Settlement patterns of rich- and poor-country migrants into the London metropolitan region since 2001

A report for LSE London

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Abstract

This study of migrants' settlement into the London area as captured by the latest, 2011 census adopts two approaches to demonstrate a nuanced concentric pattern in the location of migrants from different parts of the world. First, the differentiation of migrants into stylised categories of "rich-country" and "poor-country" migrants reveals distinct patterns of settlement for each; and second, an examination at the scale of the metropolitan region shows that these patterns operate differently inside and outside the Green Belt for both categories of migrants, demonstrating the importance of analysing migrants' settlement patterns at this scale. The most important change in settlement patterns to have taken place in the ten years since the earlier, 2001 census is the role taken up by a number of commuter town centres outside the Green Belt in receiving recent arrivals of "poor-country" migrants, with implications for the infrastructure and labour economies of these districts.

Introduction

This paper is concerned with where migrants from various types of countries find themselves settling within the London area, especially in the years between the 2001 and 2011 censuses. Seeing where migrants settle within London offers a window onto important socioeconomic questions, such as whether migrant groups are assimilating within the fabric of society or enclaving themselves in racialised neighbourhoods, to what extent one generation of migrants follows their forebears into the same areas or settle independently of them, and how migration is impacting on housing and labour markets across the city.

However, much debate about migration into London—whether in politics, in the tabloids, on social media or elsewhere—tends to focus on migrants coming from poorer countries, who move to London in the hopes of finding economic opportunities not forthcoming in their countries of origin. Yet there are also many thousands of migrants coming from quite wealthy countries each year, such as European and North American professionals entering sectors such as finance, law, design and media. To really understand where migrants are settling and how they are impacting on broader trends across London, we need to look at each of these cohorts separately, and compare their distinct geographies.

We also argue that studies of how migrants settle into the London area must now broaden their view beyond the territory of Greater London itself, into the districts and boroughs outside the Green Belt from which large numbers of residents now commute. There are two reasons for this. The first is quite simply the fact that migration into the London area is now spilling out into these areas, and that trying to assess migration patterns by looking only at Greater London is slowly becoming as anachronistic now as it would have been fifty years ago to assess migration patterns by looking only at the inner boroughs. The second is that, as we show, geographies of migration into these districts and boroughs outside Greater London are not simply an extrapolation of the geographies of migration into Greater London itself; settlement into the two areas exhibit very different patterns, which should now be understood in order to predict their distinct impacts on the labour and housing markets in both.

The census consensus

Within the existing scholarship on migration in London, much research analysing the geographies of migration into the London area have been concerned with how various migrant groups settle into and disperse within the Greater London area over time, and thus with the related question of to what degree groups assimilate within the fabric of London society or remain enclaved within specific localities. These two tendencies are what the geographer Ceri Peach (1997) calls the "assimilationist" or "melting pot" and the "pluralist" models of "ethnic minority adjustment" to a new city. It has long been held that ethnic populations as a whole have been dispersing from their initial settlement areas, partly as white populations disperse beyond the Green Belt (Peach, 1999; Stillwell, 2010).

However there are important differences between individual migrant groups. Peach identifies that "in London, the Caribbean population is following the melting pot route in spatial and marital terms, while the Bangladeshi population is following the pluralist route. Indian patterns contain elements of each, but [the data] suggests more pluralist than melting pot trajectory" (Peach, 1997, p. 120). This might be understood by the casual observer who may see in Brixton the perfect example of a melting pot wherein Caribbean and white populations have become completely intermingled, while seeing in Neasden or Whitechapel quite homogeneous communities of Indians and Bangladeshis respectively.

