UK electoral wards at age 9 months. It is designed to collect data disproportionately from areas with high minority ethnic settlement and high child poverty. It is clustered in 398 wards (or amalgamations thereof) across the UK with 200 in England. In these wards all births September 2000 - August 2001 were in the target sample, of which 11,533 families (72%) responded. 68 of the English clusters have been classified here as rural, containing 1382 families, or 12 percent of the families surveyed in England (17% after reweighting). MCS is a rich source of information on the socio-economic circumstances of a large sample of families, along with information on income, health and attitudes which are not collected in the census. For further details on the sample design and response rate, see Plewis et al (2007), and for some descriptive results of the first survey, Dex and Joshi (2004). Although the cohort has also been followed up at age 5 and imminently 7, the evidence used for this paper is confined to the first survey at 9 months and the first follow-up at age 3, when 81% of families in England who had also been interviewed at the first survey provided data (Hansen and Joshi, 2007).

The MCS is used here to contrast rural and urban areas viz-a-viz the extent to which individual deprivation is geographically concentrated. Rural areas are more socially heterogeneous than urban neighbourhoods, so the area-based delivery of anti-poverty policies may be less well targeted. The sample was deliberately stratified to obtain disproportionate numbers in areas with high child poverty, and high concentrations of ethnic minorities (see Table 1). Thus 2,394 of the 11,533 families responding in England were from wards with a high ethnic minority population, though this represents only 5.8% when the sample is re-weighted to account for the over-sampling of these wards. The rest of the wards were divided according to whether or not they had a local Child Poverty Index (CPI) over 38.4 percent (representing the top quartile of wards in England and Wales based on administrative data for 1998). The average number of families per ward reflects the very large populations of some inner city wards, but also the smaller populations of rural wards. None of the minority ethnic wards fell outside urban England, and only a very small minority of the ‘other disadvantaged’ sampling points. Just one ward (with only

responding 9 families and very high Child Poverty Index in 1998 of 76%) was selected from deeply rural areas ('villages'). There were 6 wards in the more densely settled rural areas ('small towns') containing 232 responding families in places with an average Child Poverty Index of 48%. Otherwise 1,141 'rural' respondents came from 61 wards with an average child poverty rate of 16% in 1998. This leads us to expect higher general levels of prosperity in the rural areas, but also confirms that the rural poor do exist, though not in the sort of concentrations the sampling strategy has been able to 'harvest' in urban areas. On a technical level, it means that the Millennium Cohort does not provide as large an unweighted sample of the rural poor as it does for urban areas. This reinforces the case for looking at another source of evidence.

Table 1: Number of wards*, families and average Child Poverty Index (CPI) for sample achieved in England, Millennium Cohort Study, survey at 9 months *(Number of families italics*)

	Villages/ dispersed	**Rural towns/ fringe**	**Urban**	**Total**
Wards with high **minority ethnic** population	0	0	19 *2394*	**19** ***2394***
			CPI = 60.2	**CPI = 60.2**
Other **disadvantaged** wards	1 *9*	6 *232*	64 *4281*	**71** ***4522***
	CPI = 75.5	CPI = 48.4	CPI = 50.0	**CPI = 49.9**
Non-disadvantaged	39 *614*	22 *527*	75 *3476*	**136** ***4617***
	CPI = 15.0	CPI = 17.2	CPI = 22.3	**CPI = 20.7**
Total	**40** ***624***	**28** ***758***	**158** ***10151***	**226** ***11533***
	CPI = 16.0	**CPI = 26.7**	**CPI = 42.9**	**CPI = 40.4**

* Original electoral wards before the amalgamation of small wards into 'superwards' (see Plewis et al 2004). Numbers of wards and families unweighted

4. THE DYNAMIC DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE 1971-2001

4.1 Movement of population between rural and urban England

Just under one fifth of the English population in our Census extract were in rural areas on the new official definition –18.7% of those in the 1% sample from the 2001 Census. The longitudinal linkage enables us to say how many of those people were in "Rural England" at the 1971 Census.

Table 2: Distribution of Population of England in 2001 by Rural-Urban location in 1971 (per cent)

	All present in 2001	All over 30 in 2001	Rural over 30	Urban over 30
Rural in both 1971 and 2001	5.4	8.4	42.0	
Urban in 1971-Rural in 2001	5.7	9.0	45.0	*(11.2)*
Not present 1971-Rural 2001	7.6	2.6	13.1	
Rural 1971- Urban 2001	3.4	5.3	*(26.5)*	6.6
Urban in both 1971 and 2001	38.4	59.9		75.0
Not present 1971-Urban 2001	39.5	14.7		18.4
All rural in 2001	**18.7**	**19.9**		
Net moves to rural since 1971, as % of base population		*3.7*	*18.5*	*4.6*
Base numbers	**505342**	**323295**	**64591**	**258704**

Population enumerated in England in 2001
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Going back in time, we classify localities by their 2001 settlement pattern. On this basis, 5% of the English population were rural dwellers at both dates, 6% had moved into rural from urban England and 8% were not present in 1971 but rural in 2001. Most of those not present (80%) were not yet born in 1971.

The remaining recruits to the rural population are either migrants from other countries (including the rest of the UK) or cases missed by the LS. This may occur because of linkage failure or non-enumeration in the previous Census. If we exclude those under 30 in 2001, the share of the rural population moving in from urban England over this thirty-year period is 45.0%. The rest consists of 42% who were present in rural England at both points and 13.1% who were not present (though alive) in 1971.

Those moving in the opposite direction (rural to urban) were less numerous (5.3% of the total population over 30, equivalent to 26.5% of the number of people over 30 present in rural areas in 2001). There was thus a net gain from population flows from urban to rural areas of 18.5% of the rural population. It also gained 3% from "elsewhere", the majority being international migrants.

A substantial number of people present in 1971 were not present in 2001. Most of these had died, but a number had moved "elsewhere". This includes under-enumeration at the 2001 Census. The proportions of those present in 1971 who disappear (or die) across 30 years rises with age. It is about one quarter of those aged 30-59 in 2001 (aged 0-29 in 1971) rising to 88% of those who were or would have been, over 80 in 2001 (over 50 in 1971). There is little difference in this outflow from rural or urban origins – fractionally more of those in rural areas in 1971 survive into their 60s and 70s, but this hint of lower mortality in rural areas is not apparent for the over 80s. On the whole, this comparison suggests rural areas are as likely as urban to produce out-migrants from England (or census non-completers), which suggests we do not witness elevated rates of international out-migration from the urban destinations despite the international immigrant flow to urban areas.

