Working Paper 11/3

**Immigrants to England and Wales:
Where do they come from and where do they settle?
An analysis of 2001 Census immigration by ethnic group**

John Stillwell and Sarah McNulty

School of Geography,
University of Leeds,
Leeds LS2 9JT

Tel: 0113 343 3315

Email: j.c.h.stillwell@leeds.ac.uk

August 2011

Abstract

Office for National Statistics figures on international migration show that immigration to the UK has exceeded emigration from the UK in every year since 1993. London is the region most affected by international migration. This working paper uses commissioned data from the 2001 Census to identify the countries of previous usual residence of 'recent' immigrants (those arriving in the 12 months before the 2001 Census) in different ethnic groups and examines where these new immigrants choose to reside at the district scale in England and Wales. It also addresses the question of whether immigrants from particular overseas origins locate in areas across the country where there are 'established' concentrations of those who were born in these countries and who subsequently moved to England and Wales.

Keywords

Contents

Abstract

Acknowledgements

References

List of Tables

List of Figures

Immigrants to England and Wales: Where do they come from and where do they settle? An analysis of 2001 Census immigration by ethnic group

1. Introduction

Although the early origins of the population of England and Wales are rather unclear, history shows that immigrants have been arriving since pre-historic times. The Romans, who invaded in AD 43 and remained for nearly 400 years, were followed by a succession of immigrants including Anglo Saxons in the fifth century, Normans in the eleventh century, Huguenots from France in the seventeenth century and Irish in the eighteenth century. Post Second World War, it was the existence of significant labour shortages that led to the arrival of displaced persons from Poland, Italy, Ukraine and Germany, in particular. Large immigration flows from South Asia followed the partition of India in 1947 and from the West Indies from the late 1940s when organisations like the National Health Service and London Transport recruited from the Caribbean. In addition to these pioneer overseas immigrants, White's (1993) schematic framework of waves of immigrants identifies streams of forced migration as exemplified by those leaving Uganda in the early 1970s during the Amin regime and those arriving from Hong Kong when China regained sovereignty from the British in 1997. More recently, the UK has received considerable flows of asylum seekers from conflict zones around the world such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia and Zimbabwe as well as countries in Eastern Europe associated with problems in the Balkans.

The post-war immigrants entered the country through gateways (ports and airports) and sought settlement destinations in places where work and accommodation opportunities were available, predominantly in parts of London and major regional capitals like Birmingham and Manchester, but also in smaller cities like Bradford and Leicester with large manufacturing sectors where jobs were available. Thereafter, a process of chain migration has taken place in which information and remittances sent by the pioneers have been received back home and encouraged subsequent migration from the areas of origin, including other family members. In some cases, chain migration has resulted in ethnic neighbourhoods in British cities containing immigrants from particular parts of the country of origin (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964). In London, for example, Peach (1984) identified Dominicans and St Lucians in Notting Hill and Grenadians in Hammersmith and Ealing.

One result of the settlement of these immigrants during the post-war period, together with their natural increase, has been a progressive increase in the ethnic minority population

of England and Wales so that by the time of the 2001 Census, the total ethnic minority population had reached 4.5 million, nearly 46% of whom were resident within the boundaries of the London Government Office Region (GOR). This population has reached a state of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2006), containing second, third and fourth generations of ethnic minority groups, many of whom were born in Britain. Collectively, the ethnic minority population represented 8.6% of the total population of England and Wales that numbered 52,042,193 in 2001. Moreover, this population contained just under 370,500 migrants from the 'rest of the world' who had arrived in the 12 months prior to the 2001 Census.

It is these most recent immigrants that are the focus of this paper whose aims are threefold. First, we examine the origins of these newcomers in 2000-01 in order to demonstrate the diversity of 'world regions' of previous residence from which people in different ethnic groups have migrated. We make use of specially commissioned data from the 2001 Census on migrants by ethnic group in 2000-01 who are referred to as 'new' immigrants in contrast to those 'established' immigrants who arrived previously and are represented by the extant ethnic minority communities. This analysis is reported in section 3. Second, in section 4, we consider the geographical destinations of these new immigrants across England and Wales at the district scale, using alternative area classifications to summarize the geography of immigrant destinations. Third, in section 5, we address the question of whether those of particular ethnicity are drawn to places that have a high concentration of the same ethnic group who were born in the same country from which the new immigrants arrived. Some conclusions are drawn in section 6. However, we begin in section 2 with a discussion of the data sets, the ethnic groups and the spatial systems that are used in the analysis which follows.

2   Data sources, ethnic groups and spatial units

The 2001 Census is especially important for research on ethnic migration ('ethnomigration') because it is a source that provides the most reliable counts of the movement of populations between origins and destinations. Until the results of the 2011 Census are published in 2012-13, the 2001 Census remains the most comprehensive source of information about the ethnic dimension of the nation's population, particularly for small areas, although Mateos (2007) has demonstrated the potential of surname analysis for tracking ethnic distributions and other data sets such as the School Census also have potential to tell us a great deal more about certain ethnic sub-sections of the population (Harland and Stillwell, 2007). The measure of

migration that is used in the census is a count of transitions, the number of individuals who were in existence at the time of the census but who were living at a different usual residence 12 months beforehand. These transition counts are disaggregated by other variables appearing on the census questionnaire, such as age, sex and ethnicity, the latter being requested on the census form for the first time in 1991 and again in 2001 and 2011. Of course there are other survey and administrative sources of international migration data, as documented by Boden and Rees (2010), but none of these provides the same level of level of geographical and socio-demographic detail on immigrants as that provided by the census.

One of the variables captured by the population census is ethnicity. The Office of National Statistics (ONS) expanded the classification of ethnicity used in 1991 to a set of 16 groups in 2001 (Table 1), including four new mixed ethnicity categories. However, a reduced categorisation of seven broad groups was used in the 2001 Special Migration Statistics (SMS), the census data set that provides the counts of flows of migrants between origin and destination areas (Stillwell *et al.,* 2010). The main reason for the broader classification was because of the need to maintain confidentiality; the origin-destination flows often involve very small numbers of migrants which is problematic in terms of the risk of disclosure. In order to reduce this risk, ONS also applied adjustment techniques to every data set where the count in any one cell of a published table (e.g. Chinese aged 55-59 moving from Leeds to Liverpool) was likely to be disclosive. This involved applying a procedure known as the Small Cell Adjustment Method (SCAM) to every occurrence of a count of 1 or 2 individuals (Duke-Williams, 2010). Although the methodology adopted by ONS is itself confidential, it appears that SCAM was used to adjust every value of 1 or 2 to a value of 0 or 3 (so that a value of 1 had a one third probability of becoming 0 and a two thirds chance of becoming 1 and *vice versa* for a value of 2). The SCAM methodology was not applied to flows within Scotland or flows into Scotland from elsewhere. There is no doubt that the classification used in the SMS of seven groups (Table 1) in response to the problem of disclosure control, is very restrictive for ethnic research because each group contains a wide range of individuals with different ethnicities. The Black category, for example, contains all Black people, whether they are Black Africans or Black Americans, and the White group contains both White British but also Whites born anywhere in the world. Some researchers (e.g. Finney and Simpson, 2009; Simpson and Finney, 2009) have made use of the full 16 group categorisation available when using the samples of Anonymised Records (SARs) at national level but these are sample data and consequently have more limited value for detailed sub-national spatial analysis.

Table 1. The 2001 Census classification of ethnic groups

Label used in paper	Ethnic group defined in Special Migration Statistics (Level 1)	Ethnic group defined in main Census 2001 tables
White	White	White British; White Irish; Other White
Indian	Indian	Indian
POSA	Pakistani and Other South Asian	Pakistani; Bangladeshi; Other Asian
Chinese	Chinese	Chinese
Black	Caribbean, African, Black British and Black Other	Caribbean; African; Other Black
Mixed	Mixed	White and Black Caribbean; White and Black African; White and Asian; Other Mixed
Other	Other	Other

Our attention in this paper is on immigrant counts that are available from the 2001 Census. Unlike the 1991 Census SMS for which counts of immigrants were published for a set of 98 overseas origin areas, the 2001 Census SMS immigrant data were only published for total flows to destinations in the UK at three levels: district, ward and output area. Whilst the flows into districts were disaggregated by the seven ethnic groups shown in Table 1, the flows into wards were disaggregated only into White and Non-white categories and no ethnic breakdown was used for flows at the output area level. Therefore, it was necessary to commission data from the ONS in order to examine where the immigrants in 2000-01 had come from. In this instance, we requested counts of immigrants by ethnic group by previous place of usual residence overseas. No information on emigration is ever collected by a census because those involved are no longer usually resident in the country on census date.

Immigration data were therefore provided following negotiation with ONS Customer Services over the categories used for ethnicity, area of origin and area of destination. The outcome was Commissioned Table CO711A which contains district-to-district flows within England and Wales for seven age groups and seven ethnic groups which have been analysed by Stillwell and Hussain (2010) and Stillwell and Dennett (Forthcoming), and Commissioned Table CO711B which contains counts of immigration flows into the districts in England and Wales by ethnic group (see Table 1 groups but with no age disaggregation) from 56 'world regions' of previous usual residence outside of the UK (Table 2). Almost 70% of the 370,190 immigrants were White and just over 30% were Non-white.

Table 2. Immigrants by world region of previous usual residence, 2000-01

1	Channel Islands and Isle of Man	29	Belgium
2	U.S.A	30	Singapore
3	Australia	31	South America
4	Germany	32	Turkey
5	France	33	United Kingdom
6	South Africa	34	Nigeria
7	Other Africa	35	Kenya
8	India	36	Switzerland
9	Spain	37	Saudi Arabia
10	Other	38	Korea; Republic of
11	New Zealand	39	Portugal
12	Japan	40	Denmark
13	Other Eastern Europe	41	Norway
14	Pakistan	42	Thailand
15	Italy	43	South Asia
16	Canada	44	Bangladesh
17	The Netherlands	45	Ireland part not specified
18	Republic of Ireland	46	Brazil
19	Zimbabwe	47	Sri Lanka
20	Greece	48	Jamaica
21	China	49	Poland
22	Other North America	50	Other EU Countries
23	Hong Kong	51	Finland
24	Philippines	52	Czech Republic
25	Sweden	53	Russia
26	Far East	54	Non EU countries in Western Europe
27	Cyprus	55	Israel including Occupied Territories
28	Malaysia	56	Other Oceania

Note: The data in Table CO711B contain a count of 3,168 immigrants to England and Wales from the UK; it is unclear where these immigrants were living 12 months before the 2001 Census since we know that over 50,000 migrants moved to England and Wales from Scotland and Northern Ireland (Stillwell *et al.,* 2010).

