### TENURE CHANGE IN SCOTLAND, a comparison between 1991-2001 and 2001-2011

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#### 1. Introduction

This paper reports on an extension of an earlier study, which examined tenure change in Scotland between 1991, 2001 and 2006. The results of that study were published in May 2009. Since 2009, the results of the 2011 Census have become available and this allows an examination of tenure change up till 2011.

Since 2008, Scottish Councils have been required to undertake a Housing Needs and Demand Assessment (HNDA) for Development Plans and Local Housing Strategies. An important component of the HNDA is an assessment of future numbers of households, as well as of housing needs and requirements for affordable housing. This involves, amongst others, a projection of likely changes in the tenure distribution for future households.

In order to assess likely *future* change, it is important to understand *recent* change. This paper seeks to make a contribution to this by comparing tenure change in the years 2001-2011 with tenure change in the period 1991-2001. The initial research, reported on in the earlier paper, originated from work for the review of social rented housing demand in Glasgow in 2007. Results from this work showed that the pattern of population flows into/out of the various tenures had changed considerably *since 2001*.

The present paper reports on a comparison of tenure change for the two periods 1991-2001 and 2001-2011, using population and household estimates from the National Records of Scotland (NRS) and the 1991, 2001 and 2011 Census Tables. The results are given of a further examination of tenure change in 2001-2011, using data from the Scottish Longitudinal Study (SLS).

The SLS is a large-scale linkage study created using data from administrative and statistical sources. These include: census data from 1991 onwards; vital events data (births, deaths, marriages); NHS Central Register data (gives information on migration into or out of Scotland); and education data.

The earlier study used SLS data for 1991 and 2001. As there are differences between the 2001 SLS data used in the earlier and in the current phase of the research, there are issues of comparability, particularly for the tenure category "living rent-free". Therefore only SLS data for 2001 and 2011 have been used for the current phase of the research.

The 2001-2011 period includes the 2008 economic recession, which has had a considerable impact on the housing market (lower house prices and sales volumes since 2008) and on the pattern of tenure change.

In the text of the paper, numbers have been rounded to the nearest 100 and percentage values are given with one decimal, e.g. 2.3%.

Appendix A comments on Technical Issues and Appendix B contains a set of Tables with results (Tables B1 to B17). Where appropriate, the latter Tables have been referred to in the main text.

The author wishes to thank NRS (formerly General Register Office for Scotland) for providing various commissioned 1991, 2001 and 2011 Census Tables.

The help provided by staff of the Longitudinal Studies Centre – Scotland (LSCS) is also acknowledged. Particular words of thanks are due to Dr. Fiona Cox, who provided all the specified SLS Tables for 2001 and 2011. The LSCS is supported by the ESRC/JISC, the Scottish Funding Council, the Chief Scientist's Office and the Scottish Government. The author alone is responsible for the interpretation of the data. Census output is Crown copyright and is reproduced with the permission of the Controller of HMSO and the Queen's Printer for Scotland.

\*) Please note that any views expressed are the author's views and are not necessarily those of Glasgow City Council.

### 2. Summary of Findings and Implications for Future Tenure Change

The **main findings**, from the research undertaken, are given below:

- a. **In 2001-2011 the pattern of tenure change is different** from the pattern in the period 1991-2001. This difference is reflected in: (1) smaller growth of owner occupation, (2) smaller decline of social renting and (3) substantially higher growth of private renting.
- b. The rate of growth for **owner occupation** has slowed down considerably since 2001. This is mainly due to a switch to more private renting among the younger age-cohort (age 20-29 in 2011) and smaller net inflows for older age-groups. Rates of owner occupation continue to grow among the elderly. This is mostly a "natural change" effect: older pensioners with higher rates of social renting are "replaced" over time by younger pensioners which have a higher owner occupation rate.
- c. The rate of decline for **social renting** has slowed down considerably since 2001. This is connected with slower growth for the owner occupied sector, as the tenure shift from social renting to owner occupation has reduced. Net outflow rates from social renting have reduced considerably for all age-cohorts. This is likely to be a result of lower Right-To-Buy sales and higher house prices in 2001-2011, which make the purchase of a house (or a move into owner occupation) less affordable.
- d. The growth rate for *private renting* has accelerated since 2001. There was a sizable inflow of young people (age 20-29 in 2011) and there were (small) net inflows for older age cohorts. Net in-migration has also had a positive impact on the size of the private rented sector.
- e. The higher rate of **household growth** since 2001 is driven by higher population growth but is moderated by a slower rate of household formation. The latter has particularly affected the younger age-bands (under age 44). Although the slower rate of household formation has affected all tenures, the effect has been most pronounced for the private rented sector.
- f. The Scottish population is ageing, as fewer babies are born (lower fertility rates) and people live longer (lower mortality rates). The population living in owner occupied housing shows a higher rate of ageing, as compared with other tenures. In 1991 relatively more elderly lived in social rented housing. Over the last 20 years this situation has been changing gradually toward a greater concentration of elderly in owner occupation.
- g. In 2001-2011 part of the rise in owner occupation, and the corresponding fall in social renting, has been due to "**natural change**", i.e. for the population in the owner occupied sector there was an excess of births over deaths and for the population in the social rented sector there was an excess of deaths over births. The impact of the natural change component of tenure change is expected to reduce in the future, due to the higher rate of ageing for the population in owner occupation noted under f.
- h. In 1991-2001 many employed and "retired" people moved from social renting to owner occupation. As a result, the percentage of economically inactive (other than "retired") rose among people living in social rented housing (a process called "residualisation"). Since 2001, the social rented sector has seen more positive change in the economic status composition of its' residents.
- i. The biggest rise for "working" households was in the owner occupied sector in 1991-2001 and in the private rented sector in 2001-2011.

Findings j and k below are for the population age 16-64 in 2001 and age 26-74 in 2011 in households in Scotland.

- j. The most sizable impact of tenure moves within Scotland in 2001-2011 has been a net flow of **employed** residents from social renting to owner occupation. There has also been a significant net flow of **employed** residents from social to private renting.
- k. For the private rented sector in 2001-2011 the net inflow of employed residents is matched by a similar sized net inflow of unemployed, permanently sick and other economically inactive residents. This indicates the diversity within the private rented sector.

- I. Single person households increased for all tenures, but the share increased most for social rented households (to almost 50% of households in 2011) and least for private renters (to 38.5% in 2011).
- m. The share of *family households* has fallen most in the owner occupied sector (from 32.0% in 1991 to 22.8% in 2011) and has fallen least in the private rented sector (from 25.4% in 1991 to 24.3% in 2011). The share of family households is almost the same for the social rented sector (24.7%) and the private rented sector (24.3%) in 2011.
- n. In 1991-2001 private rented housing was primarily housing for young adults. Since 2001 there has also been growth in the numbers for other age groups and household types. Of all household types *single adult families* have the highest private renting rate in 2011 (24.6% compared with 13.7% for all household types).

#### The findings above raise a number of issues:

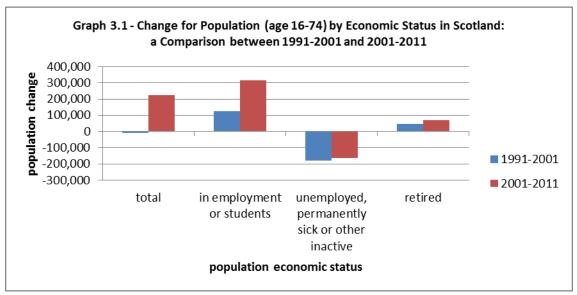
- a. Future tenure change will be largely dependent on future housing choices by the "young adult" age-cohort, who in 2011 is largely accommodated in the private rented sector. If for many of these people the move to the private rented sector is a temporary one, with entry to owner occupation at a later age, then demand for owner occupation will rise again. If, however, current private renters continue in the sector, there is the prospect of continuing growth for the private rented sector.
- b. As the owner occupation rate for elderly increases, the **age cohort effect** whereby older elderly (with higher social renting rates) are "replaced" by younger elderly (with higher owner occupation rates) will reduce. Connected with this, the contribution of **natural change** towards the rise in owner occupation is likely to be less positive than in recent years. This is expected to manifest itself in the owner occupied sector via a higher number of occupancy terminations due to death or move to a Care Home. This is likely to increase the supply of owner occupied housing in the future.
- c. Another factor which will determine the future size of the private rented sector is *the net migration position*. Higher or lower net migration is likely to contribute to higher or lower growth rates for the sector.
- d. An important issue is *the relationship between the social and the private rented sectors in terms of the economic status of their populations*. The findings indicate a net flow of both (1) employed and (2) unemployed, permanently sick and other economically inactive residents from social to private renting. The private rented sector also accommodates a significant number of unemployed, permanently sick and other economically inactive which come from the owner occupied sector.
- e. With respect to future household growth, *the lower rate of household formation* is likely to continue to have a considerable impact in the future, given the state of the housing market with high house prices and shortages in the rented sectors. Affordability issues are likely to reduce the rate of household formation by reducing access to owner occupation for first time buyers and reducing access to private rented accommodation for potentially new households.
- f. The issue of relatively *more family households*, particularly single parent families, *in private rented accommodation* is an important issue for housing policy.
- g. The concentration of elderly in owner occupied housing and more families in private rented accommodation have implications for *the spatial distribution of demographic groups*. This needs to be taken into account in planning service provision for these groups. For example, a change in the spatial pattern of family households in Glasgow City has given rise to similar changes in the pattern of need for education provision by area, which is not accounted for by newbuild and/or demolition of housing.

#### 3. Results - Context

It is important to look at the economic and demographic context for the two periods 1991-2001 and 2001-2011. The context since 2001 shows important changes, as compared with the earlier period. The period 2001-2011 is characterized by (a) a more positive economic position, with a sizeable increase in the employment rate, (b) net in-migration of population, (c) an ageing population and (d) a higher rate of household growth, together with a slower rate of household formation.

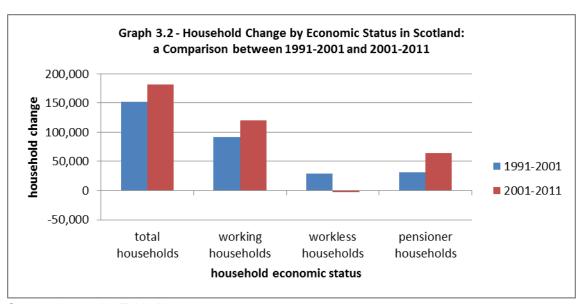
### 3.1 - A More Positive Economic Position

The more positive economic position in 2001-2011 is clear from Graphs 3.1 and 3.2. Graph 3.1 shows, in this period, a rise of 314,600 in the number of people in employment or in full time study. In 1991-2001 this rise was 123,400.



Source: Appendix, Table B6

Graph 3.2 shows, for 2001-2011, a rise of 119,800 in the number of working households (this compares with a rise of 91,700 in 1991-2001) and a reduction of 3,100 in the number of workless households (this number rose by 29,600 in 1991-2001).



Source: Appendix, Table B10

Tables B14 and B15 (in the Appendix) present data from the Scottish Longitudinal Study. These Tables give an insight into the changes that have taken place in the economic status of the population age 16-74 during 2001-2011. There are a number of effects. Please note that the figures in the remaining paragraphs of section 3.1 refer to (changes in) the SLS sample, which equate to around 5% of the total population.

