

# **A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE BASE ON FREQUENT MOVING AMONG DISADVANTAGED GROUPS**

**A Report to the Social Exclusion Unit**

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# Introduction

This review of literature and evidence on frequent moving among disadvantaged groups has been prepared in response to the findings of the '*Breaking the Cycle*' report (SEU, 2004) published in September 2004. It has been produced by a specialist team based at the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) at Sheffield Hallam University with specialist input from Tony Champion, Emeritus Professor at the University of Newcastle.

The exercise demanded a diverse range of expertise and a broad knowledge base. A wide-ranging coverage of data sources has been required in order to identify specific research evidence and findings that speak to the aims of the review, namely:

- To further understanding of frequent moving among disadvantaged groups
- To assess the impact of frequent moving in creating and sustaining poor outcomes for the groups affected
- To assess how these outcomes might be prevented

It should be noted at the outset that much of the evidence is scattered, uneven in scope and coverage and tentative in terms of its wider applicability. It is a challenge to move from this kind of evidence base to policy and service delivery implications, and even more of a challenge to judge the likely impact of any new initiatives and programmes on the poor outcomes facing frequently moving groups. Indeed the specific impact of *frequent* moving on outcomes - as opposed to the generic experiences leaving care, or being homeless or being a traveller - have received very little attention so far. It is therefore important for a review of this kind to specify gaps in the coverage and suggest how any shortcomings in official data might be overcome, as well as summarising the material at hand. To this end, the report is divided into two distinct component parts:

- **Part 1** - chapters 1 through to 6 focus on insights into frequent moving gleaned from the review of the evidence base
- **Part 2** - chapters 7 and 8 focus on priorities for action generated in response to the findings presented in Part 1, including priorities for research and analysis and issues for policy and practice<sup>1</sup>

The approach to the review has been based on three strands of inquiry:

1. **A review of the existing literature**, ranging across policy sectors and disciplines, including housing, health, education, geography, social policy, migration studies, immigration and neighbourhood management and renewal. In view of the dearth of research explicitly addressing patterns of mobility and consequences of frequent moving for disadvantaged groups, the review had to cast its net wide and include:
  - *Group specific literatures* - the evidence about specific groups identified as central to this review (e.g. gypsies and travellers, people leaving prison, the armed forces and

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<sup>1</sup> Since the completion of the review the government has published "Sustainable Communities: Settled Homes; Changing Lives" (March 2005), which outlines how government will deliver more targeted solutions to prevent and tackle homelessness. This strategy notes the changing nature of homelessness, observing the recent fall in the number of people recognised as homeless and the record low numbers of people counted as sleeping rough, and pointing to the outlawing of the use of B&B accommodation for families with children, for longer than six weeks. Attention focuses on meeting the government's aim of halving the number of households in temporary accommodation by 2010, by increasing investment in homelessness prevention and providing more settled homes. Partnerships with local authorities and the voluntary sector to tackle the root causes of homelessness are reported to have been put in place, along with new services to support vulnerable people.

asylum support, people fleeing racial harassment and violence, people with drug use problems etc)

- *Becoming homeless* - important insights into the personal situations and critical experiences driving people into insecure housing situations have been drawn from the extensive literature exploring the process of becoming homeless and the growing number of sources on repeat homelessness
- *Being homeless* - understanding of both the drivers of frequent moving among key disadvantaged groups (people in transition, in unsuitable housing and moved by government agencies) and the consequences for service access and utilisation, gained from a review of the research literature regarding the situations and experiences of homeless people
- *The immigrant experience* - studies of immigrant experiences in the UK and evidence of practical interventions (policy, practice, actions) developed to assist new and recent immigrants to settle and establish themselves within particular towns and specific neighbourhoods has provided relevant information on the experiences of asylum seekers moved by government agencies and people leaving the Asylum Support Service on being granted refugees status or leave to remain in the country
- *Leaving institutional care* - various targeted interventions and service reforms have been implemented in response to the recognised problems that people have encountered leaving different institutional settings (e.g. care, prison, hospital etc). Evidence of the various problems experienced by these groups has been reviewed to provide insights into patterns of mobility and any consequences for service delivery and utilisation

To assist with the identification of key documents, a brief email survey was undertaken in December 2004 to identify key agencies and researchers across the UK and to facilitate access to the wealth of 'grey literature' on the subject (in unpublished research reports, policy reviews, local position papers etc).

2. **A review of key data sources** on frequent moving among disadvantaged groups, by interrogating the Census of Population, and other key secondary sources. The review has described the nature of the data on frequent moving, discussed its strengths and weaknesses in terms of relevance and data quality, and evaluated its utility in relation to the key aims of the evidence review. In terms of administrative sources, the review sought to identify statistical series that are regularly published about frequent moving and disadvantaged groups. This refers primarily to the counts that are automatically collected by local authorities and similar agencies and submitted to central government departments.
3. **A review of primary survey evidence about frequent movers.** In particular, the review has been able to draw on relevant findings from the National Evaluation of New Deal for Communities. This major programme of research has involved a large scale household survey in the 39 deprived neighbourhoods covered by the programme - uniquely, this involved questions on frequency of moving in the past five years, and so it has been possible to isolate those who have moved at least three times and a further sub-group of those who have moved five or more times and then to compare their characteristics with respondents in the NDC areas who have moved less frequently. The nature of this sample is particularly valuable in that it has been drawn disproportionately from areas that, by definition, are suffering from social and economic disadvantage.

# **PART 1: INSIGHTS FROM THE EVIDENCE BASE**



# 1. Understanding Residential Mobility

## 1.1. Introduction

Prior to examining the evidence on frequent moving, we have to consider briefly some basic antecedent questions. What is known about the process of mobility in general? What causes people to move, and what affects the frequency with which they move? These simple questions bring forth, however, rather less simple answers. In consequence, it is perhaps not too surprising that debates around residential mobility have spawned a wide variety of studies, papers and reports seeking to unlock the factors influencing the type and frequency of mobility.

## 1.2. Conceptualising the Dynamics of Mobility

An understanding of residential mobility is central to any kind of housing market analysis or understanding of neighbourhood change. Despite this, there is limited consensus in the literature about its causes and consequences. As Winstanley et al (2002) assert, research has struggled to deal with the complexity and variation of mobility experiences. On a cross-national level, for example, Strassmann (2001) has identified key underlying differences between approaches taken in European and American research. Most of the earlier studies of mobility derived from studies in the United States, and were dominated by an urban economics perspective. American households tend to exhibit **higher** rates of mobility, as one might expect in more market-oriented systems (Strassmann, 1991; Greenwood, 1997), with government interventions largely confined to demand-side measures through vouchers and tax relief measures. In this paradigm, mobility has largely been conceived as a process of 'filtering', as households seek to move to maximise their lifetime utility as active consumers in the housing market.

This perception of housing as a physical structure and economic asset used in an instrumental manner by consenting consumers has been challenged on various grounds. It has been claimed that this approach undervalues the extent to which there may be diverse and conflicting values about moving within the household; that housing 'careers' are not just the product of an unyielding desire for social advancement but about creating a 'home' - about social networks and access to services and about experiential as well as socio-economic attributes of place (Pickles and Davies, 1991; Winstanley et al, 2002;). The 'European' approach has therefore tended to emphasise complexity of motive, circumstance and outcome, partly reflecting the more significant influence of 'non-market' factors in the housing system. As Murie (1997) has suggested:

*'Decisions about household relocation are affected by trade-offs between various costs but also by a long list of other factors. Decisions are not based simply upon the calculation involving individual housing and travel costs (but to)...the way the housing system is actually organised...the structure of rents...the way decisions are made in the household...to dwellings and neighbourhoods...and the role of gatekeepers or urban managers' (pp256/7)*

In view of supply constraints and the lack of market-determined prices in sectors of many European markets, attention has tended to shift to the characteristics of those households who move and those who do not. It has also focused on the nature of the localities in question. The model of economic rationality underpinning more conventional American

approaches to mobility has tended, it is suggested, to neglect the influence of neighbourhood context. A flaw in the 'perfect' market of constantly adjusting and equalising processes of supply and demand is epitomised by the socially excluded inner city neighbourhood - a locality often associated with *reduced* mobility and social polarisation rather than upward 'filtering' (see, for example, Kingsley and Turner, 1993). This approach has in turn focused attention on the function and quality of the neighbourhood and, in terms of prospective interventions, may suggest that less, rather than more, mobility is preferred - for example, by preventing the flight of home owners from lower value areas by inducing them to postpone or cancel moving elsewhere (Briggs, 1997; Rotherberg et al, 1991).

Rather than categorising all households as driven by relentless self-improvement as a stimulus to mobility, writers such as Clark (1982) refer to the importance of 'inertia' models, which take note of the attachment to place that causes many households to 'stay put', for a host of intangible reasons - 'quality of life' attributes, such as 'sense of community', rather than a calculus derived from 'cost of living' variables. The foregoing review also suggests that undue emphasis has been given in many studies to 'proving' the relevance of certain factors in predicting or influencing residential mobility, at the possible expense of wider social, economic and political contextualisation (Pickvance, 1973), or of the complex interplay of processes involved when households make decisions.

The interest in prompts or 'triggers' to mobility has in itself spawned a host of studies, developing concepts such as 'household histories' (May 2000, Myers, 1999) or 'housing careers' (Kendig, 1984, Suze Ozuekren and Van Kempen 2002) that go beyond paradigms of mobility as simply stimulus-response to changing market opportunities. According to this approach, households are not constantly considering whether to move or not; a 'trigger' is needed to set off an initial intention to move. These 'triggers' can relate to life cycle, relationship breakdown, labour mobility, dissatisfaction with neighbourhood or dwelling and so on (Dieleman, 2001; Parkes and Kearns 2002, Clark and Huang 2003). The life-course paradigm, for example, emphasises that changes in household composition are closely linked to changes in occupational careers and these in turn are often translated into changes in housing tenure or housing consumption, so forming a 'housing career' (Champion and Fielding, 1991).

However, it is not possible simply to read off actions from a list of triggers - households show different propensities to 'identify' and 'respond to' such triggers. For example, households may be dissatisfied with their current housing or neighbourhood circumstances but choose to stay put because their 'reading' of the market suggests the area is 'up and coming'; others may act on their dissatisfaction by moving out; yet others may have become accustomed to their circumstances and have not really thought about moving one way or another. In such ways are efforts to devise neat models for residential mobility, or to suggest causal relationships, thwarted by the idiosyncrasies and complexities of household motivation, intention and outcome.

The above discussion suggests that some caution is needed about how readily the dynamics of mobility, and within that frequent mobility, can be captured by any tight analytical framework. Despite the explanatory difficulties; it is nevertheless productive to explore underlying patterns in mobility as revealed by a range of empirical studies that have been undertaken in Britain over the past twenty years or so. However, such research has tended to focus on outcome (who has moved where and why) than on some of the more challenging aspects of interventions and aspirations that predispose some to move, and others to stay put.

### 1.3. Identifying Attributes of Residential Mobility

It is possible to categorise mobility studies in terms of different components of the interplay between household and housing system attributes: housing tenure; demographic characteristics and employment status; or geography.

In terms of housing tenure, the higher transaction costs of owner-occupation tend to deter mobility, whereas the private rented sector caters for highly mobile groups usually with shorter term tenancies (Gardner et al, 2001). Social housing is associated with lower rates of mobility, especially in terms of inter-regional mobility (Hughes and McCormick, 2000) and the operation of access to this sector is often considered to impede labour market adjustment processes (PMSU, 2005). However, an increasing proportion of those in social housing, especially in the local authority sector, are economically inactive and, as Burrows' study (1999, see below) indicated, these rates of mobility have been rising for some time. Furthermore, in terms of shorter distance moves, council tenants are more mobile than home owners (Hughes and McCormick, 2000).

The study of Standard Anonymised Records (SARs) in the 2001 Census by Bailey and Livingston (2005) revealed a migration rate of 7.8 for owner occupiers, 11.4 for social housing tenants and 36.2 for private tenants. Rates of long-distance migration are considerably lower among social housing tenants. However, causal inferences about mobility and tenure - that some housing sectors 'encourage' mobility while others 'frustrate' it - should be advanced with care. Choice of tenure, as Bailey and Livingston point out, may be linked to expectations about moving in the future. Incipiently mobile households, for example, would be less likely to choose home ownership as a temporary housing option.

Murie (2001) analysed the results of a large-scale survey of housing association tenants in terms of exploring the characteristics of those who wanted to leave their present homes. When asked about the tenure respondents most want to move to, the enduring attraction of owner-occupation is apparent. 44 per cent of those who want to move a lot selected home ownership as the desired tenure. 45 per cent wanted to remain in the housing association sector and a fifth chose the local authority sector, often as a result of negative experiences with their current landlord. However, this desire to switch tenure is constrained; among those who actually *expect to* move, only 22 per cent thought it would be to owner-occupation. In terms of triggers to mobility two factors dominate - property size and neighbourhood quality - broadly reflecting the findings of other studies in the social housing sector. Generally, dissatisfaction with neighbourhood conditions was more influential in prompting a desire to move than the performance of the landlord.

In their study of mobility in social housing, Pawson and Bramley (2000) had hypothesised that those areas of social housing with higher incomes would be associated with higher rates of turnover, as those who were better placed to get out of the sector would do so. Instead, they found the opposite. They explain the difference largely in terms of area pathologies - high crime and disorder, unemployment and social disruption create the process often known as 'churning' with highly localised (and, sometimes, virtually circular) turnover taking place (see also the earlier study by Eastall and Kleinman (1989) and Pawson (1998)).

One of the most influential tenure-specific studies, mentioned earlier, is Burrows' (1999) analysis of mobility among social housing tenants from an examination of data from the Survey of English Housing (SEH). Burrows explored the issue of 'residualisation' in the social housing sector and argued that too much attention had hitherto focused on shifts in the sector prompted by change in the tenure of dwellings (notably through the impact of the right to buy), and not enough on processes of residential movement by households. Burrows noted that the rate of mobility within the sector had increased from 4.2% in 1983/4 to 6.9% in 1993/4 (p 30). This increase in mobility is primarily associated with the changing demographic profile of households in the sector - a bimodal distribution around those aged

65 and over and those in their mid 20s, mainly due to the flight of the middle aged from social housing as a result of the right to buy (Forrest and Murie, 1990).

The majority of the moves by council tenants in this period were undertaken *within* the local authority sector, and were made by households headed by someone aged between 16 and 29. Furthermore, these mobile households contained an over-representation of those currently unemployed, members of a minority ethnic group, with dependent children (especially living with lone parents), and in receipt of full Housing Benefit (those in this position were 1.7 times more likely to have been mobile than households not in receipt of HB). Burrows suggests that this reflected both 'employment trap' and 'poverty trap' effects operational at the period of research (where those who were unemployed could move to higher rented properties without any financial impediments, while those who were employed could not).

Burrows also showed that the characteristics of those leaving the sector for owner-occupation or private renting (amounting to 68,000 households on 1993/4) differed markedly from those entering the sector, whether as newly formed households or as former owner occupiers or private tenants (amounting to 242,00 households in 1993/4). Those leaving the sector had an average income nearly twice that of those entering the sector, and heads of household had a median age of 56, compared with 29 for new entrants. 30 per cent of those leaving the sector were either unemployed or unable to work, compared to 56 per cent of entrants. 9 per cent of households leaving the sector were headed by someone from a minority ethnic group compared to 12 per cent of new entrants. Finally, among those leaving the sector, 40 per cent were households with dependent children, of whom just over a quarter lived with a single parent. The proportion of households with dependent children was similar among new entrants, at just over 40 per cent, but 53 per cent of these children lived with a lone parent. Similar profiles of entrants and leavers to the housing association sector were found in the analysis undertaken in 2002 by the Housing Corporation (2003b).

Burrows' analysis is valuable in that it demonstrates how social, economic and spatial processes have interacted to produce exclusion and 'partitioning' *within* tenures. Social housing becomes the destination for those sections of the population increasingly 'funnelled' towards it (Lee et al, 1995) by force of specific household and demographic characteristics, labour market position and forms of state welfare support.

In their review of the demographic determinants of individual migration, Bailey and Livingston (2005) summarise some of the recurrent themes in the evidence base. In terms of age, migration is associated with certain life-stage transitions: leaving school; starting a first job; forming a new household; having a child; children leaving home; and separation (Rossi, 1980). There are peaks in migration for very young children and for young adults, and rates tend to be lower for school-age children and older adults (though with some evidence of higher rates among over 75s, due to declining health and physical activity). While there have typically been higher rates among men than women, this has declined over time, due largely to rising labour market participation among women, a phenomenon borne out by the analysis of the 2001 Census by Bailey and Livingston (2005). Gardner et al (2001), however, found gender difference in terms of moving for job-related reasons. The most mobile men were those with non-working partners: this was not true for women. Separation was also associated with mobility for men, but not for women.

The relationship of variables such as age with rates of mobility tends to underplay some of the underlying complexities in the nature of their housing choices. Ford et al (2002), for example, suggest that the types of housing pathway selected by young people in England are a function of the interplay between three factors: their ability to plan for and control their entry to independent living; the extent and form of constraint that characterises their access to housing; and the degree of family support available to them. Ford et al then put forward four ideal typical housing pathways among young people: a chaotic pathway; an unplanned pathway; a planned (non-student) pathway; and a student pathway. The authors also

suggest that those explanations of mobility (and other activities) that emphasise human agency over structural constraint in an era of individualisation and lifestyle choice can underplay the power of structural constraints in the labour and housing markets (see also Nettleton and Burrows, 1998) . This type of analysis underlines the extent to which the surface associations between age and mobility conceal more complex issues of motivation, intention and action.

The relationship between employment status and propensity to migrate has been the subject of many studies, but the association is far from clear-cut. In their analysis of the SARs from the 2001 Census, Bailey and Livingston (2005) found little overall difference between the economically active and inactive, but considerable internal differentiation within these groups. Among the economically active, migration is highest for those who are currently unemployed - reflecting moves made seeking employment and also the younger mean age of this group.

Boheim and Taylor's (1999) analysis of British Household Panel Survey data from 1991 to 1997 also showed that the unemployed were more likely to move than the employed (and the self-employed were marginally more likely to move than employees). Boheim and Taylor's analysis (1999; 2002) also confirmed that a desire to move motivated by employment reasons had the largest single impact on the probability of moving between regions. Among the economically inactive, students have high migration rates, as one would expect (the SARs analysis suggests it is about twice the average rate), and the permanently sick and disabled have the lowest rates apart from the retired.

In terms of health, those with limiting long term illness (LLTI) are less likely to move than others, as one would expect - and this holds even after controlling for compositional differences (i.e. those who are older are more likely to suffer poor health) (Boyle et al, 2002). Higher educational attainment is generally associated with a higher propensity to move, but the rate is contingent on age distribution. Those with higher educational qualifications are more likely to move within the 19-29 age band, but thereafter the extent of differentiation weakens and has no influence at all at later stages in the life cycle (Bailey and Livingston, 2005).

In terms of household type, migration rates are highest among single person households, as one might expect, followed by lone parents with dependant children and then by couples with no children. Again, the nature of the relationship between these variables requires careful interpretation - lone parenthood may be a transient state and this group will also contain a higher proportion of those who have passed through one of the key life stages prompting mobility: separation.

There is an established, if inconclusive, literature on the housing careers of members of minority ethnic groups in terms of the balance between 'choice' and 'constraint' in their patterns of mobility. Members of BME communities may move for positive reasons (to be nearer to family and friends) or negative reasons (to escape from racial harassment or because of difficulties in the labour market). The distinctive demographic profile of some groups (often with a smaller proportion of older adults, or with a larger average household size) is also relevant. Bailey and Livingston (2005) found that the migration rate was higher among all non-White/Mixed household groups than for White-only households in England and Wales (11.2 % for White-only compared to 17.5 % for mixed, 12.7% for Asian/Asian British, 15.4% for Black/Black British and 22.8 % for Chinese/Other). Multi-variate analysis of the SARs data suggested that minority ethnic groups had lower levels of mobility over shorter distances, possibly reflecting constraints on their housing choices.

At the localised level, research in the West End of Newcastle (Cameron and Field 1997; 1998; 2000) has suggested that the phenomenon of 'churning' in low demand areas might also have a differential impact on minority ethnic groups. A comparison of two estates- one dominated by the Bangladeshi population, the other by white households - showed that the

housing choices for the Bangladeshis were highly constrained. This position resulted from a combination of factors - household size, age structure, low income and discrimination. Bangladeshi households were less likely to move away from the area than their White counterparts, who suffered more from exclusion from the labour market and, in the authors' terms, civil society.

Geographical factors also shape processes of migration. Regional and city-level factors will influence population turnover and residential mobility rates - due to differential employment growth, new housing developments and in-migration. Holmans and Simpson (1999), for example, found that the rate of migration from the North to the South of England increased during the 1990s. However, although economic strength is strongly associated with higher in-migration in the United States, this relationship does not always hold in the UK, partly due to tighter constraints on new residential development (at least, pre-Barker) in the more prosperous South. On this basis, one might expect lower rates of mobility in the more prosperous regions of England. However, Bailey and Livingston's analysis suggests that any such regional differences appear to be relatively minor with the exception of inner London, which - contrary to expectations - has higher than average rates (possibly due to international in-migration and a younger population profile overall).

London also differs from other regions in other ways. Clark and Huang (1993), for example, found that 'room stress' ('overcrowding' or 'under-occupying') is generally a significant predictor of mobility, though this is mediated by tenure and life stage. However, 'underconsumption' of housing in London did not prompt mobility to the same extent as in other regions. A study of mobility by housing association tenants in London (Housing Corporation 2003) found that they moved less than tenants elsewhere in the country. The vast majority of moves, whether to housing association rented accommodation or to low cost home ownership, took place within the same district. 25 per cent of moves into rented housing and 36 per cent of moves to home ownership crossed district boundaries. Households who moved tended to have higher average incomes. Movers within the same district were more likely to be families.

The main reasons given for moving in the Housing Corporation study, whether within the district or further afield, were household - and, especially, housing-related: the need for independent accommodation, health, homelessness and, in particular, to relieve overcrowding. The study concludes '*it is clear that current patterns of movement reflect what households are offered rather than what they would necessarily choose, given greater opportunity.*' (p1). Constraints on mobility are more apparent in higher demand, pressurised sub-regional markets.

Finally, patterns of mobility at a smaller scale still, the neighbourhood, need to be examined. The focus of this evidence review is on frequent mobility among socially and economically disadvantaged groups. Household survey evidence from the evaluation of the New Deal for Communities programme is used extensively in the following sections of the report to identify some of the main attributes of frequent movers living in NDC areas. However, in this section, the geographical dimension of social and economic disadvantage is considered. Are the causes and manifestations of residential mobility different in poorer neighbourhoods? Parkes and Kearns (2003) provide one of the more comprehensive studies of a topic where few British research projects have so far ventured, through an analysis of British House Condition Survey data from 1991 to 1996. They explore the extent to which poor neighbourhood conditions prompt high levels of dissatisfaction and whether this acts as a 'push' factor, expressed as an intention to move home. They also consider the extent to which negative perceptions about neighbourhood affect actual behaviour, and the impact of housing market conditions on this relationship.

The analysis found that residential dissatisfaction was higher in poor areas than elsewhere, especially in terms of the immediate surroundings of the home and perceptions of crime and social disorder in the locality. For council tenants and those based in the North of England,

this was compounded by dissatisfaction with poor dwelling condition and wider neighbourhood amenity. However, this level of dissatisfaction was no more likely to be translated into an intention to move in poor areas than elsewhere (see also Parkes and Kearns (2002) for a similar finding in a Scottish context). As the authors suggest, *'Residents in poor areas respond to negative residential conditions in the same way as the rest of the population; they just experience those conditions more often than others.'* (p849)

However, as one might expect, only a proportion of those intending to move act on this intention (see also Landale and Guest, 1985; Lee et al, 1994). Here, regional location and tenure were more influential - those in 'tighter' housing markets in London and the South and home owners (aware of high transaction costs) were less likely to act on their intention to move than households in low demand areas and in the rented sector. Patterns of mobility are strongly mediated by housing market position, not just by household characteristics and perceptions of home and neighbourhood.

This brief review of a rapidly developing field of research interests has unravelled some of the complexities involved in accounting for mobility. The interaction between household circumstances (including the internal dynamics of household decision-making), labour market position, neighbourhood perceptions, quality of the dwelling and the residential environment, housing tenure and housing market pressures renders highly problematic any attempt to provide an all-consuming 'model' of mobility behaviour. What is more feasible is a review of the strength of association between different attributes, certainly in gauging propensity to move among households in a given context. But this takes us some distance from the neo-classical models of labour supply and demand and informed, market-rational consumers this section began with.

In nearly all the literature reviewed above 'mobility' and 'migration' is implicitly taken as a single 'event'. In terms of 'housing pathways' or 'careers', moves are often seen as a disconnected series of decisions taken at different stages in the life course, where different factors come into play. Little reference is made to frequent movers as a distinct category of the mobile, or to the balance between choice and constraint in the process. There is a literature, as shown above, on 'churning' but this tends to focus on the impact on the neighbourhood rather than the characteristics of the 'churners' themselves, still less their reasons for moving frequently. Studies have been undertaken about how far long-distance moves are followed by short-distance adjustment moves, but this relationship is contested (Clark and Huang, 2004) and the primacy given to labour market effects does not translate well for those disadvantaged groups containing a high proportion of the economically inactive. With these caveats in mind, the next section reviews the rather patchy evidence base on frequently moving households.