But the casual observer may also visit South Kensington and remark upon the great numbers of French, Italians and North Americans who now populate that area. We are prone to thinking of migrants to cities like London as coming from relatively poor countries, yet there is an important history of migrants from rich countries to be traced as well. Geographer Paul White (1998) identified that migrants from North America, Australasia and Europe had together established a distinct concentration pattern that differs substantially from those created by other, poorer ethnic groups. While migrants from poorer countries tended to be found in London's less expensive inner boroughs such as Tower Hamlets (Bangladeshis), Southwark and Lewisham (Caribbeans) as well as throughout outer boroughs north of the river (Indians), migrants from wealthier countries tended to concentrate in more expensive inner-west boroughs such as Westminster, Kensington and Chelsea, and Hammersmith and Fulham. Japanese migrants, another wealthy group, established a slightly broader distribution, settling along a corridor of western boroughs that stretched into Wimbledon (Merton) in the south and Golders Green (Barnet) in the north (White, 1998; White & Hurdley, 2003).

The question now is how these patterns emerge in the present day. In this paper, we create a distinction between "rich-country" and "poor-country" migrants to examine these patterns separately.

However, countries of birth are rather coarsely lumped together in the 2011 census data tables used for this study, being grouped into large regional categories such as European Union (EU) pre- and post-2001 member states, or North America and the Caribbean, or Southern and Eastern Africa. As a result we have had to assign each regional category entirely to one or the other of our "rich-country" and "poor-country" categories based on our prior understanding of each. One category, North America and the Caribbean, we understand to conflate two rather easily separable waves of migration—one a wave of Caribbean migrants (thus migrants from "poorer" backgrounds), and the other a wave of North American migrants (thus from "wealthier" backgrounds). While migrants from both of these regions have arrived throughout all decades captured by the census, the peak for migrants from the Caribbean came several decades earlier than the peak for migrants from North America, allowing us to choose to separate these two waves using a cut-off point of 1980, assigning migrants arriving before this point to our "poor-country" set, and migrants arriving afterwards to our "rich-country" set. Overall we assigned each regional category to our "rich-" and "poor-country" set as follows:

Table 1. "Rich-country" and "poor-country" categories used in this study

"Rich countries"	*"Poor countries"*
EU pre-2001 member states	EU post-2001 member states
Australasia	European countries not in the EU
North America and the Caribbean post-1980	North America and the Caribbean pre-1980
	Central and South America
	Middle East, Africa, and Asia

The metropolitan perspective

At the same time, much of the existing scholarship on migration into London has been concerned only with migration into the area of Greater London, without regard for the districts and boroughs beyond the Green Belt. In the first decades of the 21st century, this restrictive view is becoming increasingly untenable, as a number of commuter town centres within these districts begin to play a role in receiving recent generations of migrants. One indication that a wider metropolitan view is required is the consensus mentioned earlier that white populations have been withdrawing to areas outside the Green Belt. If this is so, are these all British populations, or are there also certain categories of migrants settling in these areas? And what geographies of settlement arise amongst them?

To explore this dimension, this paper expands its geographic frame to the London metropolitan region (LMR) using a definition of this region common in the literature, and which comprises 86 current and former local authority areas across the three regions of the greater southeast—(Greater) London, East of England, and the South East—as set out in the following table and map.

Table 2. Local authority areas used in this study

Counties	Included	Not included
East of England		
Bedfordshire	Central Bedfordshire (former South Bedfordshire areas only), Luton	Bedford, Central Bedfordshire (former Mid Bedfordshire areas)
Cambridgeshire	*None*	*All (6)*