The first is the age-cohort effect: the removal of those of age 65-74 at the start of the period (this group will be age "75 and over" at the end of the period and are therefore no longer in the population age 16-74) and the addition of those of age 16-25 at the end of the period. This tends to reduce the number of retired people (due to the removal of the age group 65-74) and to increase numbers for the other categories, particularly those in employment and full time students (due to the addition of the age group 16-25). The high increase in the number of students (14,100 in 2001-2011 in the SLS sample) is expected to be partly related to the improved migration position, with students from outside Scotland included in the age group 16-25 added at the end of the period.

The second is the "change in economic status" effect for the age group 16-64 at start of period (or age 26-74 at end of period) and who are in the Census both at the start and at the end of the period. As this group ages over time, more of them will join the "retired" category. Table B15 gives an indication of the flows involved. For this group 49.8% of those who are retired in 2011 were in employment in 2001 (13,100 out of 26,200) and 28.6% were either unemployed, permanently sick or in another form of economic inactivity in 2001 (7,500 out of 26,200). 10.1% of those who are in employment in 2011 were unemployed, permanently sick or otherwise inactive in 2001 (8,500 out of 84,600). 36.2% of those who are unemployed, permanently sick or otherwise economically inactive in 2011 were in employment in 2001 (6,300 out of 17,500).

Table B14 shows a net change for "employee or self-employed" at -4,200 in the SLS sample. Table B15 shows that for the age group 16-64 at start of period (or age 26-74 at end of period) and who are in the Census both at the start and at the end of the period, there was a net outflow from employment into retirement (-12,800), but partly compensated for by a sizable inflow of students (+6,400) and a net inflow of economically inactive (+2,200) into employment (see Appendix, Table B15).

The number of "unemployed, permanently sick and other economically inactive" fell considerably over the period: by -9,100 in the SLS sample (= -2,300 - 6,800, see Table B14). Table B15 (see Appendix) gives further detail: for the age group 16-64 at start of period (or age 26-74 at end of period) and who are in the Census both at the start and at the end of the period, the change in non-retired economically inactive (-9,100) can mostly be explained by retirement (-7,400) and only partly by a net move into employment (-2,200).

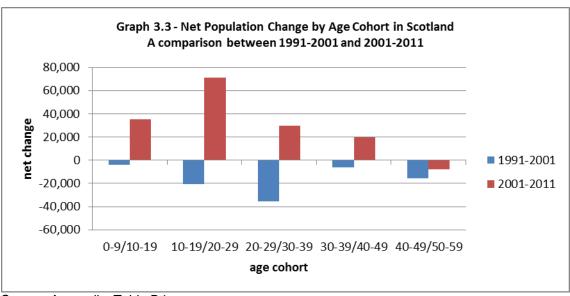
The third is the "other changes" effect. This effect includes in and out migration for the age group 16-64 at start of period (and age group 26-74 at end of period), as well as the effect of non-responses in the data, coding errors etc. Table B14 shows an impact from "other changes" on the number of people in employment of +9,700 in 2001-2011. Although caution is required with the interpretation of these figures, it is clear that a positive net migration position in 2001-2011 has contributed to the rise in the number of people in employment over that period.

### 3.2 Net In-Migration of Population

An improved migration position has resulted in a total population change of 235,700 in 2001-2011 (or 23,570 per year), compared with a total population loss of 19,100 in 1991-2001 (or 1,910 per year, see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 - Po	pulation Change	in Scotland by	Component in 1	991-2001 and	2001-2011		
period	population	annual births	annual deaths	natural	annual net	annual	population
period	start of period	alliuai biitiis	aririuai deatris	change	migration a.o.	total change	end of period
1991-2001	5,083,330	59,536	60,171	-635	-1,279	-1,913	5,064,200
2001-2011	5,064,200	55,885	55,842	42	23,528	23,570	5,299,900
Source: Nation	nal Records of S	cotland - Crowr	n Copyright				

The change to a positive net migration position is associated with increases in the younger age cohorts (see Graph 3.3 below and Table B4, in Appendix). The size of an age-cohort refers to the number of people in a given age-band and how this number changes over time. E.g. the group age 10-19 consisted of 640,500 people in 2001. Because of ageing over time, this group is equivalent to the group age 20-29 in 2011. The number of people age 20-29 in Scotland in 2011 was 711,929. This results in a population change in that age cohort of 71,400 (= 711,900 – 640,500).

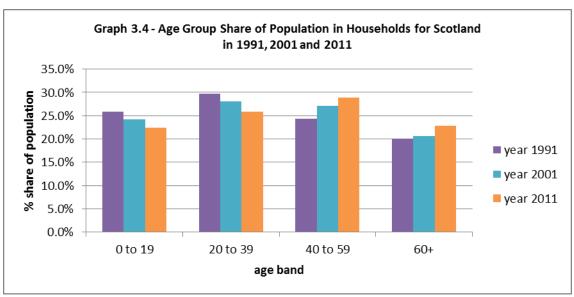


Source: Appendix, Table B4

The changes in the numbers for the younger age cohorts mainly reflect net migration, given the low number of deaths at these ages.

# 3.3 - An Ageing Population

The Scottish population has been ageing, due to the age profile of the population, low fertility rates and improving mortality rates. Table 3.1 (see page 5) shows that the numbers of births and deaths in 2001-2011 are significantly lower than in 1991-2001. The average age of Scottish people has risen over the period: from 37.9 in 1991 to 39.5 in 2001, and to 40.9 in 2011.



Source: Appendix, Table B3

Graph 3.4 shows that the population share for the older age groups has been rising over time and that there has been a reduction in the population share for the younger age groups.

Graph 3.2 (see page 4) and Table B10 (see Appendix) show that the number of pensioner-headed households has risen by 30,900 in 1991-2001 and by 64,600 in 2001-2011.

It is important to distinguish between people of pensionable age and people with "retired" as an economic status. In Graph 3.1 and Table B6 the increase in retired people reflects the number of people (age 16-74) with economic status "retired". In Graph 3.2 and Table B10 the increase in pensioner households reflects the number of households headed by a person of pensionable age (i.e. 65 and over for men and 60 and over for women).

# 3.4 - A Higher Rate of Household Growth and a Slower Rate of Household Formation.

An improved migration position has also led to a higher household growth (181,400, or 18,140 per year, in 2001-2011, compared with 152,200, or 15,220 per year, in 1991-2001).

This higher rate of household growth is driven by the considerable population growth in 2001-2011. Rates of household formation have risen at a lower rate during that period. If the population had remained constant at the 2001 level for the whole period 1991 to 2011, then the household growth due to household formation rates would have been at 7,200 per year in 1991-2001 and at 1,900 per year in 2001-2011. Table 3.2 shows that the slowdown in household formation has mainly affected the age groups "16 to 29" and "30 to 44".

Table 3.2 - Annual household change in Scotland due to household formation 1991 to 2001 2001 to 2011 age band difference 16 to 29 2,259 145 -2,115 30 to 44 4,110 1,123 -2,987 45 to 59 2,148 1,896 -252 60 to 74 -1,151 -735 416 75 plus -207 -531 -324

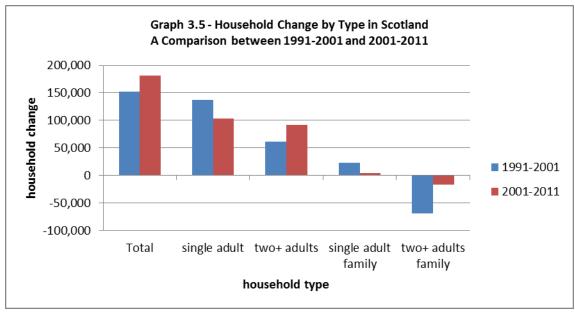
Note: Changes calculated by applying NRS "headship rates" for 1991, 2001 and 2011 to population in households in Scotland in 2001.

7,160

The slowdown in the rate of household formation since 2001 is associated with lower increases for single adult households and single adult family households, higher rises for 2+ adult households and smaller reductions in 2+ adult family households (see Graph 3.5 and Table B8, in Appendix).

1,898

-5,262



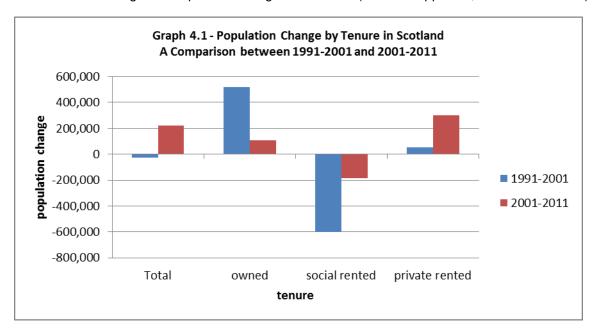
Source: Appendix, Table B8

total

# 4. Results - Tenure Change

#### 4.1 - Tenure and Population Change

Tenure change can be defined in terms of population (see Graph 4.1) and in terms of households (see Graph 4.2). Both graphs show a similar pattern: a move from social renting to owner occupation in 1991-2001 and the growth of private renting in 2001-2011 (see also Appendix, Tables B1 and B2).



Source: Appendix, Table B2

The Scottish population who live in households fell by 27,700 in 1991-2001 and rose by 222,700 in 2001-2011. Since 2001, (1) the growth in owner occupation has slowed down: from 519,300 in 1991-2001 to 106,400 in 2001-2011; (2) the decline in social renting has slowed down also: from -602,200 in 1991-2001 to -186,600 in 2001-2011; and (3) the growth in private renting has accelerated: from 55,100 in 1991-2001 to 302,900 in 2001-2011.

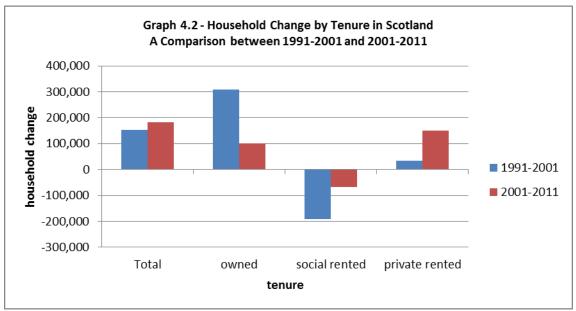
Tables B12 and B13, based on SLS data, give a better insight into the pattern of inter-tenure flows and the impact of natural change, in- and out-migration on the tenure change in 2001-2011.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the data:

- Natural change appears to have had a positive impact on population change in the owner occupied and private rented sectors and a negative impact on population change in the social rented sector (see column "births and deaths" in Table B12). The impact of natural change on the owner occupied sector is expected to reduce over time given the trend of a growing number of elderly residents in that sector.
- 2. The net outflow from the social rented sector to other tenures within Scotland in 2001-2011 is, at -6,600 in the SLS sample, mainly to the owner occupied sector (-5,200 = 5,800 11,000) and partly to the private rented sector (-1,500 = 1,800 3,300).
- 3. The net inflow to the private rented sector from other tenures within Scotland in 2001-2011 is, at 4,800 in the SLS sample, mainly from the owner occupied sector (3,300 = 7,900 4,600) and partly from the social rented sector (1,500 = 3,300 1,800).
- 4. There are indications that migration is an important factor behind the growth of the private rented sector (see columns on "in migration etc." and "out migration etc." in Table B12).