Section 3 contains further analysis of these flows into England and Wales and into London respectively. London is considered as a separate destination because of its importance for established ethnic minority populations as well as new ethnic immigrants. Although the functional boundary of Greater London as a city region does not necessarily conform with the boundary of the London GOR, the latter is a familiar boundary to administrators and planners and is convenient for our analysis. The destinations of the immigrant flows used in section 4 are a set of 376 local authority districts in England and Wales, including the City of London and 32 London boroughs, 68 unitary authorities, 36 metropolitan districts and 239 other local authority areas (Figure 1). The City of London and the London Boroughs are used in section 5.
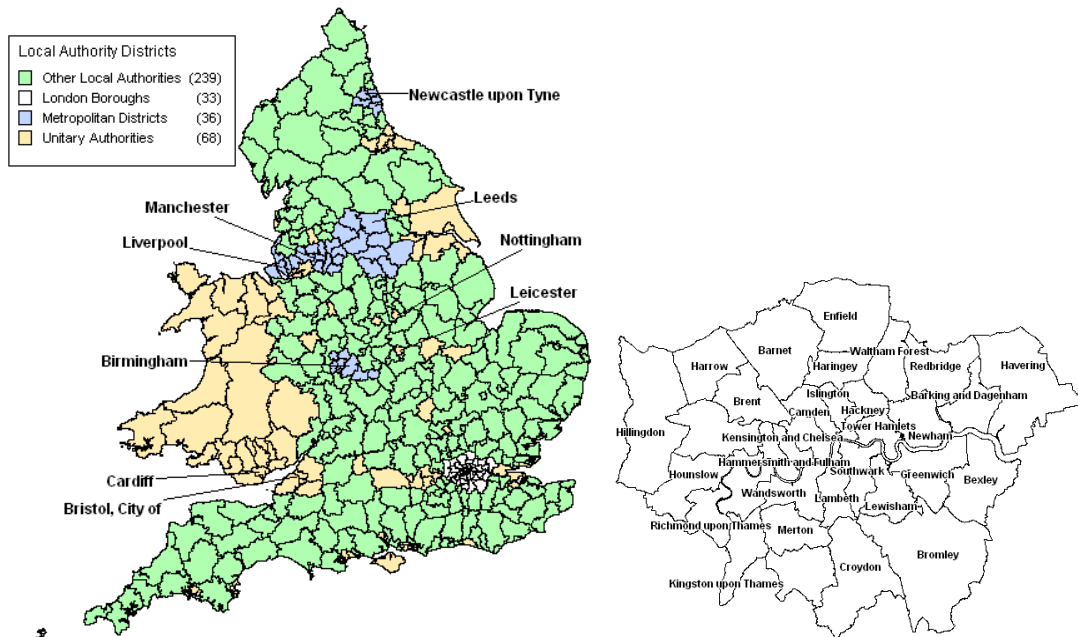
Source: Digital boundary files downloaded from UKBORDERS

Figure 1. The districts of England and Wales and boroughs of London in 2001

In order to examine the relationship between new immigrants and established immigrants by ethnic group, a further data set was required to represent established immigrants. We decided to use the populations by place of birth (from Standard Table ST102: Country of birth by ethnic group), our hypothesis being that those migrants arriving from a world region of previous usual residence would be likely to choose to settle in districts where there was a concentration of those born in the same world region. However, the area categories for country of birth used in ST102 do not align with the world region categories used in the commissioned data supplied by ONS. As a result, a new group of world regions had to be identified which for which the counts of new and established immigrants are consistent. There are 24 regions in this new classification, as shown in the final column in Table 3. The first and second columns contain the constituent regions from which counts are provided in tables CO711B and ST102. A large database was constructed containing 126,356 counts in total (24 origins x 376 destinations x 7 ethnic groups x 2 population/immigration counts).

Table 3. A consistent classification for new and established immigrants

CO711B regions	ST102 regions	Code	New Group
United Kingdom	England; Scotland; Northern Ireland; Wales; UK part not specified	1	United Kingdom
Channel Islands and Isle of Man; Republic of Ireland; Ireland part not specified	Republic of Ireland; Ireland not specified; Channel Islands and Isle of Man	2	Republic of Ireland, Isle of Man & Chanel Islands
Belgium; Denmark; Finland; France; Germany; Greece; Italy; The Netherlands; Portugal; Spain; Sweden; Other EU countries	EU countries	3	Other EU countries
Non EU countries in Western Europe; Norway; Switzerland	Non EU countries; Other Western Europe	4	Non-EU in Western Europe (at 2001)
Czech Republic; Poland; Russia; Turkey; Other Eastern Europe	Eastern Europe	5	Eastern Europe
Australia; New Zealand; Other Oceania	Oceania	6	Oceania
India	India	7	India
Bangladesh	Bangladesh	8	Bangladesh
Pakistan	Pakistan	9	Pakistan
Sri Lanka; South Asia	Other South Asia	10	Other South Asia
China	China	11	China
Hong Kong; Japan; Korea Republic of; Malaysia; Philippines; Singapore; Thailand; Far East	Far East; Other Far East	12	Other Far East
Cyprus; Israel including Occupied; Territories (Gaza & West Bank); Saudi Arabia	Middle East	13	Middle East
USA	USA	14	USA
Canada	Canada	15	Canada
Other North America	Caribbean & West Indies; Other Caribbean & West Indies; Other North America	16	Other North America
Brazil; South America	South America	17	South America
Jamaica	Jamaica	18	Jamaica
Nigeria	Nigeria	19	Nigeria
Kenya	Kenya	20	Kenya
Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	21	Zimbabwe
South Africa	South Africa	22	South Africa
Other Africa	Other Central & Western Africa; Other South and Eastern Africa	23	Other Africa
Other	Other	24	Other

Source: Commissioned Table CO711B and Standard Table ST102

One noteworthy feature of the immigrant and population variables selected is that the counts of new immigrants by ethnic group and previous usual residence are not always lower

than the counts of established populations by ethnic group and place of birth since it is not the case that the former are counted in this latter group at the time of the 2001 Census and it is not necessarily appropriate to subtract the former from the latter to give a more accurate count of 'established' migrants. We found that there were 10 origins and 125 destinations across the range of ethnic groups where the new immigrant count was higher than the established population by country of birth count. This was evident for all ethnic groups, including the White group where the difference between new immigrants and population by birthplace for certain world regions ranged from 1 to 606. The largest difference for Whites involved the Middle East where there were 606 more new immigrants from the Middle East in one district than there were people born in the Middle East (Table 4). The district concerned was Richmondshire (North Yorkshire) which contains a large military base at Catterick. The raw commissioned data indicates that the majority of immigrants from the Middle East recording their address in Richmondshire arrived from Cyprus (715), whilst the remaining immigrants came from Saudi Arabia (11) whereas the population born in the Middle East was 120. Clearly, the immigrant count is picking up military personnel returning from a period of duty from the air force base in Cyprus. The number of districts in England and Wales with more new immigrants than people born in the same world region are shown for Whites in Table 4 along with the range of difference values.

Table 4. Differences in counts of new immigrants by world region and population born in that world region, Whites

Region of previous usual residence/birth	Number of districts with more new immigrants than people born in the same world region	Range of differences between counts for particular districts
Bangladesh	3	1 to 3
Pakistan	1	3
Other South Asia	4	3 to 6
China	10	2 to 5
Middle East	1	606
Other North America	82	1 to 14
Nigeria	4	2 to 3
Kenya	1	3
Zimbabwe	1	3
Other	42	1 to 21

Sources: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B and Standard Table ST102

There are similar issues with each of the minority ethnic groups. In the case of the Indian ethnic group, there were 46 districts where the count of new immigrants from the USA was higher than the count of population born in the USA, the largest difference being 25

people. In this case, the new immigrants might be Indians born in the USA, Indians born elsewhere in the world outside India and the USA or Indians born in India who lived in the USA prior to their arrival in England and Wales.

3.   Ethnic migration propensities and origins of recent immigrants

The population of England and Wales totalled just over 52 million at the time of the 2001 Census. Non-white ethnic minority populations collectively accounted for 9.7% of the national population and the Pakistani or Other South Asian (POSA) group was the largest of the six broadly defined minority groups. The Indian and Black populations also had each reached 1 million in number in England and Wales by 2001 and the Mixed group exceeded 660,000 whereas the Chinese and Other populations were much smaller in size (Table 5). Whereas nearly 5.5 million people moved usual residence within England and Wales in the 12 months before the 2001 Census, the volume of immigrants in the same period from all parts of the world outside the UK, was 370,480. i.e., for every one immigrant arriving at a new destination, nearly 15 internal migrants moved to a different place of usual residence. The discrepancy in the immigrant totals in Table 5 and Table 3 (370,191) is likely to be due to the SCAM adjustment made to counts in both tables. Columns 5-7 of Table 5 present the shares of population, immigration and internal migration accounted for by each ethnic group. Whereas the shares of population and internal migration are relatively consistent, the White share of immigration is just under 70% compared with 91% share of population and 90% share of internal migration. The non-white ethnic group with the largest share of immigrants is the Other group (6.8%) whilst the major ethnic minorities each had over 5% of total immigrants. It is remarkable that the ethnic minority group with the smallest share of the national population was contributing the highest share of non-white immigration in 2000-01.

Table 5. Population and migration counts by ethnic group, England and Wales

Ethnic group	Population	Immigration	Internal migration	Share of population	Share of immigration	Share of internal migration
White	47,520,866	256,881	4,963,888	91.31	69.34	90.40
POSA	1,236,922	20,260	126,149	2.38	5.47	2.30
Black	1,139,572	22,151	137,888	2.19	5.98	2.51
Indian	1,036,807	20,014	100,763	1.99	5.40	1.84
Mixed	661,032	12,095	94,704	1.27	3.26	1.72
Chinese	226,948	13,635	33,343	0.44	3.68	0.61
Other	219,753	25,444	34,035	0.42	6.87	0.62
	52,041,900	370,480	5,490,770	100.00	100.00	100.00

