

The Social Dynamics of Rural England: Insights from longitudinal datasets

Heather Joshi

Gareth Hughes & Brian Dodgeon

Centre for Longitudinal Studies

Institute of Education

University of London



What is a Longitudinal Study?

- Follows same person through time
- UK has the following multi-purpose data resources:
 - BHPS
 - ONS Longitudinal Study
 - Birth Cohort Studies
 - ...and many others on sub national scale
- This presentation uses secondary analysis of:
 - ONS LS
 - MCS – most recent Birth Cohort (not yet longitudinal)
- Could also look at:
 - 1958 & 1970 Birth Cohorts

Why secondary analysis?

- Huge investment has already been made
- Over a long period of time in some cases
- It takes a long time to start a new survey
- Our project is enhancing existing data resources by adding information on rural location
- This was not routinely done as the studies built up
- Definition of rurality not stable
- Need for precaution about disclosing location/ identity
- One study by Bynner, Joshi and Tstastos (2000) found transitions to adulthood similar for those growing up in rural and urban areas – 1958 and 1970 cohorts

ONS Longitudinal Survey

- 1% of population of England & Wales
- Data from four censuses – 1971, 1981, 1991 & 2001
- Linked to births and deaths
- 500,000 cases at each census of whom nearly one fifth Rural

Millennium Cohort Study

- 18,553 families in the UK
 - 11,533 families in England 2001-2
- Families with 9-month old babies
- Over-sampling of ethnic minority and high child poverty areas (electoral wards)
 - Results re-weighted

When is longitudinal evidence useful?

- Tracking people through time enables monitoring and interpretation of social change:
 - Individual development over life course
 - Intergenerational continuities
 - Characteristics and location of movers
 - Composition of population of particular areas (where have they come from?)
 - Population stability and turnover

Research Questions

In a post-industrial society, between rural and urban areas:

- How does the social profile differ?
- How much population exchange ?
- Does exchange of population change the composition the social profile- are incomers like those who leave?
- Is migration selective?
- Does a rural childhood lead to a rural adulthood- or otherwise affect life chances?
- What is the dynamic demographic backdrop to life in Rural areas?
- Can exploitation of quantitative evidence provide a backdrop to qualitative studies or policy debates?

Methods

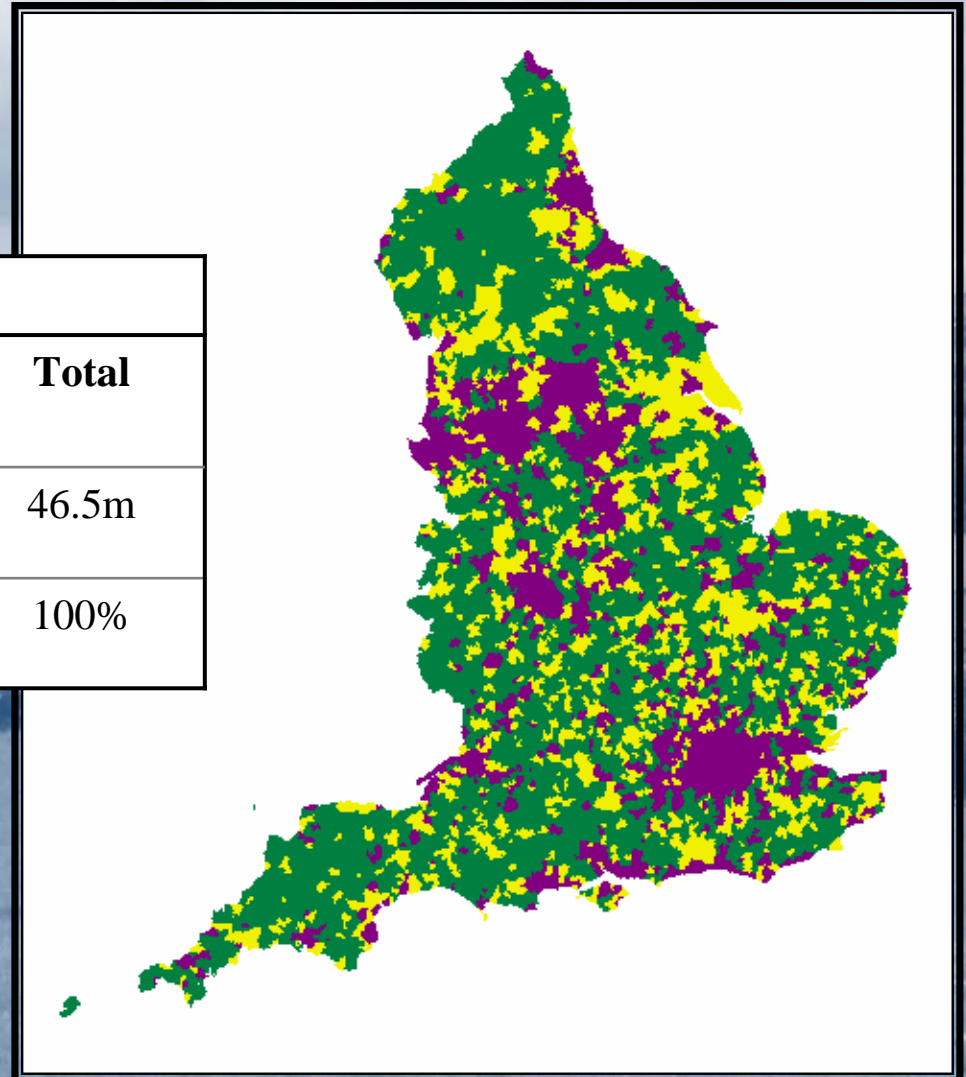
- Apply DEFRA classification to wards (with help of Peter Bibby, U of Sheffield/RERC)
 - 'Urban' includes market towns but can be shown separately
 - Dispersed areas often merged with villages at ward level
 - We decided to identify ethnic minority individuals separately within urban areas
 - Only 3% of rural population are ethnic minorities
 - 14% urban