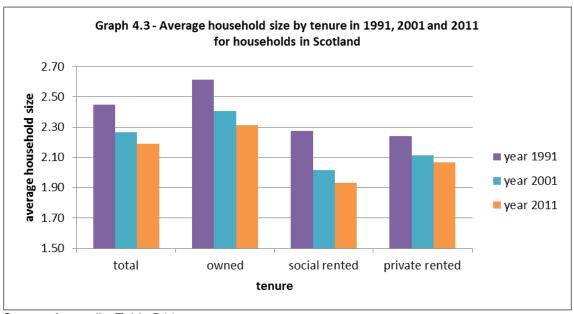
# 4.2 - Tenure and Household Change

Graph 4.2 and Tables B1 and B2 show that the number of **households** in Scotland rose by 152,200 in 1991-2001 and by 181,400 in 2001-2011.



Source: Appendix, Table B2

There has been a sizable slowdown in the rate of growth for owner occupied households in Scotland since 2001: from 309,200 in 1991-2001 to 99,400 in 2001-2011. Similarly, there has been a significant reduction in the rate of decline for social rented households: from –191,500 in 1991-2001 to -68,300 in 2001-2011. For private rented households the rate of growth has increased considerably: from 34,500 in 1991-2001 to 150,300 in 2001-2011.



Source: Appendix, Table B11

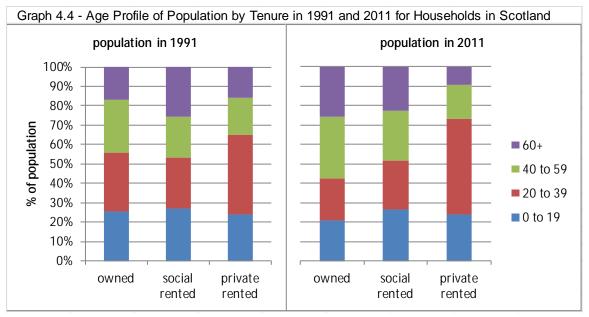
Graph 4.3 and Table B11 (in Appendix) show the average household size for households in Scotland by tenure and the changes since 1991. It is clear that, in total, average household sizes have reduced at a lesser rate in 2001-2011, as compared with the earlier period 1991-2001. The average household size (across tenure) fell from 2.45 in 1991 to 2.27 in 2001 and to 2.19 in 2011. The slower reduction in the 2001-2011 period (-0.08 = 2.19 - 2.27), as compared with the 1991-2001 period (-0.18 = 2.27 - 2.45), corresponds with the slowdown in household formation rates noted earlier (see paragraph 3.4).

On average there are more large households in the owner occupied sector and there are more small households in the social rented sector. In 1991, the private rented sector had the smallest average household size. But, since 1991, this tenure has seen the lowest rate of reduction in average household size. By 2011 the average household size for private rented households is, at 2.07, considerably higher than for social rented households, at 1.93.

There is a relationship between changes in the average household size and changes in the distribution of households by type. Changes in households by type are investigated in paragraph 4.5.

# 4.3 Age Composition and Components of Tenure Change

Graph 4.4 shows the age profile of Scotland's population by tenure in 1991 and 2011.



Source: Appendix, Table B3

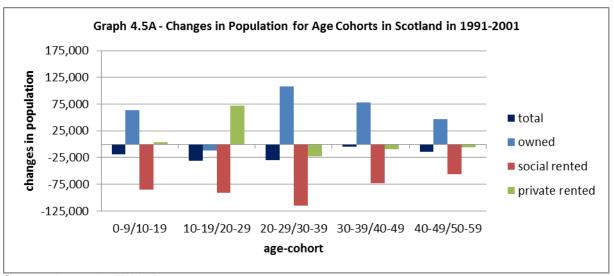
In 1991 the **social rented sector** had the highest percentage of elderly (age 60+: 25.6% of the population, compared with 16.7% and 15.8% for respectively the owner occupied and private rented sectors). The owner occupied sector had the highest percentage of middle aged (age 40 to 59: 27.3% of the population, compared with 20.9% and 19.1% for social rented and private rented sectors). The private rented sector has the highest percentage of young adults (age 20-39: 41.0% of the population, compared with respectively 30.7% and 26.4% for owner occupied and social rented sectors).

There have been significant changes since 1991. In 2011 the *owner occupied sector* has the highest percentage of elderly (age 60+: 25.7% of the population, compared with respectively 22.7% and 9.1% for the social rented and private rented sectors). 57.8% of the population in owner occupation are age 40 and over.

The private rented sector continues with a concentration of young adults (age 20-39: 49.0% of the population, compared with respectively 21.5% and 24.9% for owner occupied and social rented sectors).

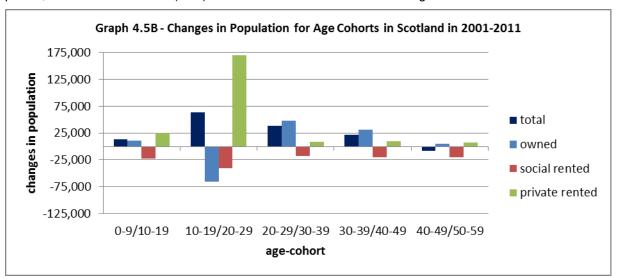
Between 1991 and 2011 the share of 0 to 19 year olds in the total population fell from 25.9% to 22.4%. There is almost no change in the share of 0 to 19 year olds for the social and private rented sectors. The largest reduction has been in the owner occupied sector, where the population share reduced from 25.3% in 1991 to 20.6% in 2011.

Similar to section 3.2 and Graph 3.3, it is useful to analyse change in terms of changes in the population sizes *for age cohorts*. Graph 3.3 (in section 3.2) gives the *all-tenure* changes by age-cohort for 1991-2001 and 2001-2011. Graphs 4.5A and 4.5B (see next page) give the changes for the age-cohorts *split by tenure*.



Source: Appendix, Table B4

Graph 4.5A shows the sizable shift from social renting to owner occupation in 1991-2001. The shift is largest for the age-cohort 20-29/30-39. It is remarkable that for the age cohort 10-19/20-39 there is, on a net basis, a shift from social renting to private renting. Because of a small net migration loss in that period, the all-tenure values (total) show small losses for most of the age cohorts.



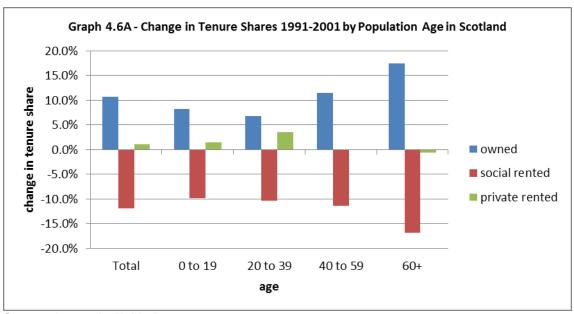
Source: Appendix, Table B4

The shift from social renting to owner occupation in 2001-2011 is much smaller than in the earlier period 1991-2001. But the shift from owner occupation and social renting to private renting is considerably larger. Graph 4.5B shows that the growth of the private rented sector in 2001-2011 is primarily explained by the massive flow into private renting by the age-cohort 10-19/20-29.

On a net basis, there is a small net inflow into private renting for the middle-age and older age-cohorts. Therefore it can be concluded that, once entered, many private renters have remained in that tenure, instead of moving on to a different tenure (e.g. owner occupation) at a later age. In 1991-2001, there was a net outflow from private renting for middle-age and older age-cohorts.

The sizable inflow into private renting (170,000 for the age-cohort 10-19/20-29) is also an effect of the positive net migration position, resulting in an increase in the *total population in households* for the age-cohort of 63,100 (there was a *reduction* of -30,600 in 1991-2001).

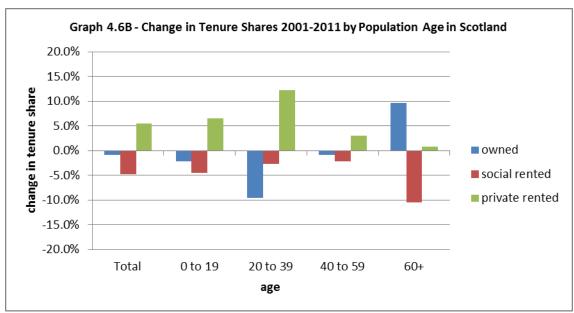
It is also useful to consider the changes in the tenure profile by age band. Graphs 4.6A and 4.6B show the *changes in tenure share* for the two periods 1991-2001 and 2001-2011.



Source: Appendix, Table B3

The shift from social renting to owner occupation was a feature for all age-bands in 1991-2001. But the largest shift was for the age group age 60+. This is partly a "natural change" effect: the death of older elderly who tend to live in social rented housing and their "replacement" by a younger age group with a higher owner occupation rate.

In the younger age bands there was a small shift to private renting.



Source: Appendix, Table B3

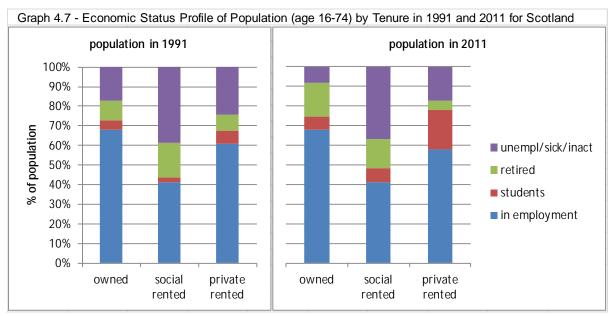
In 2001-2011 there is, *for the elderly*, a continuing tenure shift from social renting to owner occupation, but at a smaller rate than in 1991-2001.

There has been a sizable tenure shift from owner occupation and social renting to private renting for the younger age groups, particularly the age group "20 to 39".

### 4.4 Socio-Economic Composition and Tenure

Between 1991 and 2011 there were, **on an all-tenure basis**, rises in the population share for people in employment (from 57.9% to 61.2%), students (from 3.9% to 8.5%) and retired people (from 12.7% to 15.0%) and there was a fall in the population share for people who are unemployed, permanently sick or "other economically inactive" (from 25.4% to 15.3%).

Graph 4.7 gives the economic status profile for Scotland's population age 16-74 by tenure in 1991 and 2011.



Source: Appendix, Table B5

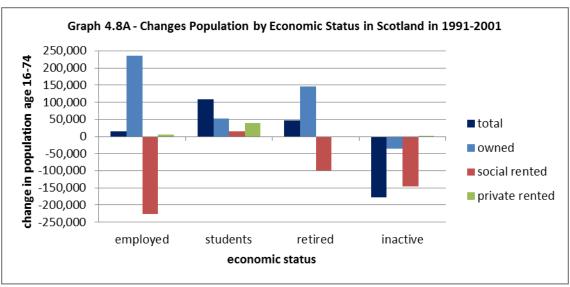
Looking at each of the individual tenures, the share of people in employment has changed very little between 1991 and 2011. The all-tenure increase in the share is mainly accounted for by an increase in the size of the owner occupied and private rented sectors (with relatively high numbers of employed people: 67.9% and 58.2% in 2011) and a reduction in the size of the social rented sector (where numbers of employed people are relatively smaller: 41.0% in 2011).

The student's share of the population has risen for all three tenures. The largest increase has been for the private rented sector (from 6.9% in 1991 to 19.8% in 2011).

The population share of people with economic status "retired" has risen considerably in the owner occupied sector (from 10.2% in 1991 to 17.1% in 2011) but has reduced significantly in both the social rented sector (from 17.7% in 1991 to 15.0% in 2011) and the private rented sector (from 7.7% in 1991 to 4.8% in 2011). This indicates a greater concentration of "retired" people in owner occupation.