## 2. Who are Frequent Movers?

### 2.1. Introduction

Despite increasing concern about the incidence and consequences of frequent moving for vulnerable and deprived households and neighbourhoods, little is known about households who move on a regular basis: whether in terms of age, composition, socio-economic status, health and well-being, ethnicity, housing tenure and conditions. Little attention has previously been paid to the experiences or consequences of frequent moving and available data sets yield few insights into who moves (see Appendix 1 for a comprehensive review of statistical data - and especially the gaps in data - on frequent moving). Some tentative conclusions can be generated, however, by piecing together insights from two very different sources - survey data from across the 39 New Deal for Communities partnership areas in England and available evidence regarding a number of vulnerable groups.

### 2.2. Who Moves: Insights from the NDC Survey Data

A survey of 17,000 households living in the 39 New Deal for Communities Partnership neighbourhoods in England was undertaken by MORI in 2004. All respondents were asked about the number of times they had moved house in the previous five years. One in ten (9.7%) of all respondents reported that they had moved house three or more times in the previous five years, while 2.5 per cent of respondents reported moving five or more times in the previous five years. Comparative analysis of the responses of the 1,650 households who had moved three or more times in the last five years (from hereon referred to as frequent movers) to a series of profiling questions, set against the responses of households moving less frequently (two or less moves in the previous five years), allows the essential characteristics of frequent movers living in deprived neighbourhoods to be sketched out. Frequency tables are provided in the discussion below. Odds Ratio tables - detailing the probability of frequent movers exhibiting certain characteristics (age, ethnicity, gender, poor health) and residing in certain situations (household composition, housing tenure) - are provided in Appendix 3.

#### 2.2.1. Gender

Frequent movers are significantly less likely to be women, and male respondents were more likely to have moved three or more times in the previous five years. In total, 49 per cent of the people interviewed were men, but 54 per cent of people who had moved three or four times were men and 57 per cent of the people who had moved five or more times were men. The prevalence for frequent moving among men was even more pronounced in London, where 58 per cent of people who had moved three or four times and 63 per cent of people who had moved five or more times were men.

**Table 2.1: Number of moves and gender**

No. of moves	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (n)
0	48	52	11881
1 to 2	52	48	3464
3 to 4	54	46	1233
5 plus	57	43	430
All	49	51	17008

### 2.2.2. Age

The age profile of frequent movers is far younger than the overall age profile of the NDC population; 88 per cent of frequent movers were less than 35 years old, compared to just 34 per cent of all residents. A similar age profile was evident among frequent movers in the ten London NDCs.

**Table 2.2: Number of moves and age**

No. of moves	Age of respondent								Total (n)
	16-24 (%)	25-34 (%)	35-44 (%)	45-54 (%)	55-59 (%)	60-64 (%)	65-74 (%)	75+ (%)	
0	12	13	21	16	8	7	14	9	11882
1 to 2	31	33	18	8	3	2	3	2	3463
3 to 4	38	38	15	6	2	1	1	0	1232
5 plus	41	44	9	3	1	0	1	0	430
All	19	19	20	14	6	5	10	7	17007

### 2.2.3. Housing Tenure

Frequent movers are far less likely to be home owners (Table 2.3), a disproportionate number of frequent movers living in private rented accommodation. This finding is consistent with the role and function of the private rented sector described in the previous chapter, as a tenure providing flexible, short term accommodation. In total, 12 per cent of all households were living in private rented accommodation. In contrast, 41 per cent of people moving three or four times and 44 per cent of people moving five or more times were resident in the private rented sector. Frequent movers, meanwhile, were far less likely to reside in owner occupied accommodation, only 15 per cent of people moving three or four times, and 12 per cent of people moving five or more times, living in owner occupied accommodation, compared to 39 per cent of all households in the survey.

**Table 2.3: Number of moves and tenure (all respondents)**

No. of moves	Tenure				Total
	Owner occupier (%)	Social sector renter (%)	Private renter (%)	Other/not stated (%)	
0	47	49	3	1	11881
1 to 2	21	50	28	1	3462
3 to 4	15	43	41	1	1233
5 plus	12	42	44	2	430
All	39	49	12	1	17006

The reliance of frequent movers on the private rented sector was found to be particularly pronounced in London, even accounting for the fact that the sector plays a more significant role in the London housing market. More than half (54%) of those moving three or four times and moving five or more times were living in private rented accommodation in London, compared to only 14 per cent of all households in the capital. A further distinction between frequent movers in London and elsewhere in England is the proportion living in social rented (local authority and housing association) accommodation. Frequent movers in London were far less likely than other households in the capital to live in social rented accommodation. This reflects the very different role that the social rented sector plays in London, representing a tenure of destination for many more households than elsewhere in England (Robinson et al., 2005). One third (34%) of people moving three or four times, and 34 per cent of people moving five or more times, in London were social housing tenants, compared to 62 per cent of all households in the 10 London NDCs. Outside London, in contrast, 46 per cent of people moving three or four times and 45 per cent of people moving five or more times were social housing tenants, compared to 44 per cent of all households in NDCs outside London.

## 2.2.4. Household Composition

The majority of frequent movers appear to be single people, as might be expected. Relatively few frequent movers were living as a couple (with or without dependent children), while large numbers were living either in a single person household or a large adult household, the latter possibly indicating that a high proportion of frequent movers reside in houses in multiple occupation or hostel accommodation. In total, 50 per cent of people moving three or four times, and 59 per cent of people moving five or more times, were in single person or large adult households, compared to just 42 per cent of all respondents. Meanwhile, only 36 per cent of people moving three or four times, and 29 per cent of people moving five or more times, were in a couple, compared to 48 per cent of all respondents.

**Table 2.4: Number of moves and household composition (all respondents)**

No. of moves (%)	Household type					Total (n)
	Couple no children (%)	Couple with dependents (%)	Lone parent (%)	Single Person (%)	Large adult (%)	
0	30	22	10	17	21	11881
1 to 2	16	24	13	19	28	3464
3 to 4	14	22	13	16	34	1232
5 plus	16	13	11	21	38	430
All	26	22	11	18	24	17007

## 2.2.5. Ethnic Origin

As indicated more generally in the previous chapter, certain minority ethnic groups appear more likely to move frequently, while White British households appear less likely to be frequent movers. In total, 33 per cent of all respondents to the survey were recorded as belonging to a minority ethnic group, while 43 per cent of people moving three or four times, and 45 per cent of people moving five or more times, were minority ethnic respondents. Stark differences were apparent, however, within the minority ethnic population. South Asian households, for example, were less likely to move frequently than White respondents, while African respondents, White-Other groups (other than British or Irish) and people classed as of 'other' ethnic origin were all recorded as being more likely than the wider population to move frequently.

**Table 2.5: Number of moves and ethnic origin (all respondents)**

No. of moves	White British (%)	White Irish (%)	White Other (%)	Indian (%)	P'stani (%)	Bang' deshi (%)	C'bean (%)	African (%)	All other (%)	Total (n)
0	70	2	3	3	4	4	5	4	5	11883
1 to 2	59	1	7	3	3	3	4	9	11	3463
3 to 4	57	1	12	2	2	2	3	9	12	1234
5 plus	65	3	13	2	1	0	1	3	12	430
All	67	2	5	3	4	3	5	5	6	17010

The situation in London was found to be subtly different. Minority ethnic populations in the capital were more likely to move frequently. 73 per cent of respondents moving three or four times and 69 per cent of people moving five or more times belonged to a minority ethnic group, compared to 65 per cent of all respondents in London. Very different experiences of frequent moving were apparent within the minority ethnic population, however. Indeed, the White Other population was, in fact, the only minority ethnic group reporting above average levels of frequent moving. 33 per cent of the people moving three or four times, and 41 per

cent of the people moving five or more times, were White Other respondents, compared to just 13 per cent of the total sample of respondents in London.

**Table 2.6: Number of moves and ethnic origin (London)**

No. of moves	White British (%)	White Irish (%)	White Other (%)	Indian (%)	P'stani (%)	B'deshi (%)	C'bean (%)	African (%)	All other (%)	Total (n)
0	39	4	8	2	1	8	13	14	11	3042
1 to 2	25	2	20	4	1	8	7	18	15	927
3 to 4	27	2	33	0	1	2	5	14	16	329
5 plus	31	3	41	0	1	1	3	7	13	102
All	35	3	13	2	1	8	11	14	13	4400

## 2.2.6. Socio-economic Status and Well Being

A relatively large proportion of the frequent moving population appear to be economically active (employed or seeking work) - 62 per cent of people moving five or more times and 58 per cent of people moving three or four times were economically active, compared to just half (52%) of all respondents. Frequent movers, however, were more likely to live in workless households and in households with limited or no access to a car (Table A3.3). Frequent movers were also more likely to report poor and worsening health in general, and poor mental well-being in particular, accounting for age and other contingent factors (Table A3.4). They were more likely to be smokers and more likely to report an 'unhealthy' diet.

**Table 2.7: Number of moves and economic status**

No. of moves	Economically active?		Total (n)
	No (%)	Yes (%)	
0	50	50	11881
1 to 2	44	56	3463
3 to 4	42	58	1233
5 plus	38	62	430
All	48	52	17007

## 2.2.7. The Importance of Place

A further insight provided by the NDC data is the very different levels of mobility recorded among residents of what are, by definition of being selected for the NDC programme, relatively similar neighbourhoods. Beatty et al. (2004) reveal that, even controlling for underlying variations in the characteristics of areas, wide variations are evident in levels of frequent moving among local residents in the 39 NDC neighbourhoods. Households in Bristol, Nottingham and Plymouth, for example, are twice as likely as all NDC residents to have moved three or more times in the last five years, while residents of the NDC in Southwark are one-third as likely as all NDC residents to be frequent movers. The specific reasons for these very different experiences of frequent moving across the 39 NDC neighbourhoods are unclear, although the results do hint at distinctive processes at work in different areas. Southwark, for example, is the NDC with the lowest odds of having frequent movers, but also the NDC with the highest odds of people wanting to move; it seems a high proportion of residents want to move but feel unable to do so in a pressurised inner London housing market. Frequent moving at the local level, therefore, would appear, in part, to be a function of the availability of alternative housing options.

## 2.3. Who Moves: The Circumstances and Situations of Frequent Movers

The NDC data provides a useful overview of the population of people who move frequently, revealing a propensity toward frequent moving among young people (less than 35 years old) and indicating that frequent movers often reside in single person or large adult households and live in private rented accommodation and more likely to live in deprived situations. Further inferences about the personal circumstances and situations of frequent movers can be drawn from evidence regarding a number of population groups, for whom mobility and vulnerability appear to be intimately linked in a mutually reinforcing relationship. Vulnerability promotes mobility, which in turn compounds vulnerability, resulting in relatively high levels of mobility.

There is little explicit evidence regarding the mobility patterns of different population groups, but the reported experiences of specific elements of the homeless population (for example, ex-servicemen, young homeless people, people with alcohol and drug use problems, people with mental health problems, people sleeping rough), young people who have recently left care, new immigrants and gypsy and traveller populations all indicate relatively high levels of mobility. A common theme in these experiences is the limited associational ties that people have to any particular location, fostered, for example, through networks of kith and kin, a history of stable settlement or ongoing engagement with services. Evidence also suggests that patterns of mobility can become more chaotic with time, as vulnerabilities are compounded and multiply.

It is difficult to comment in detail on the particulars of households within these different population groups that are experiencing relatively high levels of mobility and it is important to emphasise that not all people within these groupings are leading mobile lifestyles. Reflecting on the evidence base, however, there are some specific observations of relevance that can be drawn out.

### 2.3.1. Homeless People

There appears to be a direct correlation between vulnerability and mobility within the homeless population<sup>2</sup>. The most vulnerable homeless people (for example, drug users and people with mental health problems) appear to be the most mobile. The link between vulnerability and mobility, however, also appears to reflect the difficulties that these people can encounter accessing and engaging with service providers, as well as family and friends, and the limited associational ties that people have with a particular location (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002; Crisis, 2002; Robinson and Coward, 2003; Reeve and Leedham, 2004).

Mobility among homeless ex-service personnel appears to be related to the lack of associational ties that serve to anchor them to a particular location and limit the range, if not the extent, of frequent moving. It has also been suggested that high levels of mobility among ex-service personnel reflects a continuation of the highly mobile lifestyle that many people live while in the forces (Randall and Brown, 1994; Higate, 2000). Time spent in prison also appears to promote frequent moving. The accommodation difficulties that some

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<sup>2</sup> The definition of "homeless" used in this review has a much wider scope than that cited in homelessness legislation and used by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. Definitions of general housing terms can be found on the ODPM website: [www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1150232](http://www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1150232). The term 'homeless' here is used to denote anyone without secure or settled accommodation and incorporates people living in a wide range of homeless accommodation situations including rough sleeping, hostels, night shelters, bed and breakfast hostels, squatting, and staying with friends or family. It has been necessary to employ this generic term for two reasons: firstly, much homeless evidence uses the term generically and does not differentiate between different homeless accommodation situations. It is therefore impossible to disentangle the relative influence of accommodation situation on experiences or on levels of mobility. Secondly, it was often necessary to draw on evidence regarding different homeless populations (e.g. rough sleepers, homeless people staying with friends) and fuse together the insights from this disparate literature in order to generate meaningful comments and conclusions. Where it is possible to be more specific and confidently make an assertion about a particular homeless population group we do so.

people encounter upon leaving prison forces a reliance on insecure, temporary accommodation and, for relatively large numbers of ex-prisoners, results in homelessness, often including periods of rough sleeping (Yanetta et al, 1999; Kershaw et al, 2000).

Women and children fleeing violence in the home are also prone to frequent moving, many women have several stays in temporary accommodation, interspersed with returns to their former home, before they successfully leave a violent partner, after which time they can be continuously mobile, moving between friends and relatives and temporary accommodation while awaiting an offer of suitable move-on accommodation (Charles, 1994; Davis, 2003; Delahay, 2004).

### **2.3.2. Care leavers**

It appears that frequent movers have commonly experienced a traumatic childhood or adolescence, leading some people to leave home at the earliest possible opportunity, a finding reflected in the fact that frequent movers leave home at a much younger age than more settled residents (Richardson and Corbishley, 1999). Particularly high levels of mobility have been recorded among care leavers. In part, this reflects the relatively high incidence of homelessness among people with a recent history of time spent in care (Anderson et al., 1993; Randall, 1998; Fitzpatrick et al., 2000; Third and Yanetta, 2000). Even care leavers who have managed to avoid homelessness, however, appear prone to frequent moving. One study, for example, reported that in the first two years after leaving care over half of the sample had made two or more moves and 20 per cent became homeless (McNeish et al., 2002). The influence of history of time spent in care or homelessness can also be long-lasting, a study of hostel residents in Glasgow finding large numbers of people aged 30 years and above who had spent time in care as a child (Kershaw et al., 2000).

### **2.3.3. New Immigrants**

The residential settlement patterns of new immigrants are often characterised by high levels of mobility, particular in the early months and years following arrival in the UK (Robinson and Reeve, 2005). This point is well illustrated by the fact that over one quarter of the 534 people interviewed in the NDC survey who reported having applied for refugee status since arriving in the UK had moved three or more times in the last five years, compared to 9.7 per cent of all NDC residents. Frequent moving appears particularly common among people seeking or granted asylum.

### **2.3.4. Mobile cultures and lifestyles**

Frequent moving represents, for some people, a lifestyle choice; a fundamental element of their community, culture and identity. Gypsy and traveller populations are the most obvious example of culturally rooted mobility. It is important to note, however, that the degree of mobility among gypsy and traveller populations is not always a matter of choice and can vary quite considerably. Some households or family groups, for example, respond to the lack of permanent sites and inability of service provision to accommodate their mobile lifestyle by moving into more settled situations, while others respond to similar pressures by moving more and more frequently (Bhopal, 2004; Niner, 2003; Thomas, 2000).

## 3. Why People Move: Understanding the Drivers of Frequent Mobility

### 3.1. Introduction

People move frequently for a host of complex reasons. Reviewing the disparate situations and experiences of the vulnerable groups identified in Chapter 2 as being particularly prone to frequent moving, however, it is possible to identify a number of common drivers of frequent moving. These include:

- Accommodation problems
- Mobility as an escape
- Coerced mobility
- Lifestyle situations and choices

This chapter reviews the importance of these different factors as drivers of frequent moving. In doing so, factors of particular pertinence to a number of specific population groups are highlighted.

### 3.2. Accommodation Problems

Frequent moving is, for many people, a product of the difficulties they encounter securing and maintaining a settled housing situation. These difficulties can vary in nature. Some vulnerable groups - young people, new immigrants, people with mental health problems and people with a history of institutional life - can lack the resources (cognitive, financial, social and political) required to negotiate access to settled accommodation. Ex-service personnel, for example, are reported to be unclear or unaware of opportunities within civilian life, including the different housing providers and the opportunities they provide, as well as being reluctant to seek help and preferring to 'manage on their own' (Malos and Hague, 1997; Shelter 2003; Lemos and Durkacz, 2005). A lack of permanent sites, meanwhile, forces some gypsy and traveller groups to live on temporary sites or to camp illegally until moved on for trespassing or contravening planning regulations (Niner, 2003). Other people, in contrast, manage to access, but struggle to maintain, settled accommodation. Young people, for example, can lack the life skills required to manage a tenancy and ensure payment of rent and bills (gas, water and electricity), leading to rent arrears and raising the possibility of eviction and a slide into a cycle of repeat homelessness (Pawson et al., 2001). People can experience difficulties retaining accommodation while spending time in an institution (prison or hospital); resulting in relatively high levels of homelessness upon release (Goodby, 1999; Howes and Fountain, 2002; Evans, 1999; Murdoch et al., 1994; Waters, 1999). One study, for example, found that less than half of ex-prisoners were able to return to their previous address upon release and that 40 per cent were released to 'no fixed abode' (Paylor, 1992). There are also financial prerogatives for women fleeing violence in the home, such as the problems of securing Housing Benefit payments at two addresses (the accommodation they have fled and the refuge where they are temporarily accommodated). This may compel them to relinquish their tenancy before they have time to consider all the options (Shelter, 2003; Charles, 1994).

Difficulties accessing and maintaining settled accommodation force people to rely on temporary accommodation situations. Some people reside in 'temporary' situations for considerable periods of time - women and children fleeing violence, for example, often stay in refuges for months or even years, because of a dearth of satisfactory move-on accommodation (Charles, 1994; Davis, 2003; Delahay, 2004). However, temporary accommodation more typically serves as respite or stepping stone provision. The rules and regulations of occupancy, for example, often limit how long people are able to remain in temporary accommodation. Some accommodation is tied to the provision of care or support, or to the legal status of the occupants (for example, accommodation and support provided through NASS for people seeking asylum). Accommodation for homeless people is also often provided on a strictly time limited basis, especially in the voluntary sector or where the local authority does not have a statutory duty to re-house, forcing people to move on a regular basis and, in some instances, disrupting the resettlement process (Goodby; 1999; Howes and Fountain, 2002; Evans, 1999; Murdoch et al., 1994; Waters, 1999; Reeve, 2002a; Reeve and Leedham, 2004). The goodwill underpinning more informal arrangements, such as staying with family and friends, is also often time limited (Robinson and Coward, 2003). Similarly, solutions devised by some people in an attempt to secure a place to live can prove illegal, resulting in action being taken to 'move them on.' The difficulties encountered by some gypsy and traveller populations identifying locations to park and settle without contravening planning legislation is an example. Squatting is another situation often characterised by frequent movement.

The poor quality of some temporary accommodation also appears to be a driver of mobility. Homeless people have reported problems living in hostel accommodation, concerns including a lack of privacy, safety and security and the fear or experience of violence and abuse. As well as prompting people to move on, such experiences can drive some people into even more transient situations, such as squatting or rough sleeping (Reeve and Coward, 2004). There is also evidence that asylum seekers are leaving formal provision and seeking informal solutions with friends and family because of the poor quality or inappropriate nature of temporary housing (Carter and El-Hassan, 2003; Kelly, 2000; Wilson, 2001).

In addition, some people can face problems living within the rules of residence in temporary accommodation. Supported housing and hostel providers often outlaw certain actions and activities - such as drug use - that people can struggle to curtail, particularly if managing without the support they need to address the underlying causes of their behaviour. It is therefore not surprising that eviction from temporary accommodation is common amongst vulnerable homeless people (for example, drug users, ex-offenders and people with mental ill health problems). These people can subsequently carry with them a reputation that limits their ability to access accommodation in the local area, a problem that can be compounded by a lack of specialist accommodation for people with more extreme or challenging needs.

Many women have several stays in temporary accommodation, interspersed with returns to their former home, before they successfully leave a violent partner. Due to a lack of available move-on accommodation, women and children often stay in refuges for twelve months or longer, while others are continuously mobile. (Charles, 1994; Davis, 2003; Delahay, 2004)

### **3.3. Escaping problems**

'Escape' is a common reason for leaving settled accommodation: witness the proportion of applicants recorded in the homeless statistics as leaving their last home because of reasons of violence and relationship breakdown. It is also a common reason for ongoing experiences of frequent moving. Available evidence suggests that, in seeking to escape, people are looking to leave behind complex and problematic situations and experiences within their home, their neighbourhood or their town/city.

Problems in the *home*, including relationship breakdown and the experience of violence and abuse, are drivers of mobility and have been identified as prompting people to commence moving on a frequent basis (Richardson and Corbishley, 1999). Available evidence suggests that victims of violence in the home are far more likely to leave the property than the perpetrator, and violence in the home has been revealed to be a key factor precipitating homelessness (Hague, 1999; Tomas and Dittmar, 1995). Indeed, the homeless careers of many mobile homeless people begin with running away from the parental home to escape physical or sexual abuse and other domestic difficulties, or being thrown out of the family home for behavioural reasons (Mustafa, 2004; Buck, 2002; Reeve, 2002a; Reeve and Leedham, 2004). It has been suggested that these experiences are gendered; Bruegel and Smith (1999) reported that 29 per cent of young women in their study of young homeless people in London recounted being hit at home, compared to 18 per cent of young men.

Problems in the *neighbourhood/village* might involve the breakdown of relations with friends, relatives or neighbours, problems of harassment and persecution, and difficulties accessing adequate support or assistance. The experiences of frequent movers in the NDC survey hint at the importance of these factors as drivers of mobility. People who had moved five or more times in the previous five years, for example, were more likely than the wider NDC population to have reported being the victim of violent attack, vandalism or burglary.

Fears about living in an area are particularly important driver of frequent movement. Racial harassment, for example, can have a corrosive effect on the lives of minority ethnic household and prompt people to move house and neighbourhood (Phillips 1986; 1993; Robinson et al., 2004). Management of harassment also appears to prompt relocation, as it is common for the victims of harassment, rather than the perpetrators, to be moved by social landlords (Nixon et al., 1999; Skellington, 1996).

People seeking asylum and people granted refugees status or leave to remain in the UK are a group particularly prone to experience of racist abuse and harassment, especially when dispersed to neighbourhoods with previous history of minority ethnic settlement. In response, some people are sacrificing NASS support in order to escape such problems and to move to more established areas of new immigrant and minority ethnic settlement (Carter and El-Hassan, 2003; Barclay et al., 2003; Buck, 2001). Discrimination and harassment can also make it difficult for people to use local facilities and services, incidences such as bullying in schools, for example, leading gypsy and traveller families to move (Niner, 2003; Bhopal, 2004).

Problems at the level of the *town or city* can include restricted or exhausted opportunities. People might move in search of access to a wider array of services and accommodation, as in the case of some homeless people in rural locations. Some people also move in an attempt to leave behind a personal history or reputation. Others move in an attempt to escape their isolation from family and friends or people from a similar cultural or ethnic background. Moving between districts has also been identified as a coping mechanism for people struggling to come to terms with acute personal difficulties, such as bereavement. It is reasonable to assume that moves between towns and cities are the most dislocating in terms of engagement with service provision, although doing so can also allow people to make a fresh start.

### 3.4. Coerced Mobility

Mobility is, for some vulnerable groups, a choice or a lifestyle, although the range and frequency of moves can be exaggerated by the various mitigating factors reviewed above. For others, mobility is the outcome of a difficult choice between staying put and managing problems, challenges and difficulties where they currently live, or attempting to resolve of these issues by moving on. For a third group, moving is a forced necessity, a fact reflected in the discrepancy in the NDC survey between the proportion of frequent movers expecting to move in the next two years (60 per cent of people who had moved five times in the

previous five years) and the proportion actually wanting to move (43 per cent of people who had moved five times in the last five years).

People forced to move fall into two broad groupings. On the one hand, there are people for whom the state has a legal duty of care, such as young people in the care of a local authority. Very different mobility patterns are apparent within this group, suggesting variable local practices, but frequent localised movements are commonplace. Evidence suggests that frequent moving continues to be a common feature in the lives of people who spent time in care as a child once they move into independent adulthood (Third and Yanetta, 2000; Randall, 1998). Various reasons appear to explain this continued experience of mobility. The common pathway through to independent adulthood, for example, typically involves repeat returns to the parental home at points of crisis and difficulty, an option blocked for most care leavers (Fitzpatrick, 1999; Jones, 1995).

