Chapter 6
Migration, Neighborhood Change, and the Impact of Area-Based Urban Policy Initiatives

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Abstract The focus in this chapter is on the relationship between migration and neighborhood change. The chapter reviews the relationship between urban deprivation, residential mobility patterns, and urban regeneration policy, commenting on theoretical concepts and empirical findings in earlier studies. It makes extensive use of small area statistics from the UK Population Census, linking together migration data at the most detailed spatial level, Output Areas, with a geodemographic classification system. This provides some interesting insights about the structure of residential mobility in urban areas. The chapter proceeds to examine the impact of urban policy in the Merseyside region, as part of the EU Objective One programme. It uses a matched comparison method to examine the impact of the Pathways area-based initiative upon migration flows to and from Pathways Areas. Its key finding is that the Pathways programme had a significant impact upon residential stability.

6.1 Introduction

Throughout much of the last 40 years, poverty and disadvantage have intensified geographically in British cities. The response from Government has been to develop and implement urban policy aimed at regenerating those areas most badly affected. Much of the focus has been on neighborhoods within inner-city areas and on a range of place- and people-based policy initiatives. A growing body of applied research has been carried out aimed at assessing the impacts of these initiatives, in the hope of establishing "what works?" and therefore informing subsequent policy interventions (Lupton et al. 2016; Hughes and Lupton 2018).

As part of this research, much attention has been paid to questions about the complex relationships between migration, urban deprivation, social mobility, the housing market, and neighborhood change. This work has been aided by the

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increasing availability of small area statistics, notably from the decennial Population Census. The 2001 Census[1] in particular opened up the possibility of linking migration data to area typologies defined by the use of census-based geodemographic classifications.

The focus in this chapter is on exploring the detailed relationship between migration and neighborhood change, with particular reference to the region of Merseyside in north-west England which has been the subject of numerous urban policy interventions in response to long-standing severe social and economic problems. We explore the example of the Pathways area-based policy initiative.

The chapter analyzes the migration flows into and out of different neighborhood types in the UK as a whole, identifying flows that are greater than, or less than, expected. From this, there emerges a clear picture of the structure of migration flows. Migration flows are examined between geodemographic area types.

A matched comparison method is then used to compare *Pathways* and *Pathways-like* areas sharing very similar social and economic characteristics to Pathways Areas but without the same designation and targeted resources. An assessment is made of whether this community development component of Merseyside's Objective One programme, and the resources this brought, made a positive impact upon the population of the Merseyside region's most deprived areas. It covers the period of the first phase of Objective One funding, from 1994 to 1999.

Forming the cornerstone of regeneration programmes in the 1990s and early 2000s were area-based initiatives (ABIs) targeted at neighborhoods viewed as having the greatest needs. ABIs generally involved a combination of place-focused and people-focused initiatives, aimed at improving neighborhoods while at the same time enhancing the life chances of people living there. Cole et al. (2007, p. 5) identified a tension between these two objectives. On the one hand:

> Regenerating a neighborhood should make (an) area more attractive to existing residents. Fewer residents will want to leave the area and those who do will be replaced more rapidly. Community stability and cohesion will improve.

while on the other hand

> Improving life chances through education, health promotion, training, job mentoring, etc may help prospects and material circumstances of local residents. More may want, and be able, to leave the area. Out-movers may be replaced by more disadvantaged households. The neighborhood will become more deprived.

This process of neighborhood change was characterized as a moving escalator by Cole et al. (2007) in a comprehensive evaluation of one of the biggest regeneration programmes, the New Deal for Communities.

In Fig. 6.1, for the purpose of the present study, four types of migration are shown. On the up-bound escalator, there are migrants from less affluent neighborhoods moving into regenerated neighborhoods (1) and migrants moving from

[1]Sadly this proved to be a one-off. The migration flows from the 2011 Census are not available in the same level of detail, ostensibly for reasons of confidentiality.

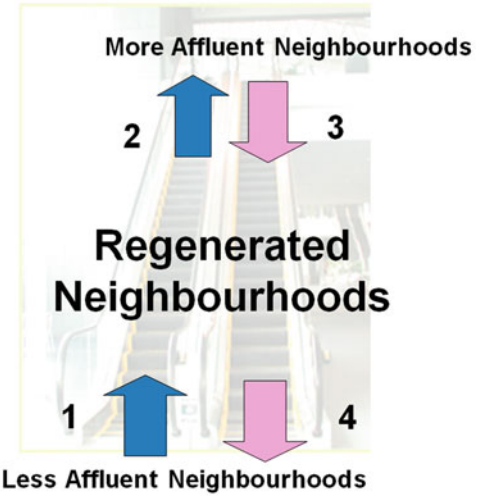

Fig. 6.1 The moving escalator analogy

regenerated neighborhoods into more affluent neighborhoods (2). On the down-bound escalator, there are migrants from more affluent neighborhoods moving into regenerated neighborhoods (3) and migrants moving from regenerated neighborhoods moving into less affluent neighborhoods (4). Not shown here is a fifth type of migrant whose (horizontal) move is *within* a regenerated neighborhood.