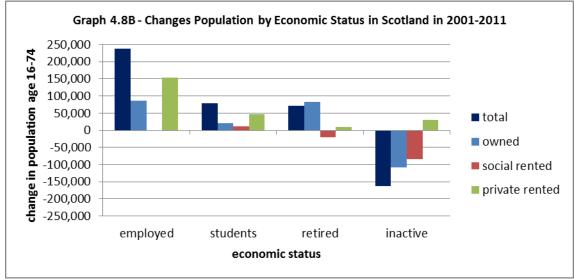
It was noted above that, on an all-tenure basis, there was a sizable fall in the number of people who are unemployed, permanently sick or "other economically inactive". The population share of this group has reduced considerably for owner occupiers (from 17.0% in 1991 to 8.4% in 2011) and private renters (from 24.5% in 1991 to 17.2% in 2011), but has fallen only marginally for social renters (from 38.8% in 1991 to 36.8% in 2011). In the social rented sector the percentage reduction in numbers of unemployed, permanently sick and "other economically inactive", at -44.2%, is almost equal to the percentage reduction in overall population numbers for the sector, at -41.2%.

In terms of *absolute numbers*, the unemployed, permanently sick and "other economically inactive" population has gone up by 53.9% in the private rented sector. In 1991 6.2% of unemployed, permanently sick and "other economically inactive" lived in the private rented sector. This number rose to 15.1% in 2011. But given the overall rise of population in this sector, the *population share* for this group has reduced from 24.5% in 1991 to 17.2% in 2011.



Source: Appendix, Tables B5 and B6

Between 1991 and 2001 the main tenure change was a switch from social renting to owner occupation. This was particularly the case for "employed" and "retired" people (see Graph 4.8A). The number of students rose by 107,800, with rises for all tenures. The number of unemployed, permanently sick and "other economically inactive" fell by 178,400. Most of this reduction took place in the social rented sector.



Source: Appendix, Tables B5 and B6

Between 2001 and 2011 the main tenure change was a switch from social renting to private renting. There was an overall rise in the number of "employed" of 236,800 (see Graph 4.8B). There were sizable rises for the number of "employed" in both owner occupation (+85,500) and private renting (+153,100). There was a marginal reduction in numbers for employed people in the social rented sector (-1,800), which is a significant change compared with 1991-2001.

The number of students in households rose by 77,800. Over 60% of that rise was accommodated in the private rented sector (47,100). The number of "retired" rose by 71,100, which can be entirely accounted for by the rise in number of "retired" people in owner occupation (+82,400).

The number of unemployed, permanently sick and "other economically inactive" has fallen by 163,100. Most of the reduction took place in the owner occupied and social rented sectors (-108,700 and -83,600). The number rose by 29,200 in the private rented sector.

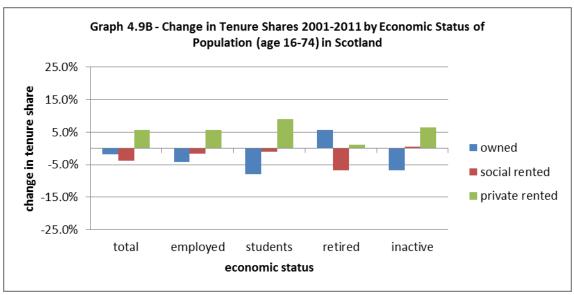
Graph 4.9A - Change in Tenure Shares 1991-2001 by Economic Status of Population (age 16-74) in Scotland 25.0% change in tenure share 15.0% 5.0% owned -5.0% ■ social rented private rented -15.0% -25.0% total employed students retired inactive economic status

Graphs 4.9A and 4.9B give the *change in tenure share* for each of the economic status categories in 1991-2001 and 2001-2011.

Source: Appendix, Table B5

The owner occupation rate for employed people rose from 67.5% in 1991 to 77.9% in 2001 and the social rented rate fell from 25.7% to 15.1%. Graph 4.9A shows that these changes are close to the rates of change for the whole population. Rates of change are higher for "retired" people: the owner occupation rate increased from 45.8% in 1991 to 70.0% in 2001 and the social rented rate fell from 50.3% to 26.8%.

There was a shift to private renting for students. The private renting rate rose from 11.3% in 1991 to 22.2% in 2001. Changes in the tenure shares were considerably less for the unemployed, permanently sick and "other economically inactive".



Source: Appendix, Table B5

Tenure change in 2001-2011 is at a lesser rate than in 1991-2001, as Graph 4.9B shows. For the whole population there was a shift from owner occupation and social renting to private renting.

For most economic status categories the main tenure change has been a shift from owner occupation to private renting. For the "retired" the tenure shift from social renting to owner occupation, which was so marked in 1991-2001, has continued into 2001-2011, but at a lower rate.

The analysis above, in pages 14 and 15, shows that in 1991-2001 many employed and "retired" people moved from social renting to owner occupation. As a result, the percentage of economically inactive (other than "retired") rose among people living in social rented housing from 38.8% in 1991 to 42.3% in 2001 (a process called "residualisation"). Since 2001, the social rented sector has seen more positive change in the economic status composition of its' residents. The number of economically inactive (other than "retired") fell from 42.3% of the population in 2001 to 36.8% of the population in 2011 (see Appendix, Table B5).

Data from the Scottish Longitudinal Study (see Appendix, Tables B16 and B17 A and B) can throw further light on the nature of changes in tenure in relation to the economic status of the populations in these tenures.

Table B16 indicates that the *total* population change has had an important impact on the population sizes in the various tenures. In particular, the age-cohort effect has boosted population numbers in the private rented sectors (6,400 out of 12,700, see Table B16). Net flows from other tenures (for the age-group 16-64 in 2001 and 26-74 in 2011) have been less important for the growth in private renting (1,600 in SLS sample). In terms of tenure shift, moves of people in employment from social renting to owner occupation have been more important.

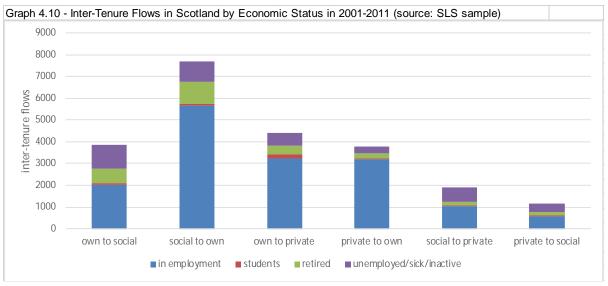
For the split by economic status, the net flows to or from other tenures do not sum to zero. This is because for in-moves the economic status at 2011 applies and for out-moves the economic status at 2001. Obviously there have been changes in economic status for people who have moved tenure.

The column "other changes" only partially reflects in- and out-migration, as the age-group 16-25 in 2011 is excluded. Caution is required with the interpretation of the social rented figures in that column. Based on a total change of -94,800 (100% Census), the SLS sample would be expected to show a change of around -4,700 (5% of -94,800), which is significantly different from the -600 in the total change column. This may be a result of the absence of tenure information for some residents in 2001 ("tenure unknown" category).

Graphs 4.10 and 4.11, as well as Tables B17A and B17B (see Appendix), concentrate on the tenure moves for the age group 16-64 in 2001 and 26-74 in 2011 and the impact of these moves on the tenure position in 2011. For both in and out moves the economic status position is as at 2011, which ensures that the net flows sum to zero for the economic status categories.

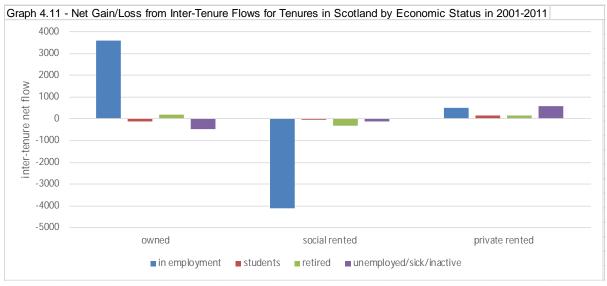
Graph 4.10 shows that there has been a sizable net flow of social renters in employment to owner occupation (3,600 in SLS sample). There has also been a significant net flow of social renters in employment to private renting (500 in SLS sample).

A net flow of students from owner occupation has boosted numbers in the private rented sector (100 in SLS sample).



Source: Appendix, Table B17A

For unemployed, permanently sick and other economically inactive residents (other than "retired") there have been net flows from owner occupation to social renting (200 in SLS sample), private renting (300 in SLS sample) and also a net flow from social to private renting (300 in SLS sample). As a result of these flows there has been a significant rise in the number of unemployed, permanently sick and other economically inactive private renters. This indicates the diversity within the private rented sector with increases in numbers of both employed an unemployed as a result of tenure moves (see Graph 4.11).

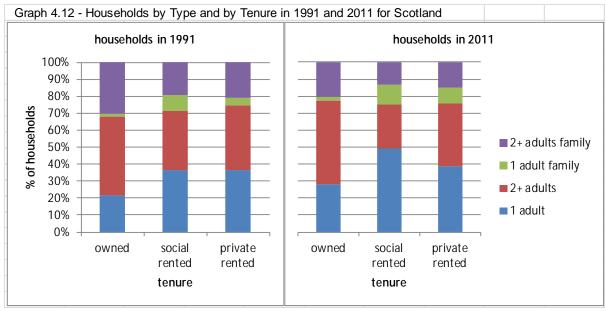


Source: Appendix, Table B17A

# 4.5 Household Type and Tenure

Between 1991 and 2011 there was, on an all-tenure basis, a rise in the share for "one adult households" (from 28.6% to 34.7%) and a fall in the share for "two+ adult families" (from 25.3% to 18.1%).

Graph 4.12 gives the household type profile for Scotland's households by tenure in 1991 and 2011.



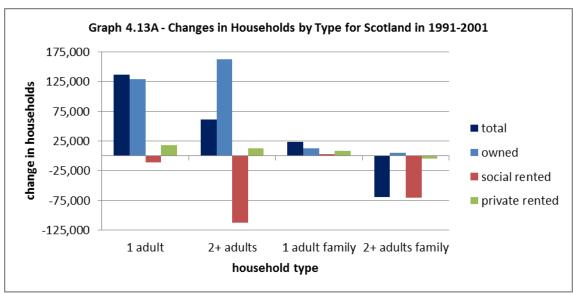
Source: Appendix, Table B7

The share of one adult households has increased for all tenures, but at a higher rate for the social rented sector (from 36.3% in 1991 to 49.3% in 2011) and at a lower rate for the private rented sector (from 36.4% in 1991 to 38.5% in 2011).

Most of the decline in household numbers for the social rented sector is accounted for by reductions in "two+ adult households" (from 35.0% in 1991 to 26.0% in 2011) and "two+ adult families" (from 19.6% in 1991 to 13.4% in 2011).

The proportion of family households (the sum of 1 adult and 2+ adult families) has fallen most in the owner occupied sector (from 32.0% in 1991 to 22.8% in 2011) and has fallen least in the private rented sector (from 25.4% in 1991 to 24.3% in 2011). The proportion of family households is almost the same for the social rented (24.7%) and the private rented sector (24.3%), in 2011.