Returning to internal migration, the net move to rural areas (18.5% of the 2001 rural population old enough to have moved) is not uniformly spread across age groups. Looking at the rows in italics in Table 3, the smallest net outflow from urban to rural areas is by people under 10 at the outset (and aged 30 – 39 in 2001) - equivalent to 8.6% of the population aged 30-39 resident in rural areas in 2001. This is likely to be due to the flow of young people travelling to urban areas for study, training or employment. At ages 40 through 69 in 2001, the net flow is over 20% in the other direction, peaking for those age 50-59 in 2001, at 26%, representing net movement to rural areas by people who were in their twenties at the outset. At ages over 70 in 2001, the net inflow is still positive but smaller (16.1% 70-79, 13.2% 80+) reflecting a diminution of moves in each direction at higher ages.

Looking at the gross flows (non-italics in Table 3), the peak cohort for urban to rural movers is those aged 50-59 in 2001 (20-29 in 1971) composing 24% of the flow, but those born 10 and 20 years later were also almost as numerous. Generally, in-movers had a younger age profile than those who were in rural areas at both times (See Table 4).

Those who left rural areas were also younger than those who stayed, and younger still than the incomers, with the highest percentage in the most recent cohort – those under 10 in 1971. This suggests people approaching retirement in 2001 are likely to have moved into rural areas but it does not tell us when in the thirty year period they moved. The lower movement rates among people over 60 suggest that movement into the countryside on retirement is not a dominant flow. The data also indicate the age group most likely to have left rural for urban areas was the youngest, but again the 30-year transitions do not show whether these moves were predominantly when they were under 10, moving with their parents, or between 10 and 29, leaving their rural childhood home for an urban existence. This reflects the age patterns of internal migration presented by Champion and Shepherd (2006), but over a longer period.

4.2 Timing of moves within the 1971-2001 period

To investigate these questions, we look at flows over the intervening decennial periods in Table 3. In each decade we see a net outflow from urban to rural areas, but the volume has declined gradually, from 5,979 in the 1970s to 2,943 during the 1990s (1% population sample). Champion (1989) posed the question as to whether the slowdown in the exodus from cities in the 1980s was an end or a pause in the process of counter-urbanisation. From the 2001 viewpoint, we can see the process continued to slow down, but had still not ended.

In all cases there was a clear pattern of people leaving rural areas during the decade containing their 20th birthday, i.e., those aged 10-19 at the first date and 20-29 at the second. It is the next ten years – those that contain the 30th birthday, that the net flow to rural areas is highest. It is clear that the high rate of movement into rural areas over the 30-year period by those aged 50-59 in 2001 was not a pre-retirement rush, it is just that the mid-life years (from the mid-twenties onwards) are when people settled in rural England.

The ten-year moves also reveal more about the net outward moves of the youngest cohort alive for the whole 3 decades. Movers aged under 10 were relatively likely to move into rural areas (with their mid-life parents). The exodus occurred as they moved from teens to twenties, and as they were approaching thirty the counter-flow had already started.

From Table 3 it is clear that a very large part of the slow-down in counter-urbanisation over the three decades (Champion 1989), is explained by the speed-up of those in their late teens and early twenties moving in the opposite direction, as higher education expanded. Whereas from 1971 to 1981 there was a net rural-to-urban flow of 26 LS members in that 10-year age group (in our 1% sample), this had increased to 1,608 in the 1980s, and 2,665 in the 90s, accounting for 87% of the total reduction in the net urban-to-rural flow (i.e. 5,979 to 2,943).

Although in many parts of the world, migration between rural and urban zones is very different for men and women, this does not apply to England. A gender breakdown shows more or less equal numbers of males and females moving in each direction, and similarly for non-movers.

Table 3: Gross and net flows between rural and urban England, 1971-81, 1981-1991 and 1991-2001, among those present at two dates in the LS

		Age at the later date								
		10-19	**20-29**	**30-39**	**40-49**	**50-59**	**60-69**	**70-79**	**80+**	**Total**
1971-2001	**Urban to rural**			6555	7061	7110	4107	2726	1479	**29038**
	Rural to urban			5404	4112	3252	2022	1440	908	**17138**
	net			*1151*	*2949*	*3858*	*2085*	*1286*	*571*	***11900***
1971-1981	**Urban to rural**	3833	3707	5030	2508	1916	1865	1077	341	**20277**
	Rural to urban	2573	3733	3061	1653	1179	951	801	347	**14298**
	net	*1260*	*-26*	*1969*	*855*	*737*	*914*	*276*	*-6*	***5979***
1981-1991	**Urban to rural**	3212	3753	5171	3865	2375	2116	1228	639	**22359**
	Rural to urban	2274	5361	3333	2469	1426	1170	1027	565	**17625**
	net	*938*	*-1608*	*1838*	*1396*	*949*	*946*	*201*	*74*	***4734***
1991-2001	**Urban to rural**	2992	2284	5371	3796	2905	1846	1107	673	**20974**
	Rural to urban	2284	4949	3762	2239	1953	1269	962	613	**18031**
	net	*708*	*-2665*	*1609*	*1557*	*952*	*577*	*145*	*60*	***2943***

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study: Study members enumerated in England at both relevant dates
1% sample of census

Table 4: Rural-Urban movement between 1971 and 2001 and location in intervening censuses, Population of England in the LS at 1971, 1981, 1991, and 2001 Censuses, percentage of each sector in 2001

		Age in 2001						Total
		30-39	**40-49**	**50-59**	**60-69**	**70-79**	**80+**	**30+**
Rural population *Relative to those rural in 2001:*	Rural at all 4 censuses	33.9	30.3	38.2	52.2	60.2	60.0	**42.6**
	Rural Returner: rural at 1971 and 2001 but urban at least one intervening census	10.9	10.6	6.0	4.4	2.8	2.8	**7.0**
	Urban in 1971, rural in 2001	55.2	59.0	55.9	43.4	37.1	37.2	**50.4**
	Urban in 2001, but rural at least one census	(72.5)	(56.0)	(41.9)	(33.2)	(30.7)	(34.7)	**(47.2)**
	Base number: Rural population in 2001	*9420*	*9845*	*11099*	*8395*	*6433*	*3323*	*48515*
Urban population *Relative to those urban in 2001:*	Urban at all 4 censuses	83.2	85.0	87.2	90.8	92.0	91.4	**87.4**
	Urban Returner: urban at1971 and 2001 but rural at least one intervening census	6.6	5.9	5.1	3.4	2.8	2.9	**4.8**
	Rural in 1971, urban in 2001	10.3	9.1	7.7	5.8	5.2	5.9	**7.8**
	Rural in 2001, but urban at least one census	(15.3)	(18.7)	(18.8)	(13.2)	(10.3)	(10.1)	**(15.3)**
	Base number: Urban population in 2001	*40597*	*36679*	*36427*	*30291*	*24848*	*13148*	*182000*

