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EXPLORING THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE FROM DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS INTO AND OUT OF WARDS WITH HIGH OR LOW DENSITY OF THEIR OWN GROUP

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Relatively little is known about the internal migration of different ethnic groups within Britain. Research so far has mapped the concentrations, dispersal and residential settlement of ethnic groups (e.g. Champion, 1996; Phillips, 1998; Ratcliffe, 2000) and the presence or absence of ghettos based on measurement of clusters or spatial polarisation (e.g. Johnston *et al.*, 2002; Peach, 1996; Poulsen, 2005).

While previous analyses have provided some disconfirmation for assumptions that ethnic segregation is endemic in the UK, researchers have noted the dearth of 'ward-by-ward' analyses examining the extent to which people choose to live with other people of the same ethnic group as themselves (Dorling and Rees 2003; Finney and Simpson, 2007; Simpson, 2006). This issue is socially significant because ethnic segregation or clustering is often perceived as a negative feature of migration, giving rise to debates about the possible links between concentrations of different ethnic groups and racial tensions and hostility in certain areas of the UK (Dustmann and Preston, 2001).

This research aimed to explore patterns of residential migration of particular ethnic groups within England and Wales. Specifically, whether there is a tendency for people from different ethnic groups to move into or out of areas where their own ethnic group has a relatively high or low density.

Key findings

The key findings are as follows:

For almost all of the ethnic groups, net migration was towards wards with a low concentration of their own ethnic group, particularly for the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, White Irish and Black groups. The only exception to this pattern was the White British ethnic group, who were more likely to move towards areas of high concentration of their own ethnic group. All ethnic groups moved away from wards with high concentrations of minority ethnic populations, with the result that the minority ethnic groups became more dispersed.

- Regression analysis shows that concentration of own ethnic group has a limited utility for explaining patterns of inflow and outflow at the ward level.
- Regression analysis conducted to examine the effect of concentration after controlling for some area characteristics of the ward, indicated that the employment rate within wards had almost no effect on concentration. However, other area factors, such as the rural-urban classification of the ward and housing tenure were better predictors than concentration of migration.

Objectives, data sets and methods

The key objectives of this study were to develop indices for measuring inflow and outflow at the ward level; to relate inflow, outflow and net migration to concentrations of different ethnic groups; to assess ethnic group variations in net inflow, inflow and outflow; and to assess the effect of some area characteristics, such as employment and housing tenure, for explaining these patterns.

These objectives were met through conducting a secondary analysis of a specially commissioned table from the 2001 Census. This table was obtained from the Office for National Statistics (as table reference numbers: C0355a and C0355b). This data table provides information on eight categories of ethnicity (White-British, White Irish, White Other, Black, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Mixed and Other ethnic group) and four categories of migration, which provide information about internal inflows and outflows (between wards within the same district and between wards in different districts)



FIGURE 1. NET INFLOW FOR DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS INTO ELECTORAL WARDS IN ENGLAND AND WALES WITH HIGHEST AND LOWEST MINORITY CONCENTRATIONS, 2000-01 Source: Author's calculations based on 2001 Census Commissioned Table

Other area characteristics

Regression analysis was also conducted to examine the effect of concentration after controlling for some area characteristics of the ward: rural-urban, housing tenure and employment, which were hypothesised to have an influence on internal migration. Data on each of these factors were downloaded from publicly available sources and merged with the figures in the commissioned table. With the exception of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi group, most of the groups moved away from urban areas towards town and fringe areas or towards villages, hamlets and isolated dwellings. The rural-urban characteristic was a better predictor of migration than concentration for these groups. Although the relationships were complicated, housing tenure was significantly related to patterns of migration for some of the groups (White British, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi and Black) and was a better predictor of migration than concentration. There was almost no effect of employment rates.

Discussion and conclusions

The results provide no support for the idea that minority ethnic groups move towards areas of high concentration of their own ethnic group. For all of the ethnic groups, net migration was towards wards with low concentrations of their own ethnic group, particularly for the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, White Irish and Black groups. The only exception to this pattern was the White British group who moved towards areas of high concentration of their own ethnic group. This is at least partly explained by rural-urban factors and housing tenure in the ward. Concentration does not seem to be the main explanation for why people move into or out of wards within England and Wales.