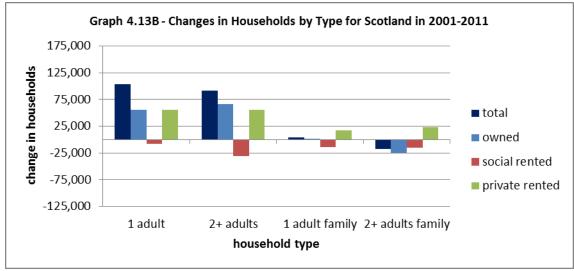
One type of family households is the "one adult family" households. On an all-tenure basis there has been a marginal increase in the share (from 4.9% in 1991 to 5.3% in 2011). For the private rented sector, however, there has been a sizable increase in its' share (from 4.3% in 1991 to 9.6% in 2011).



Source: Appendix, Tables B7 and B8

Between 1991 and 2001 the main tenure change was a switch from social renting to owner occupation. Graph 4.13A shows that this is particularly the case for "2+ adult households". The increase in "one adult households" (137,000) is almost fully accounted for by the rise in the owner occupied sector (129,200). The number of "2+ adult families" fell by -69,500. The social rented sector fully accounts for this fall, given the reduction by -70,800 within that sector.

Between 2001 and 2011 the main tenure changes (in terms of absolute numbers) were a small reduction in social renting (-68,300) and sizable increases in owner occupation (+99,400) and private renting (+150,300).



Source: Appendix, Tables B7 and B8

Graph 4.13B shows that in the owner occupied and private rented sectors there were sizable increases in "one adult" households (+55,800 and +55,600) and "two+ adults" households (+66,600 and +55,000).

The number of family households has reduced by -23,000 in owner occupation, by -29,500 in social renting and has *increased by* +39,700 in the private rented sector.

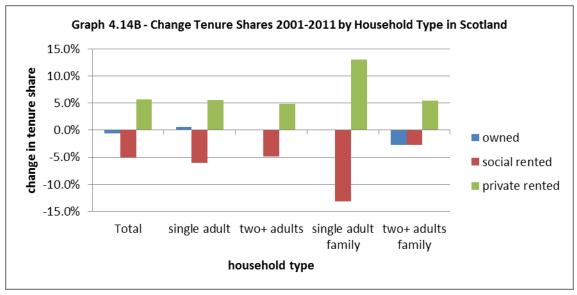
Graph 4.14A - Change Tenure Shares 1991-2001 by Household Type in Scotland 15.0% change in tenure share 10.0% 5.0% 0.0% owned -5.0% ■ social rented -10.0% private rented -15.0% Total single adult two+ adults single adult two+ adults family family household type

Graphs 4.14A and 4.14B give the *change in tenure share* for each of the household type categories in 1991-2001 and 2001-2011.

Source: Appendix, Table B7

It is clear from Graph 4.14A shows that the pattern of tenure change in 1991-2001 was from social renting to owner occupation. The highest rate of change was for "two+ adult households" (owner occupied: from 58.7% to 72.7% and social renting: 34.9% to 20.0%).

There was a small increase in the share of private renting. The increase in the private renting share is largest for "one adult families" (from 6.0% in 1991 to 11.6% in 2001).



Source: Appendix, Table B7

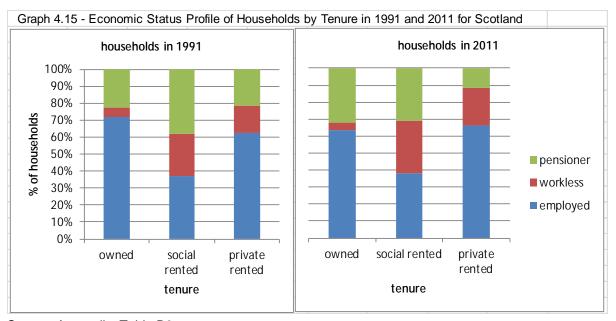
Graph 4.14B shows that the pattern of tenure change in 2001-2011 was from social renting to private renting. The highest rate of change was for "one adult families" (private rented: from 11.6% to 24.6% and social renting: 64.5% to 51.3%). For "one adult families", about half live in a social rented house, a guarter live in owner occupation and a guarter live in private rented accommodation in 2011.

There was a small reduction in the owner occupation rate for "two+ adult families": from 73.6% in 2001 to 70.9% in 2011).

#### 4.6 Household Economic Status and Tenure

Between 1991 and 2011 there was, on an all-tenure basis, a small rise in the share of "working" households, or households with at least 1 person in employment, (from 56.9% to 57.8%) and a small fall in the share of "workless" households, or households with no-one in employment, (from 14.2% to 13.3%).

Graph 4.15 gives the household economic status profile for Scotland's households by tenure in 1991 and 2011.



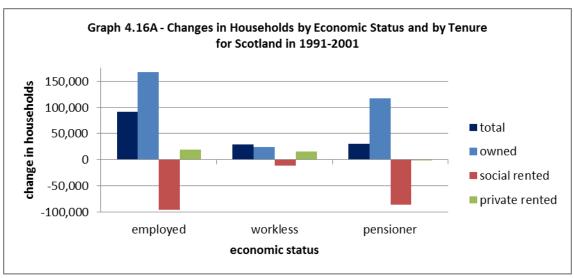
Source: Appendix, Table B9

"Pensioner" households have been defined as households with a "reference person" age 65 and over for males and age 60 and over for females. For the purpose of consistency, recent changes in the pensionable age have been ignored.

The share of "pensioner" households has remained constant on an all-tenure basis (at 28.9%), but there have been changes for the individual tenures. For owner occupiers, the share of "pensioner" households has increased considerably (from 22.9% in 1991 to 31.8% in 2011) and the share of "pensioner" households has reduced markedly for social renters (from 37.8% in 1991 to 31.0% in 2011) and for private renters (from 21.4% in 1991 to 11.8% in 2011).

The decline in the share of "pensioner" households is matched by a rise in the share of "workless" households in the social rented sector (from 25.1% in 1991 to 31.1% in 2011) and in a rise of the shares for "workless" households (from 16.4% in 1991 to 21.8% in 2011) and for "working" households (from 62.2% in 1991 to 66.4% in 2011) in the private rented sector.

It must be taken into account that "workless households" include all-student households where none of the residents is in employment.

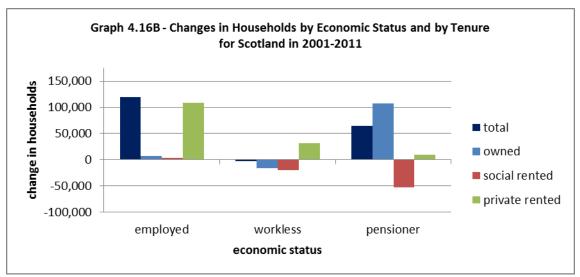


Source: Appendix, Tables B9 and B10

Between 1991 and 2001 the main tenure change was a switch from social renting to owner occupation. Graph 4.16A shows that this is particularly the case for "working" and "pensioner" households. The overall increase in the number of households (+152,200 in 1991-2001) has boosted the numbers of owner occupied households for each of the three economic status categories in 2001.

Numbers of "workless" households increased, but at a low rate, both in the owner occupied and the private rented sectors.

Between 2001 and 2011 the main tenure changes (in terms of absolute numbers) were sizable increases in owner occupation (+99,400) and private renting (+150,300) and a small reduction in social renting (-68,300).



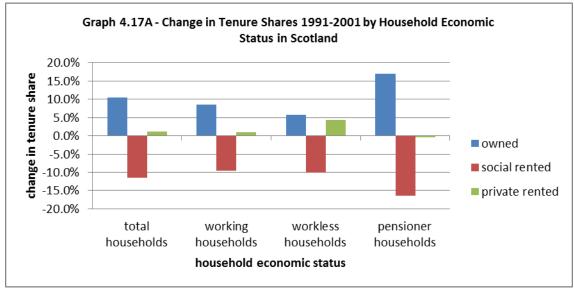
Source: Appendix, Tables B9 and B10

A comparison of Graphs 4.16A and 4.16B shows considerable differences in the patterns of change between the two periods. The rise for "working" households was primarily in the owner occupied sector in 1991-2001, but it is a feature of the private rented sector in 2001-2011.

The private rented sector also saw a rise of 31,700 in "workless" households between 2001 and 2011.

Among "pensioner" households there was a continuing tenure shift from social renting to owner occupation. The number of "pensioner" households rose in 2001-2011 at more than twice the rate in 1991-2001.

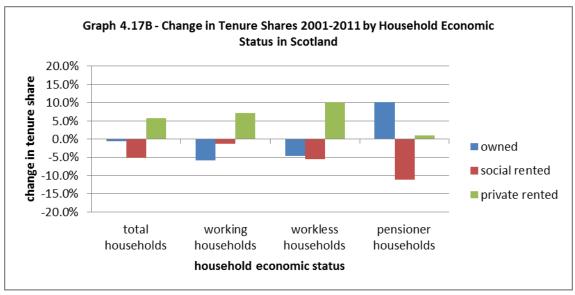
Graphs 4.17A and 4.17B give the change in *tenure share* for each of the household economic status categories in 1991-2001 and 2001-2011.



Source: Appendix, Table B9

It was noted before that the pattern of tenure change in 1991-2001 was from social renting to owner occupation. The highest rate of change was for "pensioner" households (owner occupied: from 41.2% to 58.1% and social renting: 53.6% to 37.2%).

There was a small increase in the share of private renting for "workless" households.



Source: Appendix, Table B9

The main pattern of tenure change in 2001-2011 was from social renting to private renting. The share of owner occupiers increased for "pensioner" households, but reduced for "working" and "workless" households.

The private rented share for "workless" households rose from 12.3% in 2001 to 22.4% in 2011. This increase is partly due to the considerable rise for the number of student households in the private rented sector. Nearly a quarter of all "workless" households are accommodated in the private rented sector in 2011.

# **Appendix A: Technical Issues**

# Tables from Scottish Longitudinal Study (SLS data).

The Scottish Longitudinal Study holds 1991, 2001 and 2011 Census data for a sample of individuals (approximately 5% of population). That makes it possible to examine relationships between characteristics in 1991, 2001 and 2011. Some examples: Table B13 gives a cross tabulation of the number of people by tenure in 2001 and 2011 and Table B17 gives the split by economic status in 2011 for people who switched tenure between 2001 and 2011.

Availability of this data also allows a separate identification of components of change. E.g. the increase between 2001 and 2011 in the number of employed residents (age 16-74) in owner occupation can be split into the following components:

- (1) change in age cohort, i.e. the count in 2011 includes the age-cohort 16-25 in 2011, but excludes the age-cohort 65-74 in 2001;
- (2) changes in economic status, e.g. students in 2001 who are employed in 2011 and employees in 2001 who are retired in 2011;
- (3) tenure change, e.g. employees in social renting in 2001 who are employees in owner occupation in 2011; and,
- (4) other changes, i.e. migration into or out of Scotland in 2001-2011, deaths since 2001, Census records not matched, etc.

Tables B12, B14 and B16 show estimated changes (based on 100% Census data) together with changes for the SLS sample. The latter changes have been split by component with the aim to separate the tenure shift effect from other change factors.

Tables B12 and B14 contain the SLS totals as a percentage of the full Census totals. E.g. Table B12 gives the sample percentages for the various tenures. These show an SLS sample percentage of around 5%. Variations between 2001 and 2011 in these sample percentages for categories can result in discrepancies in the change figures from full Census data and from SLS data in Tables B12, B14 and B16. In these cases extra care is required with the interpretation of the estimates from the SLS figures.

Figures in Table B16 have been based on figures from the SLS Tables supplied, recalibrated to adjust for data without a valid response.