Construction of rural indicator for ONS LS

- 2001 used 2001 ward boundaries
- 1981-1991 used contemporary ward boundaries but 2001 classification of rurality
- 1971 boundaries not available
 - Non-movers assigned 1981 values, remainder (few) used local authority code to identify rurality
- All output vetted by ONS for disclosure

England: Rural-Urban classification of wards in 2001

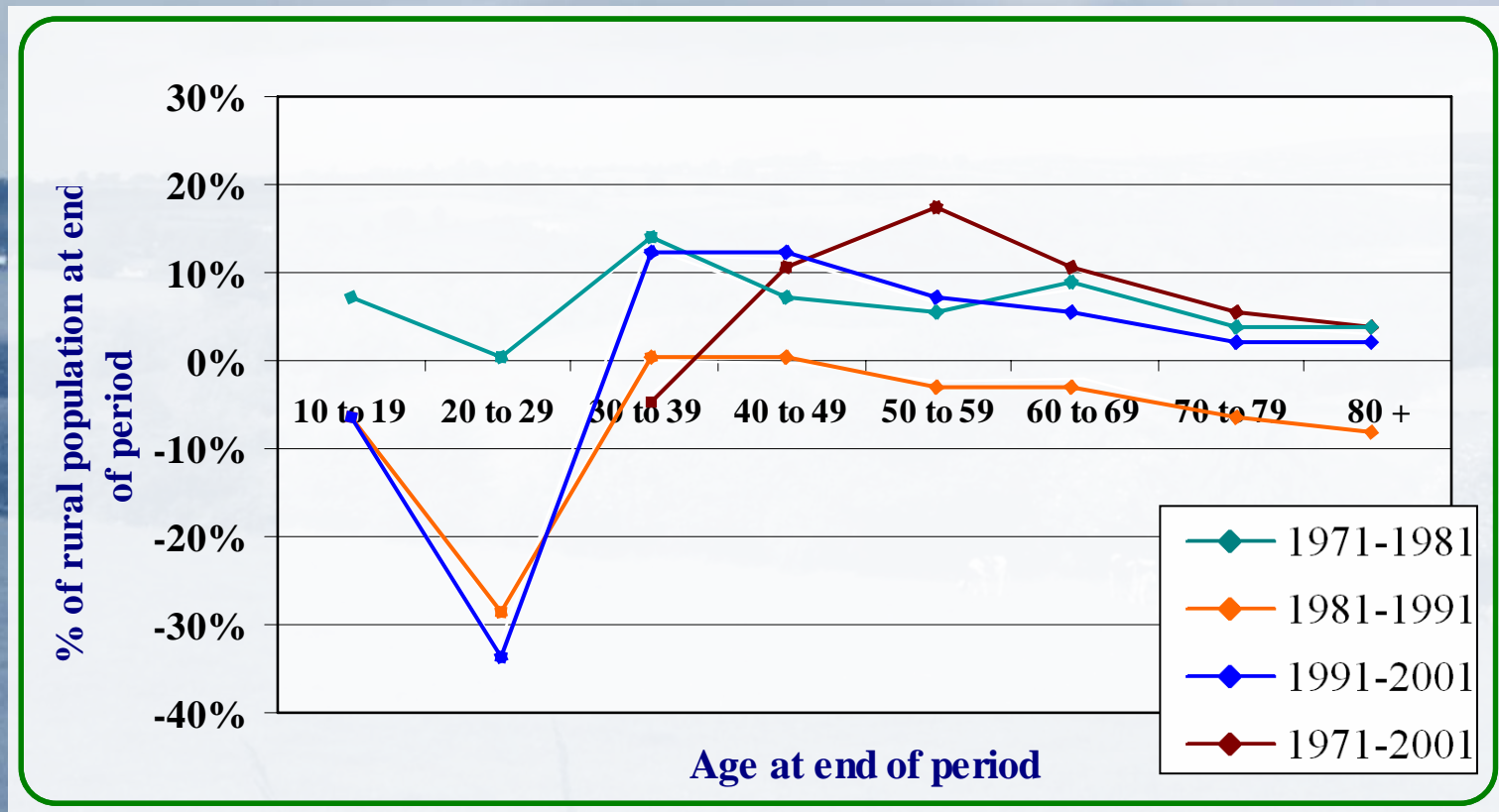
Total England Population			
Urban	Rural Town/ fringe	Villages/ dispersed	Total
37.87m	5.09m	3.59m	46.5m
81.4%	10.9%	7.7%	100%