Counties	Included	Not included
Essex	Basildon, Brentwood, Castle Point, Chelmsford, Epping Forest, Harlow, Rochford, Southend-on-Sea, Thurrock, Uttlesford (10)	Braintree, Colchester, Maldon, Tendring (4)
Hertfordshire	Broxbourne, Dacorum, East Hertfordshire, Hertsmere, North Hertfordshire, St Albans, Stevenage, Three Rivers, Watford, Welwyn Hatfield (10)	None
Norfolk	*None*	*All (7)*
Suffolk	*None*	*All (7)*
London		
Inner London	Camden, City of London, Hackney, Haringey, Hammersmith and Fulham, Islington, Kensington and Chelsea, Lambeth, Lewisham, Newham, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, Wandsworth, Westminster (14)	None
Outer London	Barking and Dagenham, Barnet, Bexley, Brent, Bromley, Croydon, Ealing, Enfield, Greenwich, Harrow, Havering, Hillingdon, Hounslow, Kingston upon Thames, Merton, Redbridge, Richmond upon Thames, Sutton, Waltham Forest (19)	None
South East		
Berkshire	Bracknell Forest, Reading, Slough, Windsor and Maidenhead, Wokingham (5)	West Berkshire (1)
Buckinghamshire	Chiltern, South Bucks, Wycombe (3)	Aylesbury Vale, Milton Keynes (2)
East Sussex	*None*	*All (6)*
Hampshire	Hart, Rushmoor (2)	Basingstoke and Deane, East Hampshire, Eastleigh, Fareham, Gosport, Havant, New Forest, Portsmouth, Southampton, Test Valley, Winchester (11)
Isle of Wight	*None*	*Isle of Wight (1)*
Kent	Dartford, Gravesham, Maidstone, Medway, Sevenoaks, Tonbridge and Malling, Tunbridge Wells (7)	Ashford, Canterbury, Dover, Shepway, Swale, Thanet (6)
Oxfordshire	*None*	*All (5)*
Surrey	Elmbridge, Epsom and Ewell, Guildford, Mole Valley, Reigate and Banstead, Runnymede, Spelthorne, Surrey Heath, Tandridge, Waverley, Woking (11)	None
West Sussex	Crawley, Horsham, Mid Sussex (3)	Adur, Arun, Chichester, Worthing (4)

Key to local authorities

Figure 1. Local authorities constituting the London metropolitan region within this study. Inner and outer boroughs outlined in black. Unlined area surrounding Luton is former South Bedfordshire.

For each of these areas, 2011 census data on country of birth by year of arrival was taken for all lower-level super output areas (LSOAs), and maps prepared for various cohorts by various timespans. This paper proceeds by exploring five regional cohorts considered instructive of the nature of migration into the region: Southern Asia, North America and the Caribbean arriving before and after 1980, EU post-2001 member states, and Australasia. We then consider our larger cohorts of "rich" and "poor countries", informed by what had been learned through the previous five regional cohorts. Finally we discuss the most distinctive patterns to emerge in recent decades, in particular the emergence of a number of town centres outside London now hosting large numbers of migrants from poor countries.

Southern Asians

Southern Asians arriving between 2001 and 2011 have settled into three major areas of concentration within (Greater) London, and in a number of discrete town centres outside it. Within London, one area spans the western outer boroughs of Brent, Harrow, Ealing, Hounslow and Hillingdon, and spills into Slough in Berkshire, with focal points in Wembley (Brent), Southall (Ealing) and Hounslow Central. Another area spans the eastern boroughs of Newham, Redbridge, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest, Barking and Dagenham, and Greenwich, with focal points in Upton Park-East Ham (Newham), Ilford (Redbridge), Barking, and Plumstead (Greenwich). A third, lighter area spans the southern outer boroughs of Croydon, Merton, Sutton, Kingston and Wandsworth, with a focal point in Croydon.

