Chapter 15: Minority internal migration in Europe: research progress, challenges and prospects

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[in Finney, N. and Catney, G. (2012) Minority Internal Migration in Europe, Ashgate]

Introduction

The collection of original analyses of minority internal migration in countries across Europe presented in this volume represents the state of current knowledge in this field. The chapters examine the experience of thirteen countries, which vary considerably in terms of their economic situations, policy and political contexts, immigration histories and minority experiences. Minority internal migration is examined in Belgium, London, Portugal (Lisbon), The Netherlands (Amsterdam), Israel, Scotland, Germany, Turkey, Greece (Athens), Britain, Italy, Sweden and Spain. This concluding chapter aims to complement Chapter 1 by revisiting the common themes outlined, summarising the findings of the book, and considering some of the important differences between chapters, thus identifying priorities, prospects and challenges for minority internal migration research.

Progress in minority internal migration research

The concerns of the chapters in this collection can be characterised by five research questions, all empirically addressed through quantitative secondary data analysis: How residentially mobile are minorities compared to the majority population? What are the determinants/characteristics of the migration of minorities compared to the majority?

How do the geographies of minority internal migration compare to patterns for the majority? Is internal migration racialised (e.g. in terms of processes such as so-called 'White flight' or 'minority self-segregation')? How can residential patterns be interpreted in terms of social integration? These questions are cross-cut by the three themes outlined in Chapter 1. Foremost is the central and framing theme of ethnic or immigrant integration (or incorporation, or assimilation), which is accompanied by consideration of inter-generational change and the importance of place.

With these questions and themes in mind this section reviews the contributions made by the book. The investigations of the levels of mobility of minorities/immigrants generally confirm what we can expect from the extant literature: minorities are more residentially mobile than the majority population (Andersson, Recano-Valverde and de Miguel-Luken, Sirkeci, Cohen and Can, Malheiros). This is theorised as being related to their migration history (Andersson, Vidal and Windzio); and, in the initial period after immigration, their search for suitable housing and work (Malheiros).

Contrary to this, however, not all chapters found minorities to be more residentially mobile than others. Two chapters in particular provide examples of this. In Israel, Cohen, Hefetz and Czamanski found Arabs to be less mobile than Jewish citizens, which they interpret as a result of restrictive planning and settlement practices. In her examination of the student population in Britain, Finney identifies minority students (Blacks and Asians) as being less mobile than their White counterparts, challenging the norms of student mobility. These findings highlight the importance of national ethno-political contexts, and the variability in internal migration for population sub-groups.

The scale or distance of migration was found to have some effect on the levels of mobility of minorities and this is not consistent across countries: in Germany, minorities

were more mobile over short distances but not longer distances (Vidal and Windzio) whereas in Sweden immigrants were more internally mobile than the Swedish-born at several geographical scales (Andersson).

Inter-generational patterns in levels of mobility also vary between chapters. In Germany the second generation were found to be more mobile than the first, linked to educational moves and inter-generational social mobility (Vidal and Windzio). In Sweden, however, differences in mobility decrease as time living in the country increases and generational convergence is expected (Andersson). In Britain, immigrant students of all ethnic groups are more mobile than their UK-born counterparts (Finney).

Minority internal migrants were found by a number of chapters to have the same characteristics as internal migrants of the majority population (Andersson, Vidal and Windzio, Manley and Catney, Sirkeci, Cohen and Can) and some have argued that it is socio-demographic and economic rather than 'ethnic factors' that are important for understanding residential mobility (Malheiros, Manley and Catney, Andersson). Some characteristics of the more mobile appear persistently important across countries. In particular, renters were very residentially mobile (confounded by high levels of renting amongst immigrants) (de Valk and Willaert, Malheiros, Recano-Valverde and de Miguel-Luken) and higher education was associated with higher mobility (Cohen, Hefetz and Can, Recano-Valverde and de Miguel-Luken). De Valk and Willaert and Finney illustrate the importance of taking lifecourse factors into account to understand migration of migrants and natives, and they identify the need to examine whether lifecourse transitions are associated with migration in the same way across ethnic/immigrant groups.