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study – 1% sample numbers

Unlike other sources, the ONS LS enables us to look at urban-rural movement during the intervening decades. One question this answers is how many of those in rural areas at both end points had left and then returned. Another feature of longitudinal data is the ability to track one-time rural dwellers who are not currently living in rural areas. Table 4 takes the LS members known to be in either rural or urban England at all four censuses, and shows by age in 2001, the percentage who had been enumerated in their 'home' sector four times running, identifiable returners, other incomers and those who had left for the other sector. 43% of the rural population over 30 had been rural at all 4 censuses. They may have had urban sojourns between censuses, or moved within rural England, or moved (back) in before 1971, but nevertheless this is the best indicator so far of stable rural residence. This proportion of stable residents rises with age from around a third among those aged under 50 in 2001 to three-fifths in the oldest two cohorts over 70 in 2001. For them, the 30 years covered does not include the peak moving ages of 10-40.

The four census analyses can also detect some people who have left rural areas and come back. 7% of the rural population were in rural areas at both 1971 and 2001, but had been in urban England on at least one intervening census. This proportion is again higher for those under 50 (around 11%), tailing to 3% for the oldest two cohorts. Again some of the older rural residents might be returners from sorties before 1971. But most incomers have urban 1971 origins. In Table 4, the inflow from urban areas accounts for 50% of all the rural population over 30 and nearly 60% of the rural population aged 30–49. This confirms what can only be a suspicion in the short-term migration data, used by Champion and Shepherd,(2006) that the mid-life incomers to rural areas are not predominantly the same people who left in their teens and twenties. Counter-urbanization involves population exchange, which as Stockdale et al (2000) describe for Scotland, is both an opportunity and a threat for rural communities.

Another way of measuring urban-rural population exchange is to look at the numbers we know have left rural for urban England and compare them with the cross-sectional measure of rural population present in 2001. If rural England could claim connection with all those former ruralites currently in urban England as well as those currently resident, the population with rural 'roots' within the past 30 years rises by nearly half again (47.2%) and nearly three-quarters (72.5%) for the cohort aged 30-39 in 2001. With a sustained flow of immigrants and an ebb and flow of out-migrants there is a fair degree of turnover in rural England's population. The same is not true of urban England. Corresponding figures show the vast majority were present in urban England at all four points (87%); returners to urban areas who had been once or twice in rural England accounted for only 5%, and rural to urban migration for 8% of the destination population.

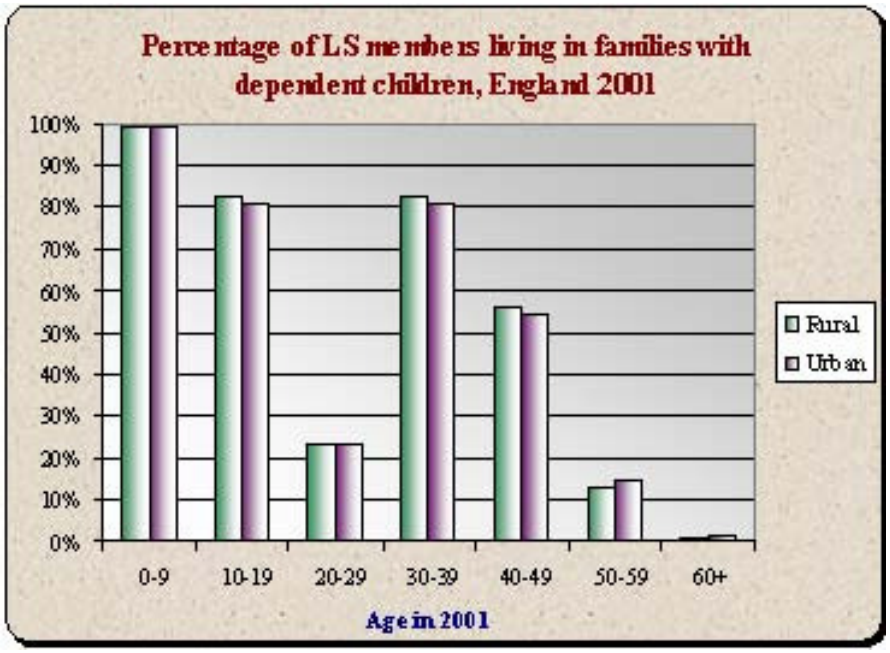
As a proportion of the urban population, the number of former urbanites currently in rural areas was also modest, less than one sixth (15.3%) compared with 47.2% when the converse is considered. The cohort with the most former urban residents 'out-posted' in rural England was aged 50–59 in 2001, the moves mostly having been made after the 1971 and 1981 Censuses when this cohort was aged 20-39.

5. THE SOCIAL PROFILE

5.1 Family composition

The dip in percentage of the population living in rural areas during ages 20-29 marks a period of the lifecourse for most people when they are between their family of origin and forming their own family. We have looked at the living arrangements of the LS members in 2001 to see if the period of absence from rural areas does coincide with there being no dependent child present (see Chart 3).

Figure 3: Percentage of LS members living in families with dependent children



The LS member is classified in one of these families if they are themselves a dependent child or one of the parents. Dependent children are those in private households under 16 or still in secondary education. At ages over 50, family living arrangements are relatively uncommon in both urban and rural England. They are also uncommon at ages 20-29, when the proportion of the total rural population is at a minimum. Otherwise, there are not big differences between age groups.

There is a striking difference in the proportion of single parent families in rural wards (see Table 5): 11.2% of all rural families are headed by a single parent, compared with an urban figure of 18.5%. The Millennium Study too found that single parents are relatively rare in rural areas. In urban settings 15% of the families had a lone parent, compared with 7 percent in rural wards, a lower fraction than in those families with children up to school-leaving age, whose parents have had a longer time to part company, but still the rural urban differential is replicated. Hughes and Natvel (2005) suggest a rather less dramatic excess of lone parents in urban areas, but through their different choice of indicators. They compare lone parent households in

England (6.4%) and all Rural Districts (4.8%). The difference with our figures arises from taking all households as the denominator, not just families with dependent children, excluding lone parents from the numerator, if they live in a larger household, and by defining rurality administratively at the district level rather than a bespoke classification of wards.