For confidentiality reasons some data for small flows had been suppressed from the SLS Tables supplied by the Scottish Longitudinal Study - Development and Support Unit and these have been ignored in the analysis.

# Appendix B: Tables.

- B1. Population and Household Change in Scotland by Tenure
- B2. Comparison Population and Household Change 1991-2001 and 2001-2011
- B3. Population in Scotland by Age and by Tenure in 1991, 2001 and 2011
- B4. Net Population Change in Scotland by Age-Cohort and by Tenure: 1991-2001 and 2001-2011
- B5. Population in Scotland by Economic Status and by Tenure in 1991, 2001 and 2011
- B6. Net Change for Population age 16-74 in Scotland by Economic Status and by Tenure: 1991-2001 and 2001-2011
- B7. Households in Scotland by Household Type and by Tenure in 1991, 2001 and 2011
- B8. Net Change for Households in Scotland by Type and by Tenure: 1991-2001 and 2001-2011
- B9. Households in Scotland by Household Economic Position and by Tenure in 1991, 2001 and 2011
- B10. Net Change for Households in Scotland by Economic Position and by Tenure: 1991-2001 and 2001-2011
- B11. Changes Average Household Size in Scotland by Tenure: 1991-2001 and 2001-2011

### **Scottish Longitudinal Study-based Tables**

- B12. Population Change in Scotland by Tenure and by Component in 2001-2011
- B13. Population Change in Scotland by Tenure in 2001-2011 Gross Flows
- B14. Change Population Age 16-74 in Scotland by Economic Status and by Component in 2001-2011
- B15 Changes in Economic Status Population (age 16-64 in 2001 Census and age 26-74 in 2011 Census) in Scotland Gross Flows
- B16 Change Population Age 16-74 in Scotland by Economic Status, by Tenure and by Component of Change in 2001-2011
- B17 Impact of Tenure Change in Scotland on Economic Status (2011) profile by Tenure in 2001-2011
   SLS data for Population age 16-64 in 2001 Census and age 26-74 in 2011 Census (with tenure known in both 2001 and 2011)
  - B17A contains absolute numbers and B17B contains column percentages

Table B1 - Population and Hou	sehold Chang	e in Scotland	by Tenure					
Population Change by Tenure								
	Population	Owned	Social rented	Private rented	Comm establ.			
1991 adjusted (Census)	5,083,330	2,784,211	1,905,294	316,409	77,416			
2001 adjusted (Census)	5,064,200	3,303,555	1,303,114	371,525	86,006			
change 1991-2001	-19,130	519,344	-602,180	55,116	8,590			
	Population	Owned	Social rented	Private rented	Comm establ.			
2001 adjusted (Census)	5,064,200	3,303,555	1,303,114	371,525	86,006			
2011 adjusted (Census)	5,299,900	3,409,909	1,116,510	674,464	99,017			
change 2001-2011	235,700	106,354	-186,604	302,939	13,011			
Household Change by Tenure								
	Households	Owned	Social rented	Private rented				
1991 adjusted (Census)	2,042,809	1,064,643	837,072	141,094				
2001 adjusted (Census)	2,195,033	1,373,847	645,609	175,577				
change 1991-2001	152,224	309,204	-191,463	34,483				
						Source:		
	Households	Owned	Social rented	Private rented		1991, 2001	1 and 2011 C	Census
2001 adjusted (Census)	2,195,033	1,373,847	645,609	175,577		NRS popu	lation estima	ates
2011 adjusted (Census)	2,376,424	1,473,247	577,305	325,872		NRS hous	ehold estima	ates
change 2001-2011	181,391	99,400	-68,304	150,295				
Table B2 - Comparison Popula	tion and Hous	ehold Change	1991-2001 and	2001-2011				
Population Change	Population	Owned	Social rented	Private rented	Comm establ.			
1991-2001	-19,130	519,344	-602,180	55,116	8,590			
2001-2011	235,700	106,354	-186,604	302,939	13,011			
difference	254,830	-412,990	415,576	247,823	4,421			
Household Change	Households	Owned	Social rented	Private rented				
1991-2001	152,224	309,204	-191,463	34,483				
2001-2011	181,391	99,400	-68,304	150,295		Source:		
difference	29,167	-209,804	123,159	115,812		Table B1		

Table B3 - Population in Scotland by Age and by To	enure in 1991,	2001 and 20	11				
· ·							
	Total in hhs	Owned	Social rent	Private rent			
1991 Population in Households (Census adjusted)							
) to 19	1,294,904	703,400	515,074	76,430			
20 to 39	1,488,480	855,807	502,954	129,719			
40 to 59	1,218,679	759,224	399,079	60,376			
60+	1,003,851	465,781	488,186	49,884			
Total population	5,005,914	2,784,212	1,905,293	316,409			
2001 Population in Households (Census adjusted)							
) to 19	1,208,196	756,456	362,205	89,535			
20 to 39	1,396,756	898,039	327,113	171,604			
40 to 59	1,347,674	994,110	287,769	65,795			
60+	1,025,568	654,950	326,027	44,591			
Total population	4,978,194	3,303,555	1,303,114	371,525			
2011 population in households (Census adjusted)							
0 to 19	1,163,672	703,995	296,827	162,850			
20 to 39	1,342,492	734,115	278,116	330,261	Source:		
40 to 59	1,505,147	1,096,802	288,489	119,856	1991, 200	1 and 2011	Census
60+	1,189,572	874,997	253,078	61,497	NRS popu	lation estim	ates
Total population	5,200,883	3,409,909	1,116,510	674,464	NRS hous	ehold estim	ates

				age cohort					
	unborn/0-9	0-9/10-19	10-19/20-29	20-29/30-39	30-39/40-49	40-49/50-59	50-59/60-69	60+/70+	total
total population									
1991/2001	582,074	-3,975	-20,388	-35,801	-6,188	-15,765	-51,549	-467,538	-19,130
2001/2011	564,486	35,023	71,401	29,607	19,964	-7,855	-40,145	-436,781	235,700
change	-17,588	38,998	91,789	65,408	26,152	7,910	11,404	30,757	254,830
owner occupied									
1991/2001	362,462	63,306	-11,476	107,435	77,704	46,968	22,477	-148,151	520,725
2001/2011	327,955	10,809	-66,425	47,825	31,034	4,886	-17,790	-231,916	106,378
change	-34,507	-52,497	-54,949	-59,610	-46,670	-42,082	-40,267	-83,765	-414,347
social rented									
1991/2001	174,373	-85,441	-91,420	-115,179	-72,922	-55,788	-65,903	-288,753	-601,033
2001/2011	144,004	-22,646	-40,505	-17,514	-19,850	-20,415	-24,858	-185,031	-186,815
change	-30,369	62,795	50,915	97,665	53,072	35,373	41,045	103,722	414,218
private rented									
1991/2001	44,764	3,377	72,343	-22,222	-9,287	-5,666	-7,962	-22,759	52,588
2001/2011	92,062	25,586	170,021	8,531	9,989	7,467	1,774	-12,304	303,126
change	47,298	22,209	97,678	30,753	19,276	13,133	9,736	10,455	250,538
communal estab.									
1991/2001	475	14,783	10,165	-5,835	-1,683	-1,279	-161	-7,875	8,590
2001/2011	465	21,274	8,310	-9,235	-1,209	207	729	-7,530	13,011
change	-10	6,491	-1,855	-3,400	474	1,486	890	345	4,421
Please note that the	e age-chort refe	rs to a group of	people, within	a particular age	band, who age	over time.		Source:	
E.g. the figure -3,97	5 indicates that	the age-group	"0-9 in 1991/10	0-19 in 2001" red	luced by 3,975 i	n 1991-2001.		1991, 2001 and	2011 Cens
								NRS population	n estimates

Table B5 - Population in Scotland by Economic Stat	us and by Ten	ure in 1991,	2001 and 20	11		
	Total in hhs	Owned	Social rent	Private rent		
1991 Population in Households (Census adjusted)						
Employee and self-employed	2,139,233	1,443,301	550,607	145,324		
Students	145,794	98,353	30,915	16,526		
Retired	470,271	215,306	236,496	18,469		
Unemployed and permanently sick	491,354	148,290	312,847	30,216		
Other economically inactive	446,995	212,525	206,121	28,349		
Total population age 16-74 (adjusted)	3,693,646	2,117,776	1,336,986	238,884		
2001 Population in Households (Census adjusted)						
Employee and self-employed	2,154,795	1,678,471	325,097	151,228		
Students	253,634	151,546	45,833	56,255		
Retired	516,261	361,446	138,344	16,472		
Unemployed and permanently sick	414,099	164,210	218,914	30,975		
Other economically inactive	345,811	161,380	154,436	29,996		
Total population age 16-74 (adjusted)	3,684,601	2,517,052	882,624	284,925		
2011 Population in Households (Census adjusted)						
Employee and self-employed	2,391,625	1,764,007	323,326	304,292		
Students	331,442	171,530	56,543	103,369		
Retired	587,346	443,812	118,186	25,348		
Unemployed and permanently sick	385,633	126,592	205,549	53,492	Source:	
Other economically inactive	211,151	90,317	84,172	36,662	1991, 2001	and 2011Census
Total population age 16-74	3,907,197	2,596,258	787,776	523,163	NRS popula	tion estimates

Table B6 - Net ch	ange for Popula	ition age 16-7	4 in Scotland	by Economic S	Status and Ten	ure: 1991-2001 and	2001-2011
			economic statu	IC			
	Employee & self-employed	Students	Retired	Unemployed & perm. sick	Other econ.	total	
total population							
1991/2001	15,563	107,840	45,990	-77,255	-101,184	-9,045	
2001/2011	236,830	77,808	71,085	-28,466	-134,660	222,596	
change	221,267	-30,032	25,094	48,788	-33,476	231,641	
owner occupied							
1991/2001	235,170	53,193	146,139	15,920	-51,146	399,277	
2001/2011	85,536	19,984	82,366	-37,618	-71,063	79,206	
change	-149,633	-33,209	-63,773	-53,539	-19,917	-320,071	
social rented							
1991/2001	-225,511	14,919	-98,152	-93,933	-51,686	-454,362	
2001/2011	-1,771	10,710	-20,158	-13,365	-70,264	-94,848	
change	223,740	-4,209	77,994	80,568	-18,578	359,515	
private rented							
1991/2001	5,904	39,729	-1,997	758	1,647	46,041	
2001/2011	153,064	47,114	8,876	22,517	6,666	238,238	Source:
change	147,161	7,386	10,873	21,759	5,019	192,198	Table B

Table B7 - Households in Scotland by Household	d Type and by Ten	ure in 1991,	2001 and 20	)11		
	Total in hhs	Owned	Social rent	Private rent		
1991 Households (Census adjusted)						
One adult household	584,673	229,625	303,643	51,405		
Two adults household	601,754	352,029	209,790	39,935		
Three or more adults households	239,512	142,002	83,469	14,041		
One adult with one or more children	99,404	16,898	76,507	5,999		
Two or more adults with one or more children	517,464	324,088	163,662	29,714		
Total	2,042,807	1,064,642	837,071	141,094		
2001 Households (Census adjusted)						
One adult household	721,669	358,814	292,998	69,857		
Two adults household	657,132	476,922	134,025	46,185		
Three or more adults households	245,637	178,985	46,600	20,052		
One adult with one or more children	122,669	29,417	79,081	14,171		
Two or more adults with one or more children	447,923	329,707	92,904	25,312		
Total	2,195,030	1,373,845	645,608	175,577		
2011 Households (Census adjusted)						
One adult household	824,579	414,653	284,507	125,419		
Two adults household	734,582	530,291	110,265	94,026		
Three or more adults households	259,437	192,195	40,022	27,220		
One adult with one or more children	127,030	30,625	65,196	31,209	Source:	
Two or more adults with one or more children	430,796	305,483	77,315	47,998	1991, 2001 a	and 2011Census
Total	2,376,424	1,473,247	577,305	325,872	NRS househ	olds estimates

