

INTERNAL MIGRATION OF BRITAIN'S ETHNIC POPULATIONS

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Whilst there has been research interest in recent years in ethnic populations and immigration, relatively little work has been reported on the internal migration of ethnic groups in Britain, despite the importance of this component in local population dynamics and its role in community development. This is not to say that studies of ethnic group migration in Britain do not exist. Champion (2005) has reviewed ethnic and other variations in migration using 2001 Census data, for example, and Finney and Simpson (2008) have recently published analyses of ethnic group migration at the national level, based on 2001 Census microdata.

This research project seeks to examine the propensities and patterns of 'ethnomigration' in Britain using census macro and micro data. The key findings are as follows:

- Over 6 million people moved usual residence in 2000-01 and 91% of those were white. Amongst the non-white migrants, the black group had the largest shares of both inter and intra-district migrants.
- Chinese and 'other' non-white groups had the highest migration intensities with the Chinese having rates of inter-district migration almost twice the national average, whereas the Indians exhibited migration rates below those of white-British.
- Asian groups experienced the lowest migration rates in most ages and the rate differentials are most noticeable at age 20-24.
- Census microdata indicates convergence of ethnic migration propensity differentials between 1991 and 2001.
- The spatial pattern of net migration is dominated by white losses from metropolitan areas and gains in rural Britain, whereas net migration gains and losses for the non-white population are confined to urban areas and their immediate surrounds.
- London generated over 50,000 net out-migrants in 2000-01 and recorded losses across all the major ethnic groups.
- At district level, there is evidence of higher negative white net migration rates with increasing shares of non-white residents.
- Inner London is experiencing net migration losses which are offset by net inflows from the rest of the country and immigrants whereas outer boroughs are gaining from inner wards but losing to the rest of the country.
- In London, not only are the major non-white ethnic group migrants moving to areas with less deprivation but they are also moving towards areas with lower shares of population in the same ethnic groups as themselves.

Study objectives, data sets and methods

There are five main objectives. Firstly, 2001 Census Special Migration Statistics (SMS) and tables commissioned from ONS are used to provide evidence of differences in migration intensity and effectiveness by ethnic group. Secondly, changes in migration propensities between 1991 and 2001 are examined using regression models based on micro data from the Samples of Anonymized Records (SARs). Thirdly, spatial patterns of ethnic group internal migration are examined at district level across Britain and two district-type classifications are used to provide summaries of the large data sets. Fourthly, we examine whether there is evidence of linkage between net migration and population composition at the district scale. Finally, commissioned data on migration flows by ethnic group and age are used for analysis of net migration in London at the ward level and analyses based on deprivation indices and location quotients are undertaken to see if migrants in different ethnic groups

are moving away from less deprived areas and areas with higher shares of their own populations.

The seven ethnic groups used throughout the project are those defined in the SMS: white; Indian; Pakistani and other South Asian (POSA); Chinese; black; mixed; other). Two tables were commissioned from ONS containing migrant flows by ethnic group and broad age group (0-15; 16-19; 20-24; 25-29; 30-44; 45-59; 60+). Table C0711 contains flows between districts in England and Wales by ethnic group, whilst Table C0723 contains (i) ward to region flows and (ii) region to ward flows.

Variations in migration propensity

In 2000-01, over 6 million migrants moved usual residence, equivalent to approximately 1 in 10 of the population, and 91% of the migrants were white. Amongst the non-white minorities, the black groups had the largest share of inter-district migration whereas the POSA group had the largest share of shorter, intra-district flows.

Rates computed using end-period populations show that higher migration intensities are experienced by the smaller groups (Figure 1). The Chinese, mixed and other non-white groups have the highest total migration rates with the Chinese having rates of inter-district migration that are almost twice the national average, whereas the POSA group exhibits intra-district migration rates that are relatively low in comparison with white-British.