Table 5 shows the population with dependent children, divided into single and two-parent families. There is little difference in the proportion who are in the ethnic majority among those in one- or two-parent families within urban and rural sectors. This also shows one parent families are a smaller minority in rural areas: just over one in ten compared to one in six nationally and 19% among urban families. LS analysis also showed the low level of one parent families in rural areas was not due to the absence of ethnic minorities, for the few minority ethnic families in rural areas were just as likely as others to have two parents. That the proportion of minority ethnic groups is very low in rural areas is evident both in the LS and the MCS. There are around 3% in both villages and small towns.

Table 5: LS Members living in families with dependent children by broad ethnic group and urban-rural residence, England, 2001

		Sector of residence		
		Urban	**Rural**	**Total**
Family structure	**% of families with one parent**	18.8	11.2	**17.4**
Majority Ethnic composition %	**One parent families**	82.1	97.2	**83.9**
	Two parent families	82.9	96.7	**85.6**
LS Sample numbers	**One parent families**	32758	4403	**37161**
	Two parent families	141575	34790	**176365**

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

5.2 Contrasts of families in rural and urban England in MCS1

The design of the MCS was to over-sample wards with high concentrations of minority ethnic population. None of these were outside urban areas (Tables 1 and 6). Individual minority ethnic respondents were also virtually absent from rural areas – only 3.4% of families in villages/dispersed and 3.7% in small towns (after re-weighting).

The other major axis on which wards were over-sampled was the rate of child poverty, measured through benefits claimed by all families in 1998. Again, very few of these wards turn out to be rural, such that (after weighting), under 1% of the respondents in villages are in such wards. 19% of those living in rural town/fringe

were in ‘disadvantaged’ areas and 37% in ‘disadvantaged’ urban areas other than ‘ethnic’ wards. How good was this criterion at pinpointing poor families?

The Child Poverty Index cannot be replicated exactly in 2001 because of changes in the benefit system. Of various possible poverty indicators, Table 6 takes an approximation of the one used in official poverty statistics: living on net family income below 60% of the national median (Bradshaw, Mayhew et al, 2005). On this basis, about one quarter (27%) of the total sample in England were ‘poor’, including one in six families in villages/dispersed, despite the absence of places where more than 38% had been on benefits in 1998.

In ‘rural towns/fringe’, approximately the same proportion were ‘poor’ on an individual basis (17%) as were living in ‘poor’ areas (19%), but the two sets do not overlap completely: 35% of families in the ‘poor’ rural towns/fringe areas have a net household income below 60% of the national median. In urban England the individual poverty rate (29%) is almost double what it is in villages but it is particularly high (43%) for the minority ethnic group. The majority ethnic group, defined here as ‘White (British or Irish)’ in urban areas have low income more often than the rural population (26%), but the rural-urban contrast is moderated by considering the ethnic minority group separately, namely, all non-whites and those whites who claim to have roots elsewhere (e.g., Eastern and Western Europe, Turkey etc).

This pattern repeats itself on a number of other indicators of social conditions of disadvantage or its correlates reported in Table 6. On the following items, there is a geographic gradient from most to least advantaged as one crosses the sample from villages to urban areas: parents’ qualifications, lone parenthood, early first birth, no-earner families, no savings, home ownership, overcrowding, car access and mothers with long-term illness. In a few respects villages are little different to rural towns or have slightly less ‘favourable’ indicators: two-earner couples, living in a flat (or other accommodation, not a house or bungalow) and fathers with long-term illness. In all but the last case, the urban outcome is less favourable than the rural areas taken together. If we separate out minority ethnic groups, the contrast between the rural and the urban British/Irish Whites narrows, and is eliminated in the case of employment rates of couples and overcrowding. This is not an exhaustive list of comparisons that could be made. We have found, for example, that replies to questions about attitudes to family life differ between rural and urban England only to the extent that the ‘Urban other ethnicity’ report different sets of values.

Table 6: The proportion of some key variables from the Millennium Cohort Study by rural-urban definition

MCS Variables	Village/ dispersed	Rural town/ fringe	Urban	Urban White British*	Urban other ethnicity
Living in minority ethnic area	0	0	7	1.4	32.3
Living in other disadvantaged area	0.9	19.1	37.1	37.3	35.9
Ethnicity= white British or Irish	96.6	96.3	82.0	100	0
Mothers: No qualifications	4.7	6.1	16.4	14.0	27.5
Mothers: Graduates	42.8	32.7	25.9	25.5	27.7
Fathers: No qualifications	9	8.9	16.9	15.5	23.9
Fathers: Graduates	41.5	36.6	29.8	28.3	37.2
Lone parent	6.0	7.7	14.7	14.4	16.1
Mothers aged 21 or less at first birth	11.4	16	24.8	25.2	22.7
Mothers aged 28 or over at first birth	58.1	48	37.9	38.8	33.7
Couples with no earner	2.2	4.2	7.7	6.7	12.6
Couples with two earners	55.5	55.9	51.2	55.0	33.7
Lone parent earners	44.9	31.8	22.2	21.1	27.1
Family income below 60% median equivalent H-hold income	15.3	17.2	28.9	26.0	43.4
No savings	28.1	38.2	46.3	46.1	47.0
Housing Tenure: Owner occupier	71.5	73.8	62.1	64.7	50.2
Housing Tenure: Social Housing	13.3	11.2	24.2	23.1	29.3
Not in a house/bungalow	4.5	4	14	11.2	26.7
Overcrowding	4	5.1	9.8	6.6	24.8
No car access	3.1	6.4	16.6	14.9	24.2
Mothers with long-term illness	20.8	21.0	21.7	22.6	17.7
Fathers with long-term illness	25.6	23.1	20.3	21.0	17.0
Sample Numbers (unweighted)†	**624**	**758**	**10151**	**7032**	**3083**
Sample Numbers (weighted)	**818**	**860**	**8202**	**6703**	**1472**

'Urban White British' are defined as all those urban cases where the main respondent (usually the cohort child's mother) gave their ethnic group as White British or White Irish: all other ethnicities are included in the 'Urban other ethnicity'

†Sample numbers for 'the two urban sub-samples do not equal 'Urban' as the ethnicity variable has 36 missing urban cases.

Source: Millennium Cohort Study, First Survey

5.3 Movement of young families: Millennium Cohort Study

Results from Sweep 2 of the Millennium Cohort Study, conducted in 2003/4, allow us to look at more recent urban-rural moves over a shorter time span among the specific group of parents who had a child born soon after the turn of the new millennium, which provide some additional, preliminary insights into the characteristics of those who move in and out of rural areas as well as those who stay there.

9,289 families were found to be resident in England at both sweeps (2000/2001 and

2003/4). Table 7 shows the (unweighted) figures for moves between sectors, dividing the rural sector into small towns and villages/sparse, and separating out of rural England some other specific freestanding 'market' towns with population between 10,000 and 30,000, which we were asked by DEFRA to consider as part of the rural economy, (at a later stage in our work than when the analyses in Sections 3 and 5 were prepared).