Table B8 - Net Ch	nange for Hous	eholds in Sco	tland by Type a	and by Tenure:	1991-2001 and	2001-2011	
			household type	)			
					Two or more		
			Three or more	One adult with	adults with		
	One adult	Two adult	adult	one or more	one or more		
	household	household	households	children	children	total	
total households							
1991/2001	136,996	55,378	6,125	23,265	-69,541	152,223	
2001/2011	102,910	77,450	13,800	4,361	-17,127	181,394	
change	-34,086	22,072	7,675	-18,904	52,414	29,171	
owner occupied							
1991/2001	129,189	124,893	36,983	12,519	5,619	309,203	
2001/2011	55,839	53,369	13,210	1,208	-24,224	99,402	
change	-73,350	-71,524	-23,773	-11,311	-29,843	-209,801	
social rented							
1991/2001	-10,645	-75,765	-36,869	2,574	-70,758	-191,463	
2001/2011	-8,491	-23,760	-6,578	-13,885	-15,589	-68,303	
change	2,154	52,005	30,291	-16,459	55,169	123,160	
private rented							
1991/2001	18,452	6,250	6,011	8,172	-4,402	34,483	
2001/2011	55,562	47,841	7,168	17,038	22,686	150,295	Source:
change	37,110	41,591	1,157	8,866	27,088	115,812	Table B7

Table B9 - Households in Scotland by Household E				,		
	Total in hhs	Owned	Social rent	Private rent		
1991 Households (Census adjusted)						
HR Person pensionable age	590,555	243,575	316,769	30,211		
HR Person not pens age with no-one employed	290,315	57,444	209,761	23,110		
HR Person not pens age with at least 1 employed	1,161,939	763,624	310,542	87,773		
Total Households	2,042,809	1,064,643	837,072	141,094		
2001 Households (Census adjusted)						
HR Person pensionable age	621,432	361,298	231,127	29,007		
HR Person not pens age with no-one employed	319,919	81,740	198,912	39,267		
HR Person not pens age with at least 1 employed	1,253,684	930,810	215,571	107,303		
Total Households	2,195,035	1,373,848	645,610	175,577		
2011 Households (Census adjusted)						
HR Person pensionable age	686,070	468,817	178,746	38,507		
HR Person not pens age with no-one employed	316,842	66,196	179,660	70,986		
HR Person not pens age with at least 1 employed	1,373,512	938,234	218,899	216,379	Source:	
Total Households	2,376,424	1,473,247	577,305	325,872	1991, 2001	and 2011Censu
					NRS house	eholds estimates

Table B10 - Net Char	nge for Households in Scotlan	d by Economic Position a	ind by Tenure: 1991-2001 an	d 2001-2011	
		nousehold economic positio	n		
		Household Reference	Household Reference		
		Person not of pensionable			
	Household Reference	age and no-one in	age and one or more in		
	Person of pensionable age	_	household employed	total	
total households					
1991/2001	30,877	29,604	91,745	152,226	
2001/2011	64,638	-3,077	119,828	181,389	
change	33,761	-32,681	28,083	29,163	
owner occupied					
1991/2001	117,723	24,296	167,186	309,205	
2001/2011	107,519	-15,544	7,424	99,399	
change	-10,204	-39,840	-159,762	-209,806	
social rented					
1991/2001	-85,642	-10,849	-94,971	-191,462	
2001/2011	-52,381	-19,252	3,328	-68,305	
change	33,261	-8,403	98,299	123,157	
private rented					
1991/2001	-1,204	16,157	19,530	34,483	
2001/2011	9,500	31,719	109,076	150,295	Source:
change	10,704	15,562	89,546	115,812	Table B9

Table B11 - Changes Averag	e Household Siz	e in Scotland	by Tenure: 19	91-2001 and 200	01-2011	
Average household size						
	Total	Owned	Social rented	Private rented		
1991 adjusted (Census)	2.45	2.62	2.28	2.24		
2001 adjusted (Census)	2.27	2.40	2.02	2.12		
change 1991-2001	-0.18	-0.21	-0.26	-0.13		
	Total	Owned	Social rented	Private rented		
2001 adjusted (Census)	2.27	2.40	2.02	2.12		
2011 adjusted (Census)	2.19	2.31	1.93	2.07		
change 2001-2011	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.05		
					Source:	
Annual Change	Total	Owned	Social rented	Private rented	1991, 2001 and 2011 Cens	sus
1991-2001	-0.018	-0.021	-0.026	-0.013	NRS population estimates	
2001-2011	-0.008	-0.009	-0.008	-0.005	NRS household estimates	
difference	0.010	0.012	0.017	0.008		

Census-based data	1			SLS: %	of Census			
	2001	2011	2001-2011	2001	2011			
Owned	3,303,555	3,409,909	106,354	5.1%	4.9%			
Social rented	1,303,114	1,116,510	-186,604	4.6%	4.3%			
Private rented	371,525	674,464	302,939	4.4%	4.1%			
Comm establ.	86,006	99,017	13,011	4.7%	4.4%			
Total	5,064,200	5,299,900	235,700	5.0%	4.7%			
SLS data								
	2001 population	births and deaths	in migration etc	out migration etc	tenure change	total change	2011 population	
Owned	166,971	3,323	13,464	-18,627	2,687	847	167,818	
Social rented	60,445	-2,682	5,205	-8,833	-5,620	-11,930	48,515	
Private rented	16,234	2,157	8,878	-4,696	5,200	11,539	27,773	
Comm establ.	4,001	-1,874	1,583	-1,022	1,714	401	4,402	
Tenure unknown	6,352	-1,127	0	-1,244	-3,981	-6,352	0	
Total	254,003	-203	29,130	-34,422	0	-5,495	248,508	
Table B13 - Populat	tion Change i	n Scotland by	Tenure in 2001	-2011 - Gross F	Flows			
			Tenure 2011					
SLS data			Tenure 2011	Communal		died before	out migration	
SLS data	Owned	Social rented	Tenure 2011  Private rented		Unknown	died before 2011	out migration and other	Total
	Owned	Social rented			Unknown			Total
Tenure 2001	Owned 120,756	Social rented 5,818			Unknown 0			Total
SLS data  Tenure 2001 Owned Social rented			Private rented	establishment		2011	and other	166,97
Tenure 2001 Owned Social rented	120,756	5,818	Private rented 7,901	establishment 1,487	0	2011 12,382	and other 18,627	166,97 <sup>2</sup> 60,445
Tenure 2001 Owned Social rented Private rented	120,756 10,971	5,818 27,754	7,901 3,254	establishment 1,487 797	0	2011 12,382 8,836	and other  18,627 8,833	
Tenure 2001 Owned Social rented Private rented Unknown	120,756 10,971 4,596	5,818 27,754 1,767	7,901 3,254 3,968	1,487 797 171	0 0 0	2011 12,382 8,836 1,036	18,627 8,833 4,696	166,97′ 60,445 16,234
Tenure 2001 Owned Social rented Private rented Unknown Communal establ.	120,756 10,971 4,596 1,911	5,818 27,754 1,767 1,565	7,901 3,254 3,968 385	1,487 797 171 120	0 0 0 0	2011 12,382 8,836 1,036 1,127	18,627 8,833 4,696 1,244	166,97 <sup>2</sup> 60,445 16,234 6,352
Tenure 2001 Owned	120,756 10,971 4,596 1,911 415	5,818 27,754 1,767 1,565 252	7,901 3,254 3,968 385 194	1,487 797 171 120 229	0 0 0 0 0	2011 12,382 8,836 1,036 1,127 1,889	18,627 8,833 4,696 1,244 1,022	166,97 <sup>2</sup> 60,445 16,234 6,352 4,001