Net Migration – Urban to Rural by decade and 1971-2001

- More people been moving into rural England than have left, except for 1980s and at ages around 20
- Movements into rural England most likely in mid-life rather than 60+
- Nevertheless the elderly (60+) are 24% of rural population in 2001 vs 21% urban

Net Migration – Urban to Rural by decade and 1971-2001

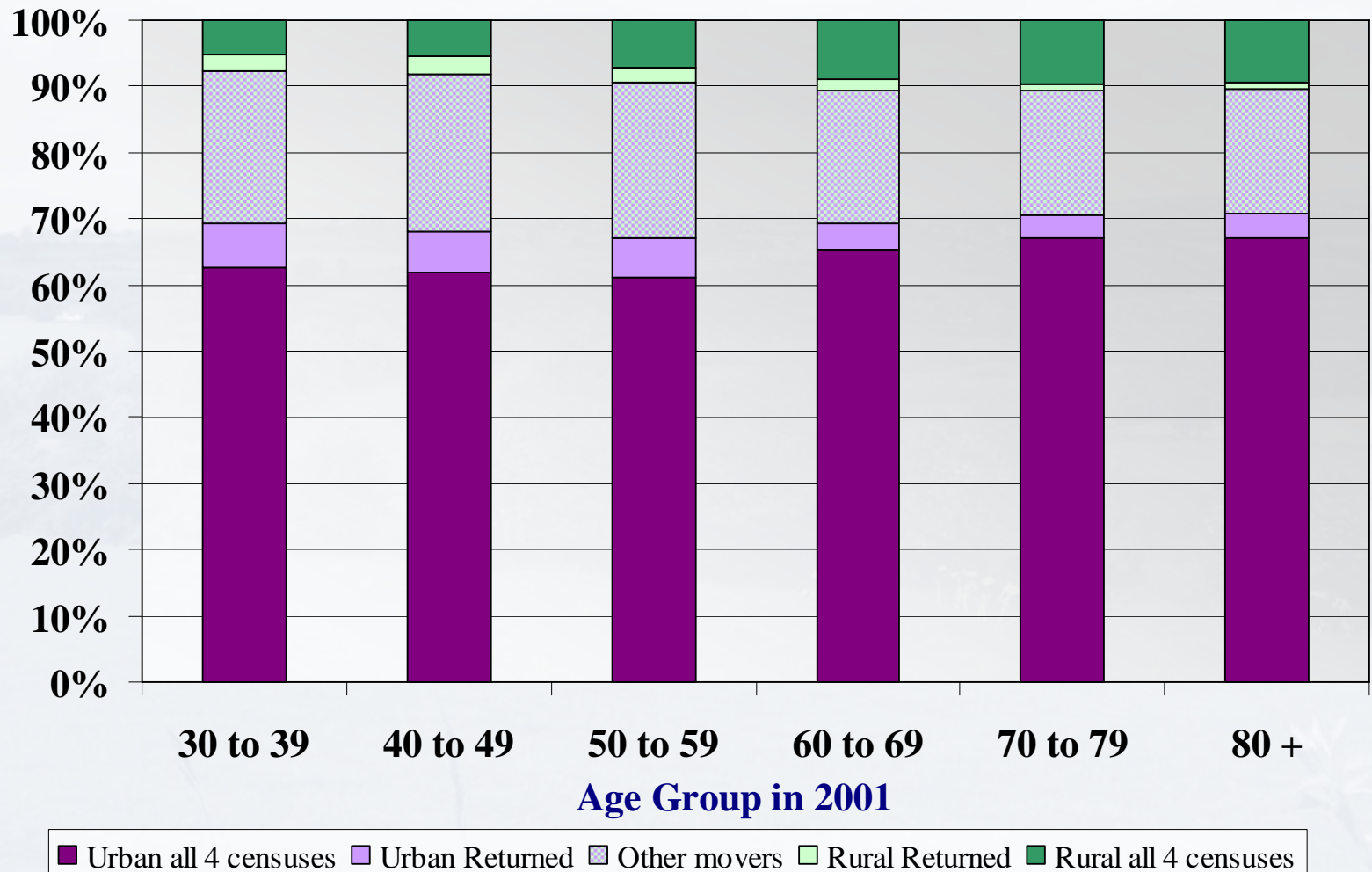


Source: ONS LS

Rural-urban Population Exchange over 30 years

- Among those present at all four censuses:
 - Majority of people who have ever been enumerated in rural areas have also lived in urban areas
 - Most of those who 'ever' lived in urban areas at least once were also enumerated there four times
- International migration more with urban origins and destinations than rural