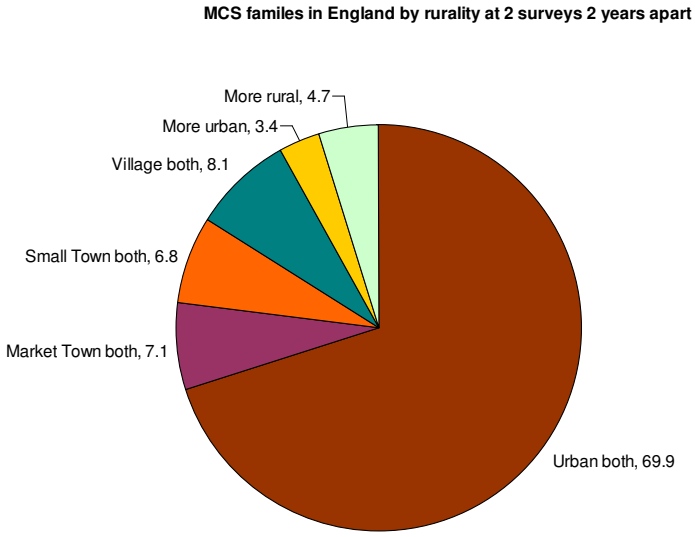
Over a period of approximately 2 years 3 months, relatively few had moved sectors. For analysis purposes we have combined all the cases shaded green as having moved in a rural direction, and all those shaded orange in an urban direction.

Table 7: Urban-rural migration between MCS Sweeps 1 and 2: unweighted sample

	MCS Familes in England Sweep1 and Sweep 2:				
	MCS1: 2001-2002				
MCS2: 2003-4	Urban >30k	Market Town 10k-30k	Sm<10K Town & Fringe	Village, or Sparse	Total
Urban	7174	23	70	41	7308
Market Town	71	511	31	35	648
Small Town	114	11	478	37	640
Village etc	122	27	37	507	693
Total	7481	572	616	620	**9289**

Figure 4 shows the weighted percentages, correcting for the differential sampling of disadvantaged and minority ethnic wards. 8% had moved sectors in this period. Amongst these young familes there was a net movement of 1.3% towards rural areas. For comparison, around one third of families in both surveys had moved address.

Figure 4: Moves by MCS Families in England between sweeps 1 and 2 by rurality (weighted percentages)



5.3.1 Age and income characteristics of movers and non-movers

In Figure 5 we examine the possibility of associations between families who live in rural areas, or move into them during in their child's early years, with the age of the mother at her first child. This is an indicator associated with her education, and many other indicators of family well being (Hawkes, et al 2004)

Figure 5: Age of mother at first birth and location at two MCS surveys in England

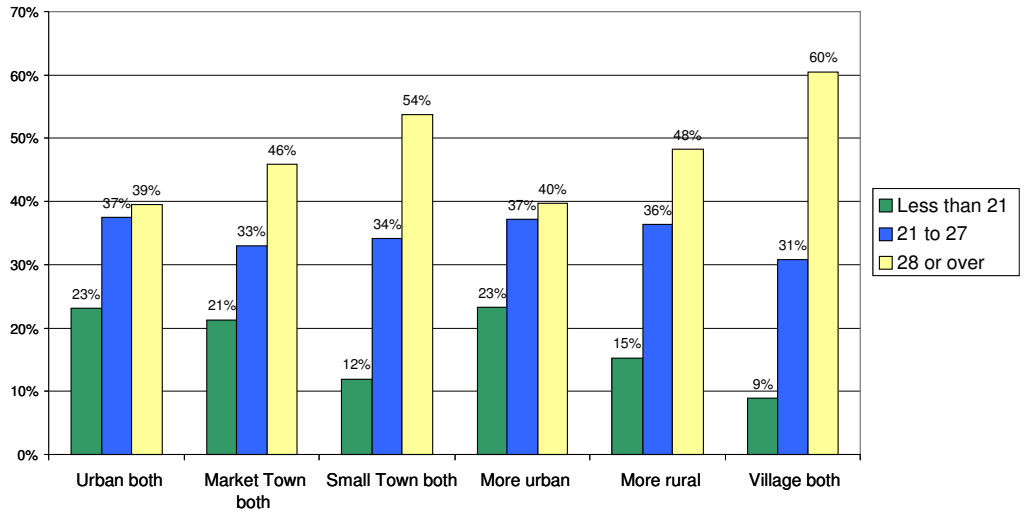
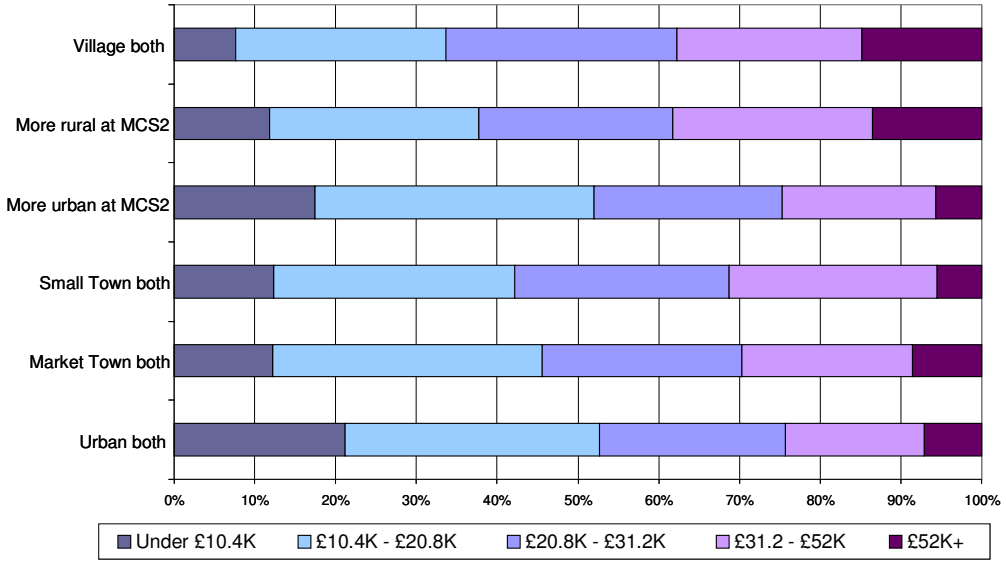


Figure 5 puts the rurality of the two survey locations on the horizontal axis and plots the proportions of families by age of the mother at her first child. It is apparent that

families living in either villages or small towns at both surveys had the oldest mothers. Young mothers were most likely to be found in or moving towards urban areas, Those moving towards rural areas had older mothers than those moving in the opposite directions, but not as old as in groups already in villages and small towns. In Figure 6 we look at associations between income (which is not available in census-based data) and location.