The chapters present mixed results regarding the association between gender and residential mobility. For example, Recano-Valverde and de Miguel-Luken find females to be less mobile than males in Spain and Portugal and particularly in Italy; Finney finds no gender differences in student migration for any ethnic group; Cohen, Hefetz and Czamanski find Arab women to be more mobile than Arab men. The Israeli findings on gender are particularly interesting and are interpreted as a result of ongoing patrilocalism together with an effect of increased female education. It is apparent that the gendered nature of migration takes different forms in different places and for different population sub-groups. Thus, this is one realm of migration theory where particular attention should be paid to local specificities.

A number of the chapters are concerned with the geographies of minority internal migration. In their chapter on Spain, Sabater, Bayona and Domingo focus on the geographical distribution of recent migrants in the provinces of Barcelona and Madrid. They conclude that recent immigrants are already de-concentrating and dispersing from their neighbourhoods of original settlement and that processes of heterolocalism can be identified for the majority of immigrant groups. In a similar vein, Malheiros identifies immigrant residential de-concentration in relation to the urban fragmentation thesis in Lisbon. This dispersal can alternatively be interpreted as suburbanisation, a process of spatial integration which has been seen to increase with time of residence in the country and over immigrant generations, especially for those who enter into relationships with natives (de Valk and Willaert, Musterd and van Gent).

In some cases, suburbanisation was evident for the majority population but not for minorities. In Scotland, minorities were more likely than Whites to migrate into and around the large urban centres of Glasgow and Edinburgh, most likely because of the

housing, job and educational opportunities on offer in these cities (Manley and Catney). In Athens, immigrants' relocation showed preference for the inner suburbs of the city, whilst Greeks were relocating primarily to more peripheral suburbs (Kandylis and Maloutas).

De Valk and Willaert draw to our attention the importance of considering neighbourhood characteristics and perceptions in understanding geographies of internal migration. For example, neighbourhood dissatisfaction is a good predictor of out migration for all groups (de Valk and Willaert). Ethnic composition of neighbourhood is also important in understanding mobility. In Brussels, more co-ethnics in the neighbourhood were associated with lower levels of mobility (de Valk and Willaert), and clustering was found to be persistent for some minority groups in Britain, Spain and Greece (Stillwell and McNulty, Sabater, Bayona and Domingo, Kandylis and Maloutas). Kandylis and Maloutas remind us that clustering does not necessarily constitute self-segregation and that ethnically mixed residential areas are not necessarily spaces of lower inequality for members of all ethnic groups.

In any neighbourhood, internal migration is just one component of population change, along with natural change and international migration. Stillwell and McNulty remind us of the need to consider the dynamics of all elements of population change. They found that for Asians and Blacks in London, areas of co-ethnic concentration experienced net internal out migration and replacement immigration; this was the case to a lesser extent for Whites and, for the Chinese group, immigration was dominant. Immigrant destination may, however, be diversifying from traditional gateway areas (Stillwell and McNulty, Sabater, Bayona and Domingo). In London some ethnic groups were found to immigrate to areas of co-ethnic residence (Pakistani, Other South Asian,

Bangladeshi, Whites from the USA) but this was less the case for other groups. However, within these areas of co-ethnic concentration, the destinations of minority internal migrants were neighbourhoods of (relatively) low co-ethnic concentration (Stillwell and McNulty).

Questioning the meaning of minority internal migration patterns from the persepctive of ethnic integration leads us to consider their relation to social integration. Several chapters considered how mobility intersects with other social and economic realms which may be seen to represent dimensions of long-term integration, namely housing, employment and education. Musterd and van Gent, de Valk and Willaert, Malheiros, Kandylis and Maloutas, Vidal and Windzio and Andersson consider the significance of the housing market structure in ethnically differentiated migration patterns and the potential for discrimination against immigrants operating in housing markets. In Amsterdam, although non-Western immigrants are less likely than the native Dutch to obtain single-family housing in low density areas outside the region, there is evidence of spatial 'assimilation' and increased housing market access between first and second generations (Musterd and van Gent). In the German case, it is suggested that high minority mobility is linked to the need for housing re-adjustment because minorities are less able to satisfy housing needs in the first instance and, possibly, because of simultaneous experiences of structural discrimination in the housing market (Vidal and Windzio). Of course, housing markets change over time: the unprecedented large-scale immigration to Spain since the 1990s took place during a period of exceptional economic growth. The vast supply of housing in Spain was a result of the high rotation of homes by Spanish nationals, the demand from immigration,

and continued low mortgage rates, none of which may continue in economic recession (Sabater, Bayona and Domingo).