The second broad category of people forced to move are those reliant on a particular agency for a specific package of support and accommodation, such as people seeking asylum, or people housed in temporary accommodation by a local authority while their application under the homeless legislation is being assessed. Mobility can be forced upon such people by their accommodation provider. NASS, for example, delivers the government's policy of dispersing applicants for asylum to designated cluster areas across England. Little is known about mobility patterns within cluster areas, although anecdotal evidence suggests that forced dispersal is sometimes followed by further mobility. Some people apparently abandon NASS provision in a bid to relocate to locations considered preferable to their designated cluster area, such as towns or cities where people from similar ethnic or cultural backgrounds are known to reside (Cole and Robinson, 2003). These people subsequently have to manage without recourse to formal provision and presumably rely on the support of friends, associates and family.

Once granted leave to remain in the UK, former asylum seekers are required to leave their NASS sponsored accommodation within 28 days. Failure to find a new dwelling in this period results in homelessness. Although some asylum seekers given leave to remain in the UK may be eligible under the homelessness legislation for housing in the district where they were dispersed to, some people choose to relocate to areas considered more preferable or suitable. Others find themselves in temporary accommodation, which is sometimes subsequently vacated because of problems with safety, suitability and appropriateness (Pascall et al., 2001).

### **3.5. Lifestyle Situations and Choices**

For some people frequent moving is an active 'choice' that reflects a lifestyle preference. Gypsies and travellers are the most obvious example of a population for which mobility represents a lifestyle choice or part of their culture, although levels of mobility can be exaggerated by problems discussed above, including the limited provision of permanent or temporary sites and the experience of harassment and persecution. Mobility can also be an inevitable consequence of particular lifestyles. The chaotic lives of homeless people with alcohol and drug related problems, for example, may result in relatively high levels of rough sleeping, that can compound vulnerabilities and the ability of people to recognise their support needs and seek help with and tackle their situation (Randall, 1998).

Previous mobile lifestyles or experiences can also be predictors of future mobility, suggesting that mobility can become an established pattern of behaviour. A history of time spent in care, childhood experience of homelessness and time served in the armed forces, for example, are all reliable predictors of a propensity to move frequently in later life. Between one-quarter and one-third of rough sleepers in the Rough Sleepers Initiative in England were reported to have been in statutory care as a child, compared to only one per cent of the general population (Randall, 1998). A study of repeat homelessness in West Lothian found that people who had experienced family homelessness as children ran an

increased risk of homelessness in later life (Motion, 2000). The mobile lifestyle of service personnel can often continue following discharge from the forces, particularly for single people (Randall and Brown, 1994; Higate, 2000).

To reduce these experiences to learnt behaviour, however, is to deny the range of factors impacting on frequent moving. One obvious explanation for this apparent correlation between previous and current mobile lifestyles is the limited associational ties (family or friends, local agencies, place recognition and affiliation) that frequent movers, whether children or adults, can have with any particular location (neighbourhood, town or city). Frequent movers in the NDC survey were less likely to know more than just a few people in their local neighbourhood, feel safe in the area, feel that neighbours are 'neighbourly' and express trust in local agencies. It is, perhaps, also significant that groups prone to frequent moving are some of the most stigmatised sections of society (people sleeping rough, ex-prisoners, refugees and asylum seekers). They are not always likely to receive a friendly reception when they move into new area; frequent movers in the NDC survey, for example, were far more likely than other residents to report very high levels of 'victimhood'.

## 4. Patterns of Mobility among Frequent Movers

### 4.1 Introduction

Different patterns of mobility can have very distinct consequences. Long distance moves - beyond an existing neighbourhood or town - can prove far more dislocating than more localised patterns of mobility, that allow people to maintain associational ties to friends, family and service providers. Understanding the impact of frequent moving on mobile households therefore demands appreciation of the variable geographies of frequent moving. Unfortunately, it is difficult to piece together any meaningful insights regarding patterns of mobility (frequency and distance moved) among frequent movers.

Available data sources that cast some light on the incidence of frequent moving tend to say little about the geography of moves (see Appendix 1 for a detailed discussion of the limits of available data). The research evidence relating to the situations and experiences of groups prone to frequent moving, meanwhile, tends to focus more on vulnerabilities, needs and requirements, rather than patterns of mobility, despite the two being inextricably linked. Clearly, there is an urgent need for research to explore the complex geographies of frequent moving. In the meantime, the only conclusions that can be drawn are tentative in nature and lacking in specific details. This said, the NDC survey data does provide some useful insights, while some broad conclusions of relevance to various vulnerable groups can be inferred from the evidence base.

### 4.2 Local Geographies of Frequent Moving: Insights from the NDC Survey Data

Previous research exploring frequent moving in deprived neighbourhoods has suggested that a relatively large proportion of frequent moving takes place within a restricted geographical area (Richardson and Corbishley, 1999). In the NDC pathfinder neighbourhoods, one third (34%) of people who had moved three or four times in the previous five years and one-quarter (24%) of people who had moved five or more times in the previous five years reported that their last move covered a relatively short distance, their previous home being within a 15 minute walk of their current residence. Similar mobility patterns were evident, however, among households moving less frequently, while the majority of frequent movers had moved more than 15 minutes walk from their previous residence.

**Table 4.1: Number of moves and location of previous home (all respondents)**

No. of moves	Location of previous home			Total (n)
	Within 15 minutes walk (%)	Further away (%)	Don't know (%)	
0	24	76	0	34
1 to 2	34	64	2	1213
3 to 4	34	64	2	450
5 plus	24	75	1	193
All	33	66	1	1890

A distinct pattern of mobility appears to exist in London, where all households, including frequent movers, were more likely to have moved more than 15 minutes walk from their last residence, possibly reflecting the impact of the more restricted housing opportunities within the capital on patterns of mobility, people being required to move longer distances to secure accommodation.

**Table 4.2: Number of moves and location of previous home (London)**

No. of moves	Location of previous home			Total (n)
	Within 15 minutes walk (%)	Further away (%)	Don't know (%)	
0	17	83	0	23
1 to 2	28	70	3	436
3 to 4	24	73	3	144
5 plus	11	86	4	56
All	25	72	3	659

**Table 4.3: Number of moves and location of previous home (outside London)**

No. of moves	Location of previous home			Total (n)
	Within 15 minutes walk (%)	Further Away (%)	Don't know (%)	
0	36	64	0	11
1 to 2	38	61	1	778
3 to 4	39	60	1	308
5 plus	29	71	0	137
All	37	62	1	1234

The NDC data also hints at very different geographies of mobility between population groups. People who reported having applied for refugee status in the UK, for example, were far more likely than other respondents to have moved more than 15 minutes walk from their previous residence.

**Table 4.4: Number of moves and location of previous home ('people who have applied for refugee status in the UK')**

Location of previous home				
No. of moves	Within 15 minutes walk (%)	Further away (%)	Don't know (%)	Total (n)
0	0	100	0	2
1 to 2	18	81	1	96
3 to 4	34	66	0	56
5 plus	6	94	0	16
All	22	78	1	170

### 4.3 Patterns of Mobility among Vulnerable Groups

Little information is available about patterns of frequent moving among population groups known to experience disproportionate levels of frequent movement (homeless people, people leaving care, gypsy and traveller populations, people seeking asylum and refugees). Clearly, there is an urgent need for research to explore the distinct geographies of mobility of these different population groups, particularly given that mobility can have a major impact on service engagement and utilisation and personal well-being, as shown in the next two chapters. It is possible at this stage, however, to piece together a number of broad conclusions regarding patterns of mobility among vulnerable groups from the available evidence.

1. Certain personal histories or contemporary challenges make people more likely to leave their current neighbourhood. People escaping a problematic situation or experience often have good reason to move - for example, in an attempt to escape violence in the home, as well as other forms of harassment and persecution from family, friends or neighbours. It has also been suggested that moving can represent a coping behaviour for 'dealing' with distress and disturbance.
2. People with strong associational ties to a particular location, with little knowledge or awareness of other neighbourhoods, towns or cities and reliant upon local support networks (family and friends, as well as service providers); can often lead highly mobile lifestyles within a restricted geographical sphere. Young homeless people are reported to move on a relatively frequent basis, but this often takes place within a very limited geographical range (Fitzpatrick, 1999). However, young people who have experienced family breakdown, violence and abuse, or have spent time in local authority care, appear to be more geographically footloose (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000).
3. Mobility tends to increase in frequency and range the longer people are in a vulnerable situation, as resources are exhausted and opportunities within a particular location become more constrained. Homeless people, for example, appear more likely to move greater distances the longer they have been homeless, as local resources and opportunities for shelter and support (networks of kith and kin, voluntary and statutory agencies) are used up (Cloke et al., 2001). Vulnerabilities can also increase with time, leading to more chaotic lifestyles, as evidenced in the experiences of homeless people with alcohol and drug use problems (Crisis, 2002; Social Exclusion Unit, 2002).
4. Groups with limited associational attachment to any particular neighbourhood, town or city are more prone to move greater distances. Mobility within the ex-service population, for example, has been related to limited place attachment, particularly among long-serving members of the armed forces (Higate, 2000). On the other hand, some people are drawn to move large distances to locations where they have a strong

associational attachment. For example, asylum seekers or refugees may be keen to relocate to a neighbourhood, town or city where people from a similar ethnic or cultural background are resident (Cole and Robinson, 2003).

5. The specifics of the place where people are living can influence the distance moved. An obvious example is the tendency for many homeless people in rural areas to relocate to nearby towns and cities, in search of a wider range of accommodation and support (Cloke et al., 2001). Within towns or cities, the availability of accommodation or key services can, similarly, determine the micro-geography of mobility. People will move to take advantage of opportunities available in specific neighbourhoods (accommodation, services, associational networks of people in similar situations) and then seek to remain in these preferred spaces.
6. Patterns of mobility can vary through time. Hostile winter weather, for example, can force some rough sleepers to seek more stable accommodation situations, in the short term. Some homeless people, in contrast, move to take advantage of seasonal vacancies in tourist destinations during the winter months. Gypsy and traveller populations tend to move less in the winter, travelling during the summer months to attend gatherings and festivals, although seasonal patterns of movement can be disrupted, for example, by difficulties finding locations to settle during the winter.

## 5. Patterns of Service use among Frequent Movers

It would be misleading to suggest that mobile vulnerable people are totally disengaged from service provision, and most do have some degree of contact. Patterns of service use amongst frequent movers are, however, highly variable. Some engage with a single service provider in isolation, often in relation to an explicit personal difficulty - such as a health problem or accommodation crisis - while grappling with a range of related challenges in their life on which they are receiving little or no assistance. Others are engaged with multiple agencies, but these services are sometimes provided in relative isolation from each other.

Frequent movers' engagement with services is influenced by a range of factors including personal circumstances and characteristics, eligibility for assistance, individual patterns of mobility - for example, distance moved and frequency of moving - availability of local services, individual preferences, and the presence or absence of familial and social networks. Patterns of service use, therefore, vary considerably, not just between mobile groups but within them. Some homeless people, for example, remain completely disengaged from services for many years, some display chaotic patterns of service use, while others can be engaging with virtually all relevant agencies in their local area (The Big Issue in Scotland, 2002; Reeve and Leedham, 2004).

Gypsies with a more nomadic way of life, meanwhile, are reportedly more likely to keep their children out of school than those who settle for longer periods (Kiddle, 2000). And children of new travellers are more likely to attend secondary school than primary school, while the reverse is true of the children of Romany Gypsies, whose attendance drops dramatically after primary school (Kenrick and Clarke, 1999; SPEOC, 2001). This reflects a preference amongst new travellers for home education in the early years (Kenrick and Clarke, 1999), and, amongst gypsies, a cultural expectation that adolescents will contribute to the household income (Derrington and Kendall, 2004) and a perception that "*secondary schools are...threatening to their cultural values and ethnic boundaries*" (STEP, undated, p7).

Variable patterns of service use are also recorded within the population of substance misusers. While many are reported to use drug services (Danczuk, 2000), evidence also points to a propensity amongst some members of this group to deny their addiction and therefore not approach drug services for assistance (Howes and Fountain, 2002). Women escaping domestic violence who stay in refuges are reported to fare better with regard to accessing support services than those in other forms of temporary accommodation (Levison and Kenny, 2002). Variation amongst care leavers is also reported with regard to their levels of contact with services, those having left care recently being more likely to engage with formal services (Allen, 2003).

The extent to which ex-service personnel utilise resettlement provision and assistance with securing employment can vary according to the length of time they spent in service, this partly determining their eligibility for assistance (Randall and Brown, 1994; Ballintyne and Hanks, 2000; Ghosh, 2000). Variable patterns of service use within the ex-service personnel population are also noted according to their marital status. Single people are less likely to use formal resettlement services, which are geared very much towards families (Randall and Brown, 1994; De Mille, 2003). Families are also reported to receive more

informal support through family and wives associations and networks, and therefore have less need to rely upon formal service provision.

The presence of informational support can also explain differential patterns of service engagement within the homeless population, in particular between those who have a long history of homelessness and those for whom homelessness is a newer experience. The longer a person remains homeless the more likely they are to develop contacts and friendships with other homeless people who then become their main source of information (Evans, 1999), and may provide a substitute for formal service provision. On the other hand, those who have only recently become homeless will not have developed these new networks. However, they may still be in contact with existing friends and family who they can rely on to provide temporary accommodation, support, and financial assistances, again as a substitute for formal provision (Reid and Klee, 1998; Foord et al, 1998; Robinson and Coward, 2003). People who have been homeless longer are more likely to have become estranged from old friends and have no such resources to draw upon (Evans, 1999). Similarly, in areas where there is a relative dearth of temporary accommodation and support services - for example in rural locations - homeless people may be forced to rely on friends and family, and those reluctant to impose on those close to them have little option but to sleep rough (Robinson and Coward, 2003).

*Patterns* of mobility can also impact on the extent to which mobile households utilise services. Shorter moves - for example, within the neighbourhood or between neighbouring areas within the same town or city - can prove far less disruptive for the use of services, allowing continuity of contact with key services such as schools and healthcare to be maintained. There is also some evidence to suggest that patterns of mobility are delimited by such considerations, with homeless people, for example, making efforts to remain within areas where key services are available. Similarly, there is some evidence that some gypsy families will settle in one location to ensure continuity of service use (Kiddle, 2000), with one report concluding that *“settled housing could be a negative and forced choice for some gypsy travellers, used for the purpose of ensuring continuity of education and healthcare”* (SPEOC, 2001, p13).

On the other hand, when migration involves moving greater distances, beyond an existing area of settlement, the less familiar the new area of settlement is likely to be, limiting knowledge and awareness of service availability, and the more dislocating the consequences for accessing and engaging with services will be. These problems are likely to be particularly acute for people lacking the life-skills required to develop understanding and familiarity with their new place of residence.

Given these variations in service engagement within mobile groups, and the range of influences on people's ability and desire to utilise services, attempts to present a series of overarching conclusions about patterns of service use amongst different vulnerable mobile groups would contain too many caveats to be useful. However, a consensus does emerge from the evidence about a small number of key issues. The first is the relatively limited use of particular services by certain groups of frequent movers, and the second (related) issue is a clear preference for, and heavy reliance on, voluntary sector agencies. It is to these issues that we will now turn.

Much evidence refers to particular mobile groups being relatively disengaged from services, or from specific types of services. Ex-service personnel, for example, are found to make limited use of support services (Ballintyne and Hanks, 2000), while minority ethnic homeless households are recorded as less likely to approach services altogether, (Lemos and Crane, 2004). Meanwhile, it is well documented that homeless women - and perhaps single homeless women in particular - are relatively disengaged from housing and support services compared to their male counterparts Outreach services in particular are not designed with the needs of women in mind (Webb, 1994). Evidence also suggests that many traveller

children do not attend school, with recent figures estimating that approximately 12,000 secondary school age travellers are not enrolled at any school (Ofsted, 2003).

Perhaps the strongest evidence relates to (non-) use of primary health care services by many mobile groups (Murdoch et al, 1994; Blueprint Project, 2004) and by homeless and traveller populations in particular. Homeless people are reported to less frequently register with GPs (Crisis, 2004), and gypsies too are recorded to make limited use of health and welfare services (Niner, 2003). This partly reflects the reluctance of GPs to register or treat them (Hawes and Perez, 1996; Kenrick and Clarke, 1999; Parry et al, 2004; O’Hanlon and Holmes, 2004; SPEOC, 2001), despite significantly poorer health status amongst these groups (Crisis, 2004; Parry et al, 2004). Inappropriate use of accident and emergency departments - as the only means through which to receive treatment - is the consequence (Murdoch et al, 1994; O’Hanlon and Holmes, 2004).

Data from the NDC survey suggests that limited engagement with primary health care services may extend beyond homeless and traveller populations. The survey found that frequent movers were less likely than the general population to have seen their family doctor or GP in the last year and less likely to be registered with a surgery. The difference was more pronounced for residents who had moved on more than five occasions - 26 per cent had not seen their family doctor or GP for more than a year (20 per cent of the survey population as a whole responded in similar fashion) and 8 per cent were not registered with a local GP (compared to 2 per cent in the total sample). There is, then, an interesting inverse relationship between use of GPs and rates of mobility - the more mobile a person is, the less likely they are to visit or register with a GP. The non-registration rate amongst respondents who had moved more than five times was even higher in London, where 22 per cent were not registered with a local doctor or GP.

**Table 5.1: Number of moves and seen family doctor/ GP (all respondents)**

No. of moves	In last week (%)	In last month (%)	In last 6 months (%)	In last year (%)	Longer ago or never (%)	Not Registered (%)	Don't know (%)	Total (n)
0	14	26	30	11	20	0	1	11881
1 to 2	11	23	26	11	22	5	1	3464
3 to 4	13	22	26	10	24	5	0	1232
5 plus	8	24	24	10	26	8	0	430
All	13	25	28	11	20	2	1	17007

**Table 5.2: Number of moves and seen family doctor/ GP (London)**

No. of moves	In last week (%)	In last month (%)	In last 6 months (%)	In last year (%)	Longer ago or never (%)	Not registered (%)	Don't know (%)	Total (n)
0	15	28	27	11	17	0	2	3043
1 to 2	8	22	24	9	24	12	1	927
3 to 4	9	22	21	10	28	8	0	332
5 plus	4	23	24	6	20	22	1	100
All	13	26	26	10	19	4	1	4402

Respondents who had made more than five moves were also more likely than the general sample to report difficulties accessing their family doctor or GP. As Table 5.5 highlights, while 74 per cent of all NDC residents reported finding it ‘easy’ to access their family doctor or GP, only 67 per cent per cent of ‘five plus’ movers felt the same way. In addition, while 26 per cent of the total NDC population reported encountering some access difficulties, 31 per cent of ‘five plus’ movers responded in similar fashion. This pattern was not repeated in London, where respondents who had moved more than five times were not more likely to

have encountered access difficulties (see table 5.6). ‘Five plus movers’ outside London and amongst the refugee population were more likely to have encountered access difficulties.

**Table 5.3: Number of moves and ease of accessing family doctor or GP (all respondents)**

No. of moves	Very easy (%)	Fairly easy (%)	Fairly difficult (%)	Very difficult (%)	Don't know/not applicable (%)	Total (n)
0	35	39	16	10	0	9435
1 to 2	35	39	14	10	1	2484
3 to 4	35	37	15	10	3	871
5 plus	30	37	22	9	2	281
All	35	39	16	10	1	13071

**Table 5.4: Number of moves and ease of accessing family doctor or GP (London)**

No. of moves	Very easy (%)	Fairly easy (%)	Fairly difficult (%)	Very difficult (%)	Don't know/not applicable (%)	Total (n)
0	30	43	16	11	0	2473
1 to 2	33	41	15	9	1	585
3 to 4	25	43	12	13	7	210
5 plus	33	41	14	9	3	58
All	31	42	16	10	1	3326

**Table 5.5: Number of moves and ease of accessing family doctor or GP (outside London)**

No. of moves	Very easy (%)	Fairly easy (%)	Fairly difficult (%)	Very difficult (%)	Don't know/not applicable (%)	Total (n)
0	36	38	16	9	0	6962
1 to 2	36	39	14	10	1	1900
3 to 4	38	36	16	10	1	661
5 plus	29	36	24	9	2	225
All	36	38	16	10	1	9748

**Table 5.6: Number of moves and ease of accessing family doctor or GP (‘refugees’)**

No. moves	Very easy (%)	Fairly easy (%)	Fairly difficult (%)	Very difficult (%)	Don't know/not applicable (%)	Total (n)
0	42	42	13	4	0	142
1 to 2	47	35	12	5	1	171
3 to 4	33	38	20	10	0	92
5 plus	16	58	21	5	0	19
All	41	39	14	6	0	424

Although these figures do reveal some correlation between frequent moving and difficulties accessing GPs, they are not stark enough to conclude that access issues alone explain the stark differences between frequent movers and non-movers with regards to *using and registering with* GPs. The discussion below may provide an alternative, or additional, explanation.

It is notable that many of those services mentioned above as being utilised relatively rarely by frequent movers are provided by statutory agencies. Indeed, many of the vulnerable groups whose situations and experiences have been reviewed tend to engage more readily with particular types of service provider, namely those in the voluntary and community sector. The majority of drug misusers, for example, are reported to engage with drug support services and use drop-in centres; while far fewer use clinical services (Simon, 2000; Howes and Fountain, 2002). Similarly, day centres are well used by homeless people and those who are resettled, offering a range of services that can be used intermittently when required, and providing an everyday contact point for homeless people (Murdoch et al, 1994; Llewellyn and Murdoch, 1996; Evans, 1999; Reeve and Coward, 2004). Care leavers as well are reported to turn to day centres for assistance rather than the social services departments with responsibility for their leaving care support (Hai and Williams, 2004). Meanwhile, homeless people with mental health problems often prefer to use voluntary sector support services than statutory mental health provision (Reeve, 2002b).

This process is likely to reflect, in part, unsatisfactory past experiences of using statutory services among mobile groups, resulting in scepticism that they will receive the assistance they require and a reluctance to approach or engage. An association between experiences of using these services and a reluctance to engage with them raises the possibility that the longer an individual's mobile lifestyle and circumstances persists, the less engaged he or she may become from statutory services.

Over and over again the evidence provides examples of mobile groups expressing dismay at the inability of some statutory services to meet their needs, and reporting experiences of finding the way services are delivered, or the way they are treated, unhelpful and disrespectful. Homeless people, for example, talk of being turned away from local authority homeless units with no assistance, of receiving inadequate assistance, of being passed from department to department, (Evans, 1999; Reeve and Coward, 2004), finding the process demeaning, and only ever being offered accommodation in the worst housing and neighbourhoods (Buck, 2002; Reeve 2002a).

In a similar vein, young people are reported to feel uninvolved in decisions taken on their behalf by social services departments about leaving care, provided with little information and advice, and to feel distant from those involved (Blueprint Project, 2004). The low regard with which social services departments are held by frequently moving families is partly associated with their experiences or fear of having children taken into care (Richardson and Corbishley, 1999); mutually difficult relationships between social services staff and gypsies have been reported, undermining provision for this group (Cemlyn, 2000b). The result is disillusionment and frustration with statutory services, and any trust and confidence originally held in these agencies becomes undermined over the years (Alexander and Ruggieri, 1999; Evans, 1999).

The NDC survey data provides some corroboration for this outcome, suggesting relatively high levels of dissatisfaction with, and mistrust of health services. As Table 5.9 below illustrates, frequent movers exhibited lower levels of satisfaction with the service provided by their family doctor and GP than their less mobile counterparts – 75 per cent and 74 per cent respectively of respondents who had moved three or four times or more than five times were satisfied, compared to 84 per cent of all NDC residents. A similar pattern was found when the sample was disaggregated into London and 'elsewhere', and among 'refugees.'

**Table 5.7: Number of moves and satisfaction with family doctor or GP (all respondents)**

No. of moves	Very satisfied (%)	Fairly satisfied (%)	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (%)	Fairly dissatisfied (%)	Very dissatisfied (%)	Don't know (%)	Total (n)
0	49	37	5	6	3	1	9436
1 to 2	46	36	6	6	4	2	2484
3 to 4	40	35	8	9	5	3	872
5 plus	33	41	8	11	4	2	283
All	47	37	6	6	3	1	13075

NDC respondents who had moved more than five times were also less likely to trust local health services. As Table 5.10 shows, while 17 per cent of all NDC respondents had 'not very much' or 'no' trust in local health services, 24 per cent of residents who had moved more than five times felt the same way. A similar pattern was revealed when the sample was disaggregated into London and 'elsewhere', and 'refugees.'

**Table 5.8: Number of moves and trust in local health services (all respondents)**

No. of moves	A great deal (%)	A fair amount (%)	Not very much (%)	None at all (%)	Don't know (%)	Total (n)
0	26	53	14	4	4	11880
1 to 2	23	48	12	5	12	3463
3 to 4	22	49	12	4	13	1234
5 plus	18	42	15	9	15	429
All	25	51	13	4	7	17006

In contrast to statutory provision, voluntary sector services are often more highly regarded by mobile groups as they can offer more specialised forms of support, are less bureaucratic and front-line staff are seen as more responsive, understanding, non-judgemental, and client-centred. For many homeless people this provides a stark contrast to their experiences of approaching local authority homeless persons units (Evans, 1999; Reeve and Coward, 2004) and the support provided in the voluntary sector is seen in a similar light by people escaping domestic violence - as providing practical and non-judgemental emotional support (Fitzpatrick et al., 2003).

Homeless people with mental health problems are similarly reported to favour voluntary sector mental health support services for their more social, holistic and client-centred approach, over statutory mental health services which they find insensitive and 'over medicalised' (Reeve, 2002b). Homeless substance misusers are also found to turn to the support of the voluntary sector, one study finding that nearly half of young homeless substance misusers were being supported by non-specialist agencies (Reed, 2002). For asylum seekers and refugees, community-led and voluntary sector services provide a contrast with the 'authority' of statutory services, which can be very important to those fearful or wary of authority because of their previous experiences in their home country (Hewitt, 2001).