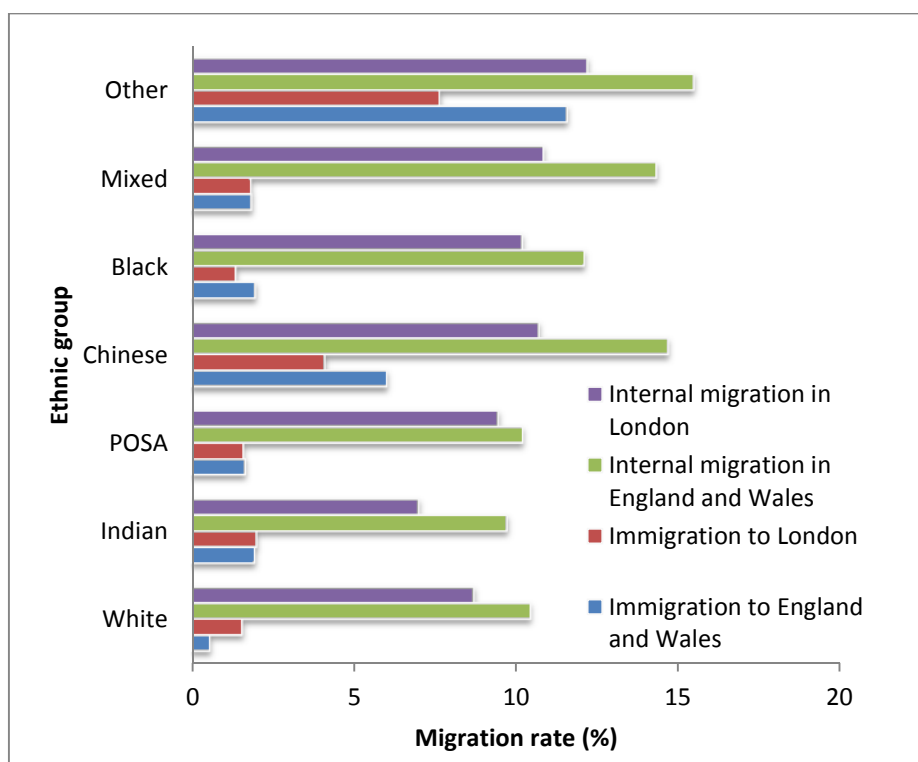Sources: 2001 Census Table KS006 and SMS Table M103

The equivalent counts of population for the London GOR indicate that whilst the capital city accounts for under 9% of the national White population, it contains 58% of the country's Black population, 40% of the Other population, 31% of the Asian population, and around a quarter of the Chinese and Mixed groups. The shares columns in Table 6 indicate the predominance of Blacks amongst the ethnic minority inhabitants as well as the immigrants to and internal migrants within London. Also noticeable for London GOR, as in England and Wales, is the relatively high share (7.1%) of London's immigration that is defined as non-white Other, although this is lower than the Black and Indian shares of immigration.

Table 6. Population and migration counts from the 2001 Census, London

Ethnic group	Population	Immigration	Internal migration	Share of population	Share of immigration	Share of internal migration
White	5,103,203	78,947	444,002	71.15	65.25	69.17
POSA	429,700	6,792	40,591	5.99	5.61	6.32
Black	782,849	10,558	79,804	10.92	8.73	12.43
Indian	436,993	8,688	30,573	6.09	7.18	4.76
Mixed	226,111	4,096	24,525	3.15	3.39	3.82
Chinese	80,201	3,286	8,584	1.12	2.72	1.34
Other	113,034	8,627	13,789	1.58	7.13	2.15
Total	7,172,091	120,994	641,868	100.00	100.00	100.00

Sources: 2001 Census Table KS006 and SMS Table M103

A more accurate comparison of migration propensities is obtained by computing the migration rates (using census date populations) shown in Figure 2 in which the immigration and internal migration rates for England and Wales are juxtaposed alongside those for London. The bar chart indicates that the rates of immigration and domestic migration are highest for the smallest ethnic minority groups − the Other non-white ethnicity and the Chinese. Rates of internal migration are greater in England and Wales than in London for all ethnic groups, and apart from Whites, and immigration rates are lower for London than for the whole country. Indians have the lowest rates of internal migration, particularly in London, whereas the differential between London and England and Wales for both types of migration is greatest for the Chinese, the smallest of the ethnic populations in London.

Figure 2. Immigration and internal migration rates by ethnic group, England and Wales and London

In the 1960s, immigration to England and Wales was dominated by inflows from Great Britain's former colonies across the world. In the twenty-first century, international migration has become more diverse in that it involves movements of individuals for a host of different reasons originating from different parts of the world. In the remainder of this section, the commissioned data are used to examine the origins (places of usual residence 12 months before the census) of immigrants to England and Wales and London by ethnic group in 2000-01. Figure 3 shows the aggregate counts of immigrants from those 'world regions' (34 out of the 56) sending over 3,000 to England and Wales; the largest flows are those from the USA and Australia for both England and Wales and London, followed by Germany, France and South Africa, each of which sent over 20,000 in 2000-01 to England and Wales, although smaller proportions from Germany and France than from South Africa came to London.

Disaggregation of these immigrant flows by ethnic group gives an indication of the variation in the extent to which inflows are dominated by migrants from different origins. Figure 4 illustrates the top ten origins of immigrants in the White group. White immigrants originate from a diverse set of origins, including those mentioned above but also from other

western European countries like Spain and Italy (and the Republic of Ireland in the case of flows to London), as well as from other English-speaking countries (New Zealand and Canada) with whom there have been longstanding links. Countries in Other Eastern Europe (i.e. not Poland, Czech Republic or Russia) had also become an important source of immigrants by 2000-01.
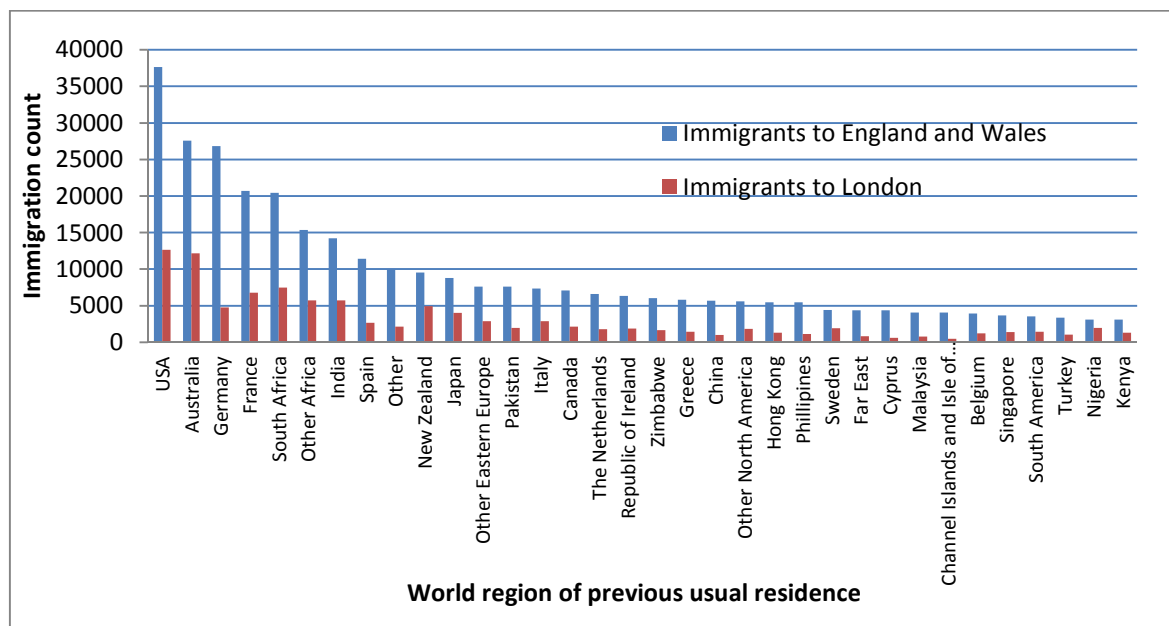
Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 3. Immigrants by region of previous usual residence, England and Wales and London
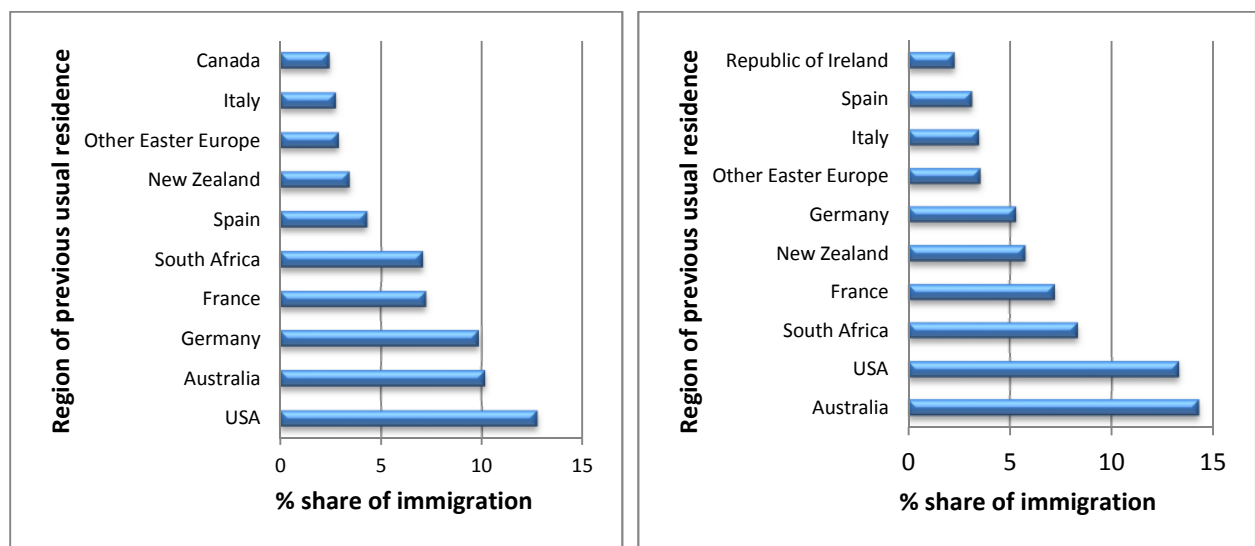
(a) Immigration to England and Wales   (b) Immigration to London

Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 4. White immigrants by region of previous usual residence, England and Wales and London

16

Amongst the non-white ethnic groups, Indian immigrants to England and Wales (Figure 5) show the least variation in their previous place of usual residence, with almost 70% (13,298) coming from India and smaller numbers from Kenya (1,221) and the USA (889). Just over one third of the POSA group came from Pakistan, with 10.5% from Bangladesh, 9.6% from Sri Lanka, 5.1% from South Asia and 12.4% from the residual 'Other' origin category. The large majority of the Black group came from Africa, including 12.5% from Nigeria, 11.5% from Zimbabwe and 32.3% from Other Africa. Around 8.6% came from Jamaica and a further 7.5% from 'Other North America'. The Chinese were predominantly from China (36.3%) although significant proportions came from Hong Kong (22.2%), from Malaysia (10.4%) and from Singapore (9.3%). The origins of the non-white Mixed group were more disparate with most coming from the USA (11.6%), Other Africa (10.5%) or the residual 'Other' world region (8.5%). Finally, Japan was the origin of one quarter of the non-white Other ethnic group, with 18.8% coming from the Philippines and almost 9.1% coming from the Republic of Korea. The rankings of regions of previous residence sending migrants to London were similar to those for England and Wales, except that 9.5% of Black immigrants to London came from Jamaica and 6.7% of Mixed migrants came from Australia (the graphs for immigrants to London are not shown here.)