The association between engagement with the labour market and migration is considered by Andersson and Malheiros. Andersson points to labour market attachment as a key factor in determining migration, and particularly the higher migration of minorities and Malheiros identifies work as the main reason for residential move. Sirkeci, Cohen and Can, using somewhat unique Turkish Census data on motivations for internal migration, show that work-related reasons drove a higher proportion of moves for the Turkish-born than for the foreign-born.

Finney discusses migration in relation to education, highlighting that residential mobility for young adults is intertwined with residential norms during Higher Education. The 'norm' of students as mobile does not apply across ethnic groups. How ethnic differences in the migration of students are indicative of inequalities or integration is uncertain and debateable.

Clearly the associations between residential mobility and social and economic integration are complex. Kandylis and Maloutas, in their study of Athens, find that better socio-economic conditions seem to be more clearly linked with relocation in the case of the less mobile (and relatively deprived) groups of Pakistani and Filipino rather than for the more mobile groups, as may be expected. They conclude that "while residential mobility seems to be the spatial expression of social integration for some, it might be only a strategy to mitigate severe socio-spatial restrictions for others" (Kandylis and Maloutas: [*page numbers to be added by copy editor at proofs preparation*]). This serves to highlight the point that, without exception in the contributions to this book, there is diversity of experience both between countries and

between immigrant/minority groups within countries. What is common to all of the chapters is that whilst distinctions can be drawn between minority and majority populations, there is considerable variation in the residential mobility experiences of minorities in each national context. Differing motivations for migration, combined with how these may interplay with particular national political and economic contexts, make it difficult to generalise about experiences. This is highlighted in particular by Vidal and Windzio and Stillwell and McNulty who group minorities on the basis of their immigration histories.

The chapter on Israel provides the clearest example of the need to take into account specific migration histories and national political contexts in understanding ethnic differences in residential mobility (Cohen, Hefetz and Czamanski). They examined the mobility of Arabs, a native homeland minority, and found it to be low in comparison with Israeli Jews, though there were variations between religious groups. The residential experience of Arabs in Israel cannot be understood without consideration of the position of this minority group within Israeli society, and the geo-political organisation of the country.

A further aspect that influences the experiences of minority internal migration is the long-term history of immigration, particularly whether the primary concern is with post-immigration settlement (countries of recent immigration) or differential mobility of minorities in the longer term (countries of established immigration). Post-immigration settlement is the concern of the chapters on Spain, Italy, Portugal (Sabater, Bayona and Domingo; Recano-Valverde and de Miguel-Luken; Malheiros), Athens (Kandylis and Maloutas) and Turkey (Sirkeci, Cohen and Can) – countries or cities where immigration over the last decade has been historically high and in some cases

unprecedented. The Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Sweden and Britain (including Scotland) can be considered to be established immigration countries. Of course, 'established' and 'recent' immigration experiences are not mutually exclusive; the countries with established immigration have also had net gain from immigration in recent years. Nevertheless, the long-term history of immigration does shape the national contexts of dominant political debates, past and present policies of integration, and equality and public attitudes towards immigration, minorities and cohesion. Thus, it can be helpful to distinguish the chapters on the basis of whether their experiences are characterised by 'recent' or 'established' immigration. Through comparison, this enables us to comment on the extent to which patterns of post-immigration settlement and integration from previous decades are being repeated. This book's chapters suggest that to some extent this is the case (for example in terms of dispersal from immigrant settlement areas), but there are also important specificities to the experiences of contemporary immigrants (for example, the pioneering of new settlement neighbourhoods).

Methods of minority internal migration research

A diverse range of secondary data has been used in this volume to examine minority internal migration. Each chapter has used an existing (as opposed to purposely commissioned) quantitative datasets. These can be divided into five types as shown in Table 15.1: national censuses (aggregate and microdata), international census microdata, national sample surveys, population registers and other administrative data.