This research was not designed to explain why people migrate to certain areas. While this research has found no statistical evidence that inflow and outflow patterns are related to concentration of own ethnic group, further research is needed, involving in-depth interviews with people from different ethnic groups to explore these patterns and to provide more insight into what motivates different groups to migrate within the UK. It would perhaps be helpful to contrast areas of high minority ethnic group concentration and low minority ethnic group concentration.

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The commissioned table covering 8,796 wards in England and Wales is based on all residents in households and was derived from the standard tables (ST) for wards. However, it excludes the four wards in the City of London and over 900,000 persons who live in communal establishments. This exclusion was a condition of receiving the data.

The most appropriate index currently available for calculating 'movement towards one's own group' is Simpson's Index of Movement (2006, p.7). For this research, indices of net flow, inflow and outflow were developed by adapting Simpson's methodology to produce a separate measure of inflow and outflow (the proportion of people who moved into or out of the ward to another ward either within the same district or to a ward located in another district within England and Wales) for each ethnic group.

For each ethnic group, concentration was calculated as the proportion of residents of a particular ethnic group in a ward out of the total population (all ethnic groups combined). Concentration is therefore a measure of the relative abundance of an ethnic group, not a measure of population density.

Relating net migration to own concentration

A major aim of the study required inflow, outflow and net migration rates to be related to ethnic group concentration. However, several wards had either very small or zero resident populations for the different ethnic groups. Consequently, small changes in numbers results in large changes in percentages, so that the estimates are unreliable. Each ethnic group was, therefore, sorted by the number of residents in the ward and then divided into quintiles. Each quintile is approximately one fifth of the group's population. Dividing ethnic groups into quintiles allows an assessment to be made of movement towards populations of equal size, while controlling for the volatile rates associated with small or zero populations (Finney and Simpson, 2007).

Table 1 depicts the quintile distributions of net-migration for White and Non-Whites into wards with lowest through to highest concentrations of White and Non-White populations. While a positive value indicates a net inflow, a negative value indicates a net outflow. Analysis of net migration and outflow across the five quintile bands of concentration reveals a general pattern of dispersal rather than movement towards concentration of own ethnic group.

For example, Table 1 shows that for the Whites, there is a steady decrease in net inflow of Whites into wards with the lowest Non-White concentration (0.30%) but a net outflow for Whites from wards with the highest Non-White concentration (2.22%). The same pattern holds for the Non-White group, which also evidenced a net inflow into wards with the lowest Non-White concentration (1.18%) and a net outflow from wards with the highest Non-White concentration (1.16%). In other words, both Whites and Non-Whites are not moving into wards with high concentrations of Non-White populations.

While this may be considered to support notions of ethnic segregation, in that the Whites could be said to be 'avoiding' wards with high concentrations of minority group populations, the same pattern holds for the Non-White group. This common pattern had different consequences for different ethnic groups. Table 1 (fourth row) also shows that, unlike the Non-White group, the Whites are more likely to migrate towards concentrations of their own group (positive net-migration of 0.50 into wards with the highest concentration of the White population).

A pattern of dispersal was evident for the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, White Irish and combined Black groups (Figure 1). In each case, the findings show a movement away from the most concentrated areas of their own ethnic group (the movement changes from positive net migration in the lowest concentrated areas of their own ethnic group to net outflow in wards with the highest concentration of their own ethnic group). For example, the Indian group decreases across the five quintiles from almost 1% net inflow (0.92) in wards with the lowest concentration of the Indian ethnic group to 1.20% net outflow from wards with the highest concentration of the Indian ethnic group.

Regression analysis was carried out in order to ascertain whether the variation in inflow, outflow and net migration rates could be significantly explained by 'concentration'. The findings show that inflow and outflow rates are both related to concentration for nearly all the groups, so that the net effect of concentration is almost zero.

Ethnic group for which concentration is defined	Ethnic groups for which migration is given	Lowest concentration	Low concentration	Medium concentration	High concentration	Highest concentration
Non-White	NW	1.18	1.14	-0.09	-0.70	-1.16
	White	-0.23	1.58	1.51	0.72	-1.22
White	NW	0.30	-0.52	-0.54	-1.22	-2.22
	White	-0.71	-0.06	0.32	0.43	0.50

 TABLE 1. QUINTILES OF NET MIGRATION FOR NON-WHITE AND WHITE CONCENTRATION IN ELECTORAL WARD AREAS IN

 ENGLAND AND WALES, 2000-01

 Source: Author's calculations based on 2001 Census Commissioned Table