Southern Asians arriving before 2001
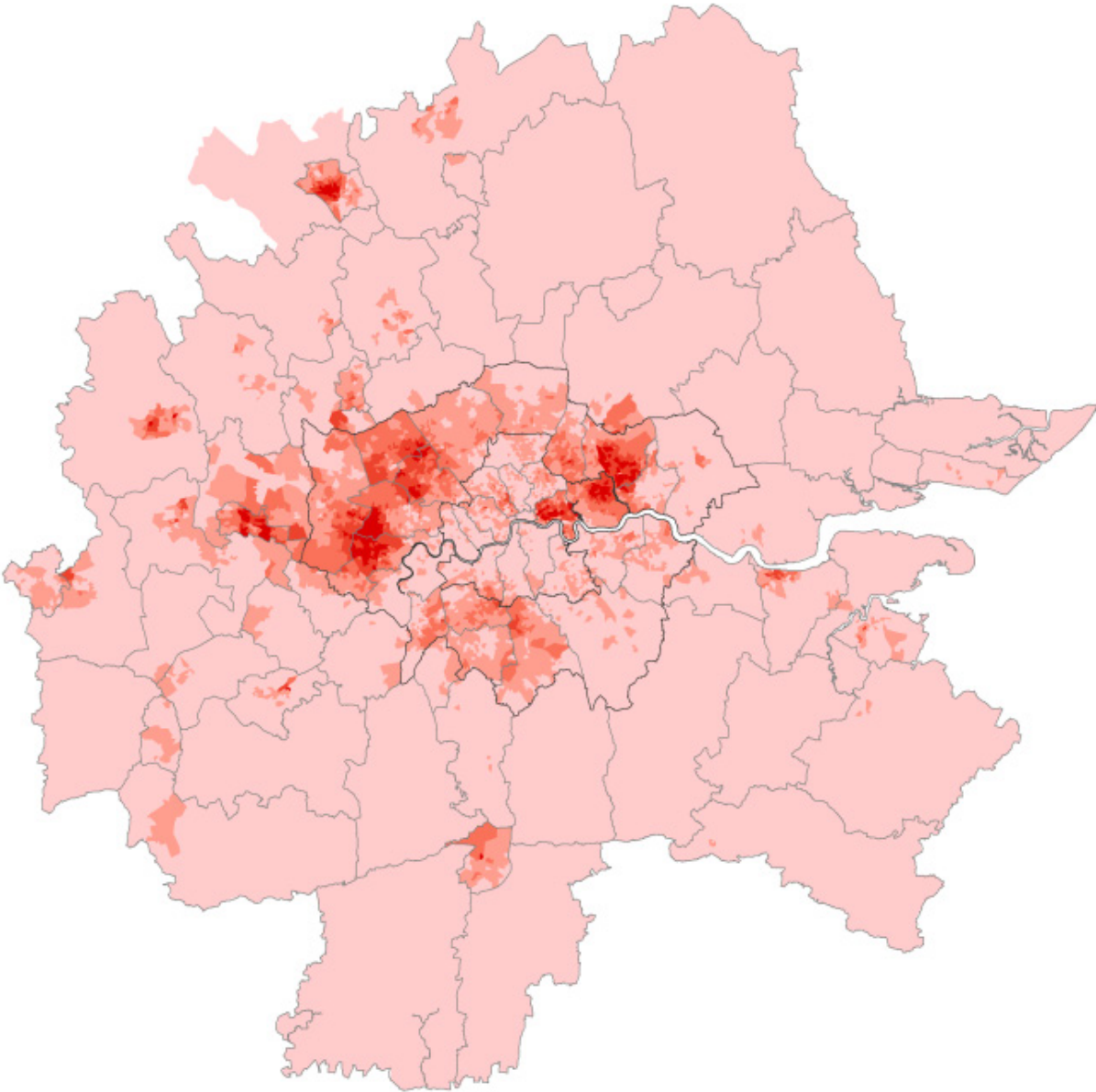
Figure 2. Proportions of residents born in Southern Asia arriving before 2001

Outside London, focal points arise in several town centres to the west and south, in particular Slough, Aldershot (Rushmoor), Reading, Crawley and Luton.

Southern Asians arriving before 2001 now find themselves distributed across only slightly more diffuse versions of the same major areas of concentrations within London and of the town centres outside it. There is an almost continuous diffuse zone of settlement across the north of outer London, from Slough and South Bucks in the west, driving through Hillingdon, Ealing, Hounslow, Brent and Harrow, spreading across Barnet and Enfield, and into Waltham Forest, Redbridge, Newham and Tower Hamlets, with focal points in Southall-Hounslow, Wembley and Kingsbury (Brent-Harrow) in the west, and Upton Park, Ilford, Redbridge central and Whitechapel (Tower Hamlets) in the east.