Figure 6: Net family income by location in England at MCS1 and MCS2



It is apparent that the less advantaged families tend to be resident in, or moving towards, urban England. The highest incomes are found among those in villages and moving towards them.

5.4 Spotlight on lone mothers

We now ask whether the relative absence of lone mothers in rural England, noted above (which will help account for the relatively low rural poverty rate), is due to differential migration, or differential patterns of family formation among those who do not move between rural and urban England.

Table 8: Percentage of women who were lone mothers in 2001 among population of villages and the rest of England, ONS LS 1991-2001

Residence 1991and 2001	Lone mothers in 2001 (%)	Sample Numbers
Urban or small town in 1991 to village in 2001	4.5	3675
Village* in 1991 to urban or small town in 2001	7.8	4279
Village both dates	4.6	4677
Urban/Small town both dates	9.7	93241
All women aged 20-59	9.2	105872

**Village includes 'dispersed'*
Population enumerated in England in both 1991 and 2001
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

Among women aged 20-59 in 2001, the proportion who were lone mothers in villages was virtually identical, at 4.6 %, regardless of whether they were incomers since 1991 or had been in that sector ten years previously. The proportion was twice as high among the continuing urban residents (9.7%) and intermediate for women who had moved from villages to towns or to cities from villages (7.8%). This analysis does not show when the women become lone mothers, but since the median duration of lone parenthood is likely to be under ten years, there is a fair chance that they became lone mothers after leaving the village sector. Likewise it is not clear whether the incomers were already single parents when they moved, choosing to bring up their children in the country (as did one of the interviewees of Hughes and Nativel, 2005) or came as a two parent family and had split since arrival. The relatively high employment rates of lone mothers (Table 6, line 13) may reflect selective migration, but also the relatively strong social disapproval of benefit dependency reported in at least some rural communities (Hughes and Nativel 2005). Thus it seems from Table 8 that rural/urban differences in lone parenthood are largely generated *in situ*: in-migration to rural areas is not contributing to their 'deficit' of lone parent families, though out-migration may be helping to widen the gap.

5.5 Spotlight on graduates

Apart from the lack of minority ethnic groups and a generally higher level of prosperity in the rural localities sampled for the Millennium Cohort survey, one of the social indicators which did show contrasts was the proportion of parents who were graduates of higher education, i.e., having first or higher degrees or an equivalent diploma to NVQ level 4 or 5 (hereafter 'graduates'). Among the MCS mothers surveyed in urban areas the percentage who were graduates was 25.6%, and in villages, 42.8%, with intermediate levels in small and market towns (strictly speaking the figures apply to the child's main caregiver and her (or his) partner. In the vast majority of cases the main respondent was the child's natural mother, and the partner interview was done by the father). For the fathers of the new cohort in 2001 the corresponding figures were 29.6% and 41.5%. Possession of higher qualifications is one of the few indicators of economic status that is also available in the census.

Table 9 shows that about one quarter of the census population in 2001 in the age range from which most of the MCS parents are drawn (20-39) reported this level of qualifications. The overall level is somewhat lower than among the survey parents – possibly because of differential non-response to the survey by the less qualified, and because the census is more likely to include people who are still studying for a degree. However the census does confirm that rural inhabitants are more likely to have degrees than urban dwellers, particularly if they live in villages or open country. 27.8% of those aged 30-39 living in 'villages and dispersed' (not shown) were graduates compared to 23.5% of those living in urban England.

Table 9: Percentage of the population with higher qualifications in 1971 and 2001 by rural-urban residence and age at each date

		Age Group							
		20 to 29	**30 to 39**	**40 to 49**	**50 to 59**	**60 to 69**	**70 to 79**	**Total**	**n 20-79**
1971	**Rural**	3.5	5.3	4.3	3.0	2.8	1.4	3.5	**52107**
	Urban	4.5	4.6	3.3	2.2	1.7	0.8	3.0	**277562**
2001	**Rural**	22.2	25.1	27.0	21.9	16.9	14.3	22.5	**60931**
	Urban	27.1	23.5	21.3	17.3	12.4	10.4	20.3	**253938**

1971 - Graduate = Highly qualified manpower
2001 - Qualification Level 4/5: First degree, Higher degree, NVQ levels 4-5, HNC
Note persons over 74 not required to answer question on qualifications in 2001
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The longitudinal information in the ONS Longitudinal Study (LS) enables us to find out whether the excess graduate population of rural England is due to higher levels of training for its original inhabitants, or represents a net gain of graduates in the exchange of population between rural and urban areas. We go back to 1971 to see the longest term flows discernible. At that time, the level of higher qualifications among the adult population was much lower, apparently 3% of those over 20 compared with 20.7% in 2001, although the different wording of the census question probably exaggerates the difference. In any case, over the period when there was a small net shift to the rural sector, there was a massive increase nationally in the qualified population, fuelled by the expansion of higher education for cohorts who were under 20 in 1971.

Taking people who were already at least 20 in 1971, Table 10 shows nearly one quarter (23.3%) of those who were graduates in urban areas in 1971 ended up in rural areas, a bigger percentage than the 11.8% of non-graduates in urban areas in 1971 who moved to rural by 2001. There were movements in the opposite direction: 33% of graduates and 30% of non-graduates in rural areas moved to urban England, but since this is from a smaller base, the net gain of population to rural areas was positive: 853 graduate sample members and 7040 non-graduates. The graduates are over-represented – their share is 11% in the net rural inflow and 4% of the total.

Table 10: Distribution of graduates in 1971 and others across rural and urban locations in 2001 by urban/ rural residence in 1971: England

	1971 location	2001 location				Sample numbers	net shift to rural
		Rural			Urban		
		All	Town/fringe	Villages/dispersed			
Graduate 1971	**Rural**	66.7	32.7	34.0	33.2	1023	853
	Urban	23.3	10.8	12.7	76.5	5078	
Non-graduate 1971	**Rural**	70.3	41.5	28.8	29.7	23593	7040
	Urban	11.8	6.9	4.9	88.2	119319	
Total	**All 20+1971**	**21.8**	**12.7**	**9.2**	**78.2**	**149013**	**7893**

Sample includes all enumerated at home in England in both 1971 and 1991 age over 20 in 1971 - Graduate = Highly qualified manpower
2001 - Qualification Level 4/5: First degree, Higher degree, NVQ levels 4-5, HNC 1971
Note persons over 74 not required to answer question on qualifications in 2001
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The differential propensity of graduates to move to rural areas is particularly concentrated on villages and sparsely inhabited areas (hereafter 'villages'), as illustrated in Table 11, which traces the proportion of people who moved (or didn't) between sectors who were graduates by 2001. The flows examined are up to 2001 from 1971, 1981 and 1991: a 30-, 20- and 10-year gap respectively. For the 30-year span, graduates formed 30% of the flow to villages from the rest of England. For the other three combinations of flow or non-flow, the proportion of graduates was around 15-17 per cent. For the shorter-range flows over ten and twenty years the proportion of graduates remains highest in the urban to village flow, but there are more graduates than in the 1971-2001 flows in the other direction. This is likely to be affected by the latter two flows including younger people in 2001 who are in the age group most likely to move into urban England, and moves could have occurred before the degree was acquired.