6.1.1 Research Aim and Questions

The moving escalator will serve as a framework for the present research, the aim of which is to develop and apply a method for assessing the degree to which regeneration activity has affected migration to, and from, deprived urban neighborhoods. In pursuit of this aim, four research questions will be addressed:

- What evidence is there of a relationship between urban deprivation, migration, and regeneration policy?
- What potential is there for combining geodemographic classifications with small area census migration data in order to evaluate the impact of urban policy?
- How can this approach be applied to assess the effect regeneration funding has upon migration to and from particular targeted neighborhoods?
- Does this evidence support the notion of a moving escalator in neighborhood renewal, involving the "export" of affluence and the "import" of poverty?

6.2 The Relationship Between Urban Deprivation, Migration, and Regeneration Policy

6.2.1 Migration and Neighborhood Change

ABIs may be seen as an attempt by policymakers to alter the endogenous factors (e.g. employment opportunities and housing stock) which might then help bring about positive change (or at least arrest decline) in a deprived neighborhood. However, many factors interact to influence the trajectory of neighborhood change (Hincks 2017), one of which is migration, which may accelerate the polarization of the neighborhood (Delmelle 2015) or displace existing residents in a "gentrifying" neighborhood (Robson et al. 2008).

Considerable effort has gone into understanding the effects of migration, particularly the effect upon deprived neighborhoods. Robson et al. (2008) explored the differences in deprivation of the origin and destination of migrants within deprived areas in England. This led them to create a four-fold typology of residential moves to and from deprived neighborhoods, based upon their function within a local housing market:

- *Improver/gentrifier*: wealthier households moving into an area, with possible displacement effects;
- *Escalator*: households moving from poorer areas up the housing ladder;
- *Transit:* young households looking for cheaper starter housing and moving on to better areas; and
- *Isolate*: poor households experiencing a degree of entrapment in deprived areas.

Hughes and Lupton (2016) used the typology to understand the role that migration can play in "inclusive growth" within city-regions. Migration between *Escalator* and *Improver* areas was seen to drive change. In the first of these neighborhood types, out-migrants move to less deprived areas and are replaced by in-migrants from more deprived areas. In the second type, in-migrants tend to move from more affluent areas, while out-migrants move to more deprived areas. In these areas, there is the risk of displacement as housing costs rise (Hughes and Lupton 2016; Robson et al. 2008).

Instead greater challenges are felt in *Transit* areas, where migrants mostly move from and move to areas which are similarly or less deprived. This means there is a limited period in which migrants can have an influence upon relative deprivation (Robson et al. 2008; Hughes and Lupton 2016). *Isolate* areas are a particular challenge for policymakers since migration flows in both directions are from similar or more deprived neighborhoods, which then limits the opportunity for change through migration. Hincks (2017) found that in such neighborhoods the population is likely to be trapped in poverty and especially vulnerable to macroeconomic trends, though the precise effect on neighborhood change depends on the demographic structure. Rae et al. (2016) extended the analysis of residential mobility to cover the connections with labor markets, finding that, despite the closeness of primary

employment areas to many *Isolate* neighborhoods, there was frequently only limited engagement with local labor markets.

6.2.2 Residential Mobility Patterns

The decision to move can be conceptualized in many ways. One theory is that households decide by comparing the utility of their current dwelling with that of other possibilities (Tu and Goldfinch 1996; Quigley and Weinberg 1977). Another, e.g. Marsh and Gibb (2011), holds that the sheer complexity involved in the decision to move leads to householders satisficing in their decision-making. The role of triggers, such as dissatisfaction with their current home or neighborhood, or life-course events, e.g. birth of a child or changing employment is also thought to be key (Clark et al. 1984; Rudel 1987; Rabe and Taylor 2010). Decisions may be enforced through an inability to meet housing costs (Preece et al. 2020) and the role of social and family ties may lead to a decision to move or stay put (Hickman 2010; Cole 2013; Lee et al. 1994).

However, financial resources constrain nearly all households' decision-making. This point is underlined by Kearns and Parkes (2003), who conclude that mobility patterns in deprived areas are not the result of a certain "cultural outlook," but simply reflect limited financial resources to realize an aspired move. Over time these constraints have driven the process of residualization in many deprived areas of the UK (Rae et al. 2016), often accelerating the decline of deprived, undesirable areas, while driving improvement in more desirable areas (Van Ham et al. 2012).