Southern Asia arriving after 2000
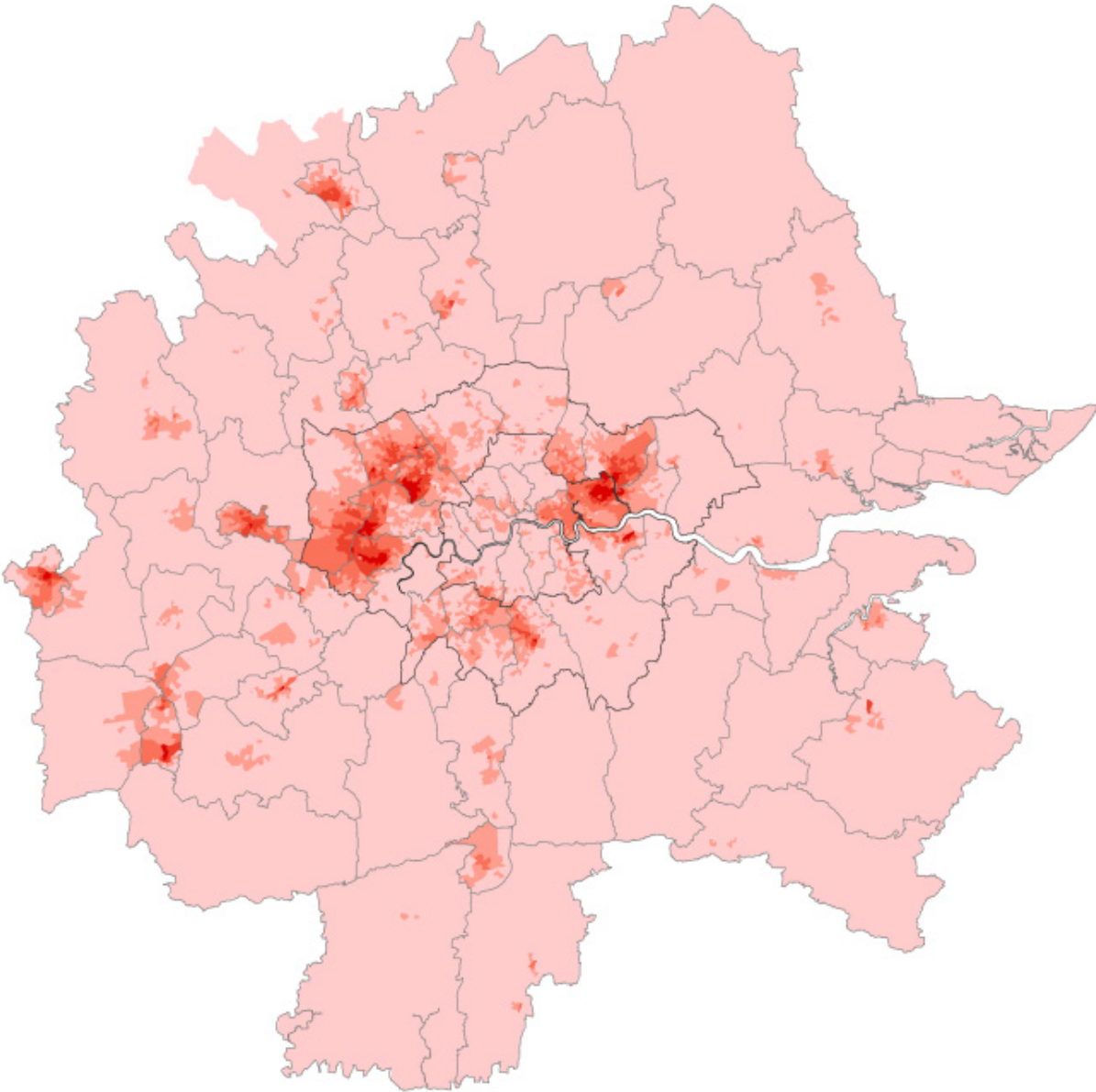
Figure 3. Proportion of residents born in Southern Asia arriving after 2000

Outside London, migrants have diffused slightly away from the town centres of Luton, Reading, Crawley and Slough, with other focal points appearing in High Wycombe and Watford.