Rural-urban Population Exchange over 30 years

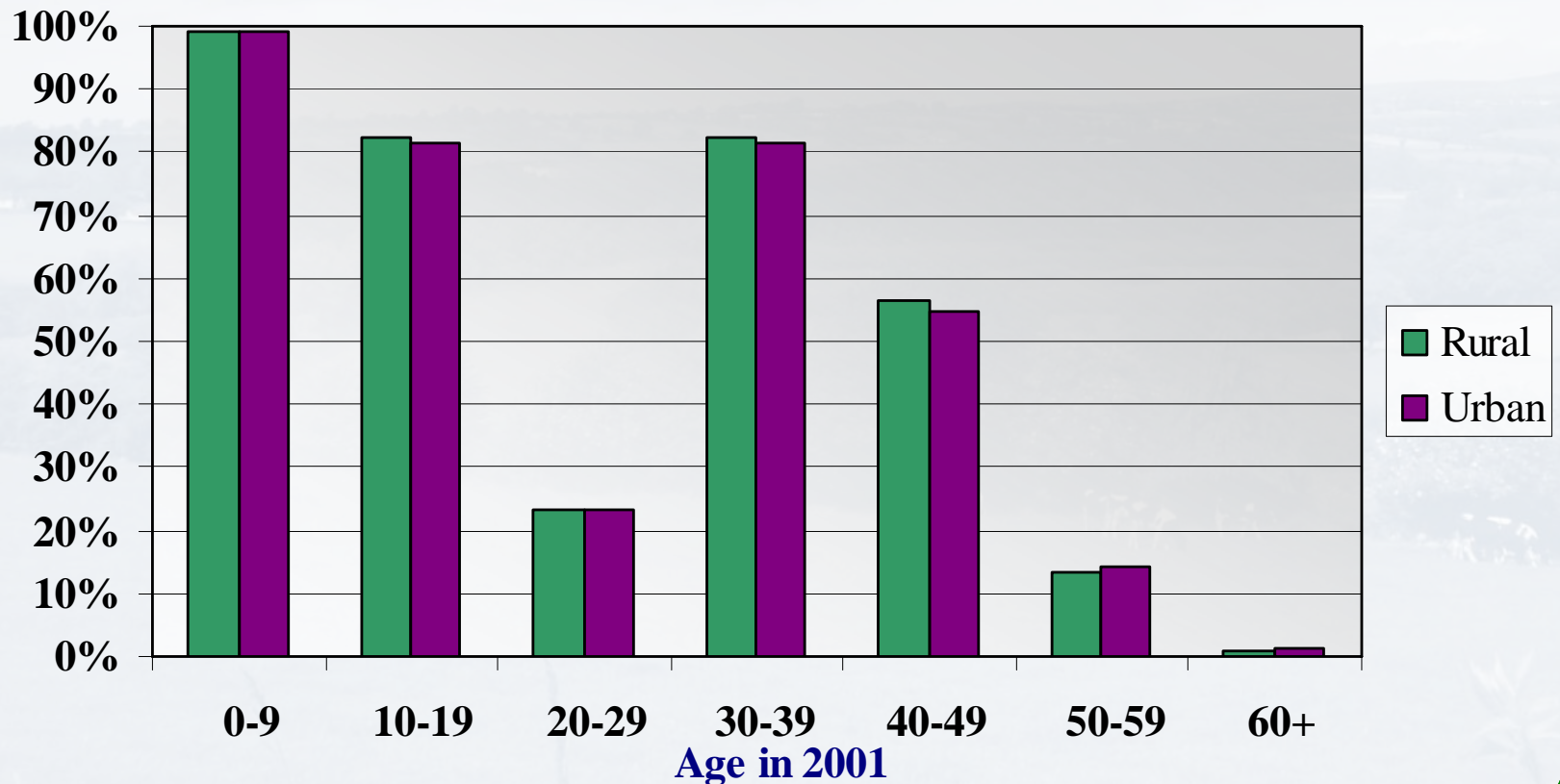


Family composition

- Very little difference between rural and urban areas in population living in families
 - Extra young persons in towns, mostly have no children
 - However, fewer lone parents in rural areas

Family composition

Percentage of LS members living in families with dependent children, England 2001