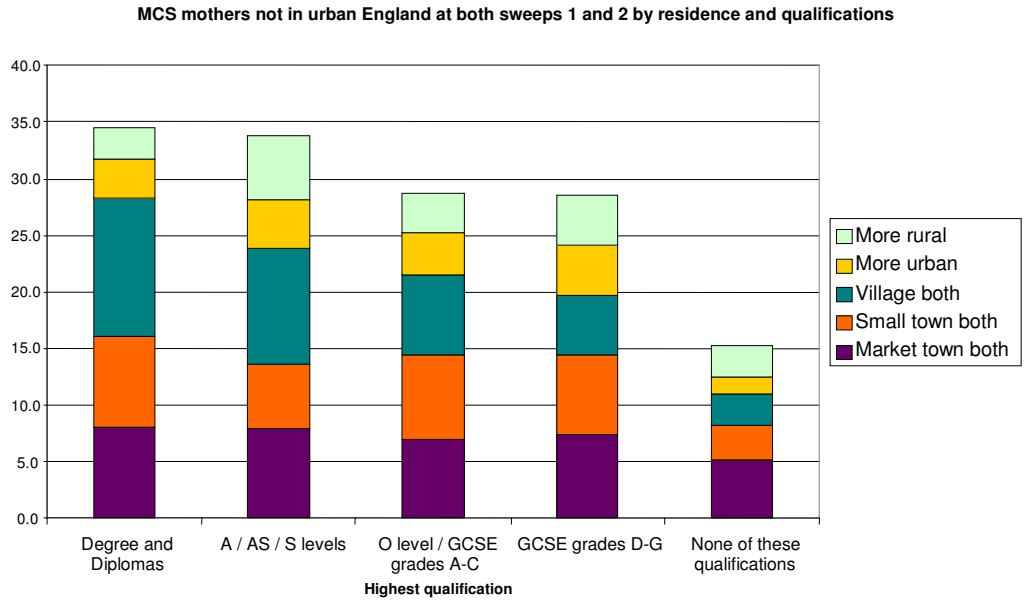
Table 11: Percentage of graduates in 2001 among various migration streams between 'villages and dispersed' and the rest of England

	Percentage			Sample numbers		
	1971-2001	1981-2001	1991-2001	1971-2001	1981-2001	1991-2001
Urban or small town to village	29.5	28.2	27.7	7109	9698	7084
Village to urban or small town	17.4	24.6	25.2	17537	9464	8366
Village both times	15.4	18.6	21.9	5286	6305	8982
Urban/Small town both dates	17.0	19.0	19.0	109662	173759	175340
Total				**139594**	**199226**	**199772**

Persons aged 20-59 in 2001, enumerated in England in the 2001 Census and also in 1971, or at both 1981 and 1991 Census
Graduate - Qualification Level 4/5: First degree, Higher degree, NVQ levels 4-5, HNC
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

The picture provided by the evidence from the ONS Longitudinal Study is borne out by an analysis of recent moves by young families from the MCS1 and MCS2 surveys. Figure 7 shows the over-representation of graduates in villages among families who had a child around the turn of the new millennium, whilst conversely showing that mothers with no qualifications are most likely to be in, and stay in, urban areas. The picture for qualifications of partner/father (not shown) is similar.

Figure 7: Rural-urban mobility MCS1-2 and maternal qualifications



Note: In this bar chart the dominant group (shaded brown in Table 7) is excluded: i.e. those who had lived in non-market town urban areas at both surveys. But they are included in the denominator of percentages and hence determine the overall height of these bars.

5.6 Housing tenure

We have seen above that the over-representation of relatively advantaged people in rural England is fuelled by differential migration rather than being 'home grown'. We should note that on another census variable often used as an indicator of social advantage, home ownership, the sedentary population, shown in the leading diagonal of Table 12 seems more privileged. Incomers over the period 1991-2001 to rural areas have a slightly lower rate of owner occupation than the population already there. Inter-sector movers in general are more likely to be in transitional tenures (private renting, student accommodation for example covered in the 'other' category). Social housing is over-represented among those staying in the urban or small town sector, but it is rare among the longer-term residents of villages. As the incomers are likely on average to have higher purchasing power, the arrival is likely to put pressure on the availability and price of rural housing (Champion and Shepherd 2006).

Table 12: Housing tenure in 2001 by location in 2001 by location in 1991 England.

1991 location	Housing tenure in 2001	2001 location			Total
		Urban	Town/fringe	Villages/ dispersed	
Urban	Owner Occupier	75.3	78.4	77.2	**75.5**
	Social Housing	17.1	9.6	6.8	**16.6**
	Other	7.5	12.0	16.0	**7.9**
	Base numbers	**282803**	**11336**	**8228**	**302367**
Town/fringe	Owner Occupier	69.8	82.1	76.5	**79.0**
	Social Housing	11.5	12.2	8.7	**11.7**
	Other	18.7	5.7	14.8	**9.4**
	Base numbers	**7903**	**25678**	**3653**	**37234**
Villages/dispersed	Owner Occupier	71.7	79.1	80.8	**78.3**
	Social Housing	10.6	10.1	8.4	**9.2**
	Other	17.7	10.8	10.8	**12.5**
	Base numbers	**7706**	**6228**	**18196**	**32130**

* *Housing tenure not imputed, enumerated at both 1991 and 2001*
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

6. CONCLUSIONS

The social and demographic profile of the rural English is not enormously different from that of the urban population. On many variables there is little difference at all. There are systematic tendencies for a higher proportion of more prosperous people to be living in the 'countryside', especially in the smaller and more dispersed settlements, and conversely for the poorest people to be living in cities and large towns, but the differences are not absolute: neither group is totally absent from either environment. The high degree of population exchange between these areas - an exodus from rural areas in youth, matched by an influx in mid-life (as well as at retirement ages) does not necessarily bring only the original inhabitants back to their rural roots. There is considerable churning of the population, which as in the making of butter, produces a relatively socially homogeneous population.