Table 15.1: Data sources for investigating minority internal migration

Data	Chapter (1st Author)	Country
Census (aggregate and microdata)	Vidal, Sirkeci, Stillwell, Cohen, Kandylis, Finney, Manley, de Valk, Recano-Valverde	Germany, Turkey, Britain, Israel, Greece, Scotland, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Portugal
International Census microdata	Recano-Valverde	Spain, Italy, Portugal
Longitudinal national survey	Vidal	Germany
National/regional population register	Musterd, Sabater, Andersson, de Valk	Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Belgium
Other administrative data	Finney	Britain

There is a great variety and volume of data in European countries which allows for analyses of minority internal migration. The comparability, at a broad level, in the type of data collected in different countries is also notable. Thus, the analyses presented in this collection can address similar themes with analogous approaches. However, none of the datasets used were designed specifically for the study of migration. As a result, there are limitations to the study of migration in terms of how migration is defined, the co-variates available, the time dimensions of the data, and the geographical scales of analysis that are possible. This poses challenges and constraints for the individual country analyses, as the authors have discussed, and makes international comparison particularly difficult. In this regard, the International Public Use Microdata, derived from national censuses, is a very valuable resource for comparative demographic studies (made use of by Recano-Valverde and de Miguel-Luken for Italy, Portugal and Spain).

Table 15.2 summarises how internal migration has been defined for the analyses in each chapter. All of the chapters, whether using aggregate or individual level datasets, identify internal migration as a transition; that is, the place of residence is different at one point of time compared with another. This is in contrast to migration being

measured as an event, where each move would be recorded (see Bell et al. (2002)). Three of the chapters (Cohen, Hefetz and Czamanski, Manley and Catney, Recano-Valverde and de Miguel-Luken) define migration at the individual level, identifying whether or not an individual changed their place of residence between given time points. A more common approach in these chapters, however, has been to identify moves between defined sub-national geographical areas which vary between countries in scale and in the political or administrative function of their boundaries. The years under consideration and the length of the transition periods (time points between which migration is defined) also vary, though most chapters consider moves between intervals of one to five years.

Table 15.2: Measures of internal migration across Europe

Level of migration analysis	Chapter (1st Author)	Country	Sub-national geography (if applicable)	Time(s) over which migration is defined (transition period)
Individual	Cohen	Israel	n/a	Pre 1990/1990-1995
	Manley	Scotland	Short distance/Long distance	1990-1991/2000-2001
	Recano-Valverde	Spain, Portugal, Italy	n/a	2000-2001
Aggregate	De Valk	Belgium	Municipality	2001-2006
	Stillwell	Britain	District and Ward	2000-2001
	Malheiros	Portugal	Region	First residence - 2010
	Musterd	Netherlands	Neighbourhood	1999-2006
	Vidal	Germany	County	2005-2010/1984-2010
	Sirkeci	Turkey	District/village/province	1995-2000
	Kandylis	Greece	Municipality	1996-2001
	Finney	Britain	n/a	2000-2001/2006-2009
	Andersson	Sweden	Labour Market region/Neighbourhood	2005-2008
	Sabater	Spain	Municipality	2005-2010

Not only is migration defined differently in the various national and regional datasets, but the definition of ethnicity or immigrant origin also varies. This reflects differences in immigration histories and political contexts for immigration. Table 15.3 summarises the ways in which ethnicity and immigrant status are identified in the chapters and reveals the diversity of measuring diversity across Europe. In continental Europe there is tendency for minorities to be identified using one's birthplace and/or citizenship. Britain and Israel are notable for their conceptualisation and measurement of minorities on the basis of ethnicity and ethnic identity which is self-defined in the datasets used in chapters on those countries. Israel, as already noted, is a unique case in that Arabs constitute a native or homeland minority. In Britain, the measurement of ethnic group sits alongside the measurement of birthplace in the Census. An ethnic group question was first asked in 1991 with the primary motivation of identifying inequalities and discrimination (see Finney and Simpson (2009) for an overview of the evolution of the British Census question on ethnic group). The concept of ethnicity is less specific than that of immigrant based on birth in another country. Analyses of ethnic group differences in internal migration thus invite interpretations that not only incorporate immigrant experience but also ethnic differences in, for example, culture, religion, lifestyle, social status, discrimination and demographics.

Table 15.3: The diversity of measuring diversity

Ethnic/immigrant measurement	Chapter (1st Author)	Country
Birthplace (and/or grand/parental birthplace)	Vidal, Sirkeci, Stillwell, Kandylis, Andersson, Recano-Valverde	Germany, Turkey, Britain, Greece, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Italy, Portugal
Nationality/Citizenship	Vidal, Sirkeci, Kandylis,	Germany, Turkey, Greece,

	Sabater, Andersson, de Valk	Spain, Sweden, Italy, Portugal, Belgium
Country of origin	Stillwell, Kandylis, Finney	Britain, Greece
Moved from other country	Stillwell, Finney	Britain
Self-identified ethnic/ethno-religious group	Stillwell, Finney, Manley, Cohen	Britain, Scotland, Israel
Native/homeland minority	Cohen	Israel