Compared to the study using 1991 census data by Peach (1997), which shows an almost identical geography of concentrations, notably of Indians in Brent-Harrow, Ealing-Hounslow, Redbridge-Newham and Croydon-Wandsworth, and of Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets, the geography of Southern Asian migrants into London exhibits remarkable constancy from decade to decade, seemingly in keeping with Peach's (1997) thesis that these groups have followed an isolationist or "pluralist" mode of integration.

It is interesting to see that this phenomenon of highly localised chain migration exists even in towns outside the Green Belt such as Luton, Reading, Slough and Crawley. Yet there is another way to read this data which contradicts the "pluralist" hypothesis, which is that the higher localisation of recent generations reflects the nature of their arrival only, not the nature of their dispersion or lack thereof after arrival. That is, recent generations arrive in the same locations as their predecessors due to chain migration, while their predecessors assimilate slowly over time, evidenced by their slow dispersion away from these locations, exhibiting a mode of assimilation that comes with longevity of experience in the region rather than relative weakness of social ties amongst members of these groups.

Caribbeans (North America and the Caribbean pre-1980)

Peach (1997) argued that, in contrast to the Southern Asians, Caribbeans exhibited an assimilationist mode of integration into London. It is difficult to assess this statement based on the 2011 census data since much of these groups have now been established in London for several decades, yet one can spy that the nature of dispersion here is the opposite of that perceived amongst the Southern Asians, in that more recent arrivals appear more spatially dispersed than their predecessors. Those arriving before 1961 find themselves in three major areas of concentration within London, as well as lightly scattered across districts to the west outside Greater London. One area spans the western boroughs of Brent, Kensington and Chelsea, Hammersmith and Fulham, Ealing and Harrow, focused along Harrow Road (Brent, Hammersmith and Fulham, Kensington and Chelsea). Another spans the northern boroughs of Enfield, Haringay, Hackney, Waltham Forest, Newham and Redbridge, focused along the A10 (the ancient Ermine Street) to the west of the Lea River Valley between Edmonton and Hackney. A third forms an incomplete ring spanning the southern boroughs of Croydon, Merton, Wandsworth, Lambeth, Southwark and Lewisham, with focal points in Thornton Heath (Croydon), Brixton (Lambeth) and Catford (Lewisham). The few major focal points outside London for this generation of Caribbeans are Luton, High Wycombe and Reading.

Those arriving between 1961 and 1980 find themselves occupying the same areas of concentration and focal points both within London and in outlying towns such as Luton, High Wycombe and Reading, accompanied by a broader spreading out into neighbouring areas. Peach (1997) might argue that this demonstrates assimilationism in contrast to the Southern Asians' isolationism; yet it has been argued that the Southern Asians simply exhibit a mode of assimilation that comes with longevity in the region rather than weaker reliance on the localisation of social ties. Here we may simply be witnessing a different kind of assimilationism, notably one in which later generations attempt to settle in the same