We have found some evidence of selective in-migration helping to raise the relatively highly qualified composition of the rural population, but other flows tend to bring rural and urban averages closer together. The migration stream contributing to differences between rural and urban England is not internal, but international. The minority ethnic groups, of immigrants and their descendants, have settled almost exclusively in urban areas. Their values on variables like family size, overcrowding, female employment, religion and beliefs about the family affect the urban average, tending to exaggerate differences between the rural population and the majority white ethnic group in urban areas identifying themselves as British or Irish.

This investigation has used just a few census indicators. It would be possible to look at other characteristics such as employment, occupation, travel to work and long-term illness. It would be possible, though complicated, to look at mobility between these social states simultaneously with geographical mobility. It would perhaps be possible, subject to disclosure considerations, to investigate whether patterns of urban-rural flows vary by region. We have also ignored the possibility that localities have changed their settlement pattern over the 30 years since 1971. One of the many possible further extensions of this preliminary research would be to track the Millennium Cohort families through the second and third surveys for further developments in lives in and out of rural areas, across the whole of the UK. The DEFRA rurality indicator will also be made available to users of the 1958 and 1970 cohort studies.

We might summarise the glimpse of rural England emerging from these data up to the early 2000s as the gentrification of a 'green and pleasant' sector of settlements. The next census will help to monitor how far the social profile of rural England has been affected by subsequent international migration, and the continued follow-up of the cohort studies will follow the lives of those living, leaving and moving in.

References

Bibby P, Shepherd J. 2004. *Developing a New Classification of Urban and Rural Areas for Policy Purposes – the Methodology* (www.statistics.gov.uk/geography/downloads/Methodology_Report.pdf)

Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. and Robinson, V. (1998) *Exploring Contemporary Migration*, Pearson: Harlow

Boyle, P. and Halfacree, K. (1998) *Migration into Rural Areas: Theories and Issues*, Wiley, Chichester

Bradshaw J., Mayhew E., Dex S., Joshi H., Ward K. 2005. Socio-economic origins of parents and child poverty. *In Children of the Twenty-first Century: from birth to nine months,* Dex S, Joshi H (eds.); Policy Press: Bristol; 71-107

Bruegel I. 1999. Who gets on the escalator? *In Migration and Gender in the Developed World*, Boyle P, Halfacree K (eds.); Routledge: London; 86-101

Champion A.G. (ed) (1989a) *Counterurbanisation: the Changing Pace and Nature of Population Deconcentration*. Edward Arnold: London

Champion A.G. 1989b. Internal Migration and the Spatial Distribution of Population *In The Changing Population of Britain,* Joshi H (ed.); Blackwell: Oxford; 110-133

Champion A.G. 2001. The continuing urban-rural population movement in Britain: trends, patterns, significance. *Espaces, Populations, Societés,* 2001-1-2, pp. 37-51 (http://rogue.ncl.ac.uk/file_store/nclep_231143193619.pdf)

Champion A.G. 2004. *Patterns of Net Migration in England in the Context of the Urban_Rural Definition, Census 2001.* Rural Evidence Research Centre (www.rerc.ac.uk/findings/documents_demography/D2Migration1.pdf)

Champion A.G., Atkins D.J. 2000. Migration between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas in England and Wales *In Migration Within England and Wales Using the Longitudinal Study: ONS Series LS, No. 9*, Creeser R, Gleave S (eds.); The Stationery Office: London; 1-15

Champion A.G., Shepherd J.2006. Demographic Change in Rural England. *In The Ageing Countryside, the growing older population of rural England,* Lowe P, Speakman L (eds.); Age Concern Books (www.rerc.ac.uk/findings/documents_demography/D10DemoChangeChapter.pdf)

Countryside Agency. 2004. *The new definition of urban and rural areas of England and Wales*. (http://www.defra.gov.uk/rural/ruralstats/rural-definition.htm#defn.)

Creeser R., Gleave S. (eds.). 2000. *Migration Within England and Wales Using the*

Longitudinal Study, ONS Series LS, No. 9. The Stationery Office: London

Dex S. and Joshi H. (eds 2005) *Children of the Twenty-first Centrury; from birth to nine months.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Fielding A. 1992. Migration and social mobility: South East England as an escalator region, *Regional Studies* **26**(1): 1-15

Hansen K. and Joshi H. (eds 2007) Millennium Cohort Second Survey : A User's Guide to Intitial Findings. Centre for Longitudinal Studies, Institute of Education . http://www.cls.ioe.ac.uk/studies.asp?section=0001000200010004

Hattersley L., Creeser R. 1995. *The Longitudinal Study, 1971-1991: History, Organisation and Quality of data. ONS Series LS, No. 7.* The Stationery Office: London

Hawkes, D., Joshi, H. and Ward, K. (2004) Unequal Entry to Motherhood and Unequal Starts in Life: Evidence from the First Survey of the UK Millennium Cohort. CLS Cohort Studies, Working Paper 6, http://www.cls.ioe.ac.uk/core/documents/download.asp?id=299&log_stat=1

Hughes A., Nativel C. 2005. Lone Parents and Paid Work: Evidence from Rural England. *In Critical Studies in Rural Gender Issues,* Little,J, Morris C (eds.); Ashgate: Aldershot; 27-44

Little J., Morris C. 2005. *Critical Studies in Rural Gender Issues.* Ashgate: Aldershot

Matthews H., Taylor M., Sherwood K., Tucker F., Limb M. 2000. Growing-up in the countryside: children and the rural idyll. *Journal of Rural Studies* **16** (2): 141-153

Mitchell C.J.A. 2004. *Making sense of counterurbanization.* Journal of Rural Studies,**20** (1): 15-34

Plewis I. (ed.). 2007. *Millennium Cohort Study Technical Report on Sampling, July 2007.* Centre for Longitudinal Studies: London http://www.cls.ioe.ac.uk/studies.asp?section=00010002000100040006

ONS (2004) Rural and Urban Classification 2004 (http://www.statistics.gov.uk/geography/nrudp.asp)

Stockdale A., Findlay A. and Short D.. 2000. The repopulation of rural Scotland: opportunity and threat. *Journal of Rural Studies* **16** (2): 243-257

Centre for Longitudinal Studies
Institute of Education
20 Bedford Way
London WC1H 0AL
Tel: 020 7612 6860
Fax: 020 7612 6880
Email cls@ioe.ac.uk
Web http://www.cls.ioe.ac.uk