The way in which voluntary sector services are said to respond to vulnerable groups - in an understanding and non-judgemental way - is particularly important if we consider the findings from one study of rough sleepers. This found that the way in which services relate to their clients is as important as the service on offer with regard to engendering service engagement (Reeve and Leedham, 2004). These agencies also come to play a critical intermediate, or bridging, role in helping people approach and negotiate with providers in the

statutory sector, particularly where they are targeted at that particular client group (Netto et al, 2004). The voluntary sector is therefore used as a means of finding out about the statutory services to which they are entitled and the advocacy role of voluntary and community sector agencies can help to counter the suspicion and uncertainty that people often feel toward statutory provision.

One statutory service which frequent movers do appear to use regularly is the social security department. Frequent movers in NDC areas, for example were more likely than less mobile residents to have used a Benefits/ Social Security Office in the last year. 29 per cent and 35 per cent respectively of respondents who had moved on three or four occasions and more than five times had done so, compared to only 20 per cent of the aggregate sample. However, this pattern was not repeated in London, where frequent movers were no more likely to have used a Benefits or Social Security Office. A similar pattern also emerged when attention focused on those respondents who had sought refugee status at some point during their stay in the UK.

**Table 5.9: Number of moves and used Benefits or Social Security Office (all respondents)**

No. of moves	Yes (%)	No (%)	Don't know (%)	Total (n)
0	17	82	0	11881
1 to 2	24	75	1	3463
3 to 4	29	71	1	1233
5 plus	33	66	1	430
All	20	80	0	17007

**Table 5.10: Number of moves and used Benefits or Social Security Office (London)**

No. of moves	Yes (%)	No (%)	Don't know (%)	Total (n)
0	20	79	1	3041
1 to 2	18	82	1	927
3 to 4	17	81	2	332
5 plus	18	80	2	101
All	19	80	1	4401

**Table 5.11: Number of moves and used Benefits or Social Security Office (outside London)**

No. of moves	Yes (%)	No (%)	Don't know (%)	Total (n)
0	16	83	0	8840
1 to 2	26	73	1	2537
3 to 4	33	67	0	901
5 plus	38	61	0	329
All	20	80	0	12607

**Table 5.12: Number of moves and used Benefits or Social Security Office ('refugees')**

No. of moves	Yes (%)	No (%)	Don't know (%)	Total (n)
0	32	68	0	172
1 to 2	40	60	0	218
3 to 4	39	61	0	122
5 plus	54	42	4	24
All	38	62	0	536

This relatively extensive use of social security agencies is, of course, likely to be a necessity rather than a choice, reflecting high levels of deprivation and unemployment amongst frequent movers. Low levels of satisfaction with these services would seem to confirm this. Those frequent movers who had used Benefits and Social Security Offices were more likely to be dissatisfied with the service they received than other users. Table 5.15 shows that, while 74 per cent of all respondents who had used a Benefits or Social Security Office were satisfied with the service they had received, only 67 per cent and 64 per cent respectively of respondents who had moved three or four times or more than five times felt the same way.

**Table 5.13: Number of moves and satisfaction with service provided by Benefits/Social Security Office (all respondents)**

No. of moves	Very satisfied (%)	Fairly satisfied (%)	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (%)	Fairly dissatisfied (%)	Very dissatisfied (%)	Don't know (%)	Total (n)
0	29	47	8	7	9	0	2056
1 to 2	26	48	8	8	9	1	825
3 to 4	25	42	11	11	11	0	353
5 plus	26	38	8	17	12		144
All	28	46	8	8	9	0	3378

## 6. Barriers to Service Access and Engagement

The importance to frequent movers of accessing appropriate services cannot be overstated. The evidence in Chapter 3 showed that frequent mobility is rarely a positive lifestyle choice. Rather, it is triggered by accommodation problems, personal crises, a need to escape from dangerous situations, and compounded by deprivation and a lack of resources. Even amongst those for whom some degree of mobility is desired (for example traveller populations and some ex-service personnel accustomed to, and more comfortable with, a less settled lifestyle), the frequency with which they move may not be. The lack of permanent or legal sites for gypsies, for example, can force higher levels of mobility than they might otherwise choose. Frequent movers are, therefore, often vulnerable people facing a range of problems and challenges from poverty, to unemployment, through poor health, homelessness, substance misuse and institutionalisation, all of which may be reinforced or perpetuated by high levels of mobility.

The assistance provided by services is a key means through which perpetual mobility can be stemmed - by providing a route into permanent accommodation, for example, or addressing needs such as mental ill health, substance misuse and poor life skills which can result in tenancy breakdown or prevent people from resettling. Even where frequent mobility is a lifestyle choice (for some gypsies and travellers, for example), this choice compromises their basic needs being met, as services do not generally accommodate such a lifestyle, which impacts seriously on continuity of care.

A relationship between service access and mobility is thus established. Mobility can hinder access to services and continuity of care, with one study identifying the process of moving from one accommodation situation to another as a 'critical point' in frequent movers' lives, when they are most vulnerable to losing the support and involvement of (Reeve, 2002a). In turn, without the support of agencies the triggers of mobility may not be addressed, prompting continued frequent moving. Thus access to appropriate services which effectively meet the needs of mobile populations can prevent the continuation of frequent mobility where this is not chosen, or can enable people to live their chosen lifestyle without suffering the detrimental consequences of doing so.

However, there are a range of barriers to service access and engagement facing mobile groups. These are discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

### 6.1. Availability, Accessibility, and Appropriateness of Service Provision

A minimum level of accessibility demands that, at the very least, a service is locally available, people are aware of it and feel able and willing to approach and engage with service providers. The satisfaction of these three pre-requisites varies between service sectors and by location. Some institutions, like the National Health Service or Jobcentre Plus, have a presence in every town and city. The local authority is also directly responsible for service delivery or for enabling the provision of certain core services by other institutions, whether in education or in providing advice and accommodation for homeless people. The existence of these services can be presumed, although actual access will depend on

awareness of location, opening times, eligibility, proximity and such like. Beyond this core provision, there are a host of more locationally specific services, responding to particular needs and targeted towards particular client groups, provided by statutory, voluntary and community sector agencies.

However, there is great variation in the range of services provided in different locations to meet the needs of vulnerable mobile population groups. Homeless service provision - and emergency accommodation in particular - is more restricted in rural locations, for example, but prevalent in large cities such as Leeds and Manchester, forcing very different patterns of service engagement and utilisation upon homeless people (Reid and Klee, 1998; Robinson and Reeve, 2002; Reeve, 2002b). The number of refuge places for women escaping domestic violence is also reported to vary widely across the country (Fitzpatrick et al, 2003). Services meeting the needs of asylum seekers and refugees are relatively prevalent in London but scarce elsewhere (Zetter and Pearl, 2000; Klaushofer, 2000). Similarly, agencies with specialist knowledge and skills in meeting the needs of minority ethnic people tend to be located in neighbourhoods with large minority ethnic populations and are rarely found in locations with a predominantly white residential profile. This would include much of rural Britain but also many neighbourhoods in large towns and cities, including some asylum seeker dispersal areas (Carter, 1996; Klaushofer, 2000; Robinson et al, 2005).

Frequent movers do not always reside in those areas where generic, specialist or targeted service provision is available. There are many homeless people, for example, who live outside 'service-on' locations such as city centres. The support services concentrated in particular locations and neighbourhoods within larger towns and cities, for example, may not be readily accessible to homeless people placed in temporary accommodation on a peripheral estate, or those staying temporarily with friends or family, or squatting, or sleeping rough in rural locations. Refugees and asylum seekers, similarly, often live outside major settlement clusters of people from similar ethnic and cultural backgrounds where specialist services have been established in response to the needs of the local population (Grewal, 2004).

The evidence suggests that gypsies and travellers may be a group most likely to live in 'service-off' locations, traveller sites tending to be located some distance from essential services and amenities (Levinson and Sparkes, 2004). One study, for example, found that 68 per cent of sites for gypsies and travellers were located more than 1km from primary school, 55 per cent were more than 1km from Post Office, and 38 per cent were over 1km away from public transport (Niner, 2003). It has also been claimed that decisions about the location of new traveller sites are influenced more by the views of local residents and to appease their concerns, than by the service needs of potential site residents (Huw, 2000).

The variable geography of service provision thus raises particular problems for people moving into 'service-poor' locations. A much more restricted range of advice, assistance and support is available and access in 'service poor' locations becomes more dependent upon the local knowledge and resourcefulness of individual households. Thus the concentration of services meeting the needs of asylum seekers and refugees in London raises problems for those asylum seekers who are dispersed, finding themselves geographically isolated from support and less likely to access information about their rights and entitlements (Zetter and Pearl, 2000; Klaushofer, 2002). Increased mobility is often the consequence. Homeless people in rural locations, for example, may gravitate towards larger towns and cities in search of assistance while dispersed asylum seekers may return to London as soon as they receive a positive decision and are no longer tied to their dispersal (Carter, 1996).

Of course many frequent movers do live in 'service-on' locations but it does not necessarily follow that the where service provision is available it will meet their particular needs, or be accessible to them. The evidence, for example, points to a dearth of particular services for particular client groups including:

- Support services and temporary accommodation for homeless substance misusers, or services willing to work with homeless substance misusers, particularly those who are young (Howes and Fountain, 2002, Danczuk, 2000, Reed, 2002, Centrepont, 2002)
- Services targeted at gypsies and travellers, or policies and practices within mainstream services to ensure effective working with these groups (Cemlyn, 2000b)
- Support for home schooling, which is the choice and preference of some gypsies (CRE, 2004)
- Specialist services and temporary accommodation for homeless people in rural areas (Robinson and Reeve, 2002; Robinson and Coward, 2003)
- Move-on accommodation for single homeless people in temporary housing (Goodby, 1999)
- Appropriate move-on accommodation and affordable housing options for women escaping violence, and any services for male victims of domestic violence (Fitzpatrick et al, 2003; Davis, 2003)
- High quality assistance and resettlement services for single ex-service personnel focused on issues other than securing employment (Randall and Brown, 1994; De Mille, 2003): although it is acknowledged that managing the transition from institutional to non-institutional living is key, in practice too little is provided too late for many of those leaving the services (Ballintyne and Hanks, 2000; Dandeker et al., 2003; Lemos and Durkacz, 2005)

Notwithstanding these gaps, provision does exist which frequent movers can utilise. It is clear, however, that many are not doing so, or are not benefiting from these opportunities. There is evidence, for example, that care leavers do not always benefit from the range of support options available to them (McNeish et al., 2002) and that some homeless people - even those in large cities with a prolific array of homeless services - are not accessing or benefiting from this substantial provision (Reeve, 2002b; Reeve and Leedham, 2004).

Locational availability has already been discussed as one explanatory factor, but services do not simply need to exist and be available in the locations in which frequent movers reside for them to be accessible and beneficial. They also need to be appropriate and meet their needs effectively for them to be genuinely accessible.

The tendency for frequent movers to have multiple or complex needs appears to present a challenge - even for those services with a specialist remit - and renders many services inappropriate or inaccessible to mobile households. There is a tendency, for example, for populations such as homeless people or refugees to be treated as a homogenous group with shared needs. People with needs above and beyond the priorities associated with that particular group can suffer as a consequence. Homeless people might be helped to find accommodation, for example, but health problems, welfare and social care issues may be overlooked. Alternatively, their additional needs may exclude them altogether from those very services designed to assist them. One study, for example, found that a high proportion of the people excluded from homeless hostels were those with alcohol, drug or mental health problems, as staff were unable to respond to complex problems (Carter, 1999).

Despite the interconnected nature of many problems (for example between drug dependency, mental ill health and homelessness) people therefore fail to receive any holistic assessment of their requirements from many services (Carter, 1999; Danczuk, 2000; Centrepont, 2002). It is perhaps not surprising, then, that attempts to fit people with complex needs into existing services is found to be ineffective (O'Leary, 1997).

In addition, service targeting, while intending to meet certain needs more effectively and encourage greater access to services, can in fact have the converse effect. First, there can

be less incentive for more generic service providers to accept certain vulnerable client groups, or develop their service in order to meet their particular needs, if there is an agency providing a specialist service targeted at them (Reeve, 2002b). Second, the criteria necessarily employed by specialist or targeted provision (i.e. specifying a particular client group) serve to exclude people who may benefit from these services but do not precisely fall within their remit. Examples here might include people who suffer mental ill-health but have not been formally diagnosed, or people with a long history of intermittent rough sleeping who are temporarily housed. Third, there can be a stigma attached to specialist services - for example for people with mental ill health, or for homeless people - which makes people reluctant to engage with them (Reid and Klee, 1998; Reeve, 2002b).

Notwithstanding these pitfalls, specialist provision can be crucial in overcoming the insensitivities of more generic services towards diversity which restricts access for some households. Gypsies, mobile minority ethnic households, and homeless refugees are just some groups reported to suffer the consequences of inadequate understanding and awareness of diverse needs apparent in many mainstream services (Netto et al, 2004). The lack of policies about working with refugees within mainstream services is meanwhile cited as a key barrier for this group in accessing the assistance they need (London Housing Federation, 2004). With regard to gypsies and travellers, particular reference is made to the limited understanding of their cultures and history in the education system. It is suggested that the reflection of cultural diversity in formal education is rarely inclusive of gypsy culture and heritage, leading to fears amongst traveller populations that their culture will become diluted through the process of formal schooling (O'Hanlon and Holmes, 2004; Bhopal, 2004). Another study highlights the limited awareness of gypsy populations amongst health services, finding that less than half of all health services surveyed knew the numbers or location of gypsies and travellers in their local area (Parry et al, 2004).

Services are also reported to fall short in meeting the information and housing needs of minority ethnic households, asylum-seekers and refugees, as they have not developed adequate interpreting and translation facilities or the capacity to provide language and cultural support (Netto et al, 2004; Klaushofer; 2000; Grewal, 2004). Where such facilities are in place the degree of confidentiality required is not always demonstrated - there are reports, for example, of interpreters being used who know the client or other family members (Winchester, 2002). Problems have also been reported of larger families fleeing violence being placed in unsuitable accommodation, and of asylum seeker families being placed in accommodation which is inappropriate, inadequate and where they are isolated and vulnerable to harassment. These examples again indicate limited understanding of the experiences of these households and insensitivity towards their needs (Buck, 2001).

Without better knowledge regarding frequent movers, many services simply do not accommodate their lifestyles and requirements - lifestyles which rarely fit with the bureaucratic and structured aspects of much service provision. Office hour opening times, appointment-based systems, and inflexible rules, for example, are not comfortable bedfellows with the relatively unstructured lifestyles of many frequent movers. The evidence strongly suggests that these operational practices deter some mobile people - and homeless people in particular - from making effective use of what is available, and act as barriers to service engagement (Simon, 2000; Tait, 2004; Reeve and Leedham, 2004).

The patterns of mobility among care leavers and the pressures that cause them to move on frequently are also apparently not reflected in the organisation of health services ostensibly designed to meet their needs (Broad, 2003). A failure of agencies to plan and deliver services in a way that accepts and accommodates the nomadic lifestyles of traveller populations has also been highlighted (Crawley, 2004). It is suggested that the nomadic lifestyle of traveller populations does not fit easily with the regime of formal schooling and that provision is often too inflexible to accommodate the special demands of traveller children (Kenrick and Clark, 1999). Gypsies, for example, are accustomed to cross-age family learning in the home and relative freedom from timetables. Adjusting to being

separated into age groups within the classroom and strict timetabling can initially prove a challenge for them which is not readily accommodated by teachers and this can result in gypsy children being branded as troublemakers (O'Hanlon and Holmes, 2004).

Similarly, the increasing delivery of services through means other than face-to-face engagement can inadvertently discriminate against many frequent movers. Vulnerable, deprived and mobile households may find it more difficult to gain access to services by telephone or via the Internet. This may not have been taken into account by services that are largely insensitive to their lifestyle and circumstances.

Problems such as those listed above may be addressed by specialist and targeted services, that have sensitised their service delivery to the precise needs of their client groups. If there is no specialist provision available, subsections of particular populations - for example, minority ethnic or elderly homeless people, disabled refugees, drug dependent care leavers - have no option but to rely on services insensitive to, or unable to meet effectively, their particular needs. Alternatively they reject services altogether in favour of the informal support of friends, family and community (Centrepont, 2002; Robinson and Reeve, 2002; Reeve, 2002a).

It is hardly surprising that service providers rarely acknowledge and respond to the impact of frequent moving on service engagement and utilisation in a way which would make services appropriate for mobile groups. For a problem to become the focus of attention and the target of resources it needs to be understood. However, little is known about patterns of mobility among different groups and the consequences for service use and service delivery. Still less is known about the nature and scale of the impact of frequent moving on health, education and employment outcomes (for providers and clients alike).

## **6.2. Personal Skills, Resources, and Knowledge**

The personal resources that inform a person's ability to identify, engage with and access services can be usefully understood in terms of two overlapping categories. First, there are life-skills, which include general awareness of forms of provision, access routes into services, and personal resources, as well as the confidence and aptitude (including language and communication skills) to approach and engage in discussion and negotiation with service providers. Second, there is knowledge and awareness of locally available services, which can be rooted in familiarity with the local context, developed through informal networks, relations with 'people in the know' or facilitated through engagement with support services.

The evidence suggests that certain population groups are more likely to lack life-skills. A lack of practical living skills - for example budgeting, running a home and managing their finances - is reportedly common among homeless people, substance misusers, and ex-service personnel, (Reid and Klee, 1998; Alexander and Ruggieri, 1999; SEU, 2002; Howes and Fountain, 2002; Mitchell et al., 2004; Higate, 2000; Randal et al., 1994). A lack of confidence, skills, and motivation to engage with service providers, as well as difficulties forging the trusting relationships necessary for positive service engagement, are also recorded among frequent movers - including young people leaving care, young people more generally, and rough sleepers (JRF, 2003; Reeve and Leedham, 2004).

In turn, situations such as homelessness or institutional living are reported to erode or hamper an individual's ability to acquire life skills (Crisis, 2004). This can be further compounded by a lack of personal support networks which people otherwise draw on to help them develop these skills and manage their accommodation (Crisis, 1998). Alternatively, people can become entrenched in a new way of life as they become accustomed to moving frequently and their ability to feel at ease settling in one place is undermined (Evans, 1999). For ex-servicemen this is said to stem from the propensity for a life in the forces to foster a

dependency culture, making them vulnerable to institutionalisation and in turn making settlement a challenge (Dandeker et al, 2003; Higate, 2000a; 2000b).

Frequent movers' ability to utilise available services can be further hampered by language and literacy difficulties. Many asylum seekers and refugees, for example, may lack the English language fluency required to discuss their situation with service providers, request the help they need, and understand the information provided to them. Poor literacy skills recorded amongst gypsies can similarly impede their access to information about available services, eligibility and access routes. Both these groups - and indeed any other frequent movers with English language or literacy difficulties - may not be able to complete the requisite forms to obtain welfare benefits, apply for social housing, join employment agencies, or enrol in schools and colleges. This may partly explain the low take-up of welfare benefits and school attendance amongst gypsies (STEP, undated; Hawes and Perez, 1996; CRE, 2004; Netto et al, 2004).

It goes without saying that most disadvantaged frequent movers lack the financial resources to escape their vulnerable situations. However, the economic and social situation that faces women escaping domestic violence may mean they have fewer resources at their disposal to find out about alternative routes into accommodation, whether for a temporary period or as a permanent feature (Davis, 2003).

On the other hand, some evidence suggests that certain groups of frequent movers may be relatively well equipped with survival skills which prove to be an asset for 'life on the road' (Higate, 2000). Ex-service personnel in particular are reported to obtain skills during their time in the services useful for coping with homelessness (Ballintyne and Hanks, 2000; Lemos and Durkacz, 2005). Soldiers, for example, are trained to be tolerant of deprivations (food, warmth, shelter) and to become physically resilient to poor conditions (Higate, 2000): this perhaps explains the relatively high levels of rough sleeping amongst veterans who become homeless and their limited reliance on temporary accommodation. However, while this training may equip them to some extent for the difficult and health-threatening conditions posed by circumstances such as homelessness or rough sleeping, it does little by way of helping them remove themselves from such conditions.

There is an abundance of evidence suggesting that many frequent movers lack basic knowledge and awareness of how to find and access accommodation and services. Whatever the reason - whether stemming from their own limited life-skills, unfamiliarity with the local context, isolation from the informal networks of people grappling with similar challenges which provide a rich source of information, limited provision of information in the locality - a consensus emerges that the requisite knowledge to obtain the assistance required to escape their situations or meet their needs is not always readily available. Homeless people, ex-service personnel, traveller populations and minority ethnic people across mobile groups are all found to lack knowledge and understanding about which services are available, procedures for approaching and gaining access to them, their rights and entitlements, and the options available to them (Randal and Brown, 1994; Reid and Klee, 1998; Alexander and Ruggieri, 1999; Cemlyn, 2000b; Higate, 2000; Howes and Fountain, 2002; SEU, 2002; Mitchell et al., 2004; Netto et al, 2004; Lemos and Durkacz, 2005).

The importance of local networks and the word-of-mouth advice offered by associates in similar circumstances raises the possibility that the longer a person remains in a particular situation (for example as homeless), or within the same location, the more likely they are to develop the necessary knowledge and understanding of service availability and access routes (Howes and Fountain, 2002). Those whose patterns of mobility are such that they regularly find themselves in new and unfamiliar locations, or those new to the mobile lifestyle and not yet linked into informal networks of support and information, are perhaps therefore more vulnerable to isolation from service provision.

The variable practices of services can, however, confound even those with the greatest aptitude for negotiating their way to relevant services and quickly grasping the local situation. The evidence points to a variety of ways in which inconsistently applied eligibility criteria and erratic organisational practices can make it virtually impossible for many frequent movers to obtain a clear understanding of their options in different locations and from different services. Statutory services, for example, are found to vary in their interpretation of their responsibilities, such as recognising 'priority need' amongst homeless groups (Goodby, 1999; Reeve and Coward, 2004) and in their application of the 'local connection' criteria to ex-service personnel (De Mille, 2003). Similarly, eligibility and exclusion criteria can vary widely from one homeless hostel to the next (Carter, 1999). Variable practices with regard to women fleeing violence are also noted - for example in assessing of the threat of violence, application of local connection criteria, and determining whether an offer of housing is 'reasonable', discharging their statutory duty if the offer is refused (Pascall et al., 2001; Davis, 2003; Shelter, 2003). This can leave many frequent movers confused and unsure of procedures, of their options and eligibility, and whether legislation and policy has been appropriately and accurately applied to them. This can in turn hamper their ability to negotiate a better position, or secure access to the service they need, being unsure of their rights.

### **6.3. Reluctance to Use Services**

A common theme within research into the realities and experiences of the various vulnerable populations with a history of frequent moving is a reticence and reluctance to approach services in general, and statutory services in particular. We have already suggested that such reluctance can stem from a previous unsatisfactory experience, resulting in scepticism about the likelihood of help being forthcoming and a loss of faith in the capacity of services to respond to their needs and resolve their problems.

Concerns about personal safety provide another explanation for an unwillingness to approach services. There is evidence, for example, that homeless people may be deterred from using hostels and day centres due to the assumed characteristics of the clientele, in terms of substance misuse, chaotic behaviour and violence (Reeve and Coward, 2004). Homeless women in particular are reportedly keen to avoid many homeless services, rendering them less visible within the homeless population (Webb, 1994).

People with more extreme personal problems, meanwhile, including drug and alcohol use and mental ill health, are known to self-censor their service use, on the assumption that access will be denied once the specifics of their situation come to light. In addition, a reluctance to engage with specialist agencies can stem from a desire to avoid being labelled - as homeless, as a drug user, or as someone with mental ill health, for example (Reid and Klee, 1998; Reeve, 2002b).

An expectation of prejudicial treatment can also act as a deterrent to approaching and utilising services (Parry et al, 2004). The hostility sometimes directed toward certain vulnerable groups, the use of stereotypes by front line staff, and the failure of service provision to respond sensitively to their particular requirements can all affect take-up of services, (Goodby, 1999; Waters, 1999; Buck, 2002; Crisis, 2002). Many of the frequently mobile may already lack confidence and possess relevant life-skills, but their willingness to seek help can be undermined still further. Evidence has noted high levels of anxiety among travellers groups, for example, in terms of expecting hostile or racist treatment of children at local schools (Bhopal, 2004; Derrington and Kendall, 2004; Communities Scotland, 2004) and traveller groups are also reportedly suspicious and fearful of social services departments (Cemlyn, 2000b).

Finding oneself in problematic circumstances and in need of formal assistance can be undermining and difficult to accept. There is some evidence to suggest that pride and a determination for self-reliance can deter frequent movers (for example some homeless men

in rural areas and ex-servicemen) from seeking assistance, as they feel that they should be able to resolve their difficulties themselves (Evans, 1999; Higate, 2000; Dandeker et al, 2003; Robinson and Coward, 2003; Lemos and Durkacz, 2005). Limited take-up of post-discharge services, for example, might be explained by the reluctance of ex-service personnel to contact their former employers, which could reveal in the process that they cannot cope without additional support (Ballintyne and Hanks, 2000; Evans, 1999). Cultural considerations can also play a part, some minority ethnic groups reportedly concerned that they may be stigmatised by their own community if they seek access to formal support (Klaushofer, 2000; ODPM, 2002).