Theoretical challenges and prospects for minority internal migration research

The research in this collection represents an emerging field that has been propelled largely by political concerns. The development of minority internal migration research has been enabled by large scale secondary data on migration and minorities becoming available in the last few decades. This review of the state of knowledge reveals that we know quite a lot about *who* minority internal migrants are, and variations in migration propensities; *what* characteristics are associated with migration across minority and majority groups; and something about the *where* of minority internal migration for individual countries. However, we know relatively little about *why* there are differences in mobility between immigrant groups, or how minority status shapes migration experiences; or about the *when* (temporality), *how* (processes e.g. decision making) or *so what*? (experiences and social impacts) of minority internal migration. With this in mind, this section assesses potential future directions for minority internal migration research and theoretical arenas to which it can contribute.

It can be argued without difficulty that the theoretical focus of minority internal migration research has to date been narrowly framed by debates on ethnic segregation. The centrality of integration theory to the collection is not surprising given the longstanding, if subsidiary, interest in internal migration in the larger body of work on ethnic segregation, from the work of the Chicago school (Park, McKenzie and Burgess

1925) onwards; and the political context in the early years of the twenty first century across much of Europe characterised by concerns about how to manage growing ethnic diversity nationally and locally.

However, the topic has the potential to contribute to a theoretically broader and more diverse set of debates; and in doing so to reinvigorate 'segregation' and 'integration' theories with more nuanced understandings of population change, and ones that pay attention to the specificities of experiences in Europe as opposed to North America. We propose six areas of contribution and briefly discuss each in turn.

Migration studies

Minority internal migration research can engage more with core debates in migration studies. That the potential for this has not yet been realised is perhaps a reflection of the tendency for migration (and population change) literatures in a broad sense to be separate from residential segregation literatures. Minority internal migration studies in this volume and elsewhere (such as Simpson (2004), Catney (2008) and Sabater (2010)) have begun to bridge this gap in relation to ethnic segregation. However, three avenues of migration scholarship in particular seem ripe for contributions from minority internal migration studies: the selectivity of migrants; the connections between immigration and internal migration; and transnationalism.

Concern about migrant selectivity is at the core of minority internal migration research which has demonstrated that there is something about immigrant experience or minority ethnic group identification that affects experiences of internal migration. Relatively little is understood, however, about the role of ethnicity in migration, or the mechanisms and processes associated with ethnic identity that impact on migration. In her chapter on migration of students in Britain, Finney identifies theories from

education literature that can inform understandings of ethnic differences in migration. It is likely that both a greater focus on specific (ethnic) sub-populations and social realms (education, housing, employment, for example), together with an interdisciplinary perspective, is necessary to improve theoretical understandings of the links between mobility and ethnicity.

It is important also to pay attention to the multi-dimensionality of ethnicity and how ethnic identity intersects with other social markers, particularly gender, class and religion. Some studies have attempted to address issues of intersectionality in understanding internal migration; these include Munoz's (2011) study of mobility of South-Asian ethno-religious groups in Scotland and Catney and Simpson's (2010) examination of the association between class and ethnicity in migration from urban centres, which concluded that there is a social gradient to migration from traditional immigrant gateway areas regardless of ethnicity.

It has long been recognised that, in terms of the people and processes involved, the distinction between internal and international migration is not as clear as this binary categorisation implies. King and Skeldon (2010) re-ignited this debate and called for theoretical development that bridges the gap between internal and international migration, and that is concerned less with the demarcation of national boundaries. Minority internal migration research is ideally situated to meet this challenge, being as it is a study of the continued mobility of immigrants. It is readily applicable to the question of how the international migrant experience is transferred to sub-national mobility.

Furthermore, addressing questions about the information, communication and social networks of minority internal migrants; the experiences of post-immigration mobility;

and the migration decision making processes, can contribute to debates about transnationalism (which are concerned with inter-national connectivity and the diminishing significance of state boundaries). Whilst internal migration in this book is specifically concerned with movement contained within nation states, both the flows of people and the causes and consequences of these movements operate within the broader geo-political context of Europe and beyond.