Finally in this section, we look at the established ethnic group population counts and the new immigrants for the whole of England and Wales expressed as percentages for each of the 24 world regions of birth. The first row of Table 7 shows the percentage of each ethnic group resident in England and Wales in 2001 who were born in the UK. It reveals that whilst almost half the Black population of England and Wales were UK born, the two Asian groups were not far behind with 48.2% (POSA) and 45.9% (Indian), both larger than the respective percentages born in India (34.5%) and in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Other South Asia (41.1%). The percentages of UK-born Chinese and Other were much smaller, with over two thirds of the Chinese population and 53.5% of the Other ethnic group being born in the Far East. Just 5% of the White population and 20% of the population of Mixed ethnicity were born outside the UK.

(a) Indian

(b) POSA

(c) Chinese

(d) Black

(e) Mixed

(f) Other
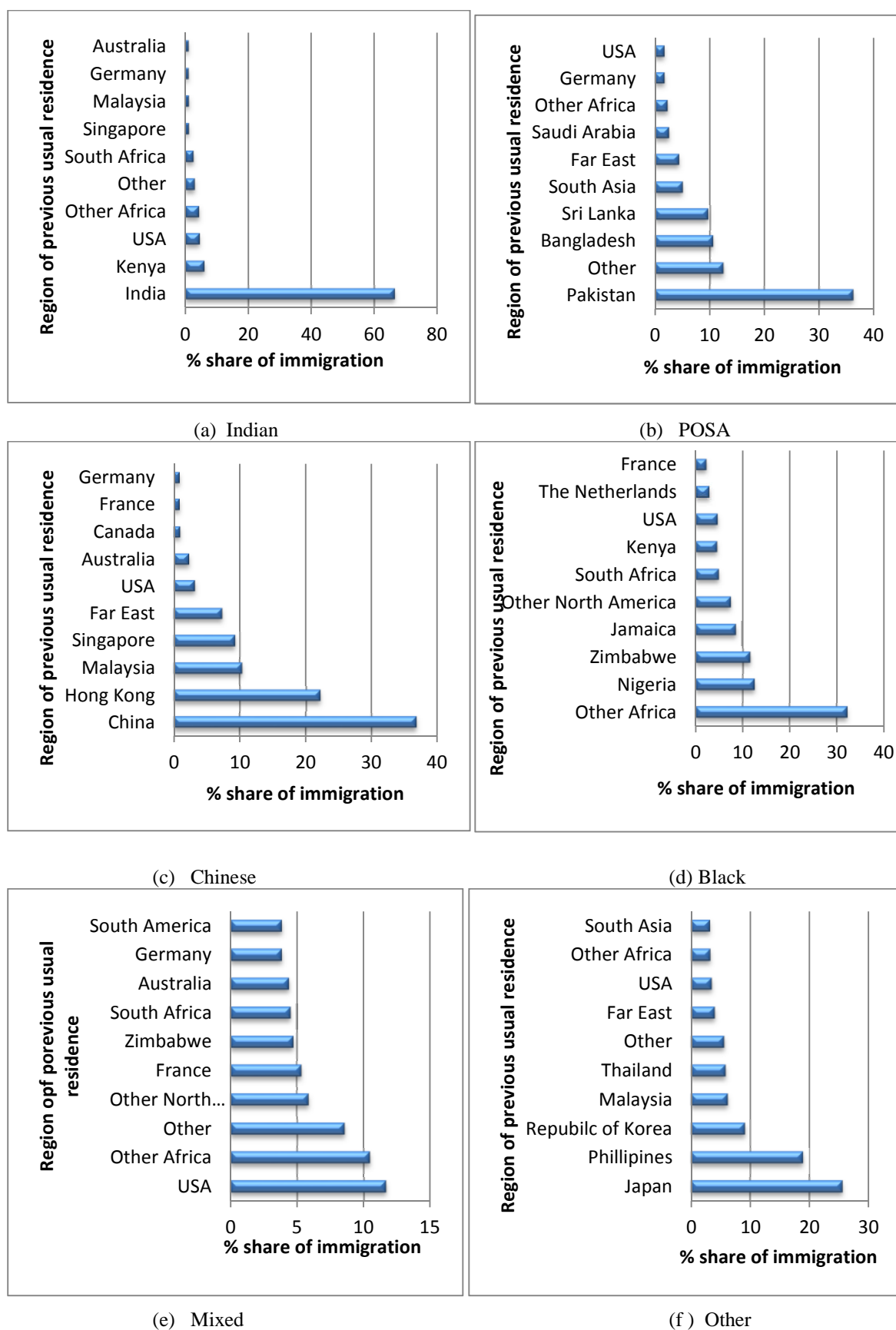
Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 5. Non-white immigrants by region of previous usual residence to England and Wales

Table 7. Population of England and Wales by ethnic group and world region of birth, 2001

Region of birth	White	Indian	POSA	Chinese	Black	Mixed	Other
				Ethnic group			
United Kingdom	95.00	45.88	48.20	28.33	49.54	79.33	15.49
Eire/Isle of Man/Channel Islands	1.05	0.03	0.05	0.15	0.06	0.21	0.08
EU Countries (Ex. UK/Eire/Channel Islands)	1.38	0.17	0.30	0.45	0.52	1.61	0.61
Non-EU in Western Europe (at 2001)	0.14	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.10	0.05
Eastern Europe	0.49	0.01	0.12	0.01	0.03	0.69	0.67
Oceania	0.32	0.14	0.03	0.31	0.02	0.48	1.18
India	0.11	34.50	2.75	0.25	0.03	1.45	0.37
Bangladesh	0.00	0.17	12.04	0.08	0.01	0.11	0.10
Pakistan	0.02	0.39	23.73	0.10	0.01	0.28	0.24
Other South Asian	0.01	0.20	5.29	0.05	0.01	0.44	5.45
China	0.01	0.01	0.01	19.29	0.00	0.07	0.21
Other Far East	0.14	0.83	0.46	48.25	0.03	2.54	53.28
Middle East	0.27	0.44	3.34	0.26	0.21	2.26	10.49
USA	0.27	0.10	0.05	0.29	0.45	0.91	0.92
Canada	0.12	0.07	0.02	0.14	0.04	0.16	0.09
Other North America	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.26	0.64
South America	0.09	0.21	0.12	0.22	1.13	1.50	2.15
Caribbean and West Indies	0.03	0.14	0.19	0.22	19.54	1.66	0.06
Nigeria	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.01	6.87	0.33	0.03
Kenya	0.03	7.98	0.94	0.03	1.20	0.36	0.10
Zimbabwe	0.05	0.10	0.01	0.01	1.59	0.46	0.01
South Africa	0.25	0.35	0.03	0.16	0.38	0.65	0.09
Other Africa	0.16	7.70	1.76	0.87	17.25	3.85	7.08
Other	0.03	0.55	0.52	0.49	1.02	0.29	0.60
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: 2001 Census Standard Table ST102

Table 8, on the other hand, shows what proportions of new immigrants in each of the ethnic groups that arrived in England and Wales from the 24 major world regions. In this case, about one third of the Indians do not come directly from India, and 38% of POSA immigrants do not come from South Asia, whereas one quarter of Black immigrants do not come from the Caribbean and Africa. The Far East is the origin of over 87% of Chinese migrants to England and Wales and over 70% of Other immigrants.

Table 8. Immigration to England and Wales by ethnic group and world region of previous usual residence, 2000-01

Region of previous usual residence	Ethnic group						
	White	**Indian**	**POSA**	**Chinese**	**Black**	**Mixed**	**Other**
United Kingdom	1.20	0.06	0.03	0.04	0.09	0.18	0.10
Eire/Isle of Man/Channel Islands	4.76	0.32	0.50	0.34	0.23	0.93	0.15
EU Countries (Ex. UK/Eire/Channel Islands)	34.63	4.03	6.13	3.04	8.78	17.13	3.94
Non-EU in Western Europe (at 2001)	2.60	0.45	0.53	0.29	0.37	1.55	0.30
Eastern Europe	6.43	0.34	0.45	0.04	0.22	2.36	0.45
Oceania	13.78	1.34	0.75	3.00	0.57	6.59	2.68
India	0.20	66.46	1.22	0.07	0.07	0.64	0.26
Bangladesh	0.03	0.06	10.57	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00
Pakistan	0.07	0.11	36.27	0.02	0.00	0.50	0.21
Other South Asian	0.17	0.24	14.73	0.11	0.12	1.32	3.18
China	0.20	0.12	0.12	36.82	0.06	0.31	0.15
Other Far East	3.18	3.44	7.28	50.35	0.44	10.55	71.77
Middle East	2.74	0.64	2.65	0.24	0.58	2.15	1.67
USA	12.74	4.44	1.69	3.13	4.55	11.65	3.34
Canada	2.44	0.86	0.65	0.98	0.46	1.49	0.30
Other North America	1.09	0.30	0.28	0.18	7.46	5.89	1.24
South America	1.71	0.30	0.20	0.13	0.95	5.76	1.14
Caribbean and West Indies	0.04	0.07	0.00	0.00	8.61	1.10	0.01
Nigeria	0.09	0.11	0.08	0.00	12.51	0.77	0.00
Kenya	0.22	6.10	0.87	0.00	4.63	0.77	0.07
Zimbabwe	1.09	0.52	0.09	0.02	11.48	4.72	0.01
South Africa	7.07	2.50	0.23	0.48	4.88	4.54	0.30
Other Africa	1.85	4.24	2.25	0.48	32.29	10.46	3.24
Other	1.69	2.92	12.43	0.25	0.65	8.53	5.51
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

4.   Immigrant destinations by ethnic group

In this section, the focus of analysis switches to the destination end of the immigrant journey and we explore the geographical patterns of immigrant destination at district level for ethnic groups whose previous usual residence was one of the 56 world regions available from Commissioned Table CO711. Initially, we have selected alternative district classification systems to summarise the immigration flows by ethnic group. A basic four-fold LA classification (Figure 1) distinguishes London Boroughs from provincial Metropolitan Districts, Unitary Authorities and Other Local Authorities (Figure 6) and demonstrates the relative importance of London as a destination for Black and Indian immigrants in particular. The highest share of White immigrants is to more rural areas identified as Other Local