#### **6.4. Organisational Policies, Practices and Staff Awareness**

When frequent movers do approach services they can often be met with a complex array of eligibility criteria, policies and practices which effectively deny them access. Eligibility criteria, for example, can restrict access to service provision for groups and individuals. Prisoners released after less than 12 months in custody do not receive the support of the National Probation Service, for example, and resettlement support for people leaving the armed forces is dependent upon time served, with less help available for those who have been in the forces for less than three years (Randall and Brown, 1994; Ballintyne and Hanks, 2000). In addition, the minimum age at which people become eligible to use many services excludes, for example, those homeless people under the age of 16 who require emergency accommodation, support, and detoxification or rehabilitation services (Reeve, 2002a). Similarly, ex-service personnel who have been stationed elsewhere, refugees moving away from the neighbourhood to which they were dispersed as asylum-seekers, and any other mobile households moving beyond their existing area of settlement can fall foul of the local connection criteria applied to homeless applicants and part of the assessment of eligibility for social housing (De Mille, 2003).

Meanwhile, formal resettlement services apparently offer limited options for single ex-service personnel and, while families are allowed to remain in married quarters for several months after discharge, single ex-servicemen are not allowed to stay in barracks (Randall and Brown, 1994; De Mille, 2003). Single ex-service personnel are, therefore, particularly vulnerable to homelessness following discharge from the forces (Dandeker et al., 2003; Randall and Brown, 1994).

These problems may be compounded by confusion amongst staff about eligibility for their service. There is some evidence, for example, of GPs refusing to register asylum seekers and employers refusing to take on refugees because of uncertainty regarding the obligations of health services towards asylum seekers, and refugees' legal right to work (Carter, 1996; Wilson, 2001; Klaushofer, 2000).

The lack of a fixed address can, in itself, restrict eligibility to services, raising problems for many frequent movers. The lack of a permanent address can make it difficult to obtain bank accounts and register for health services, such as local GPs (Kenrick and Clark, 1999; Danczuk, 2000; Mustafa, 2004; Mitchell et al., 2004). Rough sleepers similarly find their access to community-based drug rehabilitation denied, as many GPs will not prescribe to people without a fixed address (Danczuk, 2000).

The other side of eligibility criteria is exclusion policies and several reasons may be given for excluding homeless people from services for accommodation, employment, health, or other forms of support. These include substance misuse, rent arrears, behavioural problems and mental health issues. Indeed, people with drug and alcohol dependencies are found to be significantly more likely to face exclusion for services than people without these problems (Carter, 1999; Howes and Fountain, 2002; Laird, 2002; Danczuk, 2000; Centrepoint, 2002).

A lack of service co-ordination can also lead to difficulties, with the service providers that people approach for assistance not always connected into multi-agency networks. Leaving

hospital support packages, for example, often fail to include information and advice on accommodation (Waters, 1999) and confusion over responsibility for disabled young people leaving care can leave these individuals without appropriate support (Hai and Williams, 2004). Indeed, it has been suggested that the role and contribution of different agencies towards care leavers in general is poorly defined and understood, helping to explain why many of these individuals do not benefit from the range of support options available to them (McNeish et al. (2002).

Without cross-service linkages frequent movers can easily 'fall through the net', having moved on, for example, by the time an agency responds to a referral, or confirms an appointment (Waters, 1999; Sawtell, 2002; Reeve and Leedham, 2004). Tensions between agencies or service sectors (for example statutory and voluntary mental health services) with sometimes competing agendas or different approaches can further hinder an integrated response to clients' needs (Danczuk, 2000; Reeve, 2002b). A lack of inter-agency working, poor communication and a lack of understanding about the roles and responsibilities of different agencies and department can result in people being passed around from one service to another, with no one taking overall responsibility. Clearly, this can result in inadequate advice and support, and needs not being met (Waters, 1999).

Evidence suggests that many mainstream services also lack knowledge, awareness and understanding of mobile groups - their circumstances, needs, lifestyles, cultures, the underlying reasons for their current situation, and the difficulties they face negotiating services. The consequence can be insensitive, judgemental and inappropriate service delivery, exclusion, and differential treatment from front-line staff (Goodby, 1999; Waters, 1999; Powney, 2001; Buck, 2002; Crisis, 2002; Reeve and Leedham, 2004). Victims of domestic violence, for example, can be viewed and treated unsympathetically, particularly if they return to their abuser. Women who have a long history of moving to escape violence - either because they return to the same abuser a number of times, or are unfortunate enough to face violence from a series of different partners - can find their access to permanent re-housing denied. Illuminating this point, one study quotes a housing officer as saying *"If I see over the last three years that somebody has had six or seven addresses and they've fled violence from every single one, I would be thinking about that seriously, really [in terms of withdrawing re-housing assistance]"* (quoted in Davis, 2003, p109).

While this issue is relevant to many groups prone to frequent moving, the evidence is perhaps strongest with regard to traveller populations. Many studies find discrimination and hostility towards gypsies and travellers by service providers (Hawes and Perez, 1996; SPEOC, 2001; Niner, 2003), stemming from a lack of understanding of their culture, history and lifestyle, inhibiting involvement of agencies such as social services, and contributing to conflictual relationships between them (Cemlyn, 2000b). This prompts one study to conclude that *"without an awareness and understanding of gypsy and traveller culture, social services interaction with such families runs a grave risk of isolating and pathologising them..."* (Morris and Clements, 1999, p49).

Reluctance to enrol gypsy children at schools, because of a prejudicial view that they are low achievers, has been noted (O'Hanlon and Holmes, 2004; CRE, 2004), as well as prejudicial attitudes towards gypsies in health services (SPEOC, 2001). Such is the limited extent of understanding and awareness, and such is the prejudice against gypsies that one report concludes that the hostile and unwelcoming reception from front-line staff is, in fact, the primary barrier facing them in accessing services (Hawes and Perez, 1996).

## 6.5. Strategies Employed by Frequent Movers to Overcome Barriers to Accessing Services

There is evidence that in the face of restricted access to services - whether due to limited availability of services where they live, or prejudicial treatment, or a lack of continuity of care available to people frequently on the move - mobile people devise strategies to overcome some of these barriers. Primarily, but not exclusively, such strategies involve adapting their patterns of mobility.

On the hand, some frequent movers make efforts to *restrict* their mobility. Some homeless people, for example, actively seek to remain in and around specialist service clusters (day centres, hostels, and specialist health care facilities), in a bid to maintain links with key services. Others choose to remain in their current temporary accommodation where they receive support (thereby remaining homeless for a longer period) rather than accept tenancies in areas where they feel they would be unable to settle and move on in their lives.

Drug users and people with a history of criminal and anti-social behaviour, for example, are often keen to avoid any temptations to continue with their old lifestyle, believing that this would threaten the sustainability of a new tenancy. Moving to neighbourhoods where drugs are readily available, criminal activity rife, where old friends and acquaintances live and where the support of specialist agencies is not available would serve to undermine their efforts towards resettlement (Reeve, 2002a). Gypsies are similarly reported to restrict their mobility in order to access key services, some returning to settled living during pregnancy in order to obtain adequate antenatal care and support (Kenrick and Clark, 1999).

Similarly, people often actively seek to remain close to family and friends, if reliant upon their advice, support and assistance. Homeless drug users are reportedly less likely to move away from their original settlement area, having more inter-dependent social networks than other homeless people, due to the need to maintain coping abilities and acquire drugs (Allgar et al, 2003).

Others *increase* their rate of mobility in a bid to improve their chances of obtaining the assistance and services they require. Living in 'service-off' locations, such as rural areas, drives some people toward major towns and cities where the resources required to survive and negotiate an escape from homelessness are more readily available. The discrimination and harassment experienced by traveller population can make it difficult for them to use local facilities and services or cause families to move in order to protect the educational needs of their children (Niner, 2003; Derrington and Kendall, 2004). The alternative, which some gypsies are reportedly forced to resort to, is to or hide and deny their ethnic identity to protect children from harassment and discrimination (Kiddle, 2000; Derrington and Kendall, 2004; Ofsted, 2003). The concealment of ethnic identity from other services has also been noted, in relation to the self-management of discrimination (CRE, 2004).



## **PART 2: PRIORITIES FOR ACTION**



## 7. Learning from Key Data Sources

### 7.1. Introduction

Discussion thus far has drawn on research evidence and NDC survey data to generate some tentative assertions regarding frequent movers. The rather sketchy nature of this discussion reflects the relative dearth of research evidence on frequent movers. Clearly, there is an urgent need for further research and analysis of the patterns, experiences and situations of frequent movers. This chapter sets out to respond to this challenge by reviewing the potential of available statistical data to cast fresh light on frequent moving. Discussion focuses on some general conclusions regarding the most useful aspects of existing data sets, promising avenues for further analysis of these data sets, weaknesses in their approaches to collecting data and ways of improving the information provided by existing data sources. A comprehensive review of the strengths and weakness of all the key data sets considered is provided in Appendix 1 (Population Census, General Household Survey, Survey of English Housing, Labour Force Survey, British Household Panel Survey, Omnibus Survey and CORE lettings data).

The data review concentrated on the main sources of population data that have national coverage and are repeated at annual or other intervals, but has also included some examples of one-off case-study surveys so as to see whether they might provide pointers to how statistical sources more generally could be improved. It is important to stress that this was a review exercise and did not involve a comprehensive and detailed primary investigation of the various administrative data sets compiled by the providers of services to more disadvantaged people.

### 7.2. The Most Useful Aspects of Existing Data Sets

Traditionally, the amount and quality of the data currently available on frequent moving in general, let alone in relation to more disadvantaged people, would appear to have been very weak. This is for two main reasons. Firstly, the most commonly asked question about moving is in terms of whether or not a change of address has been made in the past 12 months, ascertained through either a question on length of residence or a comparison of address one year ago with that at the time of survey. Secondly, the majority of data sources are cross-sectional surveys rather than longitudinal studies that follow individuals over time. Moreover, the rather few longitudinal sources that do exist appear to experience considerable attrition of sample members amongst people changing address, or indeed eliminate these people entirely from their data set.

Nevertheless, the full range of national data sources investigated for this study in combination provide a wealth of information about people changing address, and in recent years the ability to identify frequent movers has grown considerably, albeit from a rather small base. The most important recent developments are judged to be the following:

- The Population Census, while continuing to provide valuable information about the types of people and places that have the highest proportion of address changing in the previous 12 months, gave movers - in 2001 for the first time - the option of saying that one year ago they had no residence that they could consider to be their usual address, which - on the surface at least - sounds similar to the legal term 'of no fixed abode'.

This group is likely to include a substantial proportion of the more disadvantaged people that moved frequently during this one-year period

- The Survey of English Housing, while continuing to ask about length of residence at the current address, asked - in its latest (2003/2004) survey for the first time - a question on the number of moves made in the past year. This latest survey also contains a number of relevant questions asked in most previous years, including whether the immediate previous address was a temporary one or not, how long was spent at the last non-temporary address and the reasons for the move
- The Labour Force Survey now asks - once a year in the March to May ('Spring') quarter - about change of address in the past 3 months as well as change of address in the nine months before that, enabling the identification of at least some of the people who made two moves or more during the previous 12 months
- The General Household Survey not only contains the commonly-appearing question about length of residence at the current address, but also asks about the number of moves made in the last five years. While the latter is rather a long period, especially for studying the characteristics of frequent movers (given that most of the characteristics data relates to the time of survey but the main period of moving may have been early in the five-year period), the sample of people moving, say, 3 or more times in the past five years can be restricted to those who have made their most recent move within the past 12 months (i.e. resident at their current address for less than a year)
- The General Household Survey for 2000 asked a sub-sample of persons a one-off set of questions on 'social capital' such as on civic engagement, neighbourliness, social networks and social support. While the derived data sets only measure related to moving is length of residence in the local area, it should be possible to analyse the responses for frequent movers by extracting from the main GHS data set the information there on those persons' number of moves in the last five years and length of residence at their current address
- The Housing Corporation's CORE (Continuous Recording) system of lettings is becoming steadily more comprehensive in its coverage of entries to social housing, as councils have been transferring stock to Registered Social Landlords and as (from April 2004) the system has been widened to include Local Authority housing, so far on a voluntary basis. While containing no information about frequent moving as such, it contains information on reason for move and on the type of previous accommodation (including several categories of temporary-type accommodation)
- Population turnover rates are now being calculated at the ward level from the data extracted from GP lists, with the first data set - relating to the 12 months ending June 2001 - being posted on the ONS Neighbourhood Statistics website in 2005. Whilst recording only movement across ward boundaries and omitting the localized 'churning' of moves within wards, this source has the great advantage over the Population Census of being capable of annual updating
- Benefits data is now being used to study the migration of workless people by comparing addresses at specific points in time, and there is the prospect of the development of a near-continuous data base that can track people who are on benefits and also those who come back on to benefits after a spell off them
- As the issue of frequent moving has become more prominent, an increasing number of studies have been conducting surveys of residents that have asked questions about address changing. An especially valuable recent example is the large-scale household survey carried out for the National Evaluation of New Deal for Communities, which had the added advantage of a longitudinal element with a follow-up survey two years after the first

### 7.3. Most Promising Avenues for Further Analysis of Existing Data Sets

In the past, considerable attention has been given to examining length of individual people's residence at their current address and to the proportion in various places and population subgroups that are now living at a different address from that some while ago, most normally one year. By contrast, very little use has previously been made of these sources specifically for the study of frequent moving, strictly defined as more than one move made within a given period of time. There is therefore plenty of scope for improving our understanding of population turnover and frequent moving from these sources.

The following are recommended as the most promising avenues for this further analysis:

1. *Analysis based on the Survey of English Housing's new (2003/2004) question on number of moves in the past year.* This is probably the single most important development of recent years in the collection of information about individual people and households who change address frequently. Before new research is commissioned, however, one should await the publication of the full results of current work on moving by the ODPM's SEH team, that was promised in June 2005. Only then will it become clear exactly what analysis has already been done and, if there appears scope for more, how far that analysis might be affected by small sample size (given that N=367 for those moving more than once in the past year).
2. *Analysis of other data collected by the Survey of English Housing relating to moving.* As far as we are aware, the question on whether the immediate previous address was a temporary one or not has not been subjected to comprehensive investigation from the point of view of examining how far this is a feature associated with other forms of disadvantage. Nor has the question on the last completed spell of residence, which is of considerable potential importance, not least because it does not appear to be asked routinely in any other survey besides the SEH. Again, this would need to be confirmed by reference to the report that was promised in June 2005.
3. *Analysis of those recorded in the Labour Force Survey as moving at least twice in the past year.* Exploratory work on the March/May 2004 quarter of the LFS as part of the current project, as described elsewhere in this report, indicated that 331 respondents were living at three different addresses at the time of survey and 3 and 12 months prior to the survey. Though this is a rather cruder measure of frequent moving than that in the 2003/2004 Survey of English Housing, it merits further examination, firstly because the LFS sample is larger and secondly because the LFS collects more information about people's labour-market and related circumstances one year ago.
4. *Analysis of the General Household Survey's core data set.* While the data on length of residence is regularly presented in the annual *Living in Britain* volume, this is not the case for the question on number of moves in the last five years. As this provides a different perspective from the one-year equivalents of the SEH and LFS, the opportunity should be taken to profile people by the number of times they have moved in the last five years. Also, by cross-tabulating with the answer to the length-of-residence question, it should be possible to compare recent movers with those who moved several times early on in the five-year period but have been settled at their current address for, say, at least two years.
5. *Analysis of the GHS 2000's Social Capital data set.* There are two aspects of this that would especially repay analysis beyond what was presented in the official report. Firstly, while the latter tabulated social capital scores by length of residence in the area, the shortest-stay category was 'under 5 years', so a breakdown of this category to compare more recent arrivals in the area would add information. Secondly, assuming that the individual records in the Social Capital module can be matched to those in the main GHS data set, then any effects of number of moves in the last five years, and

possibly also of length of time at current residence, could be assessed separately from length of residence in the local area.

In addition, it is worth noting that three of the other sources/aspects mentioned above are already under some form of investigation, which should be encouraged and developed further:

- The CORE lettings data are not just collected by the Joint Centre for Scottish Housing Research at St Andrews University, but are also regularly analysed, including studies of migration and the types of people entering social housing units. An obvious topic for future attention would be the profiling of households according to the type of accommodation that they have left, including supported housing, care home, prison, bed and breakfast, staying with friends and sleeping rough
- The JRF Census Programme Project on Population Turnover and Area Deprivation, being undertaken by the Scottish Centre for Research on Social Justice at Glasgow University, plans over the next few months to examine the 2001 Census data on population turnover at the local scale, including changes of address within each area. It would be good if the approach used in this work could be applied to the newly released ward-level population turnover rates derived from the Patients Registers for 2000-2001, bearing in mind that the latter contains data only on in- and out-flows for this one geography but importantly is, unlike the Census, capable of being updated year by year
- The benefits data, being analysed by Oxford University's Department of Applied Social Studies, is already producing some useful information on residential mobility that is, by definition, focusing on people who are among the most disadvantaged. It would be good if more systematic work could be undertaken on the 2-year matched data sets. In addition, the potential of the new GMSONE data base for identifying and studying frequent movers should be explored

#### **7.4. An Assessment of the Various Ways of Collecting Information on Moving**

Probably the most fundamental point is that the most commonly collected information about people's migration behaviour, and by far the most commonly analysed, is - somewhat ironically - based on questions relating to length of residence. Note that the question on whether or not people now have a different address from that of one year ago, is merely a rather restricted sub-category. The reason why this form of question is so commonly asked is that it provides vital intelligence for many users. Allied with information on the location of previous address and on the basic demographic characteristics like gender and age of each person, it allows them to estimate the effect of one year's migration between statistical areas on the population size and basic demographic structure of each area, as the basis for updating these areas' populations and projecting them forward on an annual basis.

Admittedly, this type of data also goes some way towards describing people's migration behaviour. In the first place, it can be used to identify the types of people that are most prone to frequent moving. This is achieved through calculating the proportion of a population sub-group that has been living at their current address for, say, less than 12 months. As a corollary, the full 'length of residence' version of the question allows one to generalize about those who are least mobile (e.g. by studying the characteristics of those who have been living at the same address for at least 5 or 10 years). This form of question, however, suffers from a major drawback in profiling frequent movers, in that a significant proportion of those who have moved to their current address within the past 12 months are less mobile people: they had been living at their previous address for years, intend to remain at their new address for years and have merely chosen to make their move during this period. From a cross-sectional length-of-residence question, it is impossible to distinguish these individuals from those who are frequent movers.

There are two basic ways around this problem. One is to add questions to cross-sectional surveys so as to obtain more information about migration histories, most notably via questions on frequency of moving and on completed periods of residence at an address. The other is through questions on moving intentions. This type of information is not valued highly by the producers of population estimates and projections, as it is not a reliable indicator of those who actually will move in a given period. However, it is one way of identifying frequent movers, not least because it anticipates the (next) move. In particular, when the information on moving intentions (assuming that it includes likely time horizon for the move) is combined with people's answers to the length-of-residence, it is possible to calculate the likely length of the completed spell of residence. Even if the migration intention is not finally acted upon, it indicates the desired, or possibly latent, behaviour. For instance, it may be a good indicator of an area's expected migration patterns if any current restrictions on moving home are relaxed - something that often seems to happen if area-based initiatives result in improved job situations for residents. As such, it may also indicate cases of people who are 'trapped' in homes/areas that they would prefer not live in. The full value of the question on moving intentions is, however, realized only in a longitudinal context, as a result of resurveying the individual people/households. Only then can there be a test of whether the previously expressed intention to move or not within the given time span is achieved, thus prompting further investigation of the reasons/factors involved.

Incorporating a longitudinal component into surveys is the other main way of getting around the inadequacy of the length-of-residence question for studying frequent moving. In theory, this approach has the advantage of automatically recording change of address, with the repeated waves of surveying being able to identify people who move between these waves. These types of surveys also automatically collect information about people's characteristics at each wave time-point, so that it is possible to know about movers' characteristics and circumstances before their move as well as afterwards. (It is only post-move information that is collected by the Population Census and most other surveys, though a few (e.g. the LFS) ask some retrospective questions).

Unfortunately, according to the data sources reviewed in this study, the value of longitudinal surveys for studying frequent movers is strictly limited. This is primarily because of the problems of tracing and resurveying people who move full-stop, though these problems can be expected to be more extreme in the case of frequent movers. We have seen that the five-quarter longitudinal data set of the LFS appears to exclude all households that move after the first of the five waves that they are meant to be resurveyed. This is presumably because the LFS, like most official surveys and indeed the Population Census, is foremost an address-based sample rather than targeted on identified individuals. Nevertheless, even the BHPS - which is specifically targeted on identified individuals in all the follow-up waves after the initial survey - suffers from attrition through problems of tracing movers or, more accurately, through movers failing to keep in touch. In relation to the latter, it is to be expected that the willingness to keep in touch will be lowest among the population sub-groups that other sources like the Census indicate to be the most frequent movers.

## 7.5. Ways of Improving the Information on Moving Provided by Existing Sources

Where does this leave us in the search for better ways of identifying and studying migration, and especially frequent moving, in the future? Arising from the review above, probably there are five key points, as follows:

1. Longitudinal surveys would seem to be at an inherent disadvantage, because of the difficulty of tracking frequent movers between addresses in order to re-survey them. Even if, with great efforts, some movers can be followed up, these are likely to be a biased sample that is skewed away from more disadvantaged people. Realistically, cross-sectional surveys that select a new sample of people/households each time

provide the only way of covering frequent movers as comprehensively as people who are less mobile and with whom they can be compared.

2. In concluding that realistically we need to rely largely on cross-sectional surveys, there is more that these can do to identify frequent movers than they are doing at the moment. In particular, as well as asking about length of residence, it is vital that they all ask either or both of the following questions:
  - How many times have you moved home in the last (period of time)?
  - How many months/years did you live at your last address?

In relation to the former, the period of time could be 12 months or longer, or preferably both. There is a strong case for asking about the number of moves within the past year. This is mainly because the characteristics information, normally referring to the time of the survey, will be more timely, i.e. generally closer to the time of the move. But in addition, this would help in the interpretation of the Census's address-one-year-ago question and in the validation of the NHS-derived migration data that purports to record all moves.

Secondly, however, there is also merit in asking about number of moves in the last two years (as in the study by Bramley et al, 2000) and/or the number of moves in the last five years (as in the GHS and the NDC study survey). In this context, however, care is needed in specifying what constitutes a move, or change of address, given that there will be some forms of temporary residence at an address, or temporary absence from an address, that might not be defined as a real change of 'usual address'. The case of students living away from home in term-time provides the most discussed example of this issue, but arguably it applies even more critically to people that the literature sometimes refers to as 'chronic movers'.

It is vital that the planned Continuous Population Survey, designed to replace the LFS, GHS and other surveys, includes these extra questions, after due thought about the definition of 'change of address'.

3. A way must be found of increasing the coverage of surveys to include the full population in the sampling frame. In the context of frequent moving, there is likely to be a significant proportion of people who, at any one time, are not living as members of 'private households' - in Census terms, people living in 'communal establishments' and 'living on the streets'. Already, the LFS includes student halls of residence and nurses' accommodation in its sampling frame, but not other forms of communal establishment like hostels that are more likely to be used by frequent movers. Other surveys focus on private households only. If it is not possible to extend these surveys to cover a full range of addresses, then the only option is for these surveys to include modules with retrospective questions that would elicit information about spells spent living in communal establishments and on the street or - more generally - in accommodation that people did not consider to be a 'usual address' for them, including private household spaces where they were living on some temporary basis. Again, it is vital that the planned Continuous Population Survey attempts to achieve this wider coverage.
4. The Population Census should identify those who consider themselves to have no usual address. As noted above, the 2001 Census counted nearly half a million people who had changed address in the previous 12 months and indicated that they had not had a 'usual address' then. As regards people's whereabouts on census day, it instructed form-fillers to include in their household form any person staying there on Census day who had no other address that could be considered their 'usual address', but did not require these people to be separately identified. In 2001 Census output, therefore, they have had to be treated as full members of the household. In the 2011 Census, at

minimum, a box should be provided for a tick to be placed against any person included on the form for whom this address is not considered their 'usual address' and they have no other.

The 2011 Census should also instruct those migrants who had no usual address 12 months earlier not only to tick the relevant box but also to indicate their whereabouts at that time in as much detail as possible, so as to allow researchers to obtain more insight into at least their one-year migration transition. A further important step in studying frequent moving and population turnover is to be able to separate out one-year movers who were students one year ago and subsequently graduated.

5. Further efforts should be made to see how far administrative sources can be used to identify and track frequent movers. These are especially appropriate in the context of minimizing the negative effects of frequent moving on more disadvantaged people, as many of these sources are geared towards providing support for these groups. The work with benefits data, described above, is a good example of the type of experimentation that could be performed on other similar data sets.

Such testing, however, is a major task that lies beyond the scope of the present study, not just in terms of the resources available but also with regard to obtaining data from confidential records in the form needed for monitoring residential mobility. Indeed, it is to be hoped that this testing will be part of the output of the work currently being undertaken by ONS on developing the use of administrative data sources to eventually replace the full decennial Population Census. This should provide valuable information on the adequacy of the individual sources involved and on the degree to which they can be brought together and matched, so as to remove duplicate cases and also to identify missing cases. Given that the Population Census remains one of just two principal data sources for systematically and comprehensively analysing migration in the UK, it is vital that any replacement of it by an administratively-based data system should provide information on residential mobility that is at least as good in terms of coverage, accuracy and wealth of detailed information on the migrants' characteristics and geography.