Census-based data	2001	2011	2001-2011	% SLS 2001	% SLS 2001					
Employee or self-employed	2,154,795	2,391,625	236,830	4.8%	5.1%					
Students	253,634	331,442	77,808	4.8%	5.1%					
Retired	516,261	587,346	71,085	4.8%	5.3%					
Unemployed or permanently sick	414,099	385,633	-28,466	4.8%	5.0%					
Other econ. inactive	345,811	211,151	-134,660	4.9%	5.0%					
Total population age 16-74 (adjusted)	3,684,601	3,907,197	222,596	4.8%	5.1%					
SLS data	2001 population	age group 16-25 (2011)	age group 65-74 (2001)	change due to age cohort	change in	other change	total change	2011 population		
Employee or self-employed	103,863	14,113	1,181	12,932	-4,198	9,738	18,472	122,335		
Students	12,256	14,095	0	14,095	-6,890	-2,572	4,633	16,889		
Retired	24,733	0	17,170	-17,170	20,143	3,495	6,468	31,201		
Unemployed or permanently sick	19,993	3,373	1,269	2,104	-2,302	-675	-873	19,120		
Other econ. inactive	17,015	1,624	904	720	-6,753	-457	-6,490	10,525		
Total population age 16-74	177,860	33,205	20,524	12,681	0	9,529	22,210	200,070		
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1										
	Status Popula	tion (age 16-6	4 in 2001 Cen	sus and age	26-74 in 2011	Census) in So	cotland - Gros	ss Flows		
Table B15 - Changes in Economic	Status Popula		4 in 2001 Cen nomic Status		26-74 in 2011	Census) in So	cotland - Gros	ss Flows		
Table B15 - Changes in Economic	Status Popula  Employee or self-employed				Other econ.	Census) in So	cotland - Gros		self-emplo	yed
Fable B15 - Changes in Economic SLS data Economic Status 2001	Employee or	Ecoi	nomic Status	2011 Unemployed	Other econ.	·			self-emplo	yed
Fable B15 - Changes in Economic SLS data Economic Status 2001 Employee or self-employed	Employee or self-employed	Ecol Students	nomic Status Retired	2011 Unemployed or perm. sick	Other econ.	Total	net change for	r employee or	self-emplo = 7,131 -	
Fable B15 - Changes in Economic SLS data Economic Status 2001 Employee or self-employed Students	Employee or self-employed	Students 725	Retired	2011 Unemployed or perm. sick 3,935	Other econ. inactive 2,396	Total 88,793	net change for to/from:	r employee or 2001-2011		725
Table B15 - Changes in Economic SLS data Economic Status 2001 Employee or self-employed Students Retired	Employee or self-employed 68,682 7,131	Students 725 371	Retired 13,055	2011 Unemployed or perm. sick 3,935 513	Other econ. inactive 2,396 315	Total 88,793 8,330	net change for to/from:	r employee or 2001-2011 6,406 -12,784	= 7,131 -	725 3,055
Fable B15 - Changes in Economic SLS data Economic Status 2001 Employee or self-employed Students Retired Unemployed or permanently sick	Employee or self-employed 68,682 7,131 271	Students 725 371 0	Retired  13,055  0 5,687	2011 Unemployed or perm. sick 3,935 513 56	Other econ. inactive 2,396 315 74	Total 88,793 8,330 6,088	net change for to/from: Students Retired	r employee or 2001-2011 6,406 -12,784	= 7,131 - = 271 - 13	725 3,055 3,935
Fable B15 - Changes in Economic SLS data Economic Status 2001 Employee or self-employed Students Retired Unemployed or permanently sick Other econ. inactive	Employee or self-employed 68,682 7,131 271 3,569	Students  725 371 0 141	Retired  13,055  0 5,687 4,425	2011 Unemployed or perm. sick 3,935 513 56 4,678	Other econ. inactive  2,396 315 74 814	Total  88,793 8,330 6,088 13,627	net change for to/from: Students Retired Unemployed	r employee or 2001-2011 6,406 -12,784 -366	= 7,131 - = 271 - 13 = 3,569 -	725 3,055 3,935 2,396
Fable B15 - Changes in Economic SLS data Economic Status 2001 Employee or self-employed Students Retired Unemployed or permanently sick Other econ. inactive	Employee or self-employed 68,682 7,131 271 3,569 4,942	Students  725 371 0 141 203	Retired  13,055  0  5,687  4,425  3,064  26,231	2011  Unemployed or perm. sick  3,935 513 56 4,678 2,143 11,325	Other econ. inactive  2,396 315 74 814 2,535 6,134	Total  88,793 8,330 6,088 13,627 12,887 129,725	net change for to/from: Students Retired Unemployed Other inact.	r employee or 2001-2011 6,406 -12,784 -366 2,546 -4,198	= 7,131 - = 271 - 13 = 3,569 - = 4,942 -	725 3,055 3,935 2,396
Fable B15 - Changes in Economic SLS data Economic Status 2001 Employee or self-employed Students Retired Unemployed or permanently sick Other econ. inactive	Employee or self-employed 68,682 7,131 271 3,569 4,942 84,595	Students  725 371 0 141 203	Retired  13,055  0  5,687  4,425  3,064  26,231	2011  Unemployed or perm. sick  3,935 513 56 4,678 2,143 11,325	Other econ. inactive  2,396 315 74 814 2,535 6,134	Total  88,793 8,330 6,088 13,627 12,887 129,725	net change for to/from: Students Retired Unemployed Other inact. Total	r employee or 2001-2011 6,406 -12,784 -366 2,546 -4,198	= 7,131 - = 271 - 13 = 3,569 - = 4,942 -	725 3,055 3,935 2,396
Fable B15 - Changes in Economic SLS data Economic Status 2001 Employee or self-employed Students Retired Unemployed or permanently sick Other econ. inactive	Employee or self-employed 68,682 7,131 271 3,569 4,942 84,595	Students  725 371 0 141 203	Retired  13,055  0  5,687  4,425  3,064  26,231  net change fo	2011 Unemployed or perm. sick 3,935 513 56 4,678 2,143 11,325 r unemployed,	Other econ. inactive  2,396 315 74 814 2,535 6,134 permanently s	Total  88,793 8,330 6,088 13,627 12,887 129,725	net change for to/from: Students Retired Unemployed Other inact. Total economically i	r employee or 2001-2011 6,406 -12,784 -366 2,546 -4,198	= 7,131 - = 271 - 13 = 3,569 - = 4,942 -	725 3,055 3,935 2,396
Table B15 - Changes in Economic SLS data  Economic Status 2001  Employee or self-employed Students Retired Unemployed or permanently sick Other econ. inactive Total	Employee or self-employed 68,682 7,131 271 3,569 4,942 84,595	Students  725 371 0 141 203	Retired  13,055  0  5,687  4,425  3,064  26,231  net change fo to/from:	2011  Unemployed or perm. sick  3,935 513 56 4,678 2,143 11,325 r unemployed, 2001-2011	Other econ. inactive  2,396 315 74 814 2,535 6,134 permanently s	Total  88,793 8,330 6,088 13,627 12,887 129,725 sick and other  69) + (2,396 -	net change for to/from: Students Retired Unemployed Other inact. Total economically i	r employee or 2001-2011 6,406 -12,784 -366 2,546 -4,198	= 7,131 - = 271 - 13 = 3,569 - = 4,942 -	725 3,055 3,935 2,396
Table B15 - Changes in Economic SLS data  Economic Status 2001  Employee or self-employed Students Retired Unemployed or permanently sick Other econ. inactive Total  Source: 1991, 2001 and 2011 Census	Employee or self-employed 68,682 7,131 271 3,569 4,942 84,595	Students  725 371 0 141 203	Retired  13,055 0 5,687 4,425 3,064 26,231 net change fo to/from: Employed	2011  Unemployed or perm. sick  3,935 513 56 4,678 2,143 11,325 r unemployed, 2001-2011 -2,180	Other econ. inactive  2,396 315 74 814 2,535 6,134 permanently s = (3,935 - 3,5) = (513 - 141)	Total  88,793 8,330 6,088 13,627 12,887 129,725 sick and other  69) + (2,396 -	net change for to/from: Students Retired Unemployed Other inact. Total economically i	r employee or 2001-2011 6,406 -12,784 -366 2,546 -4,198	= 7,131 - = 271 - 13 = 3,569 - = 4,942 -	725 3,055 3,935 2,396

Table B16 - Change Population Age 16-	le B16 - Change Population Age 16-74 in Scotland by Economic Status, by Tenure and by Component of Change in 2001-2011								
		SLS sample		SLS sample					
	Estimated total change 2001-2011	total change 2001-2011	due to age cohort and changes economic status	net flow to or from other tenures	other changes				
Owner Occupied									
Employee and self-employed	85,536	10,426	828	4,477	5,121				
Students	19,984	1,507	3,802	-1,032	-1,263				
Retired	82,366	6,062	2,439	1,303	2,320				
Unemployed and permanently sick	-37,618	-1,357	-705	-92	-560				
Other economically inactive	-71,063	-3,293	-3,037	-129	-127				
Total population age 16-74	79,206	13,345	3,327	4,527	5,491				
Social Rented									
Employee and self-employed	-1,771	1,488	2,875	-2,888	1,501				
Students	10,710	747	1,595	-682	-166				
Retired	-20,158	282	-1,230	809	703				
Unemployed and permanently sick	-13,365	4	431	-80	-347				
Other economically inactive	-70,264	-3,111	-1,852	-790	-469				
Total population age 16-74	-94,848	-590	1,819	-3,631	1,222				
Private Rented									
Employee and self-employed	153,064	7,427	3,012	1,301	3,114				
Students	47,114	1,789	3,013	-589	-635				
Retired	8,876	583	-337	532	388				
Unemployed and permanently sick	22,517	1,078	562	378	138				
Other economically inactive	6,666	431	195	-12	248	Source:			
Total population age 16-74	238,238	11,308	6,445	1,610	3,253	2001 Census			
						2011 Census			
All Economic Status									
Owner Occupied	79,206	13,345	3,327	4,527	5,491	NRS			
Social Rented	-94,848	-590	1,819	-3,631	1,222	population			
Private Rented	238,238	11,308	6,445	1,610	3,253	estimates			
Tenure Unknown	0	-1,857	1,092	-2,506	-443				
Total population age 16-74	222,596	22,206	12,683	0	9,523	SLS			

Table B17A - Impact of Tenure Change in Scotland on Economic Status (2011) profile by Tenure in 2001-2011
SLS data for Population age 16-64 in 2001 Census and age 26-74 in 2011 Census (with tenure known in both 2001 and 2011)

Owner Occupied	population 2001	outflow to social rented	outflow to private rented	inflow from social rented	inflow from private rented	population 2011	impact tenure change	
Employee and self-employed	66,789	2,020	3,235	5,652	3,193	70,379	3,590	
Students	953	81	178	94	56	844	-109	
Retired	20,342	678	389	1,013	234	20,522	180	
Unemployed and permanently sick	4,612	780	393	610	145	4,194	-418	
Other economically inactive	3,343	288	225	307	164	3,301	-42	
Total	96,039	3,847	4,420	7,676	3,792	99,240	3,201	
Social Rented	population 2001	outflow to owner occupied	outflow to private rented	inflow from owner occupied	inflow from private rented	population 2011	impact tenure change	
Employee and self-employed	13,790	5,652	1,030	2,020	561	9,689	-4,101	
Students	390	94	60	81	34	351	-39	
Retired	5,294	1,013	158	678	169	4,970	-324	
Unemployed and permanently sick	5,766	610	413	780	261	5,784	18	
Other economically inactive	2,316	307	233	288	116	2,180	-136	
Total	27,556	7,676	1,894	3,847	1,141	22,974	-4,582	
Private Rented	population 2001	outflow to owner occupied	outflow to social rented	inflow from owner occupied	inflow from social rented	population 2011	impact tenure change	
Employee and self-employed	5,637	3,193	561	3,235	1,030	6,148	511	
Students	125	56	34	178	60	273	148	
Retired	778	234	169	389	158	922	144	
Unemployed and permanently sick	692	145	261	393	413	1,092	400	
Other economically inactive	439	164	116	225	233	617	178	Source:
Total	7,671	3,792	1,141	4,420	1,894	9,052	1,381	SLS

Table B17B - Impact of Tenure Change in Scotland on Economic Status (2011) profile by Tenure in 2001-2011 SLS data for Population age 16-64 in 2001 Census and age 26-74 in 2011 Census (with tenure known in both 2001 and 2011)

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Owner Occupied	population 2001	outflow to social rented	outflow to private rented	inflow from social rented	inflow from private rented	population 2011	impact tenure change		
Employee and self-employed	69.5%	52.5%	73.2%	73.6%	84.2%	70.9%	1.4%		
Students	1.0%	2.1%	4.0%	1.2%	1.5%	0.9%	-0.1%		
Retired	21.2%	17.6%	8.8%	13.2%	6.2%	20.7%	-0.5%		
Unemployed and permanently sick	4.8%	20.3%	8.9%	7.9%	3.8%	4.2%	-0.6%		
Other economically inactive	3.5%	7.5%	5.1%	4.0%	4.3%	3.3%	-0.2%		
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%		
Social Rented	population 2001	outflow to owner occupied	outflow to private rented	inflow from owner occupied	inflow from private rented	population 2011	impact tenure change		
Employee and self-employed	50.0%	73.6%	54.4%	52.5%	49.2%	42.2%	-7.9%		
Students	1.4%	1.2%	3.2%	2.1%	3.0%	1.5%	0.1%		
Retired	19.2%	13.2%	8.3%	17.6%	14.8%	21.6%	2.4%		
Unemployed and permanently sick	20.9%	7.9%	21.8%	20.3%	22.9%	25.2%	4.3%		
Other economically inactive	8.4%	4.0%	12.3%	7.5%	10.2%	9.5%	1.1%		
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%		
Private Rented	population 2001	outflow to owner occupied	outflow to social rented	inflow from owner occupied	inflow from social rented	population 2011	impact tenure change		
Employee and self-employed	73.5%	84.2%	49.2%	73.2%	54.4%	67.9%	-5.6%		
Students	1.6%	1.5%	3.0%	4.0%	3.2%	3.0%	1.4%		
Retired	10.1%	6.2%	14.8%	8.8%	8.3%	10.2%	0.0%		
Unemployed and permanently sick	9.0%	3.8%	22.9%	8.9%	21.8%	12.1%	3.0%		
Other economically inactive	5.7%	4.3%	10.2%	5.1%	12.3%	6.8%	1.1%	S	Source:
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%		SLS