Millennium Cohort Study

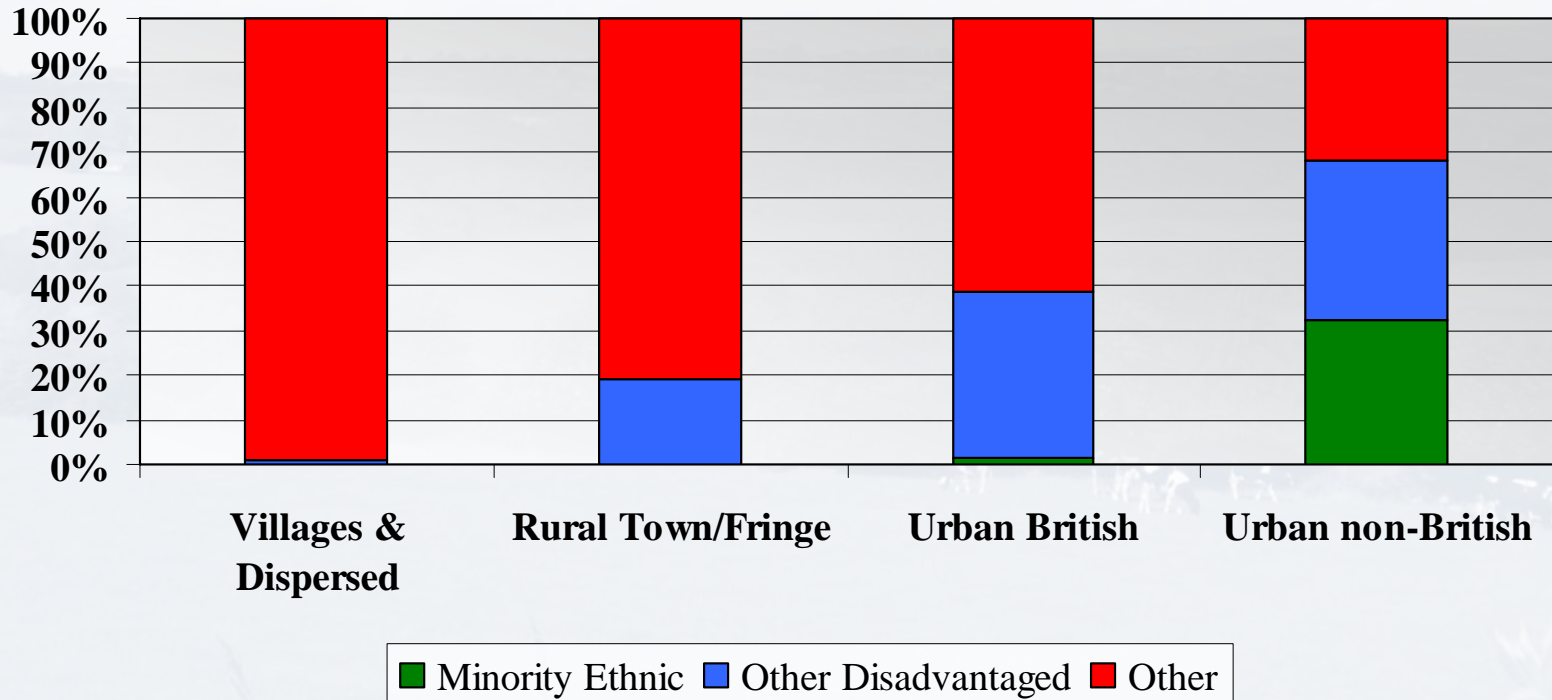


Type of ward by rurality and ethnic group within urban/rural England

- Poor areas least common in rural areas:
 - Virtually no village/dispersed wards have high child poverty
 - 19% of sample in rural towns/fringe live in disadvantaged wards
 - 37% of urban British families live in areas of high child poverty
 - Two-thirds of urban families with non-British ethnicity were in areas of high child poverty

Type of ward by rurality and ethnic group within urban/rural England

Proportion of families - Weighted



Low economic status

- Disadvantaged families more numerous in urban areas, particularly if ethnic minority.
- Fewer poor in rural areas, especially villages and scattered
- Urban poverty more clustered.

Low economic status

Variable	Village/ dispersed	Rural town/ fringe	Urban (British)	Urban (non- British)
Mothers: No qualifications	4.7	6.1	14.0	27.5
Fathers: No qualifications	9	8.9	15.5	23.9
Lone parent	6.0	7.7	14.4	16.1
Couples with no earner	2.2	4.2	6.7	12.6
No savings	28.1	38.2	46.1	47.0
Overcrowding	4	5.1	6.6	24.8

Source: MCS

High economic status

- Indicators of economic and social privilege tend to rise as area become more rural.
- Rural population relatively well educated