## 8. The Experiences of Frequently Moving Groups: Issues for Policy and Practice

### 8.1. Introduction

A series of general questions about future policy and practice towards all frequently mobile groups are raised by the preceding literature review. Some of the main issues that cut across the experiences of the different groups considered in the previous four sections are summarised below.

### 8.2. The need to address prejudice against frequently moving groups

The prejudice against some groups of frequent movers impacts on their ability to gain access to services. This is particularly evident in the statutory sector, where members of mobile groups feel that staff attitudes are often insensitive, unhelpful and unsympathetic. Their needs are viewed as a costly burden on the organisation. In part, this is attributable to the lack of knowledge by staff about frequently moving groups, reflected in a lack of awareness of their culture, lifestyle and specific needs and circumstances. In turn, frequent movers can be deterred from approaching services for assistance or, where they do, these services fail to meet their needs adequately.

### 8.3. The need for more advocacy

Advocacy provides a potentially important way forward to overcome the barriers facing frequent movers in accessing key services and in providing a link between service users and providers. Advocates may have knowledge of the range of local provision available, established links with services, and understanding of referral routes and eligibility criteria. Advocacy can also be a means to empower people, providing them with confidence to approach services themselves.

### 8.4. Giving priority to managing transitions

Managing the transitional period from a 'service on' to a 'service off' situation (for example, when leaving an institution) is crucial to the stability of many frequently moving groups. Leaving behind a structured environment where help and assistance is often readily available and adapting to new environments and independent living is a critical juncture. An unsuccessful transition can mark the beginning of a process, or a reversion to a previous history, characterised by high levels of mobility, vulnerability and unmet need. Resettlement services, transitional accommodation and support services are vital during this period, but these are rarely placed centre stage in the spectrum of provision for different groups. Equally important are services offering advice and assistance prior to people leaving a 'service-on' environment.

Such services are also relevant to frequent movers making any kind of transition to a different type of environment - for example, gypsy and traveller children adapting to

mainstream school environments, or long term homeless people adapting to settled accommodation.

### **8.5. The value of learning from the voluntary sector**

Many frequently moving groups rely heavily on the voluntary sector, which they regard as more approachable, non judgemental, supportive, flexible and less bureaucratic than statutory services. It is important to consider whether and how statutory services could learn from these organisational practices to break down some of the overt, and some of the less visible, barriers to access. Greater synergy between the working practices of the voluntary and statutory services would open up a broader range of options for frequently moving groups.

### **8.6. The need to making multi-agency/partnership working a reality**

The range, scale and complexity of needs among frequently moving groups provides a litmus test of the oft quoted, but less often realised, aims of holistic care through effective partnership working. There is still a long way to travel down the road of improved joint working practices, multi-agency groups and case conferencing, or joint protocols, to engender dialogue between services and ensure effective, holistic service delivery. At present, frequent movers are all too often passed from one organisation to another, with no service taking responsibility for them, having their needs interpreted differently, or only partially covered. Consequently many fall through the net altogether, or continue moving through services indefinitely without progress. A holistic, multi-agency approach to service delivery can be cost effective, avoid duplication of work, provide continuity of care, and minimise the potential for people to fall through the net. Joint working can also prompt shared learning about different groups and 'best' working practices to meet needs.

### **8.7. Recognising that location is often all important**

Where people live significantly affects both their access to services and their future levels of mobility. Households will move to be nearer essential services or to remove themselves from inadequate or inappropriate environments. Legal travellers' sites, for example, are often located some way from essential services such as schools. Frequent movers in rural areas - such as care leavers or homeless people - can find themselves isolated from the services which their city-dwelling counterparts have readier access to.

To take two further illustrations of the wider point, homeless people often have little choice over the location of their accommodation - as a result, this may be in an unfamiliar area where they are isolated from their social and family networks, or the more formal service provision they have been relying on hitherto. Asylum seekers may be dispersed to areas which have few specialist services, where mainstream services are not equipped to address their needs, and where there is no established minority ethnic population.

Fuller consideration therefore needs to be given to the location where frequent movers are placed, where specialist accommodation is made available, or where they might be encouraged to gravitate towards. This is necessary to ensure improved access to services and to minimise continued enforced mobility and its consequences.

### **8.8. Tackling the exclusion of frequent movers**

Frequent movers often find themselves excluded from services, both formally and informally. Service eligibility criteria can exclude many frequent movers with certain characteristics and needs (such as drug misuse, mental ill health, or a history of offending), or in certain circumstances (citizenship status, having no fixed address). Length of service in the armed forces dictates the services people are eligible for when they leave, and leaving care support differs according to education and employment status. In addition, informal exclusions often

operate within services where staff at all levels are reluctant to work with people with multiple and complex needs. Employing specialist staff and providing training to existing staff would help to increase the capacity and willingness of organisations to accept frequent movers into their service and operate in a more inclusive manner.

### **8.9. The development of specialist services should not thereby restrict access to mainstream provision**

Specialist services can provide an important means for meeting the needs of specific groups and demonstrating an understanding of their particular circumstances and lifestyles in order to respond appropriately and sensitively. However, the development of specialist provision can also create barriers to accessing mainstream services for many frequently moving groups and a reliance on specialist provision alone is problematic. Specialist provision can restrict access to other services. Members of non-specialist agencies may feel they do not have to accept certain frequently moving groups because there is alternative specialist provision available.

Relying on specialist provision can also limit choice, as specialist services are, by their very nature, few in number. However, what works for one person does not always work for another, and frequent movers have varied needs. They will want to live in different areas for different reasons; some may want to use services which are community-led (for example minority ethnic organisations), or agencies often have an ethos and way of working that will suits some and not others. It therefore becomes essential that as wide a range of services as possible are available and accessible to frequently moving groups.

Specialist provision may also unintentionally create inequities of equity of access to services, or risk compartmentalising and 'labelling' their needs. The development of specialist provision therefore needs to be combined with longer-term strategies to improve access to mainstream services.

### **8.10. Continuity in tracking changes**

Continuity of care is very difficult to provide to frequent movers. As people move, they lose contact with those services currently assisting them. The moves they make are often unexpected and unplanned, and their circumstances can change quickly and dramatically. Yet it is rare for systems to be implemented that are capable of tracking changing circumstances to ensure continued contact and engagement with services.

### **8.11. Addressing the underlying causes of mobility - prevention**

For many mobile groups, frequent moving is not a lifestyle choice but a consequence of deprivation, lack of opportunity, traumatic life events, or changed personal circumstances. Many of the moves made by mobile households are unplanned (in the case of, for example, eviction, leaving institutions, and leaving time-limited homeless accommodation) or necessary to escape adverse situations (for example women fleeing violence and young runaways escaping abuse in the home). Amongst those who develop mobile housing careers, an early trigger point can often be identified, when little support or assistance was available. Once established, however, frequent mobility can then compound the problems and disadvantage facing these groups and itself presents a barrier to accessing the services necessary to develop and maintain a settled life.

Thus, while addressing the needs of frequent movers is an important step, pursuing a more preventative approach requires developing an understanding of the underlying causes of mobility, and the critical points in people's lives where they are at risk of developing mobile housing careers.

## 8.12. Improving understanding, increasing awareness

Evidence suggests that many mainstream services lack knowledge, awareness and understanding of mobile groups - their circumstances, needs, lifestyles, cultures, the underlying reasons for their current situation, and the difficulties they face negotiating services. The consequence can be insensitive, judgemental and inappropriate service delivery, exclusion, and a reluctance to engage. Promoting greater understanding and awareness of mobile groups, for example through programmes of staff training or mutual learning, would aid a more inclusive approach to service provision, where mobile groups are seen as the core business of mainstream services, rather than as marginal or awkward service users.



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## **Appendix 2: Review of key data sources on frequent moving**



## A2.1. Introduction

The discussion below provides a detailed review of the potential of a number of key data sets to provide insights of relevance and value to frequent moving. Data sets reviewed include:

- Population Census
- General Household Survey
- Survey of English Housing
- Labour Force Survey
- British Household Panel Survey
- Omnibus Survey
- CORE lettings data

## A2.2. Population Census

The Census is carried out every ten years and, from 1961, has asked a question on address one year ago. From this, it is possible to identify population groups for which an above-average proportion of people have changed address. As with other sources based on this type of information, however, it is not possible to look specifically at people who are frequent movers. For one thing, this approach misses multiple moves, i.e. people that have moved more than once since one year ago. For another, the majority of people moving in a single year are not frequent movers, but are people who, moving after a considerable stay at their previous address and expecting to stay at their new address also for a considerable time, have just chosen the pre-census year for that move.

One element of the 2001 Census, however, manages to shed some light on people who are likely to have moved more than once in the pre-census year. In the 'address one year ago' question in 2001, migrants were allowed to tick a box labelled 'no usual address one year ago' if they felt that this was their situation then. Across the UK, nearly 0.5 million people did this. It is possible that some may have ticked this box in preference to entering the details of a previous address that they did actually consider their usual address at that time. It is also the case that people will have varied in their idea of what a 'usual address' is. Nevertheless, it is worth exploring the characteristics of migrants who ticked this box, to see how far they accord with the types of people expected to be frequent movers. This information has never been collected before in a Census, there was no checking of the quality of answers to this question in a post-census survey, and to date there has been no systematic analysis of this 'migrant type'.

Before presenting these two sets of results from the 2001 Census, it is important to stress weaknesses in the coverage of the Census. First, some 6% of the people included in the Census results were imputed as part of the One Number Census process rather than being recorded on a Census form. Imputation was undertaken from 'donors' already in the Census, matched by a number of characteristics like sex and age - but not including migrant status. As a result of the latter, the imputation may not have estimated the number of migrants correctly, probably erring on the conservative side owing to the fact that people missed by censuses and surveys are generally more migratory than those captured.

Secondly, following the production of the One Number Census, ONS has accepted that the imputations levels were insufficient in some population groups (notably 16-29 year olds, especially males) and in some parts of the country (notably City of Westminster and Manchester, but also a number of other cities and towns). The Census data has not been adjusted for this. These groups comprise the harder-to-count elements of the population that are normally characterised by above-average residential mobility, this therefore being

another factor depressing the level of migration recorded by the Census to below the real level.

Finally, it is important to point out that the 2001 Census was the first to define students' usual address to be their term-time address. As a result, for the first time, the movement of students to and at university and the movement of graduates away from university were all treated as moves by the 2001 Census. Added to the growth in student numbers since the 1980s, this means that it is likely that a significant number of moves recorded in the Census will be moves to and from university. This makes it more problematic to isolate the frequent moving of the more disadvantaged. Note that almost all students living away from the parental home in term-time will be frequent movers by the time they leave university, on the basis of definitions such as at least three moves in the last five years. While those who were still students at the time of the census can be recognised as such through the census questions, those who were students one year before but have subsequently graduated cannot be distinguished in any output data.

Because only a limited number of cross-tabulations of people by change of address are provided in the standard output from the 2001 Census, the following analyses are based largely on the Individual Sample of Anonymised Records (ISAR). This is a 3% sample of individuals in the UK Census, including imputed people (though these are flagged and can be excluded if deemed appropriate), which is available for use under licence and enables customised analyses. In the next section, information is also given about distance of move, provided only in the ISAR and not in any of the standard tables. Note that the distance-of-move information is only for those with a known previous address within the UK.

#### **A2.2.1. One-year migration rates for types of people**

According to the standard tables of the 2001 Census, just over 7 million UK residents were migrants in the sense that they were living at a different usual address than from that of 12 months earlier. As 407,000 of these had been living outside the UK, the total number of residents who had moved from one address in the UK to another during the pre-census year was 6,676,000. This number represents 11.4% of the population living in the UK at both dates, meaning that roughly one in nine people had moved. (This figure includes infants who had not reached their first birthday by the time of the Census but were given the migration characteristics of their next of kin. It excludes people who died or emigrated after making a within-UK move, as well as those who moved from and back to an address within the 12-month period. The 6,676,000 figure also assumes that all the 467,000 migrants who indicated that they had 'no usual address one year ago' had been living in the UK then.)

The majority of moves are over short distances. According to the ISAR, over two in five (43.0%) of those within-UK migrants for whom the distance could be calculated had moved no further than 2km. Another 10.6% had moved between addresses that were 3-4 km apart, while 12.1% were 5-9km from their previous address. Thus for almost two-thirds (65.7%) of these migrants less than 10km separated their current and previous addresses. At the other extreme, just one in 15 (6.7%) had moved 200km or more, and altogether only 18.5% had moved at least 50km.

As the following evidence shows, some types of people move home more frequently than others and some tend to move more locally than others. Here we look at examples of the more extreme cases for characteristics provided by the ISAR. Again, residents living outside the UK one year earlier are excluded, but those who had no usual address one year ago are included in the analysis.

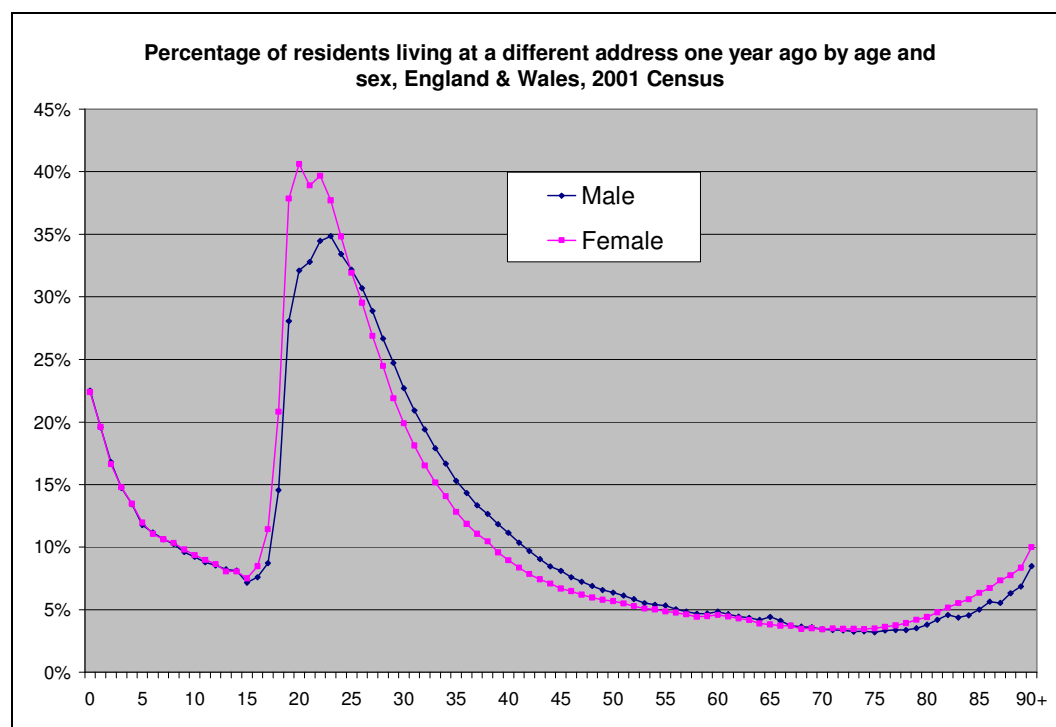
*Gender* is one of the most fundamental of demographic characteristics, but it is not a major discriminator of migration behaviour. Males were the slightly more migratory in 2000-2001, with 11.7% at a different address from one year ago compared to 11.2% females. Males also tended to move slightly further, with 19.1% moving 50km or more compared to 18.0% of

females. While 42.2% of males moved no more than 2km, the figure for females was 43.7%. Part of these differences is likely to arise from the fact that women, living longer on average than men, tend to account for more of the higher age groups which have below-average migration rates and distances.

Turning to *age*, there is a marked contrast between younger adults and people aged 45 and over at the Census. For the latter, there is a fair degree of consistency between broad age groups, with the least migratory being those at or near pensionable age (3.7% of movers among 55-64 year olds) and the most being those aged 45-54 (5.7%). Interestingly, the oldest people are not the least migratory, with 5.0% moving usual address in 2000-2001 – most commonly in the form of ‘defensive’ moves to smaller homes, to closer to relatives or into special accommodation, prompted by loss of the partner or increasing frailty.

At the other extreme, 25.7% of those aged 16-29 were at a different address on Census night compared with one year earlier. This age group includes people going up to and leaving university, as well as those leaving school and entering the labour market and people leaving the parental home to set up by themselves or with partners and others. These life-course events help to account for the very high peaking in the late teens and early twenties that is evident from the breakdown of migration rate by individual years of age shown in Figure 6.1 (with data taken from a specially commissioned England & Wales table provided by ONS).

**Figure A2.1**



Evidently, the vast majority of people moving home within the UK are from the younger half of the age span. People aged 45 and over make up only one in six (16.6%) of all migrants despite constituting 40 % of all UK residents in 2001. The 16-29 year olds accounted for just under two in five (38.9%) of all people changing address, 30-44 year olds for nearly a quarter (24.6%) and the under-16s for almost one in five (19.8%). Inevitably, this bias towards younger people affects the patterning of the migration rate for other characteristics, as - all other things being equal - migration rates will be highest for those characteristics most associated with the younger part of the population.

As regards age differences in distance of move, the most distinctive group is the under-16s, of whom fully half (50.9%) relocate within 2km of their previous address, almost three-quarters (74.2%) move less than 10km, and only 4.9% move 200km or more. The next most locally moving age group is 75 and over, with 68.7% moving under 10km. The longest distance movers are the 16-29 year olds, with 60.9% moving under 10km and 8.2% moving at least 200km, closely followed by the 55-64 year olds, at 61.6% and 7.4% respectively.

In the remainder of this section, only the more extreme cases are noted, so as to indicate the range of migration behaviour in 2000-2001 and build up an overall picture of what influences the propensity to change address and the distance moved.

#### *Marital status*

- Single never-married people had the highest propensity to change address (16.4%), while the lowest was the widowed (5.8%)
- Among those who did move, the widowed were also the group that moved most locally (69.3% moving less than 10km), closely followed by the divorced and the separated. The re-married were the longest-distance movers (20.7% moving at least 50km), then the single never-married

#### *Family type*

- Cohabiting couples with no children had by far the highest migration rate, at 30.5%. At the other extreme were married couples with no children, of whom only 5.6% had moved in the previous year - presumably mainly older families whose children had already left home
- Lone mothers were the shortest-distance movers (79.1% less than 10km), next were cohabiting couples. Married couples with no children were the longest-distance movers (22.6% at least 50km), with ungrouped individuals not in a family being the second longest

#### *Health*

- More healthy people change address more often and move over longer distances. In terms of general health over the last 12 months, 12.5% of people saying their health was 'good' had moved, compared with 8.6% saying 'not good'
- The proportion of movers who remained within 10km of their previous address rises from 64.8% for 'good' to 67.4% for 'fairly good' and 70.8% for 'not good'. The pattern for those with or without limiting long-term illness was very similar

#### *Housing tenure*

- Private renting is traditionally the sector with the highest turnover, and so it was in 2000-2001, with a UK average of 33.7% of its residents having moved into their accommodation within the last 12 months. This is more than twice the level of the next highest sector - renting from Housing Associations, co-operatives and other voluntary and charitable bodies, at 13.7%
- Owner-occupying residents are the least migratory, especially those who are outright owners (only 4.9% of whom had lived at their present address for less than 12 months) - usually older people who have had time to pay off their mortgages
- Distance of move also varies greatly between tenures. Those moving into accommodation rented from councils and equivalent bodies in Scotland and Northern Ireland were much more likely to come from the local area, with only 15.6% moving 10km or more. By contrast, 43.4% of outright owners and 31.9% of owners with mortgage or loan had moved from at least 10km away

### *Economic activity of people aged 16-74*

- By far the most migratory category comprises people who were students at the time of the Census. 27.0% of economically inactive students were living at a different address from that of one year ago. Next highest was 19.0% for people who were unemployed and seeking work
- Least migratory were the retired, of whom only 3.8% were movers, followed by part-time self-employed people without employees, at 7.8%
- Moving over the longest distance were economically inactive students, a third (33.1%) of whom were at least 50km from their previous address. A quarter (25.0%) of the relatively small proportion of retired people who had moved in the year before the Census had moved 50km or more, as also had almost 23% of those who were unemployed and seeking work in the week before the Census
- Those groups whose migrants were least prone to these longer moves comprised the self-employed with employees (only 12.3% moving at least 50km) and the permanently sick or disabled (12.5%)

### *Industry*

- The two industrial classes with the highest proportion of within-UK moves in the pre-Census year were people working in hotels and restaurants and those working for extra-territorial organisations, with 18.8% and 18.5% movers respectively. Least migratory were those working in agriculture, hunting and forestry (9.0%), education, manufacturing, and mining and quarrying
- In terms of the distance moved by those changing address, those working in construction had the highest proportion of people moving less than 10km, (72.4%), followed by workers in manufacturing and fishing. The highest proportions moving 50km or more were for public administration and defence (32.2%) and hotels and restaurants (24.3%)

### *Occupation*

- Several alternative classifications are available in the ISAR, including the Standard Occupational Classification 2000, the International Standard Classification of Occupations and the NS Socio-Economic Classification. Drawing selectively from all three, it is found that the highest mobility is for members of the Armed Forces, 31.5% of whom were at a different address at the census from that 12 months earlier and with fully two out of three (67.0%) of these having moved at least 50km
- Full-time students come close to this migration rate (25.2% of the group), with almost one-third of these moving 50km or more
- Higher professionals (excluding self-employed) saw one in five of their number moving in the pre-Census year, over a quarter of whom had moved 50km or more
- Health professionals, those in culture, media and sport occupations, those in customer service occupations and those in protective service occupations all had migration rates of at least 18%. The proportions moving 50km or more were particularly high for protective services (42.1%) and health professionals (36.0%)
- At the other extreme, migration rates were lowest for people in agricultural occupations, for people in skilled metal and electrical trades and for transport and mobile machine drivers and operators. These latter two groups also had the lowest proportions of 50km+ migrants, along with skilled construction and building trades and process/plant/machine operatives - all with under 12.5% moving 50km or more

### Qualifications

- People with no qualifications changed address least, only around 7% in the pre-Census year, but the most migratory were the middle-ranking (Group 2 in Scotland and Level 3 in the rest of the UK)
- Generally, the higher the qualification level, the higher the proportion moving 50km or more, but in Scotland Group 2 is an exception, with nearly as high a proportion as Group 4

### Ethnicity

- Across the UK as a whole, 14.1% of people in ethnic groups other than white changed address within the UK in the pre-Census year, a rather higher proportion than for the white population (11.2%) - a difference that probably arises from the younger average age of the former
- Out of the four broad non-white groups in England and Wales, the Asians were least migratory (11.9% changing address), followed by the Black and the Mixed groups, with Chinese and others being the most (18.8%)
- In terms of migrants moving under 10km, in Scotland the proportion was slightly higher for whites than non-whites, the reverse of the situation in Northern Ireland and England & Wales. Among the non-whites, the Black group had the highest proportion of these short-distance moves, and the Chinese the lowest

### Geographical variations

People's propensity to change address varies not only between types of people but also between places, though the two may well be connected in the sense that places differ in the make-up of their populations by age, ethnicity and the other dimensions that are associated with migration behaviour (as outlined in the previous section). Here two examples are given of the range of difference by place, first at the level of local authority districts and then at the ward level.

Table 6.1 lists the top and bottom 10 districts in the UK for the proportion of their 2001 Census residents who one year earlier were living at a different address known to be within the UK.

**Table A2.1: Proportion of residents at 2001 Census known to have moved from a UK address in the previous 12 months, highest and lowest 10 districts in the UK, per cent**

Rank	District	%	Rank	District	%
1	Oxford	20.1	434	Cookstown	5.9
2	Cambridge	19.5	433	Strabane	6.0
3	City of London	17.0	432	Dungannon	6.2
4	Southampton	16.9	431	Fermanagh	6.3
5	Exeter	16.9	430	Magherafelt	6.3
6	Wandsworth	16.9	429	Newry and Mourne	6.3
7	Ceredigion	16.6	428	Castlereagh	6.6
8	Nottingham	16.6	427	East Dunbartonshire	6.6
9	Manchester	16.3	426	Armagh	6.8
10	Lancaster	15.9	425	Omagh	6.8

The highest proportion is for Oxford, at 20.1% - nearly double the national figure of 10.6%. Cambridge comes a close second, suggesting the importance of students moving to these university towns or moving within them during their time there. Southampton, Exeter, Ceredigion (containing Aberystwyth), Nottingham, Manchester and Lancaster also have a substantial university presence. The City of London - the 'Square Mile' - contains a very

small population and one that clearly has a high turnover, while the presence of Wandsworth in the list may similarly reflect the degree of local churn at the centre of this major city.

At the other extreme, some districts have little more than half the national within-UK migration rate. All but one of the top ten are in Northern Ireland, reflecting the low turnover within the province as well as its lack of attraction to people from the rest of the UK. The exception is East Dunbartonshire on the edge of the Clydeside conurbation in Scotland.

In terms of the ward level, Keele tops the list (Table 6.2), with getting on for two out of every three residents being new to their address at the Census as a result of a move from another address in the UK. The other nine can also be linked to student accommodation including halls of residence. At the other extreme, in Lissan ward in Cookstown barely one in 40 residents was new to their Census-time address. Not surprisingly, given the district-level results, all but two of these lowest ten were in Northern Ireland. The exceptions were in East Dunbartonshire and Renfrewshire, both in Scotland.