Authorities, as is the case with the Chinese, Mixed and Other ethnic groups, whilst POSA immigrants make up the highest share of immigrants of any ethnic group in Metropolitan Districts. The percentages with Unitary Authority destinations are similar across the ethnic groups. The share of White immigration to Metropolitan Districts is the lowest of all ethnic groups.
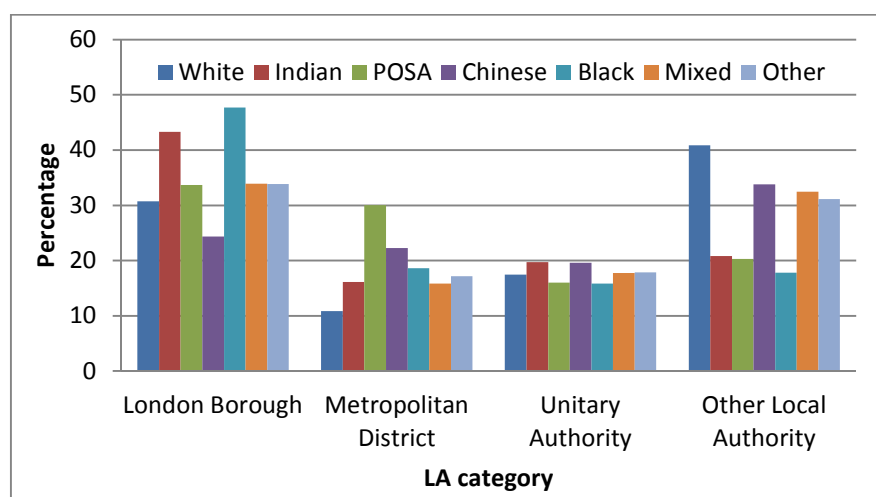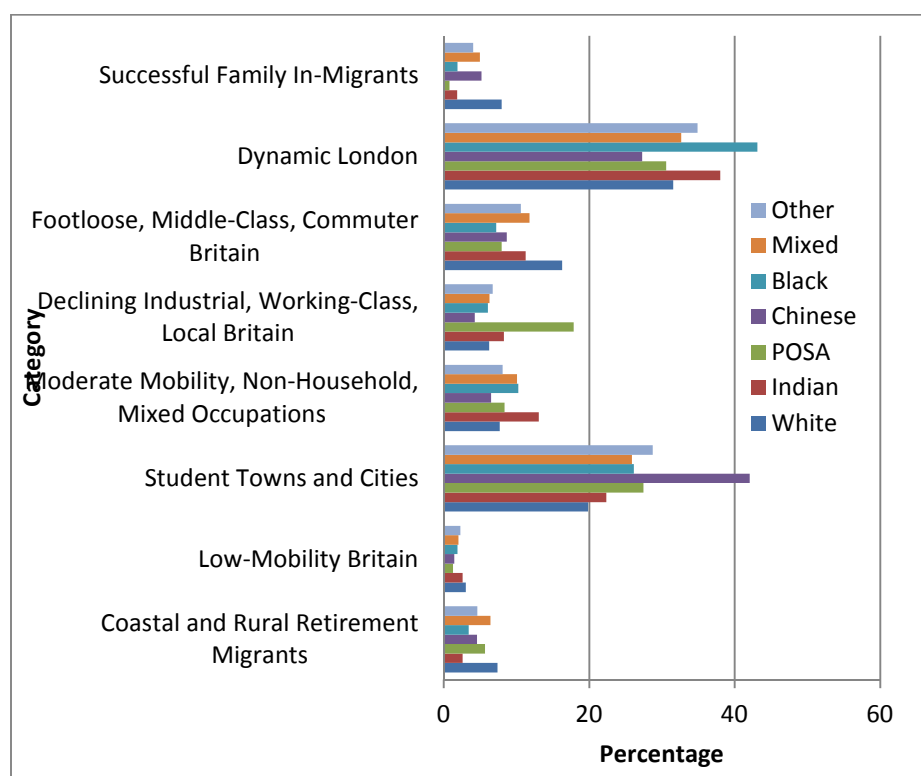

Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 6. Recent immigrants by ethnic group and LA category

An alternative district classification derived by Dennett (2010) for the Centre for Interaction Data Estimation and Research (CIDER), based on internal migration variables from the 2001 Census (Figure 7), illustrates the importance of Student Towns and Cities, particularly for Chinese immigrants, as well as Dynamic London for all ethnic groups. These two area types dominate the map of destinations, although the share of POSA immigrants moving into Declining Industrial, Working Class, Local Britain is relatively high compared with other ethnic groups as is the flow of White immigrants to Footloose, Middle Class, Commuter Britain. A fuller analysis of internal migration patterns by ethnic group using this classification system can be found in Stillwell and Dennett (Forthcoming).

A closer examination of London destinations is available from the third level of the area classification produced by Vickers *et al.* (2003). Immigration to London is essentially divided into six of the 21 classes shown in Figure 8 that illustrate the variation in shares between different ethnic groups. Most important is Multicultural Outer London (Table 9) where there are large absolute numbers of Indians from India and Kenya, Others from Japan and the Philippines, Pakistanis from Pakistan and Sri Lanka, Blacks from Other Africa,

Nigeria and Zimbabwe along with Whites from a variety of world regions in the top 20 inflows. Black Ethnic Boroughs have a significantly higher share of Black immigrants than immigrants in other groups (Figure 8), with the largest flow coming from Other Africa, though this is smaller in absolute terms than the flow of Whites from Australia (Table 9). Other large Black inflows come from Nigeria, Jamaica and Other North America and there is a substantial inflow of Indians from India along with several large White inflows.
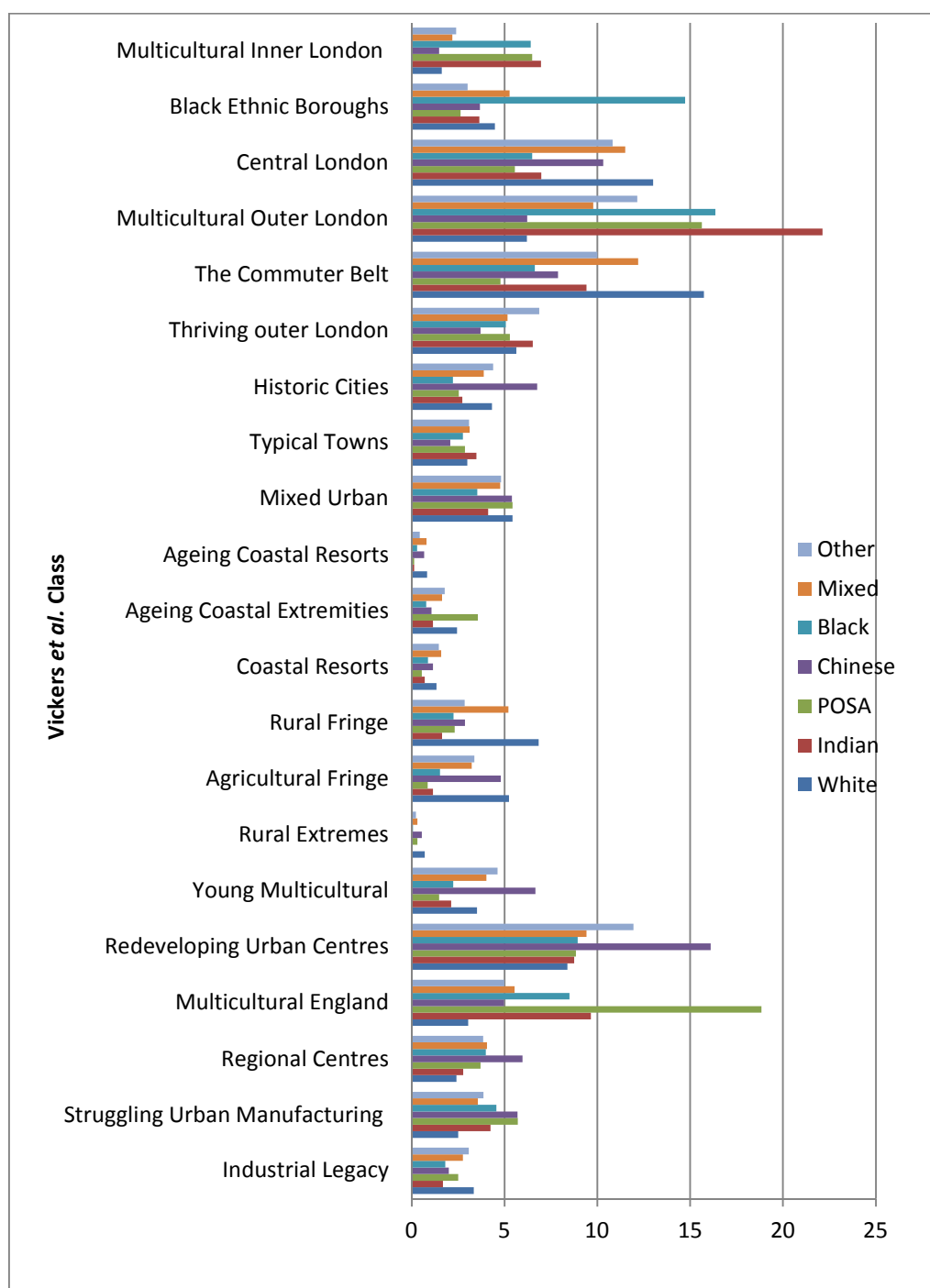

Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 7. Recent immigrants by ethnic group and CIDER district type

The Commuter Belt is relatively more important for White and Mixed immigrants as is Central London (Figure 8) although there are large absolute flows of Indians from India and Others from Japan and the Philippines and Blacks from Other Africa in the top twenty flows (Table 10). Immigrants are attracted to Thriving Outer London in roughly equal shares and Multicultural Inner London has the lowest shares of White, Mixed and Other immigrants (Figure 8). Immigration to Thriving Outer London is dominated by large inflows of Whites from South Africa, USA, Australia and Germany (Table 11) whereas Multicultural Inner London attracts large inflows of Asians, Blacks and Others from various world regions.

Across the rest of the country, it is Multicultural England that stands out as a destination receiving a high share of POSA immigrants, and Asian and Black immigrants to a

22

lesser extent (Figure 8), and Redeveloping Urban Centres, where the Chinese and Other immigrants have chosen to settle but which also attract substantial shares of immigrants in the other ethnic groups. In the Agricultural and Rural Fringes, the highest shares of ethnic group immigrants are for Whites, whilst immigration to the Ageing Coastal Resorts and the Rural Extremes is very small indeed in absolute as well as relative terms.

Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 8. Recent immigrants by ethnic group and Vickers *et al.* district type

Table 9: Largest immigration flows to Multicultural Outer London and Black Ethnic Boroughs by ethnic group and world region of origin

Multicultural Outer London Region of origin	Ethnicity	Inflow	Black Ethnic Boroughs Region of origin	Ethnicity	Inflow
India	Indian	2,957	Australia	White	1,608
Australia	White	2,150	Other Africa	Black	1,251
South Africa	White	1,781	USA	White	975
Japan	Other	1,362	South Africa	White	810
Pakistan	POSA	1,195	France	White	789
USA	White	1,167	Germany	White	701
Other Africa	Black	1,164	New Zealand	White	621
New Zealand	White	1,057	Nigeria	Black	603
France	White	969	Spain	White	500
Other Eastern Europe	White	922	India	Indian	498
Germany	White	771	Italy	White	483
Republic of Ireland	White	601	Other Eastern Europe	White	471
Nigeria	Black	571	Jamaica	Black	412
Sri Lanka	POSA	560	Canada	White	275
Philippines	Other	551	Greece	White	271
Zimbabwe	Black	514	Republic of Ireland	White	262
Kenya	Indian	510	Japan	Other	242
Spain	White	469	Other North America	Black	228
Italy	White	417	Turkey	White	220
Israel including Occupied Territories (Gaza & West Bank)	White	372	Sweden	White	214

Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Table 10. Largest immigration flows to The Commuter Belt and Central London by ethnic group and world region of origin

The Commuter Belt Region of origin	Ethnicity	Inflow	Central London Region of origin	Ethnicity	Inflow
USA	White	6,154	USA	White	6,564
Germany	White	4,009	Australia	White	4,930
South Africa	White	3,951	France	White	3,009
Australia	White	3,856	South Africa	White	1,843
France	White	2,200	Germany	White	1,634
India	Indian	1,276	New Zealand	White	1,564
Spain	White	1,274	Italy	White	1,299
New Zealand	White	1,215	Japan	Other	1,065
Other Eastern Europe	White	1,185	Spain	White	1,042
The Netherlands	White	1,088	Sweden	White	865
Canada	White	1,035	Canada	White	822
Italy	White	914	Other Eastern Europe	White	690
Other	White	794	The Netherlands	White	683
Republic of Ireland	White	720	India	Indian	576
Belgium	White	713	Greece	White	538
Philippines	Other	689	Switzerland	White	536

Other Africa	White	678	Republic of Ireland	White	521
Cyprus	White	648	Belgium	White	493
Sweden	White	637	Other Africa	Black	477
Zimbabwe	White	564	Brazil	White	466

Table 11. Largest immigration flows to Thriving Outer London and Multicultural Inner London by ethnic group and world region of origin

Thriving Outer London Region of origin	Ethnicity	Inflow	Multicultural Inner London Region of origin	Ethnicity	Inflow
South Africa	White	1,790	India	Indian	1,020
USA	White	1,583	Australia	White	736
Australia	White	1,522	New Zealand	White	520
Germany	White	1,301	South Africa	White	492
India	Indian	858	Other Africa	Black	456
France	White	834	Pakistan	POSA	447
New Zealand	White	542	Sri Lanka	POSA	290
Other Eastern Europe	White	536	Other Eastern Europe	White	288
Korea; Republic of	Other	479	Nigeria	Black	286
Japan	Other	476	USA	White	199
Other Africa	Black	422	France	White	193
Spain	White	398	Bangladesh	POSA	172
Sweden	White	384	Poland	White	158
Italy	White	361	Republic of Ireland	White	154
Republic of Ireland	White	313	Germany	White	150
Canada	White	310	Italy	White	136
The Netherlands	White	291	Kenya	Indian	131
Greece	White	274	Spain	White	128
Zimbabwe	White	253	Other North America	Black	126
Pakistan	POSA	243	Japan	Other	125

Table 12. Largest immigration flows to Multicultural England and Redeveloping Urban centres by ethnic group and world region of origin

Multicultural England Region of origin	Ethnicity	Inflow	Redeveloping Urban Centres Region of origin	Ethnicity	Inflow
Pakistan	POSA	2,391	France	White	2,644
India	Indian	1,247	Germany	White	2,067
France	White	824	USA	White	1,901
Germany	White	760	Spain	White	1,542
Australia	White	662	Australia	White	1,538
USA	White	611	India	Indian	1,305
Spain	White	523	Greece	White	1,105
Other Africa	Black	499	China	Chinese	920
Bangladesh	POSA	391	Italy	White	825
Greece	White	390	Other Africa	Black	777
The Netherlands	Black	370	South Africa	White	708

Other	POSA	360	Japan	Other	679
South Africa	White	357	Pakistan	POSA	609
Other Eastern Europe	White	347	Channel Islands and Isle of Man	White	597
Republic of Ireland	White	319	Canada	White	546
China	Chinese	305	Other Africa	White	535
Philippines	Other	293	United Kingdom	White	513
Italy	White	260	Philippines	Other	504
Zimbabwe	Black	233	Republic of Ireland	White	487
Other	White	218	Malaysia	Other	473

Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

5.   New immigrants and established ethnic minority populations

The question we want to address in this section is whether those recent immigrants of particular ethnicity who arrived in 2000-01 from a world region of previous usual residence were drawn to places that had a high number of established immigrants of the same ethnic group who were born in this world region. Data on immigrants from the UK and the UK-born population are excluded in this case and we confine our analysis to the London GOR because of the large number of cells with zero counts in the database for the rest of England and Wales. We have chosen to compute location quotients as a measure of the concentration of ethnic group immigrants and populations. A location quotient for new immigrants ($LQImm_i^{ew}$) is computed for each London borough (i) for those immigrants of ethnic group e whose previous usual residence was world region w, as follows:

$$LQImm_i^{ew} = (Imm_i^{ew} / Imm_i^{**}) / (Imm_*^{ew} / Imm_*^{**}) \tag{1}$$

where

Imm_i^{ew} is the count of new immigrants in ethnic group e from world region w to London borough i during the 12 months before census date;

Imm_i^{**} is the count of all new immigrants to London borough i during the 12 months before census date;

Imm_*^{ew} is the count of all new immigrants in ethnic group e from world region w to London GOR during the 12 months before census date; and

Imm_*^{**} the count of all new immigrants to London GOR during the 12 months before census date.

Similarly, a location quotient for established immigrants ($LQEst_i^{ew}$) is computed for each London borough (i) for those established immigrants populations of ethnic group e who were born in world region w, as follows:

$$LQEst_i^{ew} = (Est_i^{ew} / Est_i^{**}) / (Est_*^{ew} / Est_*^{**}) \tag{2}$$

where:

Est$_i^{ew}$ is the count of the established ethnic group population e born in world region w who were usually resident in London borough i on census date;

Est$_i^{**}$ is the count of the total population born outside the UK who were usually resident in London borough i on census date;

Est$_*^{ew}$ is the count of the population of ethnic group e born in world region w who were usually resident in London GOR; and

Est$_*^{**}$ the count of the total population of those born outside the UK who were usually resident in London GOR on census date.

When the location quotient for new immigrants to a borough takes the value of 1, it means that the proportion of immigrants to that borough in that ethnic group whose previous usual residence was in a particular world region is the same as the proportion in the whole of the London GOR. Values of the location quotient greater than 1 are indicative of concentration whereas values under 1 indicate in under-representation.