Ethnic integration

As discussed above, ethnic or immigrant integration (or 'assimilation') theory has been the dominant framework for research on minority internal migration. However, we suggest that minority internal migration research can contribute to integration theory in additional ways, and these are possible avenues for the future development of the field. In particular, longitudinal analysis of the coincidence of internal migration – and the geographies of that migration – with other life changes would illuminate the question of what constitutes integration in terms of migration patterns. This involves a re-examination of the meaning of ethnic concentrations, of what constitutes 'good segregation' and 'bad segregation' (Peach 1996); and a re-thinking of 'segmented assimilation' in spatial terms (Portes and Zhou 1993). It also requires an inter-generational perspective, comparing experiences of immigrants with those of their children. A clearer understanding of the meaning, causes and consequences of ethnic population change and the geographies of population diversity will develop debates about the impact of immigration that are pertinent politically across Europe.

Lifecourse pathways

Understanding the differing migration experiences of minority groups can be seen through the lens of diverse lifecourse pathways and de-standardisation of the lifecourse.

This perspective, that views migration in the context of other life events (or transitions) across the span of individuals' lives, is becoming increasingly important in migration research (Wingens et al. 2011). In addition, examining how migration experiences and decisions through the lifecourse are influenced by minority or immigrant status will contribute to our understanding of the meaning of ethnicity in relation to migration. A lifecourse perspective also encourages engagement with the temporal dimensions of migration, viewing migration as a process or transition, rather than as an isolated event. Taking a lifecourse perspective allows the longer-term causes and consequences of migration to be identified, feeding into debates about how experiences in early life affect later life chances and outcomes.

Neighbourhood studies

All studies of internal migration are, by definition, geographical, in that they consider a spatial event. Some are explicitly concerned with geography when they consider the places (or types of place) people move to and from. We know that migration changes the character of neighbourhoods along ethnic and other social lines. A body of work on urban change is concerned with these issues (e.g. Bailey (2012)) and minority internal migration research can usefully contribute. In particular, it can assess the impact of selective migration in ethnic terms on neighbourhoods change; and the impact of ethnically differentiated neighbourhood change on residents' experiences, (i.e. the 'effect' of neighbourhood ethnic group population change; see Galster (2007) and Laurence and Heath (2008)). Improved understanding of the links between ethnicity, neighbourhood dynamics and individual and neighbourhood outcomes can enable constructive engagement with debates about whether regeneration and development policies should be targeted towards people or places.

Demographic change

Minority internal migration research can contribute to theories of demographic change at individual and societal levels. At the individual level, it can enhance understanding of how demographic decisions and the inter-relations between fertility, mortality and migration differ between minority and immigrant groups. As discussed in the section on lifecourse pathways, these differences may be expected, and could have implications for planners and providers of health and housing services. At a societal level, minority internal migration studies can reveal the causes and consequences of changes to the ethnic/immigrant population structure of sub-national areas. Sub-national projections of population with an ethnic group dimension, which are important for planning purposes (and increasing so as developed societies become more ethnically mixed), will depend on accurate estimates of internal migration by ethnic group (Rees 2008).

Minority internal migration research can engage in key debates in Demography and Population Studies about the balance of population and resources, and particularly about the challenges of 'overpopulation' and population ageing. Specifically, it can contribute to the growing interest in regional variation in population dynamics and the need to understand not just the number of people and where they are but who is where and how this is changing. By engaging with demographic debates, minority internal migration research can contribute to work that attempts to bring migration into theories of demographic change and transition.

Ethnic inequalities

How do ethnic differences in migration patterns represent differing barriers and opportunities for movement? Do they reflect inequalities in, for example, housing,

employment and education? Do they represent discrimination? And what are the consequences of inequalities in mobility? If the notion of mobility capital is employed, are minority groups particularly advantaged or disadvantaged in certain life outcomes by their relatively high or low mobility? These questions have yet to be addressed by minority internal migration research but have the potential to illuminate ethnic inequality from a migration perspective, inform equality policies, and re-frame understandings of migration in terms of equality.

There is clearly considerable scope for the development of minority internal migration research and for its contribution to the theoretical development of a number of politically relevant fields. In all of these realms the historical, political and policy contexts are important and theories will need to take into account the unique political and economic structures of Europe and its constituent countries, as well as the context of varying national and international policies on immigration and mobility.