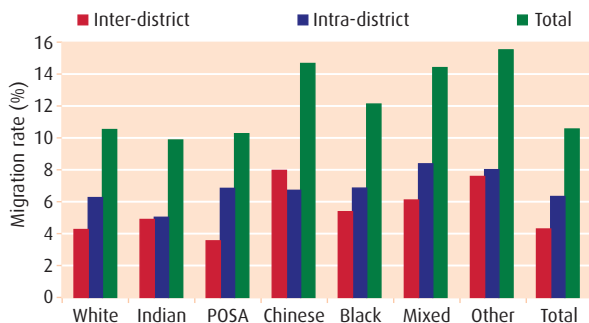


FIGURE 1. MIGRATION RATES BY ETHNIC GROUP, BRITAIN, 2000-01

Source: SMS Table MG103.

Data from the commissioned table C0711 provides clearer evidence of the variations in age-specific rates between ethnic groups (Figure 2). Despite their relative magnitude, the Indian and POSA groups experience the lowest migration rates in almost all ages and the rate differentials are most noticeable at ages 16-19, 20-24 and 25-29. At age 20-24, the POSA rate is only about 17%, less than half the rate of migration for the Chinese, the most mobile group at this age and at age 16-19 years also.

Change between 1990-91 and 2000-01

Whilst the SMS and commissioned tables allow analysis of district migration by ethnicity and age at the national level, we turn to the SARs to confirm these findings for 2001 and

to examine change between 1991 and 2001. A binary logistic regression model was used with the dichotomous outcome, did not (0)/did migrate (1), and categorical explanatory variables.

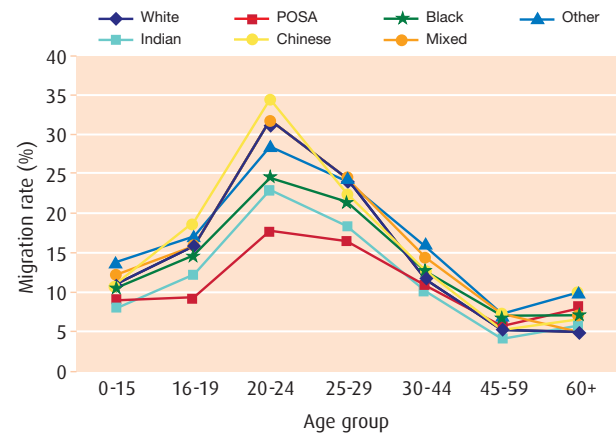


FIGURE 2. AGE-SPECIFIC MIGRATION RATES BY ETHNIC GROUP, ENGLAND AND WALES, 2000-01

Source: Table C0711.

Model outputs include the odds ratio which shows the influence of a variable category compared with a base/reference level of that variable. Compared with the white group (the reference level), South Asian groups are shown to be less likely to migrate in both 1991 and 2001, though the difference by 2001 is less. In 1991, Chinese, black and other groups are more likely to migrate than the white group but, by 2001, the Chinese are less likely to migrate and, for the black and others, there is no difference.

Figure 3 illustrates that the differences in migration probabilities between groups during the last decade of the twentieth century. All groups experience an overall rise except the Chinese and other groups whose modelled rates for those aged 20-24 fell by 1.39% and 3.83% respectively. There is evidence of convergence between ethnic groups over the period.

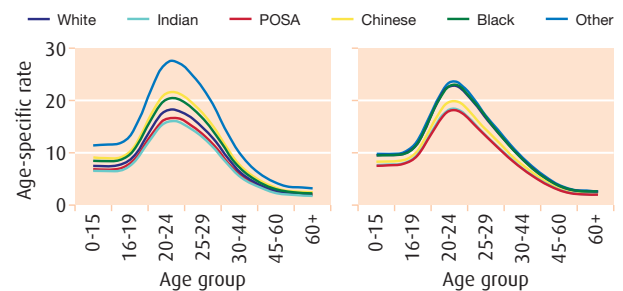


FIGURE 3. MIGRATION PROBABILITIES BY ETHNICITY AND AGE GROUP, BRITAIN, 1990-91 AND 2000-01

Source: Modelling based on SAR 1991 and 2001

Spatial patterns of ethnic migration

Geographical patterns of migration in Britain are the result of the combination of complex processes involving various



sets of driving forces. The spatial patterns of net migration (Figure 4) indicate net losses of white migrants in metropolitan areas and net gains in rural Britain dominating the total patterns, whereas significant net migration gains and losses for the non-white population are confined to urban areas and their immediate surrounds.