The ability to discriminate between neighborhoods, rather than being constrained to certain neighborhoods, is thought to be an important factor in enabling social mobility, given the influence of "neighborhood effects" (Lupton 2003; Van Ham et al. 2012). This is reflected in research in understanding the ability of households to do so. Clark et al. (2014) found the financial constraints on households created a "sorting effect," where the greatest difficulty in "upward mobility" was found in the most deprived neighborhoods, with an increasing ability to realize a move as deprivation decreased. Even in the most deprived neighborhoods, education and homeownership both contributed positively to the ability to make an upward move, while the tenure within in a social-rented home had a negative effect.

Bailey and Livingston (2008) found that migration patterns across England and Scotland were reinforcing existing patterns of segregation. For example, they found that more deprived areas experienced net out-migration of those with higher educational qualifications, while less deprived areas attracted those with such qualifications, although the net effect of this pattern was estimated to increase the proportion of those with a lower qualification in deprived areas by just 0.11%. They also found that, in total, 50% of migrants within deprived area moved between deprived and non-deprived neighborhoods, with flows in both directions, emphasizing that these areas were not as disconnected as previously suggested.

6.2.3 The Moving Escalator

We have seen earlier that, once the financial constraints are removed, individuals will realize a move out of a neighborhood with which they are dissatisfied. New Deal for Communities, as one of the biggest regeneration programmes in Britain, focused upon tackling a culture of worklessness (HM Treasury 2003). For those receiving employment training, this could present an opportunity to move to a less deprived area following a transition into labor markets, but with the risk of being "replaced" by those worse off, hence the concept of a moving escalator, as described earlier. It could mean the benefits of the scheme "leaking away," leaving behind a concentration of those who are hardest to help (Bailey and Livingston 2008; Cole et al. 2007).

The idea that "those who can, move out" (Social Exclusion Unit 2001) had previously received support from Cheshire et al. (1998) in the Harlesden City Challenge evaluation. This found that in-movers were more likely to be unemployed than out-movers, meaning by the end of the programme the area's unemployment rate was higher than when the programme began (Cheshire et al. 2003).

Cole et al. (2007) used 2002 Household Survey data to study the characteristics of those moving into and out of 39 New Deal Communities (NDC) in many British towns and cities. The studies found that those moving out of NDC areas were more likely to be in employment, with higher educational qualifications and seeking to enter the owner-occupied sector. Whereas those who choose to move into the same areas are likely to have a lower income, be unemployed and seeking a move into rented accommodation. CRESR (2005) identified these patterns as a key challenge to NDC success, given that the partnerships were dealing with increasingly deprived populations.

When Cole et al. (2007) attempted to understand the factors which led to residents moving away from NDC areas, they found inconclusive evidence that people-based NDC interventions encouraged residents to move since out-movers and stayers participated in initiatives equally. Significantly they found no direct evidence that such programmes lead to employment, which Lawless and Pearson (2012) highlight in their critique of the "moving escalator" concept. While that it had been assumed that NDC was central to support residents into employment, in fact the focus of such programmes was upon those who had the greatest challenges in accessing labor markets, and there was little evidence that this moved significant numbers into employment (CLG 2009). Furthermore, Lawless and Pearson (2012) argued that instead the demographic structure of the area strongly determined mobility patterns, with 72% of the variance in mobility explained by the proportion of 16–34 year-olds. CLG (2009) data, cited by Lawless (2011) also indicates that migration into a NDC area was often driven by citizens from the 2004 EU Accession states, and they were typically less disadvantaged than existing residents.

Using employment records from UK Department of Work and Pensions, Holden and Frankal (2012) explored these questions in the context of Greater Manchester, finding that out-migration of those gaining employment was not a key factor in persistent levels of worklessness. These findings were supported by Barnes et al.

(2011) at a national scale. The same authors (Holden and Frankal 2012) found instead that within deprived neighborhoods approximately a third of those gaining employment moved out of the neighborhood and, of those who did leave, only a slighter greater percentage moved to a neighborhood with lesser deprivation.

6.2.4 Geodemographic Classification Systems

Geodemographic classification systems have been employed by a number of researchers to understand migration patterns at a range of scales, for example, Duke-Williams' (2010) findings broadly align with the view that migration is largely between similar areas. He used the Office of National Statistics *OAC* geodemographic system to find the greatest number of in-migrants moved from neighborhoods in the same geodemographic groups, linking this to strong spatial auto-correlation of geodemographic groups. Others have used migration, e.g. Dennett and Stillwell (2011) or travel to work data, e.g. Martin et al. (2018) to construct geodemographic systems.