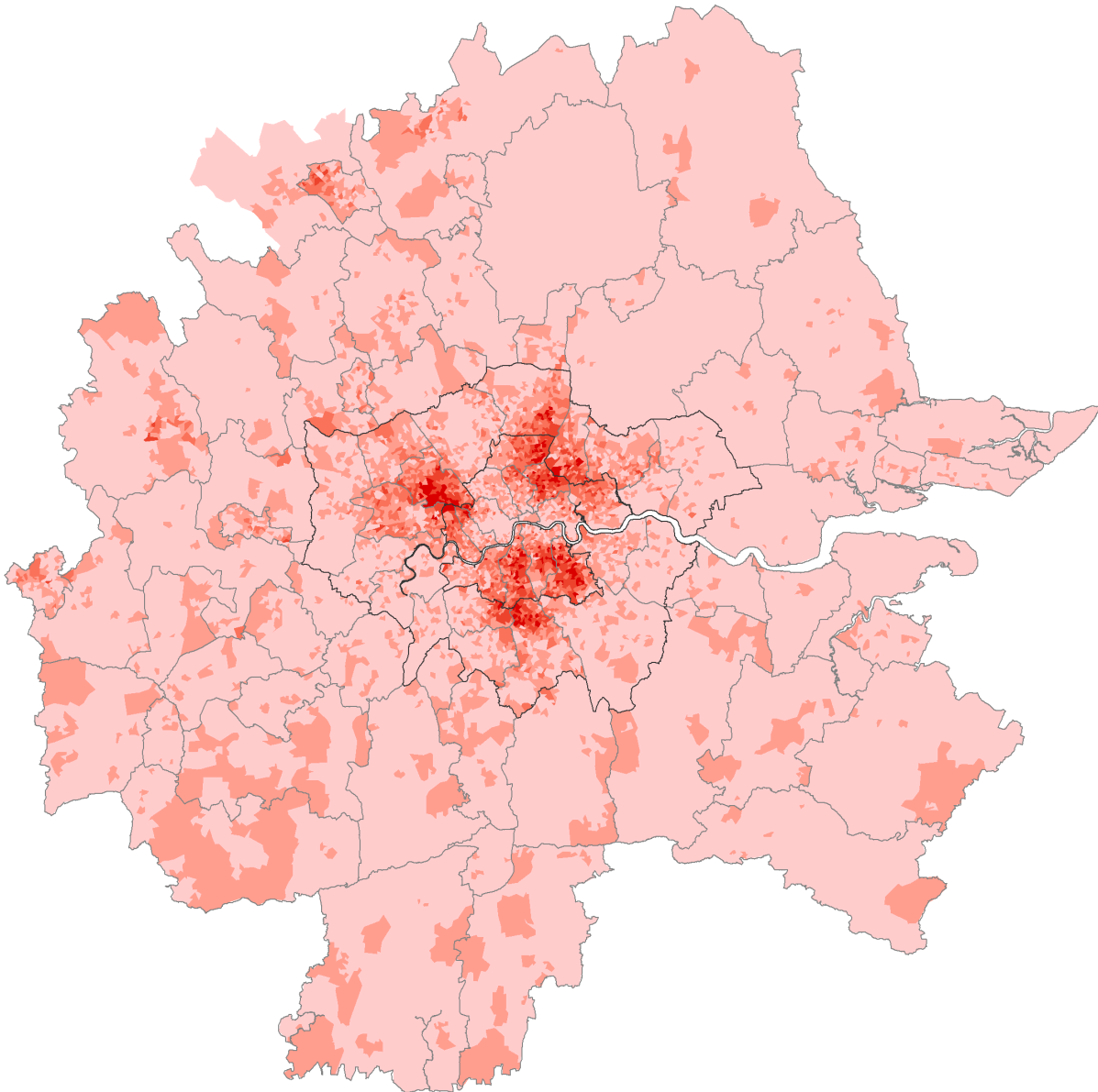**Caribbeans (and North Americans) arriving before 1961**

Figure 4. Proportion of residents born in North America and the Caribbean arriving before 1961

areas as their predecessors, yet amongst which several find themselves spread further out. This may be attributable to weaker social ties or less emphasis on maintaining geographic proximity with one's social ties enabling successive generations of Caribbeans to spread further out than Southern Asians; however it may also have been a product of market forces pushing later arrivals away from their social connections despite the strength of those ties. One must therefore be cautious as to whether assimilation or isolation is occurring based purely on absolute changes in the numbers of different ethnic groups in each location from one census to another. In any case, in general any dispersion witnessed in the Caribbean population from one generation to the next is extremely slight. Like the Southern Asians, the geography of Caribbean migrants into London exhibits remarkable constancy over time.