High economic status

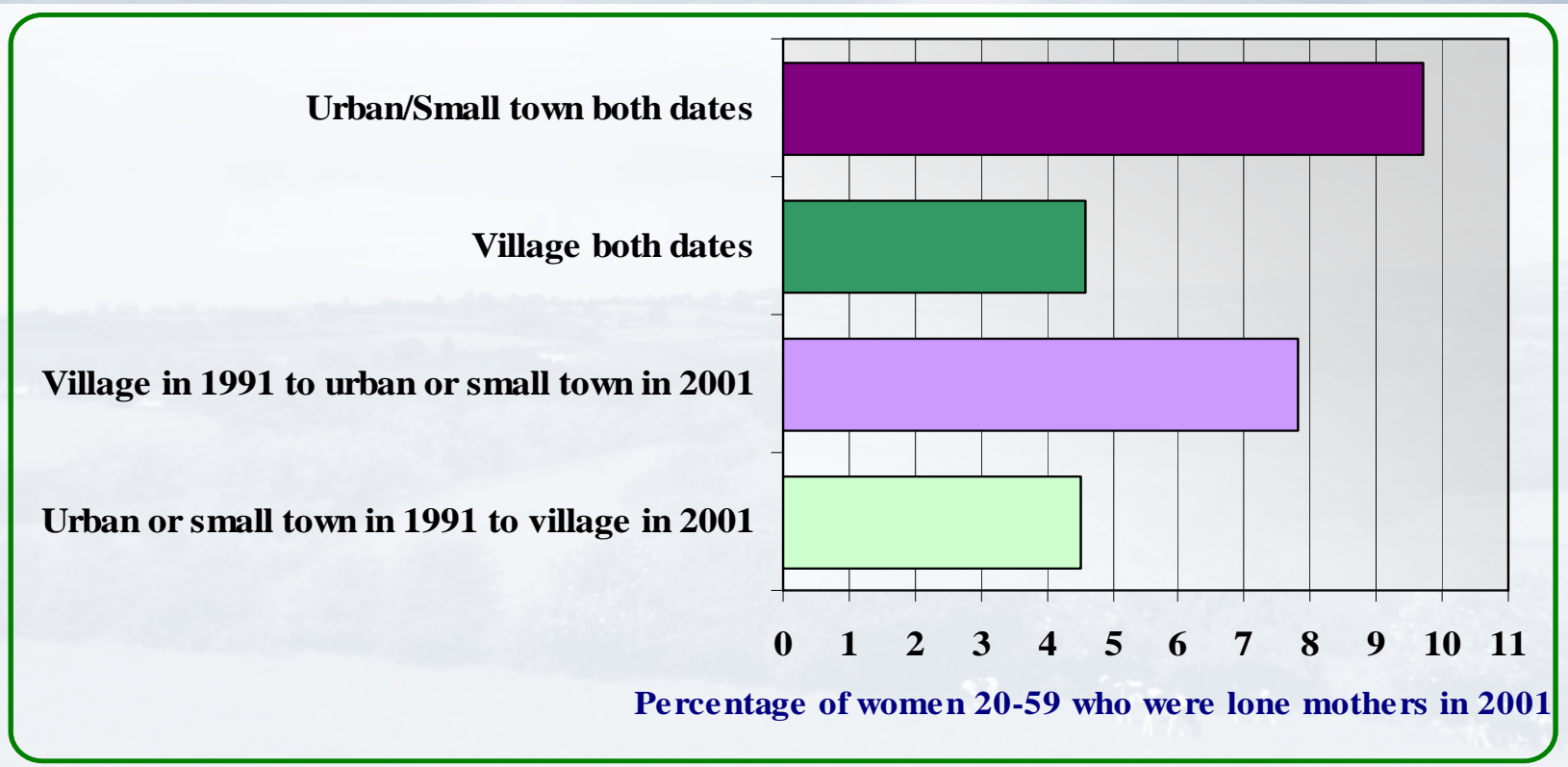
Variable	Village/ dispersed	Rural town/ fringe	Urban (British)	Urban (non- British)
Mothers: Graduates	42.8	32.7	25.5	27.7
Fathers: Graduates	41.5	36.6	28.3	37.2
Couples with two earners	55.5	55.9	55.0	33.7
Lone parent earners	44.9	31.8	21.1	27.1
Housing Tenure: Owner occupier	71.5	73.8	64.7	50.2

Source: MCS

Social Differentials in Migration

- Some examples:
 - Is general low level of lone parenthood in rural areas due to out-migration of lone parents?
 - Is high level of graduates in villages due to in-migration?