**Table A2.2: Proportion of residents at 2001 Census known to have changed address within the UK in the previous 12 months, highest and lowest 10 wards in the UK, per cent**

Rank	Ward	%	Rank	Ward	%
1	Keele, Newcastle-under-Lyme	63.7	10626	Lissan, Cookstown	2.7
2	Llanbadarn Fawr, Ceredigion	58.6	10625	Termon, Omagh	3.1
3	Heslington, York	58.0	10624	Shantallow East, Derry	3.1
4	Headingley, Leeds	52.6	10623	Balmuldy and Park, East Dunbartonshire	3.2
5	Menai, Gwynedd	52.1	10622	Ardboe, Cookstown	3.3
6	Elvet, Durham	52.0	10621	Dunnamore, Cookstown	3.5
7	St Nicholas, Durham	51.5	10620	Lisnasharragh, Castlereagh	3.6
8	Aberystwyth Central, Ceredigion	49.4	10619	Ladybrook, Belfast	3.6
9	Logie, Stirling	48.3	10618	Lasnacree, Newry & Mourne	3.6
10	Cathays, Cardiff	47.6	10617	Ralston, Renfrewshire	3.6

#### A2.2.2. Migrants indicating that they had had no usual address one year ago

As indicated above, 467,000 people recorded or imputed in the 2001 UK Census were migrants indicating that they had had no usual address one year ago (NUAs). In relative terms, this is equivalent to 0.79% of the UK population and 6.6% of its migrant residents. In the ISAR, the figure translates into 14,377 sample members. Unfortunately, nothing is known about these people one year before the census, not even their whereabouts at that time (which could have been outside the UK).

What is known, however, are their characteristics on 29 April 2001, including their location one year on from when they claimed to be NUAs. In relation to the latter, it is found that their highest concentration at GOR/country level was in London, where they formed 1.4% of the population at the census - with the next highest being 0.75 for the North West but with the lowest regional figure (that for East of England GOR) being still as high as 0.66%. Assuming that NUAs were like other migrants in having a large majority of short-distance moves, then this is probably a good indication of their whereabouts one year before. Note that there was no question about whether or not people felt they had a usual address at the time of the Census (cf. 12 months earlier), and thus no means of telling whether the NUAs of one year ago reckon their status to have changed by the time of the Census.

This section presents a selection of their characteristics on census night (when they may or may not have been without a usual residence - as just mentioned, this aspect was not recorded by the census).

#### *Gender*

- NUAs were more likely to be male than the population as a whole, and than any other type of mover. Almost 3 in 5 (59%) were male, compared to 49% in the UK population, 48% of within-district movers, 50% of between district movers and 48% of people known to have been living outside the UK one year previously

#### *Age*

- NUAs are principally younger people, but not exclusively so. 18% were aged 45+ on census night, i.e. 44+ one year earlier, compared with 40% of the UK population. The greatest difference among the younger ages was for those aged 16-29 (a single age group in the ISAR), which accounts for 38% of NUAs compared with 18% of all people. 26% of NUAs were aged 30-44 (23% of the population) and 18% were under 16 (20% of the population)
- Of the 38% NUAs aged 16-29, the majority were aged 20-29, according to a more detailed age breakdown for England and Wales, available from Theme Table 34: 5% 16-29, 16% 20-24 and 17% 25-29

#### *Country of birth*

- The NUAs' proportion of non-UK-born is over twice that of the total UK population - 20% as opposed to 9%. In particular, 15% were non-Europeans by birth, almost three times the national 5.6%.

#### *Ethnicity (England and Wales only)*

- 20% of NUAs in England and Wales were non-white, compared to 9% for all people. The largest % point difference is accounted for by Asians - 8.6% of NUAs as opposed to 4.4% nationally - and Blacks - 5.6% versus 2.2%

#### *Marital status*

- Two-thirds (66%) of NUAs (all ages) were single unmarried, compared to 44% of the population at large
- Only 17% were married, compared to 41% in the general population. There were more divorced people among NUAs, 9.1% as opposed to 6.4% in whole population

#### *Relationship to HRP*

- The main difference for NUAs was the 10% of 'unrelated' people, compared to 2.4% for all people. Otherwise, there were few differences from the norm

#### *Family type*

- One big difference is that 38% of NUAs were living outside a group, i.e. not in a family with at least one child and not as a married or cohabiting couple. This compares with 18% in the UK population
- This is paralleled by the fewer NUAs in married couples with a child aged under 16: 18%, as opposed to the 38% overall
- There were also fewer NUAs in married couples without children (8% vs 19%), but more in lone-parent families (16% cf 12%) and cohabiting couples without children (10% cf 5%)

### *Health/illness*

- There was very little difference in the NUA and total population in either general health or limiting long-term illness levels. However, given that the NUAs were biased towards younger groups that have better health, this suggests that NUAs are more prone to poor health age for age. *(The ISAR sample is big enough to crosstabulate health/illness by age group, if further exploration of this is wanted.)*

### *Housing tenure*

- Compared to the national population, NUAs are much more likely to have been living in the PRS one year later at the census: 35%, as opposed to 11%
- They are also over-represented in the LA sector (18% vs 13%) and HA/RSL sector (9% vs 5%)
- Even so, this leaves 38% in owner occupation - not much over half the 70% at large, but still a sizeable proportion. *(It would perhaps be interesting to compare this 38% with the 35% in PRS and 17% in social housing on the other characteristics in order to see whether there were any particular features that were associated with the tenure split one year on from considering themselves as having NUA.)*

### *Living in a communal establishment*

- 6.4% of NUAs were living in a communal establishment at the census, as opposed to 1.8% across the whole population
- Four out of five of these were classified as 'other' in the ISAR, much more than the national share. *(This would include student halls of residence, which could be separated out by cross-tabulating with 'full-time student'.)*

### *Occupancy rating of household*

- On average, NUAs tend to live with less surplus space. 22.5% were living where there were fewer rooms than those required under the occupancy standard, compared to 9.3% for all people. And 28% were living with the 'required' number of rooms, as opposed to just under 20% of all people

### *Accommodation type*

- The proportions living on census night (one year on from their NUA status) in flats, maisonettes, and mobile/temporary dwellings were all higher than average. The biggest % point difference was for the 23.6% in purpose-built flats, as opposed to 10.5% for all people

### *Car availability*

- Considerably more NUAs were living in households with no car or van available to it: 37%, as opposed to 20% for all people

### *Economic activity of people aged 16-74*

- There was a much larger proportion of 16-74 NUAs unemployed than in the whole UK population, 10.5% as opposed to 3.7%
- The same trend was evident for the mysterious category 'other inactive', which means not in the labour market, not retired, not a student, not looking after home/family and not permanently sick or disabled: 9.1% as opposed to 3.2%
- Otherwise, the main difference was in their lower proportion of retired people, as would be expected given their younger age profile

### *Industry*

- The distribution of working NUAs between industry sectors was not very different from that of the whole population. The largest % point difference was the higher proportion working in hotels and restaurants - 9.2% as opposed to 5.5%

### *Occupation*

- Similarly, on the various measures of occupation included in the ISAR, there was little difference between NUAs and the entire population
- 19% were living in a households headed by someone in Social grade A/B, not much lower than the 24% overall (but much lower than the 42% for people who had been living outside the UK one year before the census)
- Somewhat more were in the ISCO's elementary occupations, 16.5% as opposed to 13.4%, and rather fewer as clerks, 11.4% vs 14.9%
- More were in NS-SeC category 7 of 'routine occupations', 12.5% as opposed to 9.3%, and somewhat more were full-time students at the time of the census, 9.8% as opposed to 6.5%. But fewer were 'not classifiable for other reasons' (including never worked and retired), 16.9% as opposed to 23.4%

Overall, it can be seen that the average profile of these NUAs (one-year migrants who were enumerated or imputed by the 2001 Census and reckoned that they had no usual address one year before) was - at least at the time of the Census one year later - generally less privileged than the population as a whole. In particular, on average, this group was markedly more male, younger, born outside the UK and of non-white ethnicity; was more likely to be single unmarried, not living with relatives or in any group, be in communal establishments or in rented accommodation, especially private renting, and be in poorer housing conditions; and more prone to unemployment and somewhat more likely to be in elementary/ routine occupations. As a group, their health was comparable to the overall population, but this probably means poorer than average for any particular age group. Age distribution may also be a factor depressing their profiles, notably on variables where younger people score more poorly, usually because of their more limited means.

At the same time, it is worth stressing that the NUAs include a significant proportion of better-off people, as exemplified by the evidence on tenure and occupation. Frequent movers include students and young professionals. There is potential for analyses that would try to home in on the more disadvantaged elements of this sub-group of frequent movers (assuming that all people reporting no usual address one year before the Census and declaring that they have changed address in the ensuing 12 months are indeed frequent movers). This would require reworking the above results in more detailed cross tabulations, perhaps first removing full-time students and then starting with age-specific comparisons. The analysis could be restricted to a sample of NUAs that were deemed to be disadvantaged on selected variables one year later at the census.

### **A2.3. General Household Survey**

The GHS is an annual survey of private households in Great Britain. Every year there has been a question on how long have you lived at your current address, in fact two specific questions: 'how many years?' and, if less than one year, 'how many months?' In most years (1971-77, 1979-96, 1998, 2000-2002), there has also been a question on 'how many moves in the last five years?'

In the annual published report *Living in Britain*, the summary results of the 'how long' question are regularly published in the form of length of residence by housing tenure - in Chapter 4. Thus, in the report for 2001, the section of data relating to frequent movers shows the importance of the private rented sector (PRS) as a transitory sector, especially the furnished element. Over half of the households in the latter sector had been there for

under 12 months, compared to the average proportion of one in 10. The proportion of households in the furnished PRF who had been there for less than 2 years was only 17 % points higher, at 69%, suggesting that while half of this sector has very high turnover, much of the remainder does have longer-term residents (31% at least 2 years, and further details of 5+ etc years in the report).

**Table A2.3: Length of residence at current address, by tenure, according to GHS and SEH**

Source:	GHS 2001 (GB)		SEH 2002/03 (England)
Tenure	<12 months	<2 years	<12 months
All tenures	10	17	11
Owner occupied	6	12	7
Council rented	10	16	9
HA/RSL rented	12	21	12
Private rented unfurnished	27	43	32
Private rented furnished	52	69	57

The GHS offers further potential for analysis beyond this one published table, as follows:

1) Similar tables can be produced on a customised basis, looking at length of residence at current address by any of the other types of information collected on the characteristics of the households.

2) The answers to the question ‘how many moves in the last five years?’ can be analysed.

(1) Is of most use in identifying the types of households with the highest proportions of those that have lived at the current residence for no more than X amount of time, including breaking down the under-12-months into subcategories. Moreover, as this is the most commonly asked question about people’s residential mobility, comparisons can be made with other sources, and indeed results may be pooled to get more robust findings.

The main drawback, however, is that the question gives information on what, by definition, are uncompleted periods of residence, mixing those who may have moved several times in the past year and likely to move on again soon with those who have made what may be something of a lifetime move after many years at a previous residence and expecting to stay for many years at the current one.

(2) Is the more useful, because it links to one approach used to define frequent movers, e.g. moving at least three times in the past five years. Thus, all those who have said that they have moved this number of times can be profiled and compared with other households in the GHS. Also, by cross-tabulating with the answer to the ‘length of residence’ question, it should be possible to compare those who moved several times early on in the previous five years but have been settled at their current address for, say, at least two years.

The value of the GHS in general, however, is restricted by the ‘migration’ questions being restricted to the household, with no questions being asked about the migration of individual household members. The member of the household acting as the ‘respondent’ is meant to reply on behalf of the whole household. This is potentially problematic because, according to other sources (notably the Population Census which is primarily an individual-person survey even though data for most individuals are collected on household forms), a significant number of migrants are not part of ‘wholly moving households’ or ‘continuing households’ but are people who moved in with one or more existing residents.

Therefore, while the GHS will accurately represent the situation where a new household has been formed at a new address, it looks as if it will fail to record people joining an existing

household - and indeed people who have left (unless they or their equivalents are picked up at their destination household)

The value of the GHS is also reduced by the fact that it is a household-based survey. It is not designed to cover people who are not living in such groupings, i.e. mainly those accommodated by some form of 'communal establishment' - which, according to observation and some statistical sources like the Population Census, contain above-average proportions of frequent movers.

Finally, the GHS normally collects only data on current characteristics of people, except for special modules on people's behaviour, e.g. history of smoking. This means that, for migrants, there is no information routinely collected on their pre-move characteristics, which are likely to be more valuable in 'explaining' their move than their post-move ones - though ideally it would be best to be able to compare pre-move and post-move characteristics in order to deduce reason for move (about which no question is asked). One potentially useful extra GHS source, however, is the special module on 'social capital' attached to the GHS of 2000.

The Social Capital module forms a stand-alone data set with 179 variables that should be easy to interrogate using standard statistical packages like SPSS, STATA and NESSTAR. 155 of these variables relate to measures of social capital, grouped into five aspects: civic engagement, neighbourliness and reciprocity, social networks, social support, and views about the area. The majority of these variables are the answers to the individual questions, but some are composite variables, with one overall variable treating as a summary of each of the five aspects. However, no overall single variable spanning all five aspects was derived. Further variables relating to a selection of personal/household characteristics, presumably derived from the main GHS 2000 data set, have been added to the Social Capital data set, namely sex, age group, ethnic group, education level, manual/non-manual, employment status (3 categories), full/part-time, tenure, number of vehicles, marital status, household type, Government Office Region and country. The respondents are people aged 16 and over.

The most relevant published results crosstabulate these individual and composite measures of social capital against length of residence in the area, the latter being categorised three ways - under 5 years, 5-19 years and 20 or more years. Focusing just on the summary measures, the proportions of people who are deemed to be 'not civically engaged' are, respectively, 19, 14 and 15 per cent; in terms of neighbourliness, 'high reciprocity' 45, 53 and 57 per cent, and 'high neighbourliness score' 20, 33 and 42 per cent; in terms of social networks, 'satisfactory friendship network' 53, 68 and 72 per cent, and 'satisfactory relatives network' 34, 47 and 65 per cent; in terms of social support, 'less than 3 people to turn to in a serious personal crisis' 21, 19 and 17 per cent; and in terms of 'enjoys living in the area' 86, 85 and 88 per cent.

There appear, however, to be two potential limitations/challenges in relation to studying frequent movers. Firstly, sample size is limited. While the main GHS contains data on 19,266 people living in 8,221 households (a 67% response rate on the addresses in the original sample), the questionnaire for this module was administered to one randomly selected adult aged 16+ in each responding household, with no substitution or proxy information allowed. This produces a total of 7,857 complete forms, of which a very much smaller number will relate to frequent movers. Sample size will therefore be an important factor in the depth of analysis possible.

Secondly, contrary to what was said in the draft final report (see sentence quoted above), the social capital module itself did not ask about the number of moves made in the last five years but only about length of residence. Moreover, the length of residence question refers not to the current address but to 'the area', as just indicated in the above snapshot of results.

A key first step, therefore, is to check whether the individual people in the Social Capital data set can be matched to the main GHS data set for 2000, so as to add their records on number of moves in the past five years and length of residence at current address to the former. Inspection of the variable lists for both the Individual data file and the Social Capital data file suggests that this is possible, as both contain the variables 'H SERIAL' (taken to be the unique number for each household) and 'person' (taken to be person number in a particular household). Once the variable on number of moves in the last five years is incorporated into the records of the sub-sample of people in the Social Capital data set, then the number of cases of people moving three times or more in the last five years can be established and, if sufficient, the analysis can be done using this variable.

This, however, raises a conceptual issue about the relationship between frequent moving, as treated for this project, and the length of time that a person/household has lived in the area. The latter is, of course, entirely appropriate for the purposes of studying social capital, as this concept of social capital is essentially area-based rather than residence-based. If a person changes address, the implications for social capital for those moving within an area are very different from those moving between areas. This opens up a potentially very interesting line of inquiry that would attempt to explore the joint and separate relationships between measures of social capital and both number of recent changes of address and length of time in the area.

At the same time, account would need to be taken of a second issue, namely the interpretation put on the term 'area', also called 'local area' in the questionnaire. There is considerable sense in the GHS having given respondents a fair degree of latitude in what they mean by 'local area': the guidelines are 'within about a 15-20 minute walk or 5-10 minute drive from your home'. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the GHS could be more prescriptive. Nevertheless, respondents are likely to give replies that are relevant to the use that they make of the area surrounding their home. In that sense, the 'local area' will be the one from which they draw social capital and themselves make inputs to it. As a result, people's notions of 'local area' are likely to vary according to the length of time that they have lived 'there' as this would probably be a factor in their degree of engagement with the residents and facilities of the surrounding area, arguably with their geographical horizons extending as a result of their increasing familiarity with the locale. A degree of circularity seems inevitable.

In sum, the most straightforward analysis from the current Social Capital data set is to analyse people's situation on the various social capital indicators according to the length of time that they have lived in the area. This would be along the same lines as in the published report, but would go into more detail for those who had lived there less than 5 years. As long as sample size permitted, this could be as follows: under one month, 1-2 months, 3-5 months, 6-11 months, 12 months but less than 2 years, at least 2 years but less than 3, at least 3 years but less than 5. Unfortunately, this would not isolate frequent movers because each category would also contain people making a move between actual and intended long-term stays and just choosing that particular time to do it. Nevertheless, assuming that the shorter the length of residence selected, the higher the proportion of frequent movers, then comparing the results for different lengths of residence would provide the basis for estimating the effect of length of residence. Also, while this would not allow a direct measure of the additional effect of repeated movement, sample size permitting the modelling of indicators of social capital against not only length of residence but also respondents' other characteristics could allow an estimate to be made on the basis of the characteristics of frequent movers derived from the main GHS 2000 data set.

The analysis could go beyond this if people's replies to the question on number of moves made in the last five years and length of residence at the current address can be imported from the main GHS data set. Even so, such an analysis would need to address a critical conceptual issue about the role of frequent moving and then decide how best to handle this. These two variables cannot readily be used alongside length of residence in the area to

produce a fuller meaningful classification of all people, because the timing of address changes over the last five years is not known (apart from the latest move) and so the geography of each move (i.e. the dichotomy between move within the area or move from outside the area) cannot be identified. In modelling with logistic regression, however, the separate role of these three variables in affecting people's positions on the (mainly binary) social capital indicators could be measured, possibly along with an interaction term based on frequency of move and length of time in the area. First, though, someone with experience of logistic regression should be asked to comment on how far this would allow an assessment of the effect of frequent moving on social capital, including a distinction between the effects of frequent moving within an area as opposed to moving to a different area.

#### A2.4. Survey of English Housing

Like the GHS, the SEH is an annual household-based survey that routinely asks about length of residence. It covers just England rather than Great Britain, with a sampling fraction of roughly one per 1000. Traditionally the main findings have been published in an annual report *Housing in England*, the most recent being from the 2003/2003 survey. On 29 April 2005 ODPM announced that the results from the 2003/2004 survey would not be published in this way, but as a series of smaller reports, each with a particular focus (ODPM News Release 2005/0096). Part 1 on trends in tenure and cross tenure topics was published that day, but contains no information on moving, which is to be the focus of Part 2, to be published in June. The account below is therefore based on the published list of the 2003/2004 survey's questions, plus two preliminary reports: *New Results April 2003 - December 2003* and *Provisional Results 2003/2004* (published as *Housing Statistical Summaries* numbers 21 and 23 respectively). The former included only about three-quarters of the final survey population, while the final results will use more up-to-date weightings than these provisional results.

The SEH is better suited to analysing residential mobility than the GHS, as would be expected from a dedicated housing survey.

First, the SEH asks a larger set of questions about moving. The most relevant ones (as addressed to the Household Representative Person (HRP), assuming that this person moved to the current address at the same time as or before any spouse/partner) comprise:

- How long have you lived at this address?
- If less than 12 months, how many months have you lived here?
- How many times have you moved in the past year? (a new question in 2003/2004)
- Did you and (name of spouse/partner) move into this accommodation at the same time?
- If not, which of you moved in first?
- How long has (spouse/partner) been living at this address?
- In which way (i.e. tenure) did you occupy your previous accommodation?
- Were you in that accommodation just temporarily?
- If so, in which way (i.e. tenure) did you occupy the address before that?
- In your previous (non-temporary) accommodation, were you living with parents, or spouse/partner, or someone else, or alone?
- How many miles from here was the place you lived before moving here?
- What was the address of the place you lived in before moving here?
- How long did you live in that accommodation? Why did you move last time? (indicate all reasons that apply)
- What was the main reason that you moved?

From the point of view of identifying frequent movers, the key question is that about the number of moves made in the past year, asked for the first time in the 2003/2004 Survey. In this context, this is clearly a much more powerful question than the one most commonly asked in surveys, namely length of time at the current residence. Moreover, it is also more valuable in understanding frequent moving than the GHS's question on the number of moves in the last five years, because the other information collected about households (mainly relating to the day of survey) is more timely. In the GHS, if the period of a person's most intense residential mobility was early on in the five-year period, then their present circumstances are not as relevant to understanding the circumstances associated with frequent moving as those given in the SEH at the end of the one year of frequent moving.

Also extremely valuable is the question on the length of time at the previous address, as this comprises a completed period of residence. In the context of very frequent moving, however, this provides little extra information as, for someone who has moved more than once in the past year, the length of time at the previous address will, by definition, be less than 12 months. Nevertheless, the answers to this question will be useful in those Surveys before 2003/2004 in which it was asked, given that there was then no question on number of moves in the past year.

Important for a better understanding of frequent moving is the question about the reason(s) for the move. Also, for those who moved in the last three years, the SEH asks about the distance of the move. These two questions can potentially be used to isolate incidences of 'push' moves (more associated with 'churning'?) and more localised elements of this.

Finally, the questions allow a distinction to be drawn between 'new' and 'continuing' households, the former being defined as where the Household Representative Person (HRP) was not HRP at the previous address, nor was the spouse/partner. They also allow for the situation where the HRP and spouse/partner, though not other household members, have lived at the current residence for different periods of time.

On the debit side, however, this is - like the GHS - a household survey, so it does not cover people living in communal establishments. Like the GHS, too, it is a voluntary survey, so biases are likely to arise. Published results have been adjusted in the light of information on estimated survey biases: customised analyses would need to do likewise.

Some relevant results are published in the SEH reports. From the *Provisional Results 2003/2004*, it is found that:

- 2.1 million households (10%) had been resident at their current address for less than one year. The proportion varied markedly with tenure: outright owners 2%, buying with a mortgage 9%, rented from council 10%, rented from RSL 11%, rented privately 39% (unfurnished 34, furnished 53)
- Just over half of all moves (1.12 out of 2.13 million) were within, to or from the privately rented sector, showing how important this sector is in facilitating mobility within the housing market
- For continuing households that had changed address in the past year, the most common main reason for moving was to get different-sized accommodation (19% for larger housing, 5% for smaller). This was followed by 'to live in a better area' and job-related reasons (11% in both cases)
- For new households, the most common reason was to live independently or to buy (a combined category accounting for 41% of movers), followed by marriage/cohabitation (17%)
- 45% of new households were living in the private rented sector, 34% were owner occupiers and 21% social renters

Relevant findings from *New Results April 2003 - December 2003* include:

- Out of the 20.5 million households grossed up from the survey (only partly completed at this stage), 2.17 million had moved at least once in the past year. But 302 thousand had moved twice, 58 thousand three times, and 19 thousand 4 times or more
- As a result, the total number of moves was 22% higher than the number of households involved, at 2.66 million
- Households that had moved at least twice in the past year accounted for 1.9% of all households. This varied by tenure (at survey): owners under 1%, social renters 2, privately renting 9 (unfurnished 8, furnished 13)
- The equivalent figures for three or more moves in the past year were 0.4% for all tenures: owners 0.1, social renters 0.6, privately renting 2.1 (unfurnished 1.7, furnished 3.0)
- The number of moves per 1000 households was 130 for all tenures: 71 for owners, 138 for social renters, and 527 for private renters (444 unfurnished, 733 furnished)
- The median length of time that households spent at their previous address was 1.6 years for private renters, 3.6 years for social renters (4.0 council, 2.8 RSL), 6.1 for those buying with a mortgage, and 14.4 for outright owners (this latter probably being an underestimate because this figure excludes those who ceased to have their own household because they went to live with relatives, moved into a communal establishment or died)

Unpublished results supplied to the SEU provide some examples of the types of analysis that can inform about the characteristics of frequent movers. These are all in the form of distributions, as follows (with the modal type as the example):

- Households who moved more than once in the past year by tenure, e.g. 34% were private renter unfurnished
- Households who moved more than once in the past year by household type, e.g. 26% were couples with no dependent children
- Households who moved more than once in the past year by reasons for moving, e.g. 24% of all the reasons given were to obtain larger accommodation
- Households who moved more than once in the past year by age group, e.g. 42% were 25-34
- Households who moved more than once in the past year by ethnic group of HRP, e.g. 87% white
- Households who moved more than 3 or more times in the past year by economic status, e.g. 57% in full-time work

These distributions themselves are clearly important in showing who the frequent movers are. Nevertheless, insight would be increased by comparing these distributions with those for all households changing address in the past year as well as with those for all households. Data on the latter could also be used to calculate the probability of different types of people being frequent movers, as in some of the published examples.

Given the importance of students in generating turnover, it is worth noting that the SEH questionnaire includes a question about whether or not a full-time student. As long as the answer is included in the data set, then a major element of the student contribution to turnover can be isolated in customised analyses. Note also that the exclusion of communal establishments from the survey means that a part of this phenomenon is excluded entirely.