Another area where these systems have been used is the assessment of targeting of ABIs. Batey and Brown (2007) used the same geodemographic system as this study (*People and Places*) to assess the spatial targeting of ABIs. They concluded that this system had considerable value in identifying neighborhoods which were either wrongly targeted, or missed from targeting. In an effort to develop a methodology to tackle this issue, Batey et al. (2008) used a comparative approach to compare the value of the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) and People and Places for the spatial targeting of interventions. They found that targeting of a specific group, e.g. the 10% most deprived neighborhoods, was highly dependent upon the approach taken. Instead, a hybrid system, which synthesizes IMD data at a finer spatial scale, led to a greater proportion of the target group living in areas with a spatially targeted intervention.

6.3 The Research Method

The research method used here brings together a geodemographic classification of residential neighborhoods and detailed migration flow data from the 2001 Population Census.

In the geodemographic system neighborhoods throughout the UK are classified on the basis of 84 census variables measuring demographic, social, and economic characteristics using the multivariate statistical method of cluster analysis. The particular system is known as *People and Places* (P + P) and was developed jointly by researchers at the University of Liverpool and Beacon Dodsworth, a consulting company specializing in spatial data analysis. The classification makes use of Output Areas, the most detailed level of census geography. Some 220,000 Output Areas,

	In-migration: P+P Trees in Affluence Order											
Out-migration: P+P Trees in Affluence Order		1	2	3	4	5	.	.	.	.	13	Σx_j
	1											
	2											
	3											
	4		x_{ij}									
	5											
	.											
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	.											
	13											
	Σx_i											$\Sigma\Sigma x_{ij}$

Fig. 6.2 Studying the relationship between migration and affluence

each containing an average of 100 households (250 people), are classified. Three levels of neighborhood types are available: 156 Leaves, 40 Branches, and 13 Trees, all of which are capable of being ranked according to affluence. In the present study, the focus will be upon Trees and Branches, two of the three classification levels.

The 2001 Population Census provides small area (Output Area) migration data capturing changes of address in the 12-month period 2000–2001 for the whole of the UK. Inter-Output Area migration flows enable the identification of the neighborhood type at both origin and destination. In the present study, this makes it possible to generate a 13 × 13 inter-residential type matrix that can be used to analyze key characteristics of migration.

To study the relationship between migration and affluence, residential types are ranked in affluence order. This property is used in constructing a matrix of migration flows (Fig. 6.2):

Each cell in this matrix represents the migration flow, $x_{ij,}$ from one neighborhood type (i) to another (j). In practice the matrix would have enough rows and columns to accommodate all 13 P + P (People and Places) Trees. Instead of presenting absolute migration flows, the matrix will be modified to show standardized flows. The standardization is based on a comparison of observed (O) and expected (E) flows:

$$\left(O_{ij} - E_{ij}\right)/E_{ij},$$

where E_{ij} is the flow expected between area types i and j, proportionate to the total size of the flows originating from, and terminating at, the relevant neighborhood types.

Here:

$$E_{ij} = \left(\Sigma\, x_i \cdot \Sigma\, x_j\right)/\Sigma\Sigma\, x_{ij}$$

In-migration Flows

Tree	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
A	1.53	0.47	0.26	-0.07	0.05	0.40	-0.31	0.05	-0.61	-0.62	-0.54	-0.72	-0.53
B	0.29	4.19	-0.14	-0.02	-0.47	0.58	-0.24	-0.21	-0.84	-0.50	-0.34	-0.62	-0.53
C	0.54	0.09	1.90	0.26	-0.50	-0.08	-0.09	-0.25	-0.76	-0.48	-0.45	-0.57	-0.51
D	0.19	0.07	0.41	1.05	-0.60	0.19	0.23	-0.26	-0.67	-0.20	-0.13	-0.41	-0.43
E	0.02	-0.47	-0.47	-0.57	4.18	-0.36	-0.65	-0.02	1.40	-0.78	-0.75	-0.84	-0.78
F	0.36	0.46	-0.12	0.08	-0.36	2.21	0.02	0.10	-0.72	-0.39	-0.18	-0.58	-0.30
G	-0.20	-0.23	0.10	0.40	-0.67	0.04	0.91	-0.20	-0.69	0.17	0.23	-0.09	-0.12
H	-0.23	-0.46	-0.21	-0.31	0.17	-0.07	-0.11	1.55	-0.34	-0.26	-0.28	-0.31	-0.01
I	-0.55	-0.82	-0.63	-0.48	0.90	-0.61	-0.51	-0.42	5.68	-0.33	-0.43	-0.40	-0.33
J	-0.58	-0.48	-0.34	-0.02	-0.81	-0.37	0.31	-0.35	-0.55	1.77	0.76	0.73	0.48
K	-0.51	-0.34	-0.33	-0.01	-0.76	-0.13	0.31	-0.33	-0.59	0.69	2.14	0.53	0.58
L	-0.75	-0.64	-0.53	-0.35	-0.87	-0.61	0.01	-0.41	-0.56	0.94	0.70	3.35	1.21
M	-0.63	-0.64	-0.49	-0.43	-0.78	-0.40	-0.10	-0.06	-0.41	0.56	0.63	1.31	4.46