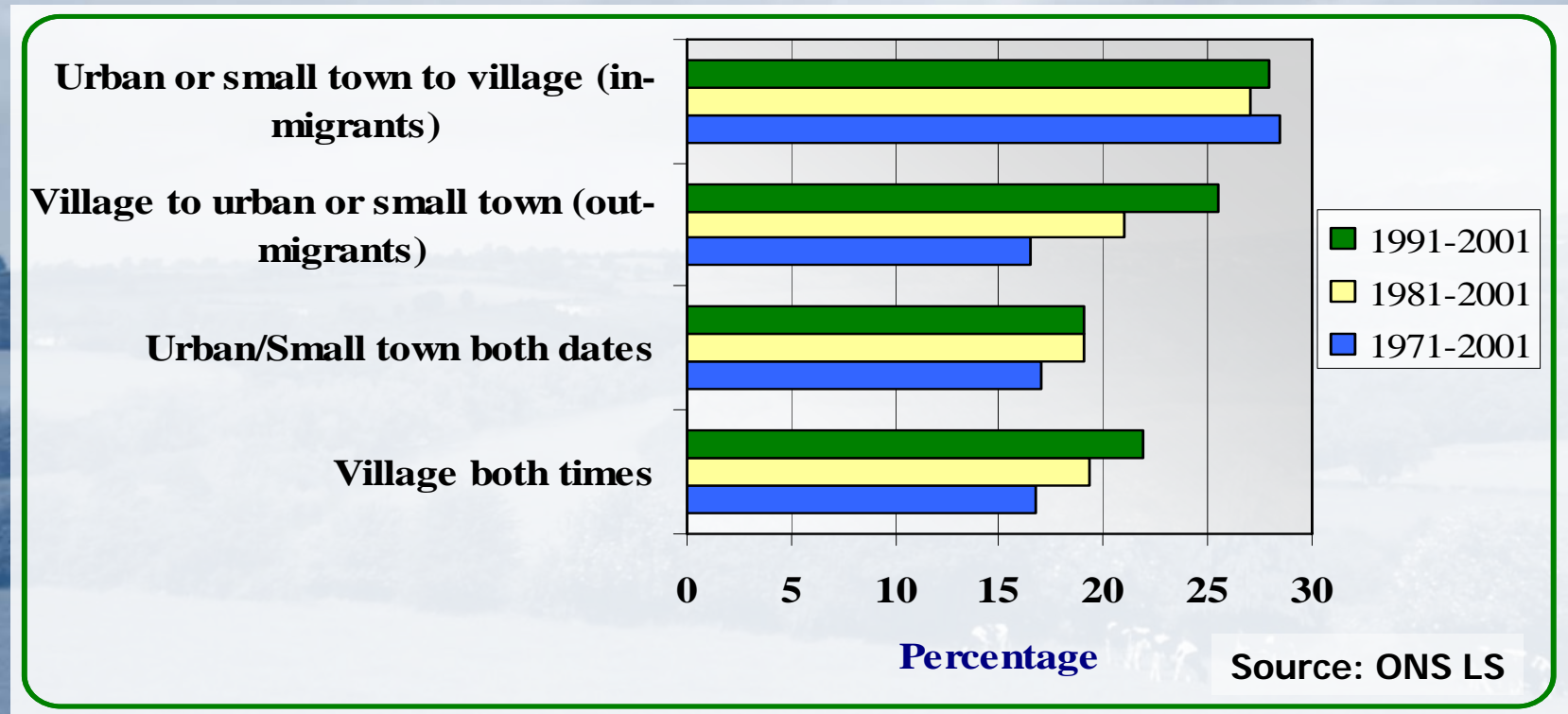
Lone Mothers 1991-2001 as % various migration flows from 'villages'



- Women **leaving villages** more likely to be lone mothers than those who **stay**, but less likely than those in towns **both dates**

Source: ONS LS

Graduates in migration streams to 2001 since three previous censuses



- Over one quarter migrants since 1971, 1981 or 1991 to villages were graduates. In each case this raises the local average

Influx of Graduates

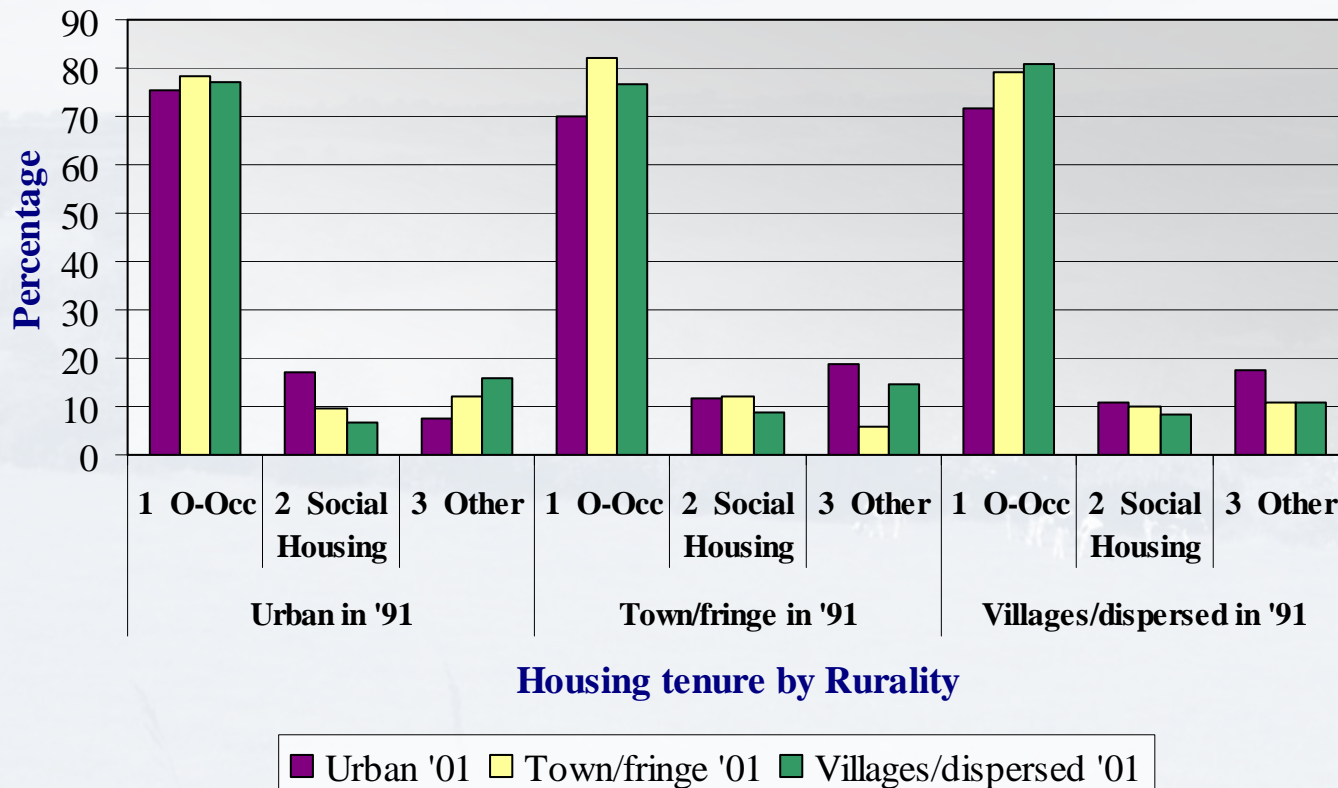
- What are the implications of a better educated countryside for:
 - Schools
 - Transport
 - Housing
 - Other services
 - Community and social capital
 - Ethnic relations?