We have computed correlation coefficients to measure the relationship between the sets of new immigrants and established populations across all the London boroughs and these are presented for each world region for each ethnic group (graph on left in Figures 9-15), together with the number of immigrants for each ethnic group arriving from each world region (graph on right). Thus, for Whites (Figure 9), we observe coefficients of correlation over 0.8 for Whites from Bangladesh and from the USA, though the former is a very small count whilst the latter is over 10,000. Correlation coefficients between 0.6 and 0.8 are evident for those from the Middle East, India, Other Far East and South Africa. The large flows of White immigrants from EU countries and Oceania do not appear to concentrate in areas where there are concentrations of those born in these regions, though these flows contain a wide range of nationalities. There is more evidence of new Indian immigrants choosing areas where there are concentrations of those born in India as shown in Figure 10, where the correlation coefficient is over 0.8. Correlation is also over 0.8 for those Indians from Kenya and Nigeria. There is also strong positive correlation (Figure 11) between POSA immigrants from Bangladesh, Pakistan and Other South Asia, the three major origins of migrants in this ethnic group, and the concentrations of those born in these countries, but POSA immigrants from EU countries also choose London boroughs where there are EU-born members of the same ethnic group.
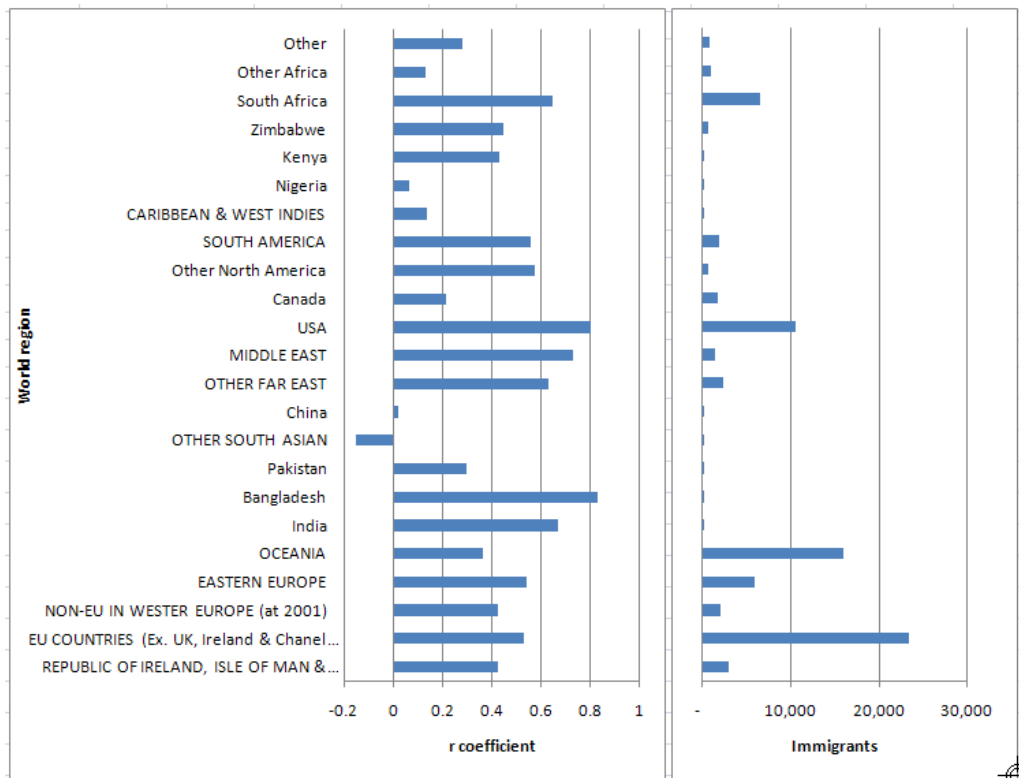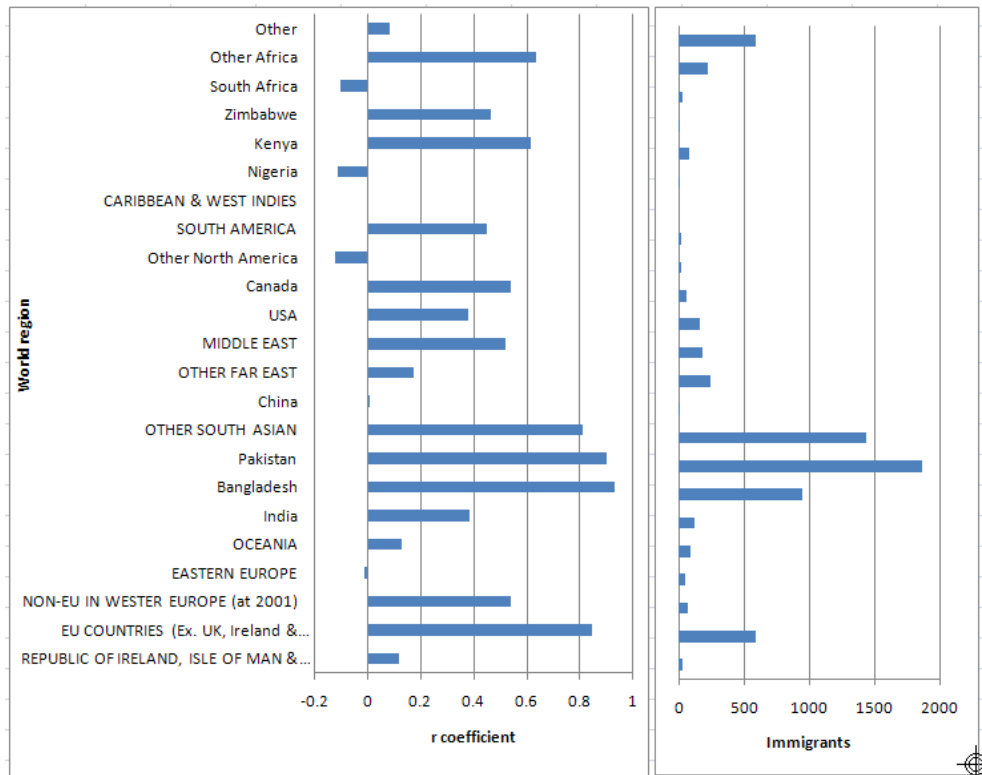
Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 9. Relationship between White established population and recent White immigrants, London boroughs
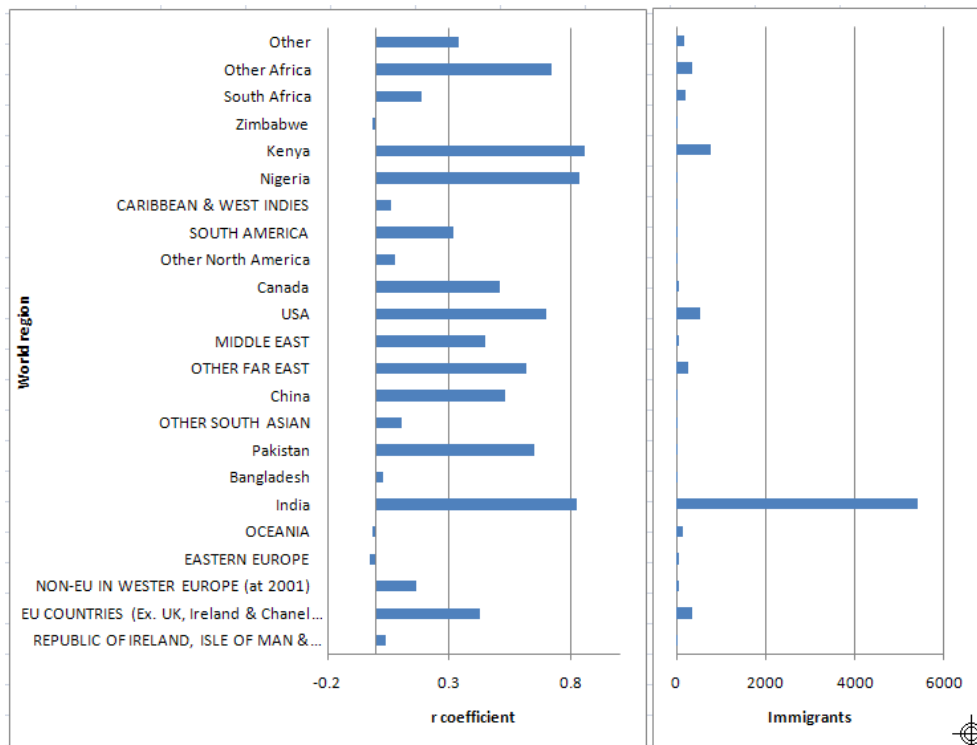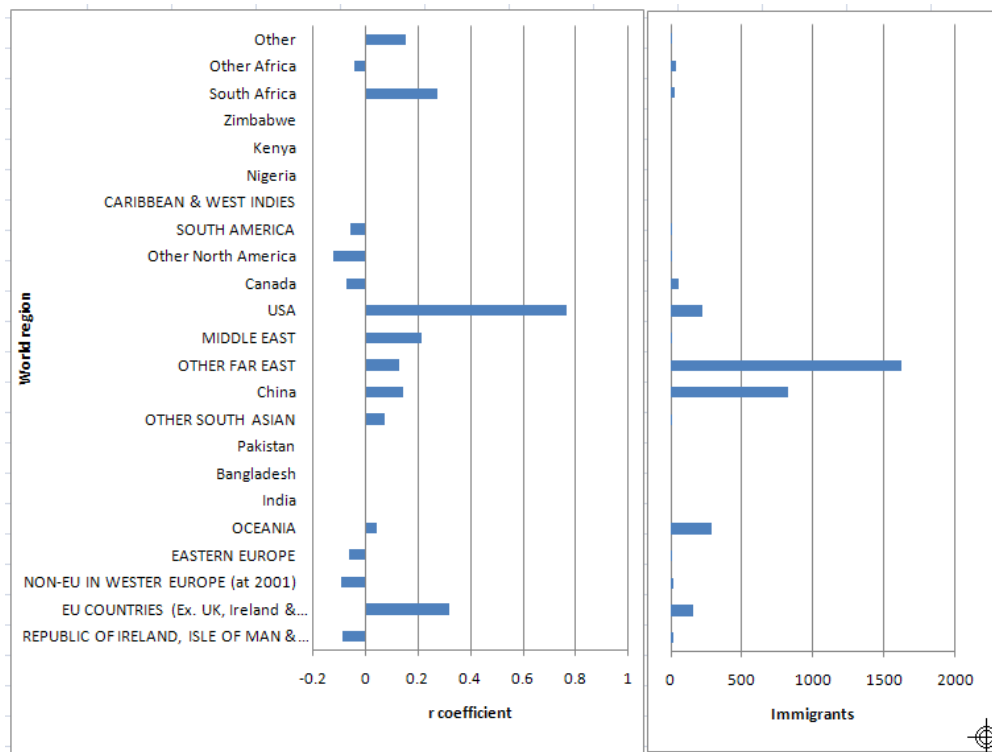

Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 10. Relationship between Indian established population and recent Indian immigrants, London boroughs
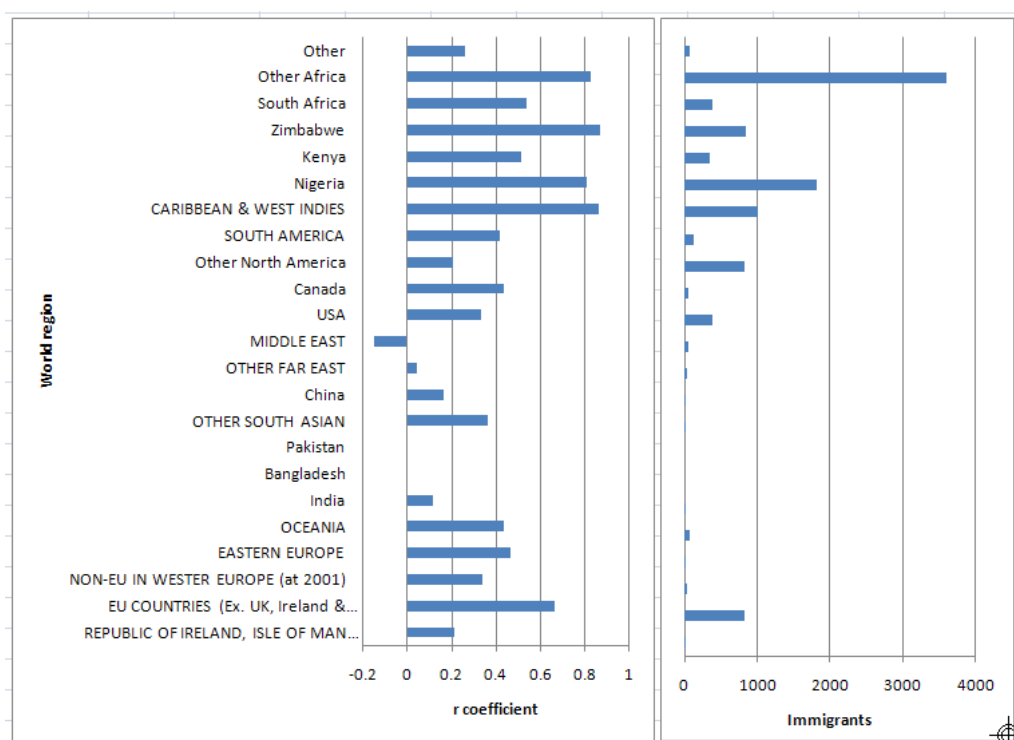
Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 11. Relationship between POSA established population and recent POSA immigrants, London boroughs
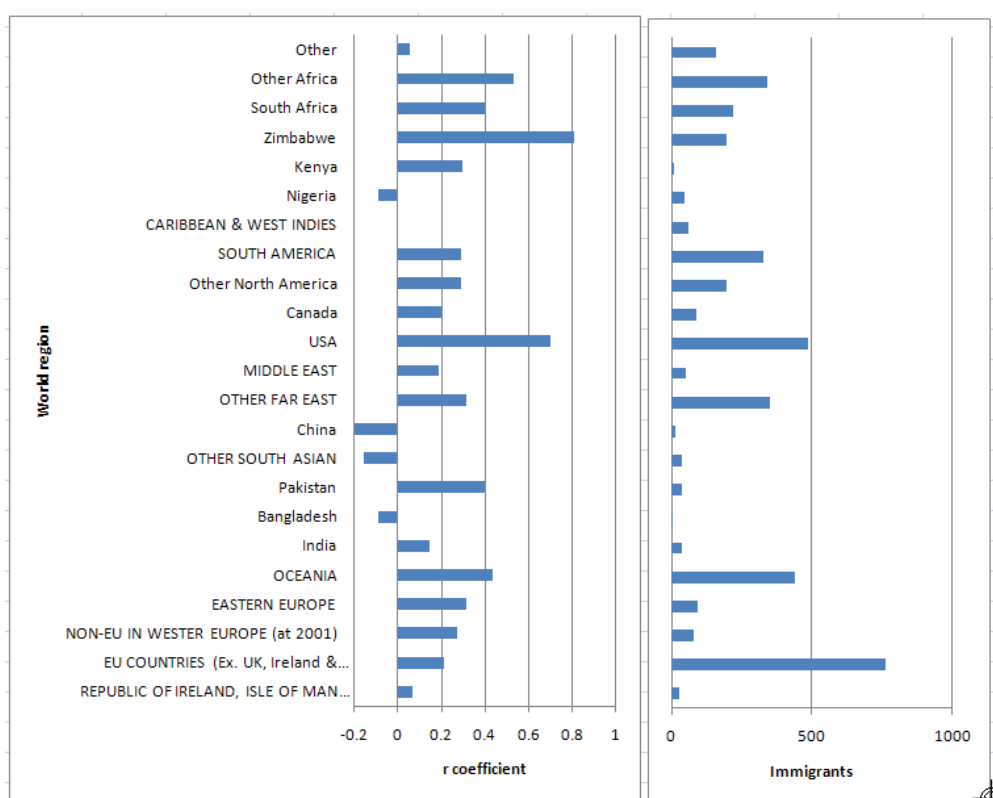

Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 12. Relationship between Chinese established population and recent Chinese immigrants, London boroughs
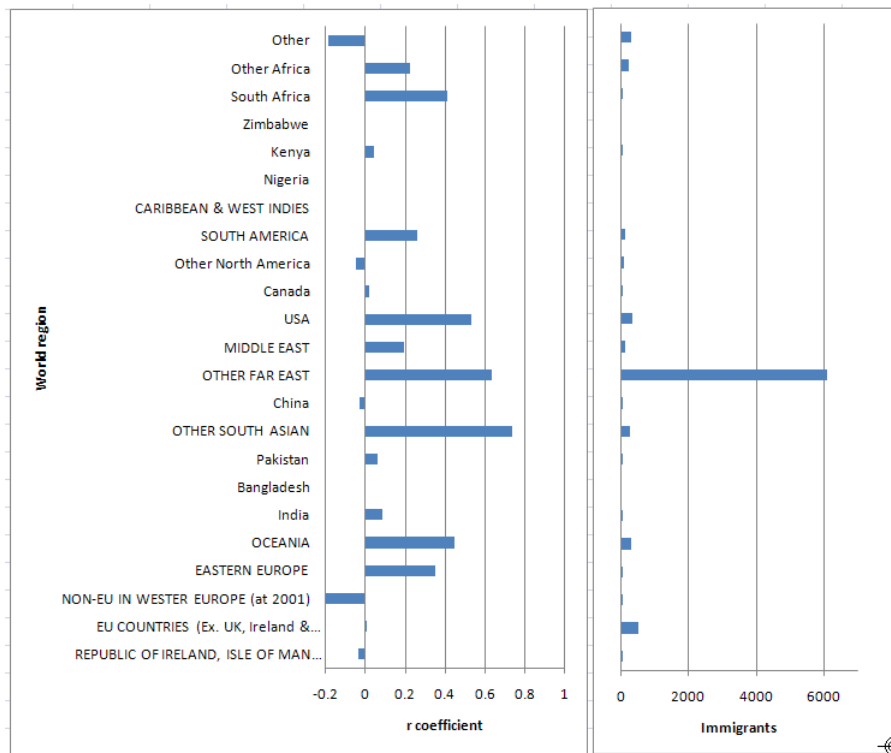
Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 13. Relationship between Black established population and recent Black immigrants, London boroughs

Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 14. Relationship between Mixed established population and recent Mixed immigrants, London boroughs

Source: 2001 Census Commissioned Table CO711B

Figure 15. Relationship between Other established population and recent Other immigrants, London boroughs

The Chinese from China and the Other Far East, on the other hand, appear to have only very low correlation with Chinese born in these world regions (Figure 12), whereas those migrating from the USA have high correlation with those established migrants born in the USA. The correlation coefficients for Blacks (Figure 13) indicate that those new immigrants from the Caribbean and West Indies are most likely to have destinations where there are high concentrations of Blacks from this region. The same goes for those from Zimbabwe, Other Africa and Nigeria but less so for those from Kenya and South Africa. The correlation between new Black immigrants from EU countries and Blacks born in the EU (outside UK) is also above 0.6.

In the case of those of Mixed ethnicity, the main immigrants flows come from a wide distribution of origins including the EU, USA, Oceania, the Other Far East, Other Africa and South America (Figure 14), yet it is those from the USA, Zimbabwe and Other Africa that have the highest correlation with established migrants born in these regions. Finally, the Other group is dominated by immigrants from the Other Far East (Figure 15) and the correlation with those born on this region is over 0.6. The strongest correlation, however, appears to be for the small number Other immigrants from Other South Asia.

31

In general terms, the analysis presented in these graphs suggests that the strength of the relationship between new immigrants and established migrant populations varies between ethnic groups but also depends upon where immigrants came from. The highest correlations appear to be for streams of the larger Asian and Black ethnic groups from particular origins whereas the main streams of the smaller Chinese and Other groups are less correlated with established populations. Most relationships between new and established immigrants are positive but the graphs indicate that this is not always the case and negative correlations appear in all ethnic groups, although none of these are significant.

6.   Conclusions

Whilst press and media headlines in recent years have emphasised the magnitude of immigration into the UK, much less research attention has been paid to the composition of immigrant flows. The ONS classification of seven ethnic groups in the 2001 Census Special Migration Statistics is clearly restrictive in terms of the analysis of the immigration propensities and patterns due to the broad based nature of the groups involved. However, the availability of commissioned data that allows disaggregation of immigrant counts in each ethnic group according to where migrants were living 12 months prior to the 2001 Census, allows some further exploration of the composition of immigrant streams by region of origin. The data reveal a diversity of world regions from where immigrants migrate to England and Wales. This diversity, as one might expect, depends on the ethnic group concerned. On the one hand, the large majority of Indian immigrants come from India; on the other hand, a range of different countries send migrants of Mixed ethnicity to England and Wales.

Furthermore, the 2001 Census data indicate that the largest non-white ethnic group immigrant flow in 2000-01 was of those classified as Other ethnicity (involving over 25,000 persons), the group with the lowest established population in England and Wales in 2001. This is indicative of how the composition of immigration has changed since the days when the majority of immigrants came from the Commonwealth. Rates of immigration therefore vary substantially between by ethnic groups with those of the Other and Chinese at the high end and those of Whites and Blacks at the low end of the range. Explanation of varying propensities is always difficult without the availability of data on motivation, but the evidence of large flows of Chinese and Other immigrants into districts classified as Student Towns and Cities suggests that a substantial share of immigrants in these ethnic groups are international students.

This paper has also addressed the question of whether new immigrants choose to live in places that contain concentrations of populations of the same ethnic group. This may be hypothesised if we consider immigration to be characterised as chain migration in which new immigrants are drawn to existing concentrations because of family contacts and social networks. The results suggest that the relationship between the geographies of new immigrants and established immigrant communities varies by ethnic group but also according to where immigrants come from. Based on correlation analysis of location quotients for new and established immigrants in London at the district scale, POSA immigrants from Bangladesh have the highest correlation with established POSA immigrants born in Bangladesh, and coefficients are also high for POSA immigrants from Pakistan and Other South Asia, Indians from India, and Black immigrants from the Caribbean and West Indies, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Other Africa. However, the distribution of Chinese immigrants from China has weak correlation with the distribution of those born in China and the only strong correlation associated with this ethnic group is between Chinese immigrants from the USA and those established Chinese born in the USA.

The analysis reported in this paper has been entirely based on immigration at the district scale with special attention to London as the primary destination for immigrants in England and Wales. More detailed analysis of immigration into London at the ward level and its relationship with internal migration is reported in Stillwell and McNulty (Forthcoming). The release of the results of the 2011 Census will provide an opportunity to examine the composition and patterns of immigration into the UK in an equivalent period of time ten years on from those reported in this paper and to establish what changes have occurred between the two periods.

References

Boden, P. and Rees, P. (2010) A New Migrant Databank: Concept and development, in Stillwell, J., Duke-Williams, O. and Dennett, A. (eds.) *Technologies for Migration and*

Commuting Analysis: Spatial Interaction Data Applications, IGI Global, Hershey, pp. 111-132.

Dennett, A. (2010) Understanding internal population migration in Britain at the start of the 21st Century, Unpublished PhD Thesis, School of Geography, University of Leeds, Leeds.

Duke-Williams, O. (2010) Interaction data: confidentiality and disclosure, In Stillwell, J., Duke-Williams, O. and Dennett, A. (eds.) *Technologies for Migration and Commuting Analysis: Spatial Interaction Data Applications*, IGI Global, Hershey, pp.51-68.

Finney, N., and Simpson, L. (2009) Internal migration and ethnic groups: evidence for Britain from the 2001 Census, *Population, Space and Place*, 14: 63-83.

Harland, K. and Stillwell, J. (2007) Using PLASC data to identify patterns of commuting to school, residential migration and movement between schools in Leeds, *Working Paper 07/03*, School of Geography, University of Leeds, Leeds.

MacDonald, J. and MacDonald, L.D. (1964) Chain migration, ethnic neighborhood formation and social networks, *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly,* 42(1): 82-97.

Mateos, P. (2007) An ontology of ethnicity based upon personal names: with implications for neighbourhood profiling, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University College London, London.

Peach, C. (1984) The force of West Indian island identity in Britain, in Clarke, C., Ley, D. and Peach, C. (eds.) *Geography and Ethnic Pluralism,* Allen and Unwin, London, pp. 214-229.

Simpson, L. and Finney, N. (2009) Spatial patterns of internal migration: evidence for the ethnic groups in Britain*, Population, Space and Place,* 15: 37-56.

Stillwell, J. and Dennett, A. (Forthcoming) A comparison of internal migration by ethnic group in Great Britain using a district classification, *Journal of Population Research*, in press.

Stillwell, J., Duke-Williams, O. and Dennett, A.(2010) Interaction data: Definitions, concepts and sources, In Stillwell, J., Duke-Williams, O. and Dennett, A. (eds.) *Technologies for Migration and Commuting Analysis: Spatial Interaction Data Applications*, IGI Global, Hershey, pp. 1-30.

Stillwell, J. and Hussain, S. (2010) Ethnic internal migration in England and Wales: spatial analysis using a district classification framework, In Stillwell, J. and van Ham, M. (eds.) *Ethnicity and Integration Understanding Population Trends and Processes Volume 3*, Springer, Dordecht, pp. 105-131.

Stillwell, J. and McNulty, S. (Forthcoming) Immigration and internal migration of ethnic groups in London, in Finney, N. and Catney, G. (eds.) *Minority Internal Migration in Europe,* Ashgate.

Vickers, D. Rees, P. and Birkin, M. (2003) A new classification of UK Local Authorities using 2001 Census Key Statistics, *Working Paper 03/3*, School of Geography, University of Leeds, Leeds.

Vertovec, S. (2006) The emergence of super-diversity in Britain, *Centre on Migration, Policy and Society WP-06-25*, University of Oxford, Oxford.

White, P. (1993) The social geography of immigrants in European cities: the geography of arrival, in King, R. (ed.) *The New Geography of European Migrations*, Belhaven Press, London, pp. 47-66.