Fig. 6.3 Standardized geodemographic migration matrix for P + P Tree neighborhood types

The result of standardization is to create a series of positive values when the observed flow is greater than the expected flow, and negative values when the observed flow falls short of that expected. It is therefore possible to compare one area type with another in order to establish differences in the patterns of inward and outward flows. Without standardization, these differences could largely be attributed to variations in the "trip ends": the flow between two relatively small area types would almost inevitably be less than that between two larger area types.

The standardized matrix provides valuable information about the extent to which migration takes place up and down the affluence "ladder." Entries above the main diagonal show flows where the movement is upward, and entries below the diagonal show flows where the movement is downward.

Fig. 6.3 shows the standardized migration matrix for the 13 neighborhood types at the P + P Tree level, labelled A to M, in affluence order where A is highest. Where a standardized flow is +0.25 or more, it is shaded red, and if it is −0.25 or less, it is shaded blue. Clear patterns emerge: least affluent neighborhood types interact with other least affluent neighborhood types in the bottom right-hand quadrant, while most affluent neighborhood types show a similar tendency to interact with other most affluent neighborhood types in the top left-hand quadrant. There is also an understandable tendency for diagonal entries to display high positive scores, a reflection of a high level of moves *within* a neighborhood type.

Figure 6.4 provides a more illuminating way of presenting these migration flows. Here the 13 neighborhood types ("Trees") have been re-arranged in groupings depending on the same scores and thresholds adopted in Fig. 6.3. Three main features are apparent here: (i) an underlying pattern of migration to more affluent neighborhood types, as shown by the strong central vertical axis with an upward trajectory; (ii) three migration sub-systems: affluent (A, B, C, D, and F); deprived (J, K, L, and M) and metropolitan (E and I); and an outlier (H) representing new starters in the housing market[2]. Overall, it can be seen that this pattern broadly supports the notion of a moving escalator.

[2]Neighborhood types are shown by a letter and a label. Labels of this kind are common in applications of geodemographics and provide, with varying degrees of success, a succinct descriptor.

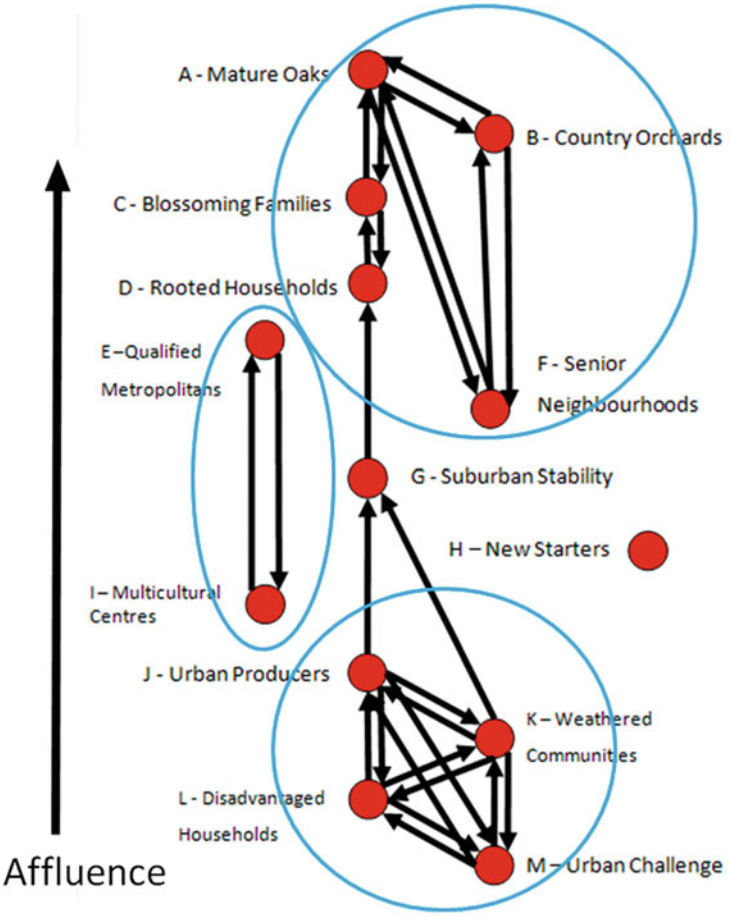

Fig. 6.4 Standardized geodemographic migration diagram for P + P Tree neighborhood types

6.4 Application: EU Merseyside Objective 1 Pathways Areas

Combining geodemographics and migration data potentially enables us to answer questions like:

- Are residents in targeted neighborhoods more or less likely to move than their counterparts elsewhere?
- Do targeted neighborhoods export population to more affluent areas and import population from less affluent areas?