Housing tenure 2001 by urban-rural status 1991 and 2001

- Taking data on 3-fold residence for 1991 & 2001 and housing tenure in 2001:
 - Achievement of owner-occupation is highest for residents of small towns who had been there both times
 - In-movers to villages slightly less likely to be owners than their settled inhabitants
 - Social housing most common for urban areas for both censuses

Housing tenure 2001 by urban-rural status 1991 and 2001

LSMs in England 01 and 91, tenure not imputed
Housing Tenure in 2001 by urban/rural status 91 & 01



Conclusions so far

- Rural areas more prosperous than urban England, rural poor exist but are more dispersed
- People move out in youth and move into Rural England in mid life
- Graduates over-represented in the in-flow
- Elderly over-represented in the stock of population
- Lone mother families rare in rural areas
- Ethnic minorities very rare in rural England
- Multi-cultural cities increase the differences between rural and urban areas, urban and rural British not very different, given population exchange.

Policy implications

- Dispersed nature of poverty in rural areas means policies targeting concentrated areas of deprivation are not appropriate, but there is some concentration in small towns
- Ethnic segregation means depriving minority groups of access to rural living and rural groups of benefits of multi-cultural society
- Need to reconcile services required by elderly and young
- Need to be aware of the level and composition of migration streams

Next steps with existing data

* = within grant if required

- Social profile of market towns in 2001 *
 - and sparse wards*
- Health Visitor reports of local services in MCS *
- Extending to other surveys:
 - BCS70 to age 30 *
 - NCDS to age 42 *

Who is entering rural areas in mid-life?
- Analysis of LS by:
 - Social Class *
 - Economic Activity *
 - Long-term illness *
 - Region ? (s.t. disclosure control)
 - (measured at previous as well as current censuses to detect social and geographical mobility) (could cost at least 8K +)

Extending to other topics

- Childcare *
 - Travel to work *
 - Health Service availability *
 - Car ownership *
 - Perception of neighbourhood *
 - Mental health *
 - Alcohol use *
 - Smoking *
 - Long-term illness *
 - Literacy / Numeracy problems *
- (* no additional cost if done on existing data)

Extending to new data with v. rough estimates of cost

Further secondary analysis of cohort data: (from Spring 2006)

- BCS70 to age 34 (20K)
- NCDS to age 46 (20K)

Should find more mid-life in-migrants. Compare achievements/wellbeing by origin and current location

- MCS2 (Children reach 3) Is child development any different in a rural environment? (20K)
- Adding rural indicators to other surveys (30K+, may have to be done in safe setting of another organization)
- Collecting fresh longitudinal data-
 - prospective (long time horizon, high cost, who to track?), (?> £1m per sweep –s.t. size)
 - retrospective/? Qualitative – an in depth amplification of the context documented above? On what theme? (? £ 300,000+)

Points for Discussion

- Secondary analysis of longitudinal data can monitor the level and composition of flows in an out of rural areas, so that their changing composition may be monitored and understood
- It can track how rural inhabitants are growing up and growing old
- But it cannot answer everything. Are there any specific rural issues that would benefit from new data collection?

Websites

Centre for Longitudinal Studies

<http://www.cls.ioe.ac.uk/>

Birkbeck College

<http://www.bbk.ac.uk/>

Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs

<http://www.defra.gov.uk/>

ONS

<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/>