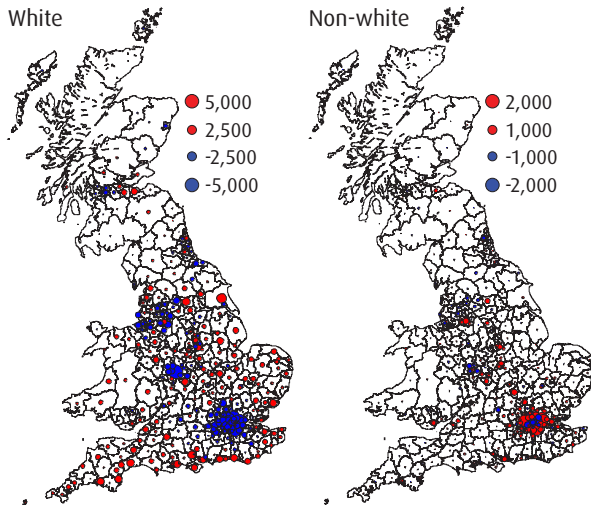


FIGURE 4. NET MIGRATION BY DISTRICT FOR WHITES AND NON-WHITES, 2000-01 *Source: SMS Table MG103.*

Overall, London boroughs lost over 50,000 net migrants in 2000-01 whereas other local authorities (rural England) gained a similar number; metropolitan districts lost around 20,000 migrants whereas unitary authorities and council areas in Scotland collectively gained a similar number in net terms.

Analyses of the district patterns based on district type classifications are available from Stillwell and Hussain (2008) and Hussain and Stillwell (2008), the latter using the National District Classification developed by Vickers *et al.* (2003) as a framework for summarizing the inter-district flows.

Net migration and population share

In the USA, there has been considerable research on the phenomenon of 'white flight'. In the British context, we have asked the question whether districts whose populations contain larger shares of non-white ethnic groups are those that experience higher levels of white net migration loss.

Each district has been ranked on the basis of its white population share and rates of net migration for each district have then been plotted simultaneously, shown by the much more haphazard series of points in Figure 5. The central horizontal line represents zero net migration. To the right of the vertical line are the 74 districts whose white population shares are below the national figure of 91.9%.

Despite significant variation in net migration rates between districts, there is an observable trend towards higher

negative net migration balances with increasing shares of non-white residents. This is not to state that 'white flight' is definitely occurring because we know nothing about the motivations behind the migrations involved.

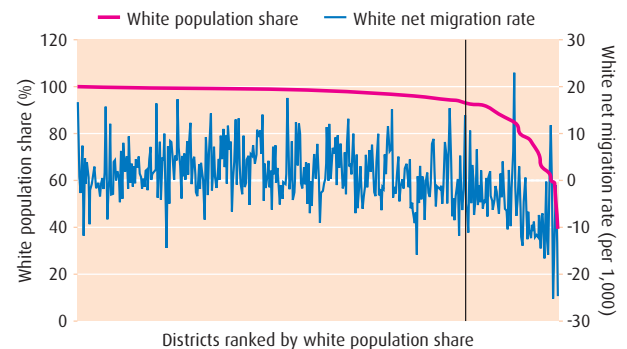


FIGURE 5. WHITE NET MIGRATION RATES AND POPULATION SHARES, 2001 *Source: SMS and Standard Tables, 2001.*

Ethnic net migration in London

It is clear that London has an enormous impact on internal the migration system for the whole country but it also has its own internal dynamics. Data from commissioned Table C0723 was used to calculate (i) white net migration based on flows within London and (ii) white net migration based on flows between London and the rest of England and Wales (Figure 6). These net migration maps demonstrate emphatically that, as white migrants are leaving inner London for destinations in the outer suburbs, those living in outer London are moving beyond the city boundary altogether whilst inner London wards remain the destination of in-migrants from the rest of the country.

Similar maps for non-white groups show a series of distinctive spatial patterns with different net migration hot and cold spots associated with each ethnic group (see Stillwell *et al.*, 2008, for details). However, in general terms, and with the exception of the Chinese, there appears to be some replication of the white pattern with net losses concentrated in the centre and net gains in the outer wards.