First, however, we need to extend the research method and to focus ideas it will be helpful to examine a specific example of an area-based initiative: Merseyside Objective One Pathways.

In 1993 the lagging city region of Merseyside in North West England was designated an Objective One region, making it eligible for the highest level of European Union (EU) Structural Funds. This followed decades of industrial decline, mounting social problems and widespread urban deprivation. The first "post-industrial" Objective One region, Merseyside submitted a plan for approval by the European Commission. The plan, known as a Single Programming Document, was intended to guide the implementation of a comprehensive programme of economic development funded through the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and community development supported by the European Social Fund (ESF) (Evans 2002). Although initially the programme extended over a six-year period (1994–1999), there was the prospect of further tranches of EU funding as long as Merseyside retained its Objective One status.

The programme was organized as five so-called drivers, one of which is relevant here: *Action for the People of Merseyside*. This driver identified some 38 deprived neighborhoods[3]—Pathways Areas—in Merseyside and accounting for 35% of the region's population. These areas would receive extra support through a package of people- and place-based regeneration measures including lifetime training in growth sectors; equal opportunities measures; improving access to jobs and training for those with special needs; improved education, training and employment services; improving access to work via public transport; and treating derelict, contaminated and neglected land (Evans 2002). Figure 6.5 shows the Pathways Areas and how these were distributed across the five local authority areas making up the region. Pathways Areas continued throughout the first period of Objective One support and also the second period, 2000–2006.

We are interested in movement into, and from, these Pathways Areas as well as to and from Pathways-like Areas, which, although sharing very similar social and economic characteristics, have not been targeted as Pathways Areas. To do this we follow a 6-stage matched comparison method:

1. Identify within Merseyside the Output Areas that together make up Pathways Areas.
2. Create a new "notional" cluster by aggregating these Output Areas. Locate the notional cluster's centroid in n-dimensional space using the component loadings for the first n principal components calculated as a preliminary to the cluster analysis that created *People and Places.*
3. Calculate the distance in n-dimensional space of all Output Areas from this centroid. Starting with the Output Areas furthest away from this centroid, progressively eliminate Output Areas in order to develop a tighter cluster with fewer

[3] Although all Pathways Areas can be considered to be deprived, there was some inconsistency in their definition. This was primarily for political reasons to ensure support from all five of the local authorities in the Merseyside region.

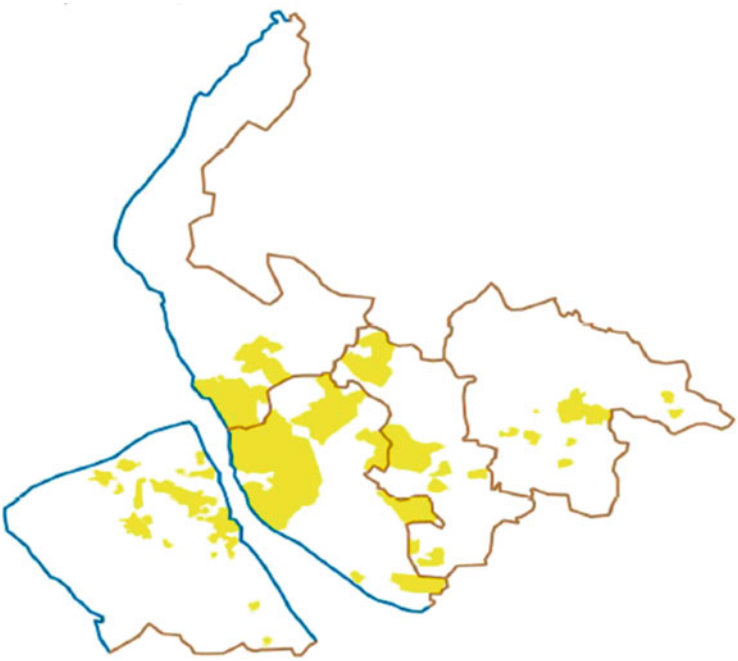

Fig. 6.5 Pathways areas in Merseyside

outlying Output Areas. Every so often in this process, re-compute the notional cluster centroid. Continue re-computing the centroid until its location in n-dimensional space stabilizes.