On the other hand, as the survey asks about economic status only at the time of the survey, it is impossible to isolate people leaving higher education, i.e. who were students before their last move but graduates in some other economic status at the time of the survey.

Clearly, the SEH is a rich source of intelligence on frequent moving among those who are moving into private households as opposed to communal establishments, institutional accommodation, etc. Given access to the SEH, customised analyses could be undertaken. At the same time, the degree of detail that can be obtained with confidence is limited by sample size. The actual number of households in the 2003/2004 sample that moved more than once in the past year was just 367.

## A2.5. Labour Force Survey

The LFS is a unique source of information on employment, unemployment and economic inactivity, using international definitions. It also includes data on a range of related personal characteristics for people aged 16 and over, including migration. First conducted in the UK in 1973, it was carried out biennially till 1983, then annually until 1991 (with quarterly surveys and an annual boost producing a UK sample of over 48,000 in the March to May quarter), and quarterly since then. From 1992 (in Northern Ireland, 1997), the renamed Quarterly Labour Force Survey has also provided Local Area Data for counties, local authority districts and other administrative geographies. It is primarily a household survey, but from 1992 it has included residents in NHS hospital accommodation ('nurses' homes') and students living in halls of residence and boarding schools. Also, it is cross-sectional survey, but it has a panel element in that - in theory, at least - questions are asked about each relevant person in five successive quarterly waves.

The background personal information collected in 2004 included name, sex, age, marital status, relationship to each other person in the household, housing tenure, car availability, nationality, citizenship, ethnicity, religion, language, migration and childcare. Subsequent modules of the questionnaire ask for more detail about main job, home working, travel to work, sickness, hours worked, second job, looking for work, benefit entitlement, employment 12 months ago, education and training, health, and earnings.

The questions on migration are similar to, but not exactly the same as, other surveys. There are two main types of questions. First is how long at this address, which is asked at every quarter. The pre-coded time intervals are less than 12 months, less than 2 years, less than 3 years, less than 5 years, less than 10 years, and 10 years or more, plus number of months if less than one year.

Second is where were you living N ago. In this case, N is not only the commonly used one year ago but also 3 months ago. These two questions are asked only once a year in the March to May ('Spring') survey, but even so this potentially allows quite a detailed look at some people's migration over a two-year period. Households and individuals entering the sample in the Spring quarter will provide details of their usual address of 3 months and one year ago, and will do likewise at their fifth and last survey point in the Spring quarter the following year, thus giving their address at five time points (assuming that they have been traced after any moves between their first and fifth surveys).

The details of previous usual address are collected down to town or village name, but the data available for analysis is much less detailed. Indeed, according to the Data Archive's documentation, details of previous address are available only in the ONS version.

There is no question on reason for move except whether the move was due to an existing job being relocated. Nor is there a question on moving intentions. Also, unlike the GHS and SEH, there is no dedicated LFS annual publication summarising the statistics for the nation, though LFS-based statistics are reported in a number of official publications.

On the face of it, therefore, the LFS would seem to have considerable potential for the study of frequent movers - to the extent that these are captured by the survey initially (through the household, nurses homes and halls of residence sampling frames and through finding willing participants) and then traced through till their fifth and final quarter). This finding prompted further investigation of this source, necessarily through interrogation of the actual data sets given that there appear to be no published reports that present the results of analysing the LFS from this frequent-mover perspective. Two analyses were carried out - one on the latest five-quarter longitudinal data set spanning the relevant quarters, this being for the cohort of panel members surveyed between the March/May quarter 2003 and that for 2004, and the other on the full (non-longitudinal) sample for the latest Spring quarter, that for 2004.

Initial results from the five-quarter longitudinal data set were encouraging. The questions about length of residence showed that 8% of the longitudinal sample had been resident at their Spring 2003 address for under 12 months (variable 'restme1') and, of these, 15% had been there for less than three months (variable 'resmth1'), none of whom was a baby under 3 months of age (variable 'resbby1'). Out of those who had been resident at their Spring 2003 address for under 3 months, 88% had been living 12 months ago at the same address as three months ago, i.e. before their move in the last 3 months (variable 'oyeqm31'). But 12% had been a different address 12 months earlier, meaning that they had moved twice in the past 12 months, once at a time between 12 and three months ago and again within the three months before the survey - indeed, at least twice, in that the questions were only comparing three addresses (at survey and three and 12 months prior to the survey, i.e. not allowing any intermediate moves to be recorded).

Unfortunately, however, the use of the longitudinal element of the data set was unable to cast any further light on the movement behaviour of the five-quarter panel members. At each subsequent quarterly survey, panel members were asked their length of residence at their current address and, at each, the proportion being there for less than 12 months shrank progressively. At the fifth quarter one year later, no one in this longitudinal sample had been living at their current address for less than 12 months. (Meanwhile, 8.9% of the sample had been living at their current address for at least 12 months but less than two years, compared with only 8.0% living there for under 12 months one year earlier - suggesting either respondent error or an actual elapsed time between the first and fifth surveys averaging under 12 months.)

From these results it would appear that the longitudinal panel excludes people who moved during the one-year span of members' presence within it. This is only partly hinted at in the metadata for the five-quarter data set, where it is stated, 'The longitudinal data sets do not contain all LFS records, but only those of working age who have responded to the survey in all the periods being linked' (see <http://www.dataarchive.ac.uk/findingData/snDescription.asp?sn=4990>). The restriction to working age is not a critical problem for present purposes, but the requirement to have been surveyed in all five quarters is. It is to be expected that the people likely to have been missed in one or more of the subsequent four waves will be those who have changed address since their first wave. In fact, this potential problem is aggravated by the observation that no one that changed address after their first wave is included. Either the LFS makes no attempt at all to follow people who change address over their year in the sample or else these people are followed but are excluded from the longitudinal data set: the metadata does not make clear which. This, however, is immaterial for present purposes. It is not possible to use the five-quarter data set to study frequent moving across the two year span covered by the questions asked of these people.

Moreover, this makes the five-quarter sample less useful for studying moves in the year leading up to the people's inclusion in the LFS than the single-quarter Spring samples by themselves. This is because of its vastly smaller sample size. The total sample size in the March 2003 to May 2004 data set totalled 8,760 people. This compares with 128,872 people in the Spring 2004 quarterly sample. There are two reasons for this big differential.

First, the latter comprises five quarterly cohorts, each comprising just over 25,000 people on average. Only the first of these Spring 2004 cohorts is that taken into the LFS in Spring 2003. Then the reduction from around 25,000 to 8,760 must be due to a combination of excluding those not of working age (estimated at 40% on the basis of it being a representative sample, leaving around 15,000) and those who did not stay the course of being available to answer questions in all of the four subsequent survey quarters or omitted for other reasons (representing an attrition rate of a further two-fifths so as to leave just 8,760).

Therefore, turning to the latest available data for the Spring quarter, that for the March-May 2004 survey, the picture is as shown in Table 6.4.

**Table A2.4: Changes of address recorded in the Quarterly LFS March-May 2004 wave**

Full sample membership	128,872
Length of residence question does not apply	3,276
No answer	23
Remaining sample members	125,573
Resident at current address for less than 12 months (including infants)	11,932
Of whom:	
Resident less than 3 months excluding babies aged under 3 months	1,683
Of whom:	
Babies aged under 12 months	37
No answer to question about same address 12 months ago as 3 months ago	6
Same address 12 months ago as 3 months ago	1,309
Different address 12 months ago from 3 months ago	331

According to this analysis, there were 331 members of the March-May 2004 LFS sample who had moved at least twice in the previous twelve months, once within the previous three months and once in the 9 months before that. Impressively, they constituted 20.2% of the 1,640 people who had been living at their current address for less than 12 months, i.e. excluding 37 infants and the 6 within-3-month movers who did not reply to the question on whether their address before that move was the same as that 12 months ago. Moreover, they comprised a full quarter of one per cent (0.26%) of the full relevant sample of 125,573 people. A crude grossing-up (not using the LFS weighting system) would suggest a UK-wide figure something in excess of 150,000 people.

This raises the question as to whether or not an analysis of this group of 331 people would repay further analysis so as to identify their characteristics. It is a small number for detailed breakdowns, cross-tabulations and multivariate modelling, but could be pooled with presumably similar numbers of cases from one or more earlier Spring quarter samples. It is a somewhat artificially defined sample in that it relates to people moving in just one three-month period of the year, which may not be typical of other three-month periods, and it cannot capture more one move in each of the three-month and preceding nine-month periods. In addition, there is little geographical information attached to the main LFS data sets available from the Data Archive, merely region of residence at each time point: only the ONS version of the data set, accessible only under certain conditions in the safe setting of the ONS, provides more geographical detail. Finally, as outlined above, this will be a partial picture in that the LFS is not a fully representative sample of the UK population, most notably omitting most types of communal establishments. Even ignoring the latter, there are quite wide confidence intervals involved in using the LFS weighting factors to gross up from such small numbers.

The LFS therefore offers some limited potential for obtaining greater insights into frequent moving. On the debit side, unfortunately, the five-quarter longitudinal data set does not appear suitable for identifying people moving up to four times in two years. More positively, the derived variable based on answers to the questions relating to address 3 and 12 months

ago does allow the identification of at least some of the people moving at least twice during a one-year period. The LFS also includes a small amount of information about people's circumstances 12 and 3 months ago, that could be used to compare before- and after-move situations. The key question is how confidently that this information can be used to generalise about frequent moving in the UK. This depends crucially on the issues of survey coverage and data quality, not just generally in the LFS but also in terms of specific groups that are likely to be frequent movers.

Finally, it is important to note that, bearing in mind the purpose of the LFS and the large set of questions already in its questionnaire, it is perhaps surprising that somewhat more is not asked about migration. In particular, given the existing interest in length of residence and in address 3 months ago as well as one year ago, an obvious extra question would be about the number of changes of usual address made in the past 3, 4 or 5 years (as in the GHS). Additionally, the question on whether the move was due to the relocation of existing job could be expanded to a fuller question on the reason for the move (as in the SEH). Possibly, these questions have been asked at some points since 1973, but given their relevance to understanding labour market dynamics, there would seem to be a strong case for their inclusion every year. Certainly they should be included in the planned Continuous Population Survey when the LFS and certain other surveys are merged into it in a couple of years' time.

## **A2.6. British Household Panel Study**

The BHPS was begun in 1991 with an initial panel of some 5,000 households containing some 10,000 adult members. Adult members have been resurveyed every year since then, where it has been possible to trace them over time, and adults joining members' households have also been questioned at every wave where they have been living in members' households. At each annual wave questions are asked on a wide range of aspects of people's lives, with a core set of questions relating to people's situations currently and with additional sets of questions that vary between waves, including some sets of retrospective questions. Questions include current usual address (coded to 'SAR district' which are local government areas with at least 140,000 residents or groupings of adjacent districts that achieve this threshold size), whether this address is different from the year before, reasons for moving, moving intentions and satisfaction with current circumstances.

Three aspects of the BHPS, in particular, negatively affect its usefulness for the study of frequent movers. Change of address is known only for one-year transitions based on comparing address at current and previous waves, with no information collected routinely on multiple changes of address in between observation points. Second, the difficulties of tracking people who change address mean a sample biased towards those who move less frequently and are more disposed to keep in touch with the Survey. While attrition rates have been relatively low in recent years, they were especially high in the first year or two of the BHPS in the early 1990s. There is no mechanism for refreshing the membership with people similar to those lost, merely the addition of those who age into adulthood in the original members' households or who join these households by moving from elsewhere. Third, as with GHS and SEH, this is by definition a household survey, so people in communal establishments are not covered – though people who have lived in communal establishments will be picked up if they return to or enter a member's household.

Nevertheless, to the extent that people changing address can be traced over time, there is the potential for identifying people with a history of regular movement through matching their addresses across a sequence of annual waves that now runs to 13 in number. Moreover, there is always the option of including a module including retrospective questions designed to capture all residential moves, if a sufficient case could be made for this.

## A2.7. CORE lettings

The CORE (Continuous Recording) system is run for the Housing Corporation by the Joint Centre for Scottish Housing Research, based at the University of St Andrews. It collects data on social housing lettings in England from Housing Associations and, since April 2004, from Local Authorities. It began at the end of the 1980s and has built up a pretty complete coverage of Housing Associations. In the October - December 2004 quarter, it also received information from 47 Local Authorities.

As regards people moving, the most relevant parts of the Lettings Log form from which the data are drawn are the following:

- The type of accommodation in which the household lived immediately prior to rehousing (one of 20 types, including LA general needs, HA general needs, private rented, owner occupier, tied home, supported housing, sheltered housing, care home, hospital, prison, bed and breakfast, living with family, staying with friends, rough sleeping).
- The LA in which the household lived immediately prior to being rehoused (including temporary accommodation)
- Was the household homeless immediately prior to this letting?
- What was the main reason the household left their last settled home?
- Source of referral
- The LA of the letting

In addition, certain information is collected about the household's characteristics that can be used to profile the households according to the type of previous accommodation, source of referral and the main reason for leaving their last settled home, as follows:

- Age, sex, economic status and occupation of all household members
- Relationship of Person 1 to all other household members (partner, child, other)
- Ethnic group of Person 1, and whether any of household members are of a different ethnic group to this
- Disability and/or use of wheelchair by any household member
- Net weekly income of tenant or tenant and partner
- Savings/capital/investment of tenant or tenant and partner
- Sources of income
- Occupational retirement pension or not?
- Qualify for housing benefit or not?

Unfortunately, while all this information is extremely useful for monitoring the role of social housing as regards incoming tenants, it contains no way of identifying frequent movers apart from inferences made via the information on the type of accommodation immediately prior to rehousing. There is no information collected on number of moves in the last N years, nor on length of residence at the last settled home. This therefore raises the question as to how confidently the first five categories listed in the first bullet above, perhaps together with living with family, can be considered as non-frequent movers, with most or all of the other categories being frequent movers.

It is also worth pointing out that there is no equivalent log for exits. If this was to be introduced in the future, it would be useful to have this include a question on how long the household had been at that address. At the same time, the value of an exit CORE would be

greatly enhanced by collecting information about exiters' characteristics and circumstances, as otherwise the only information about the household is likely to be what was recorded at the initial letting.

### **A2.8. Omnibus Survey**

The Omnibus Survey is undertaken eight times of year on a cross-sectional basis. It is a commonly used vehicle for trialling new questions for other surveys and for surveys on special topics, as well as containing a common core of questions. The latter does not include any questions on migration and change of address.

### **A2.9. Administrative Sources**

This general heading is designed to cover a range of data about individuals that is collected as part of the on-the-job work needed to plan and deliver services, especially in the public sector and utilities. This would include records kept by central government departments and agencies (e.g. income tax records, national insurance, NHS), local government (e.g. council tax records, electoral rolls, housing benefit, council house lettings) and voluntary groups (e.g. those ministering to particular types of people in need of support).

Previous official assessments of alternative methods of collecting migration data have been pessimistic about the potential of administrative sources. For example, Bulusu (1991) concluded that none of these sources provides a method of monitoring people's address changes in a way that is both reliable and comprehensive. Additionally, ONS (2003) viewed as deeply flawed the attempts made by Westminster City Council and other authorities to use these types of sources in order to prove an undercount by the 2001 Census, let alone use them to examine residential mobility.

Nevertheless, ONS is working on the assumption that, whether identity cards become compulsory or not, the 2011 Census will be the last of its kind, with most of the types of data that it collects being substituted by data from administrative sources. The latter would certainly be expected to provide area data in the form currently being developed in the Neighbourhood Statistics programme, but it is much more questionable that detailed data on population characteristics could be linked to the individual people as the Census does. It is extremely doubtful whether micro-level migration data of the sort currently collected by surveys would be available from this type of data set, requiring reliance on the Continuous Population Survey for this type of information.

It is, however, possible that there are certain data sources relating to vulnerable people who are most at risk of frequent moving, such as those collected by those with the frontline responsibility of supporting people in these circumstances. While perhaps none is fully suitable for an individual agency's purposes, there may be scope for pooling this type of information across relevant organisations. To date, however, the team's trawl of relevant organisations has not produced any clear encouragement for this possibility.

### **A2.10. Survey evidence**

There is a wealth of studies about vulnerable people, frequent moving and social exclusion in general. As is becoming evident from the results of the literature search, however, much of this is based on highly qualitative evidence, if not anecdotal accounts. Relatively few are based on surveys of a quantitative nature, and these tend mainly to be area-based case studies from which it is difficult to generalise nationally. Nevertheless, these can provide valuable intelligence at the local level, where many of the frontline policy interventions need to take place. Moreover, these studies can provide models for wider investigation, should priorities allow the resourcing needed. One example of such a study is the current ODPM-funded project on the NDCs, presented elsewhere in this report.

Another study of relevance was carried out for DETR by Bramley et al (2000) on low demand housing and unpopular neighbourhoods. This included a questionnaire survey of the study areas, with data collected for 1,035 respondents. As well as asking questions on satisfaction with house and area, it asked about moving histories, intentions and reasons. Among the headline results, it was found that the proportion of people who had been living in these areas for less than 12 months averaged 18%, considerably higher than the 11% national figure from the SEH for the equivalent period (1996/97). For those living in private rented housing, the figure averaged 58% across the study areas, compared to 23% for RSLs, 14% for council housing and just 5% for owner occupiers. A question about the number of moves made recently found that 20% of those currently living in the private rented sector had moved at least three times in the previous two years, as had 18% of those in council housing and 9% of those in RSL housing. Among the other main findings was that the main reason for moving into these areas was lack of alternative accommodation, and that three-quarters of people moving out of these areas cited neighbourhood-related reasons such as anti-social behaviour, crime and grime.



## **Appendix 3: NDC Survey Data Odds Ratios Tables**



The following tables presents the results of an analytical approach involving logistic regression analysis to unpick different factors explaining why one group of residents are more likely to move than another. This technique is useful as it allows a number of underlying explanatory variables to be taking into account when calculating the extent to which other factors, such as dissatisfaction with accommodation, have on patterns of mobility. The results detailed below are presented as a series of odds ratios. Odds ratios reflect the probability of a person being in one group rather than another after all the factors in the model have been taken into account. For example, an odds ratio of 2 means that a person with a known attribute - say living in a workless household - is twice as likely to be a frequent mover as a person not living in a workless household, after all other factors have been taken into account.

**Table A3.1: Odds Ratios for Demographics**

Demographics		Outcome: wave 2 churners (3 + moves last 5 years)			
Explanatory main effects	Categories	Significance	Odds ratios (OR)	OR: Lower 95% CI	OR: Upper 95% CI
<b>Region</b>	<u>London</u>	.000	1.00	NA	NA
	Eastern	.165	1.237	.917	1.669
	<b>South East</b>	.000	1.800	1.369	2.366
	<b>South West</b>	.000	2.103	1.653	2.676
	<b>East Midlands</b>	.000	1.571	1.267	1.947
	West Midlands	.661	1.049	.847	1.298
	Yorks & Humberside	.067	1.230	.985	1.535
	North West	.963	.995	.818	1.211
	<b>North East</b>	.001	1.431	1.167	1.753
<b>Age group</b>	<u>75+</u>	.000	1.00	NA	NA
	<b>16 - 24</b>	.000	89.187	30.708	259.031
	<b>25 - 34</b>	.000	76.966	26.533	223.265
	<b>35 - 44</b>	.000	27.449	9.427	79.926
	<b>45 - 54</b>	.000	16.651	5.661	48.972
	<b>55 - 64</b>	.000	7.461	2.465	22.581
	65 - 74	.185	2.261	.677	7.554
<b>Gender</b>	Male	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Female	.001	.818	.727	.921
<b>Household composition</b>	<u>Couple, no dependent children</u>	.000	1.00	NA	NA
	<i>Couple, with dependent children</i>	.045	.819	.674	.996
	<i>Lone parent family</i>	.035	.781	.620	.982
	<b>Single person household</b>	.000	1.521	1.238	1.868
	Large adult h'hold	.915	.990	.823	1.191

**Table A3.2: Odds Ratios for Demographics and Poverty**

Demographics & poverty		Outcome: wave 2 churners (3 + moves last 5 years)			
Explanatory main effects	Categories	Significance	Odds ratios (OR)	OR: Lower 95% CI	OR: Upper 95% CI
Self-reported ethnicity	<u>White</u>	.000	1.00	NA	NA
	Black	.155	.880	.737	1.050
	"Asian"	.000	.565	.471	.677
Tenure	<u>Owner</u>	.000	1.00	NA	NA
	<b>Social rent: local authority</b>	.000	1.828	1.519	2.200
	<b>Social rent: housing assoc</b>	.000	2.842	2.314	3.490
	<b>Private rent</b>	.000	6.396	5.348	7.649
Educational attainment	<u>No qualifications</u>	.000	1.00	NA	NA
	NVQ level 1 or below	.359	1.092	.905	1.317
	NVQ level 2 or equivalent	.253	.900	.750	1.079
	<i>NVQ level 3 or equivalent</i>	.003	.749	.618	.908
	<b>NVQ level 4 +</b>	.000	1.635	1.376	1.943
Workless household	<u>No</u>	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	<b>Yes</b>	.000	1.395	1.225	1.589

**Table A3.3: Odds Ratios for Anticipated Mobility and Poverty**

Anticipated mobility & poverty		Outcome: wave 2 churners (3 + moves last 5 years)			
Explanatory main effects	Categories	Significance	Odds ratios (OR)	OR: Lower 95% CI	OR: Upper 95% CI
Anticipated mobility	<u>Want &amp; plan to move (firm time)</u>	.000	1.00	NA	NA
	<i>Want &amp; intend to move</i>	.000	.685	.554	.847
	<i>Want but unlikely to move</i>	.000	.586	.469	.733
	Do not want to move but plan to	.252	1.146	.908	1.446
	Do not want to move but think will	.181	1.178	.927	1.496
	<i>Do not want to move or intend to</i>	.000	.766	.662	.887
wave 2 Want to move	<u>No</u>	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.398	.952	.850	1.067
wave 2 Intend to move within 2 years	<u>No</u>	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.000	1.297	1.154	1.458
wave 2 Accommodation satisfaction (low to high)	<u>Very dissatisfied</u>	.772	1.00	NA	NA
	Slightly dissatisfied	.939	.989	.741	1.319
	Neither/DK	.903	1.020	.740	1.407
	Fairly satisfied	.635	1.059	.836	1.341
	Very satisfied	.384	1.114	.874	1.420
wave 2 Trapped	<u>No</u>	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.000	.694	.568	.847
wave 2 Household access: number of cars	<u>None/DK</u>	.000	1.00	NA	NA
	<i>One</i>	.002	.821	.722	.933
	<i>Two or more</i>	.000	.630	.510	.779

**Table A3.4: Odds Ratios for Health and Lifestyle**

Health & lifestyle (health related behaviour)		Outcome: wave 2 churners (3 + moves last 5 years)			
Explanatory main effects	Categories	Significance	Odds ratios (OR)	OR: Lower 95% CI	OR: Upper 95% CI
wave 2 Seen GP in last month	No	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.000	1.251	1.108	1.411
wave 2 Smoke now	No	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.000	1.265	1.124	1.423
wave 2 physical activity low	No	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.233	1.092	.945	1.263
wave 2 Diet: very poor	No	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.007	1.222	1.057	1.412
wave 2 Long-standing illness	No	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.094	1.132	.979	1.309
wave 2 Health worse last 12 months	No	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.000	1.363	1.175	1.581
wave 2 Health last 12 months: not good	No	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.007	1.248	1.063	1.465
wave 2 Low SF36 Mental Health score	No	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.001	1.278	1.109	1.474

**Table A3.5: Odds Ratios for Area Perception and Social Capital**

Area perception & social capital & security		Outcome: wave 2 churners (3 + moves last 5 years)			
Explanatory main effects	Categories	Significance	Odds ratios (OR)	OR: Lower 95% CI	OR: Upper 95% CI
wave 2 Area problems severity: dereliction & lawlessness	<u>Low</u>	.001	1.00	NA	NA
	<i>Moderate</i>	.000	.787	.690	.898
	High	.850	.986	.854	1.139
wave 2 Area problems severity: environment	<u>Low</u>	.044	1.00	NA	NA
	<i>Moderate</i>	.038	.878	.777	.993
	<i>High</i>	.038	.839	.711	.990
wave 2 Vertical trust	<u>High</u>	.000	1.00	NA	NA
	<b>Low</b>	.000	1.653	1.393	1.962
	<b>Moderate</b>	.000	1.337	1.166	1.533
wave 2 Feel unsafe walking alone in area after dark	<u>No</u>	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	Yes	.001	1.211	1.078	1.361
wave 2 Influence level: local decisions	<u>Yes</u>	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	<b>No</b>	.000	1.291	1.119	1.490
wave 2 Neighbours look out for each other	<u>Yes</u>	NA	1.00	NA	NA
	<b>No</b>	.000	1.250	1.103	1.416
wave 2 Extent know people in neighbourhood	<u>Most</u>	.000	1.00	NA	NA
	<b>None/DK</b>	.000	4.926	3.911	6.203
	<b>A few</b>	.000	2.655	2.168	3.251
	<b>Many</b>	.047	1.281	1.003	1.635
wave 2 Fear of crime (not vehicle)	<u>Low</u>	.756	1.00	NA	NA
	Moderate	.982	.998	.876	1.139
	High	.494	.950	.820	1.100
wave 2 last 12 months: frequency victim any crime	<u>None</u>	.000	1.00	NA	NA
	One	.123	1.144	.964	1.359
	Two	.289	1.131	.901	1.419
	<b>Three +</b>	.000	1.407	1.199	1.651