Indians appear to be moving from areas of concentration in Ealing and Brent further westwards into Hillingdon and Harrow, for example, whereas the POA has concentrations of net migration gain in Redbridge and Newham. Higher net losses are from areas of high black population shares in Lambeth, Southwark and Tower Hamlets to parts of Greenwich and Barking and Dagenham in the east and Enfield in the north. The pattern of net migration for the Chinese appears much more complex with more discontinuity between areas of loss and those of gain.

The ward-based data was used to identify whether migrants in different ethnic groups are leaving areas of lower deprivation and moving to destinations of higher deprivation. In order to test this assertion, we used the Townsend score for 2001 as a measure of deprivation. High negative scores represent areas of lowest material deprivation whereas high positive scores represent areas of

high material deprivation. The analysis presented in Figure 7 is based around average net migration rates for quintiles.

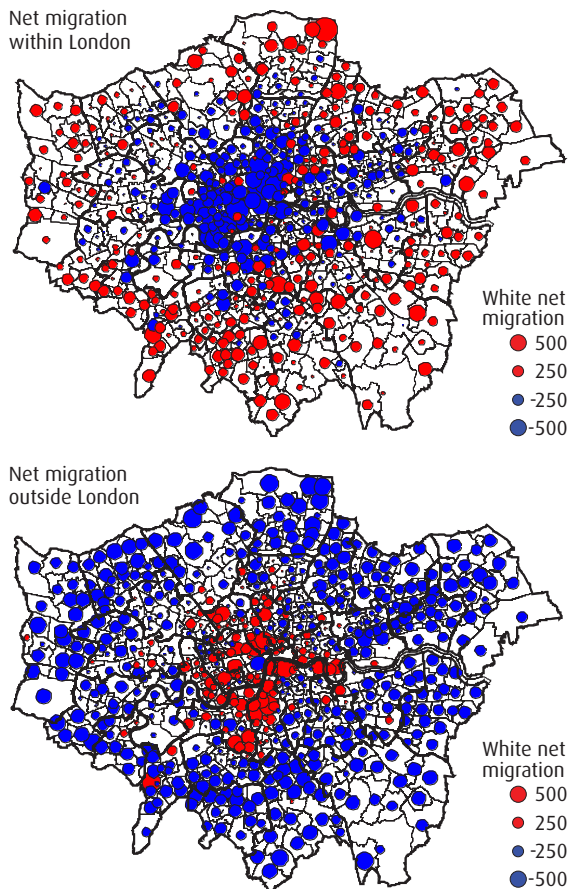


FIGURE 6. WHITE NET MIGRATION BY WARD, LONDON, 2000-01

Source: Table C0723.

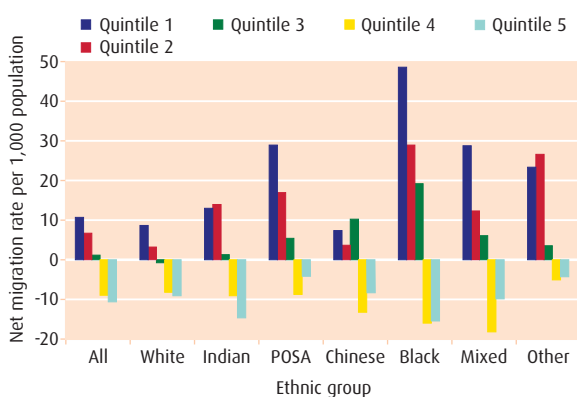


FIGURE 7. ETHNIC GROUP NET MIGRATION RATES BY QUINTILE OF DEPRIVATION, LONDON WARDS, 2000-01

Source: Table C0723.

The graph indicates how net migration losses are occurring from more deprived wards (quintile 5), with higher gains in areas with lower deprivation (quintile 1). There are significant differences in the balances between ethnic groups with blacks showing the highest rates of gain in less deprived areas at the extreme.

Similar analysis was used to test whether net migration rates for ethnic groups are related to ethnic population concentrations measured by location quotients. For the two Asian groups and blacks, we observe a negative net migration for areas in the top quintile with a large over-representation of Indians in the population. The patterns for the other three groups are less conspicuous. The Chinese appear to be gaining migrants most in areas with lowest representation of Chinese and the same is true for the non-white other group. In contrast, migrants in the mixed ethnicity group tend to have negative net migration rates in all quintiles except the fourth.

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