4. Extract a sample of Output Areas that satisfy this selection criterion and are located outside Pathways Areas (Pathways-like Areas). This sample is to be drawn from Output Areas that make up the group of local authorities that together contribute m% of the migration to and from Merseyside.
5. Extract a second sample of Output Areas (from the same set of local authorities) that fail to satisfy the selection criterion (other areas—distinguishing between less and more affluent areas).
6. Analyze the migration flows within and between these four types of areas: *Pathways Areas; Pathways-like Areas; less affluent areas; and more affluent areas.*

The results are shown in a sequence of figures. Figure 6.6 presents the migration flows for the working population of Merseyside in an un-standardized form. It underlines the importance of residential mobility *within* each of the four categories. These flows are shown in yellow. Some 60% of all flows are of this intra-group type. Figure 6.7 defines the five basic migration rates as introduced in Fig. 6.1. It also defines the *gross turnover rate*, a measure of total migration activity and therefore a means of comparing residential stability with and without the impact of the ABI, in this case Pathways.

To / From	Less affluent areas	Pathways areas	Pathways -like areas	More affluent areas	Total
Less affluent areas	7074	810	3483	1485	12852
Pathways areas	648	15927	3240	8937	28752
Pathways -like areas	3618	2352	24294	13473	43737
More affluent areas	1620	8505	11043	37935	59103
Total	12960	27594	42060	61830	144444

Fig. 6.6 Migration flows in the Merseyside region 2000–2001: working age population

1. **Upwardly-mobile in-migration rate: 1/x**
2. **Upwardly-mobile out-migration rate: 2/x**
3. **Downwardly-mobile in-migration rate: 3/x**
4. **Downwardly-mobile out-migration rate: 4/x**
5. **Horizontally-mobile migration rate: 5/x**
6. **Gross turnover rate:(1+2+3+4+5)/x**
   where *x* is the population at in 2001 and
   all rates are expressed as per 10,000 population

Fig. 6.7 Defining migration rates: see also Fig. 6.1

Fig. 6.8 Moving escalator for Pathways Areas

Fig. 6.9 Moving escalator for Pathways-like Areas

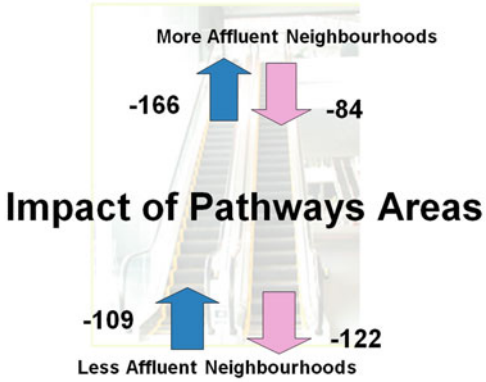

Fig. 6.10 Moving escalator showing the difference between Pathways and Pathways-like areas

Figures 6.8 and 6.9 present the *moving escalator* for Pathways and Pathways Areas, respectively, in the same format as Fig. 6.1. Figure 6.10 shows the difference between Figs. 6.8 and 6.9 and therefore provides a concise measure of the impact of the Pathways ABI. Finally, Fig. 6.11 summarizes the results, enabling Pathways Areas migration rates to be compared with those for Pathways-like Areas.

Figure 6.6 gives a clear indication of the relative importance of residential mobility *within* the four categories of neighborhood. In fact, some 60% of flows are of this kind. They are shown in yellow. Figure 6.8 shows that, for Pathways Areas, out-migration and in-migration are almost exactly the same, that those moving out are much more likely to move to more affluent neighborhoods than less affluent ones, and that those moving into Pathways Areas are more likely to come from more affluent neighborhoods than less affluent ones.

Figure 6.9 shows that for Pathways-like Areas there is a greater propensity to move out than in, and that those moving in are much more likely to be from more affluent neighborhoods than from less affluent ones. Figure 6.10, which measures the differences between the migration rates for Pathways and Pathways-like Areas, shows very clearly the impact of the Pathways ABI, suggesting that the extra

To / From	Affluence 1 [Br 1-20]	Level 2 [Br 21-30]	Pathways Areas	Pathways-like Areas	Affluence 3 [Br 31-36]	Level 4 [Br 37-40]	Total
1 High			3240 (12%)	5535 (13%)			
2 Medium			5265 (19%)	5508 (13%)			
Pathways Areas	4482 (16%)	4455 (15%)	15927 (55/58%)	3240 (11/8%)	648 (2%)	0 (0%)	28752 (100%)
Pathways-like Areas	6669 (15%)	6804 (16%)	2352 (5/9%)	24294 (55/58%)	3537 (8%)	81 (0%)	43737 (100%)
3 Low			405 (2%)	3078 (7%)			
4 Very Low			405 (2%)	405 (1%)			
Total			27594 (100%)	42060 (100%)			

Fig. 6.11 Pathways migration: highlighting the role of other neighborhood types

resources that come with Pathways status are slowing down the escalator, stemming the "leakage" of population.