Methodological challenges and prospects for minority internal migration research

Many of the questions raised and potential theoretical contributions outlined above cannot be addressed with the (type of) data and methods used in the chapters of this book. To a large extent, the extant work has made best use of existing quantitative data, but it is restricted by the limited migration information available. Two solutions are apparent: making use of new, forthcoming data sources; and creating new data. We focus here on prospects for the UK but similar opportunities exist in other countries in Europe. In terms of new quantitative data for secondary analysis in the UK, for example, the UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS) (known as 'Understanding Society') offers great promise because of its ethnic minority boost sample, backwards incorporation of the British Household Panel Study, and module on migration history

with questions on internal and international migration. The national censuses of a number of countries conducted in the early 2010s (2011 in the UK) will provide an update to the studies presented in this collection and opportunity through census longitudinal studies to incorporate a time dimension. In the UK, for example, ethnic group information will be available from the 1991, 2001 and 2011 Censuses, allowing investigation of trends over three decades. Census data have the advantage of sufficient numbers to enable analysis for small geographical areas.

In addition to making use of new data, there may be existing data which can be accessed and used for studies of minority internal migration. For example, in England and Wales the National Pupil Database, a census of all school pupils[1], records pupils' home address, ethnicity and other individual information which is available to researchers in an anonymised form. Although the data are primarily intended for research on education, they have potential for studies of migration, particularly those interested in children and families for small areas with a longitudinal dimension (Simpson, Marquis and Jivraj 2010).

If we are to fully address the questions of the 'why', 'how', 'when' and 'so what' of minority internal migration and fulfil the research agenda, the creation of new data seems essential. Much of the theoretical contributions outlined above, including understanding migrants' social networks, migration decision making and migration experiences, will require primary data collection, both qualitative and quantitative. A mixed methods approach, such as 'facet' methodology (Mason and Dale 2011) may be particularly appropriate for this topic, where there is a desire to understand large scale patterns, processes and trends as well as individual decisions and experiences. The

[1] The National Pupil Database excludes pupils of independent (non-state funded) schools.

collection of primary data is clearly more costly (in terms of money, time and human resources) than secondary data analysis, and the degree to which this is practical will depend upon how strongly a case can be made for the need and impact of minority internal migration research.

One area with considerable potential for methodological development is the international comparison of minority internal migration, or, rather, an integrated international investigation. This will pose challenges of how to compare and account for varying national (and sub-national) economic, political and cultural contexts; how to use data from differing sources in a combinatory or complementary manner; how to create comparable measures and definitions of minorities and migration; and how to understand the implications of differing definitions for the research findings. A project that may assist in the challenges of such a study is the international database of internal migration data (Bell et al. 2002).

There is also scope for minority internal migration research to be innovative in terms of the methods of analysis that are used. The chapters in this collection have used standard quantitative approaches but future work might consider the benefits of spatial analysis techniques (Lloyd 2011), advanced longitudinal approaches and statistical methods for distinguishing between the effects of individuals and places (including multilevel analysis, see Goldstein 2011). Advanced qualitative methods, including visual and participatory approaches (Mason and Dale 2011) also have much to offer and a mixed methods framework including quantitative and qualitative techniques seems appropriate for studying patterns of population change alongside minority migration experiences and motivations.

Conclusion

Minority internal migration research in Europe is emerging as a field with a great deal to contribute to wider debates about integration, population change and the impact of immigration, as the chapters in this volume illustrate. The body of work has illuminated much about ethnically differentiated levels and geographies of internal migration and characteristics of migrants, and has considered the importance and meaning of residential mobility for social integration. The chapters in this book have illustrated that there are some commonalities in the residential experiences of immigrants and minorities in different European countries, but also some differences which, for interpretation, require us to consider the specific political, economic and historical experiences of each national context.

This chapter has identified six theoretical arenas to which minority internal migration research can contribute: migration studies (particularly selectivity of migration; the relation between international and internal migration; and transnationalism), ethnic integration, lifecourse pathways, neighbourhood studies, demographic change and ethnic inequalities. Contributing to these debates will require minority internal migration scholars to make full use of quantitative data that become available, and consider the gathering of new data, both qualitative and quantitative. A mixed methods framework is particularly appropriate for advancing our understanding of large scale patterns, processes and trends, as well as individual migration decisions and experiences. Internationally comparative studies are crucial for the theoretical development and integrated study of migration, and to understand the effects of continental economic and political change on population movement.

We hope that this book has demonstrated the richness of minority internal migration research in Europe, provided a review of the state of knowledge, and identified key elements of an agenda for future research that will encourage scholars to build our understanding of the patterns, causes and consequences of the ethnic dimensions of internal migration.

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