In addressing the question about importing poverty and exporting affluence, we find sharply contrasting evidence for Pathways and Pathways-like neighborhoods. Figure 6.8 shows very little net exporting of affluence (394–375) = +19 and of net importing of poverty (36–28) = +8, while Fig. 6.9 shows the equivalent information for Pathways-like neighborhoods: (560–459) = +101 and (145–150) = −5.

Figure 6.11 shows migration flows to and from Pathways and Pathways-like Areas using four neighborhood types differentiated according to affluence level. These four types are based on aggregated blocks of 40, affluence-ranked, *People and Places* Branches (1–20, 21–30, 31–36, 37–40).

Figure 6.11 shows that two-thirds of migration is found to take place within Pathways Areas and/or Pathways-like Areas. The profile of neighborhoods contributing migrants to Pathways and Pathways-like Areas is very similar. People migrating from Pathways Areas are more likely to move to neighborhoods that are slightly more affluent than Pathways Areas. Those migrating from Pathways-like Areas move to a more diverse range of neighborhoods.

In Fig. 6.12 it can be seen that in Pathways Areas, the majority of migration (69%) occurs within and between the two least affluent groupings of neighborhood types. Almost half of migrants (48%) in Pathways Areas remain within the same neighborhood affluence category when they move. For those who do shift affluence category, Fig. 6.13 shows that there is a clear pattern of upward movement, from the less affluent Pathways neighborhoods to Pathways Areas that are more affluent; a much less pronounced pattern is found in Pathways-like Areas.

Finally, and arguably most importantly, we see from Fig. 6.14 further strong confirmation of the greater community stability and cohesion attributable to the

To / From	Affluence Level 1 [Br 1-20] High	2 [Br 21-30] Medium	3 [Br 31-36] Low	4 [Br 37-40] Very Low	Total
1 High	24	12	37	18	91
2 Medium	144	969	499	1159	2771
3 Low	99	545	1215 (8%)	1528 (10%)	3387
4 Very Low	234	1307	1771 (11%)	6366 (40%)	9678
Total	501	2833	3522	9071	15927 (100%)

Fig. 6.12 Gross migration within Pathways Areas

	Affluence Level 1 [Br 1-20] High	2 [Br 21-30] Medium	3 [Br 31-36] Low	4 [Br 37-40] Very Low
Pathways Areas	+410	+62	+135	-607
Pathways-like Areas		-126	+678	-552

Fig. 6.13 Net migration within Pathways and Pathways-like Areas

Objective One Pathways as measured by the gross turnover rate: 2381 for Pathways compared with 3431 for Pathways-like Areas.

6.5 Conclusions

This chapter has argued that the study of changing migration patterns is a crucial step in evaluating the effectiveness of any area-based regeneration policy. It has shown how, by combining small area census data on migration with a geodemographic classification of residential neighborhoods, much can be learnt about the structure of migration patterns. It has explored the concept of a moving escalator as a way of characterizing residential mobility to and from deprived neighborhoods. In

Migration rate	Pathways areas	Pathways-like areas
Upwardly-mobile net-migration rate **(1 - 2)**	-358	-415
Downwardly-mobile net-migration rate **(3 – 4)**	347	309
Net-migration rate **(1 - 2) + (3 – 4)**	-9	-106
Horizontally-mobile turnover rate **(5)**	1548	2117
Gross turnover rate **(6) = (1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5)**	2381	3431

Fig. 6.14 Migration rates per 10,000 population compared

particular, it has demonstrated the value of this concept in making detailed comparisons between neighborhoods subject to different policy interventions. A new method, based on a matched comparison approach, was used to assess the impact of a specific area-based regeneration initiative forming part of the EU Objective One programme for Merseyside. It showed quite clearly that the initiative had a positive impact upon residential stability in the targeted neighborhoods.

The study as presented here had the advantage that migration data was available at the most detailed spatial level, the Output Area level. This was particularly helpful in linking with the geodemographic classification system. However, the same degree of detail is not available in earlier censuses before or since the 2001 Census.

A further consideration is the limited amount of information provided about the migration flows. Other than origin, destination and broad age categories, there is no other information that tells us who is doing the migrating. Because there can be considerable heterogeneity within Output Areas, and certain groups may have a greater propensity to migrate, limits the conclusions that can be drawn about the effects of migration.

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