Caribbeans (and North Americans) arriving 1961 – 1980
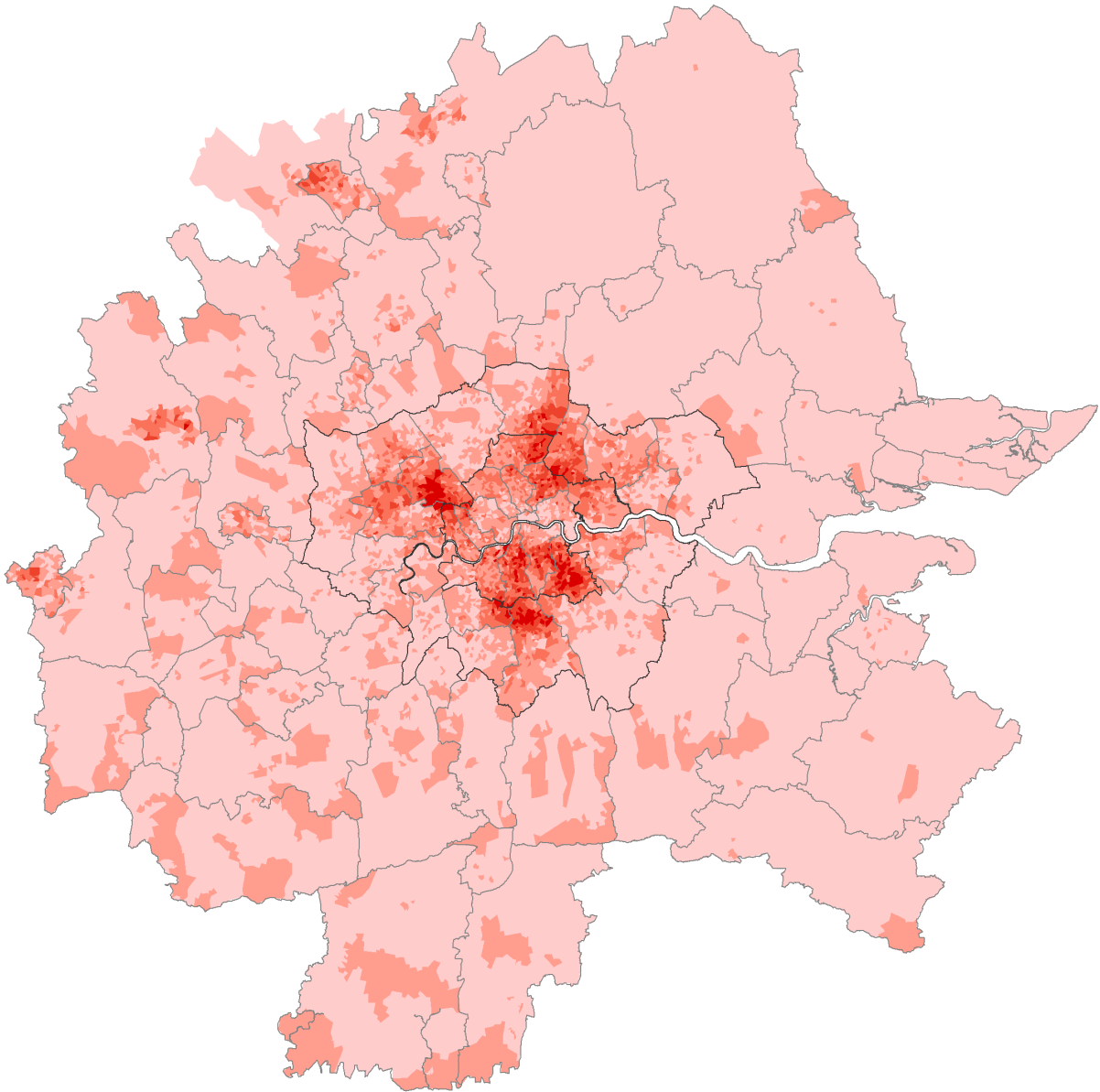
Figure 5. Proportion of residents born in North America and the Caribbean arriving 1961 – 1980

EU post-2001 member-country migrants

A comparison of recent migrants from EU post-2001 member states with their predecessors shows a strong break in settlement patterns between the generations, both within London and outside of it. This is indicative of several distinct waves of migration related to major historical developments in Central and Eastern Europe, such as the close of the Second World War, the fall of the Iron Curtain, and many countries' accession to the European Union; it is also a symptom of the heterogeneity of this category.

Europeans (post-2001 EU members) arriving 1971 – 1980
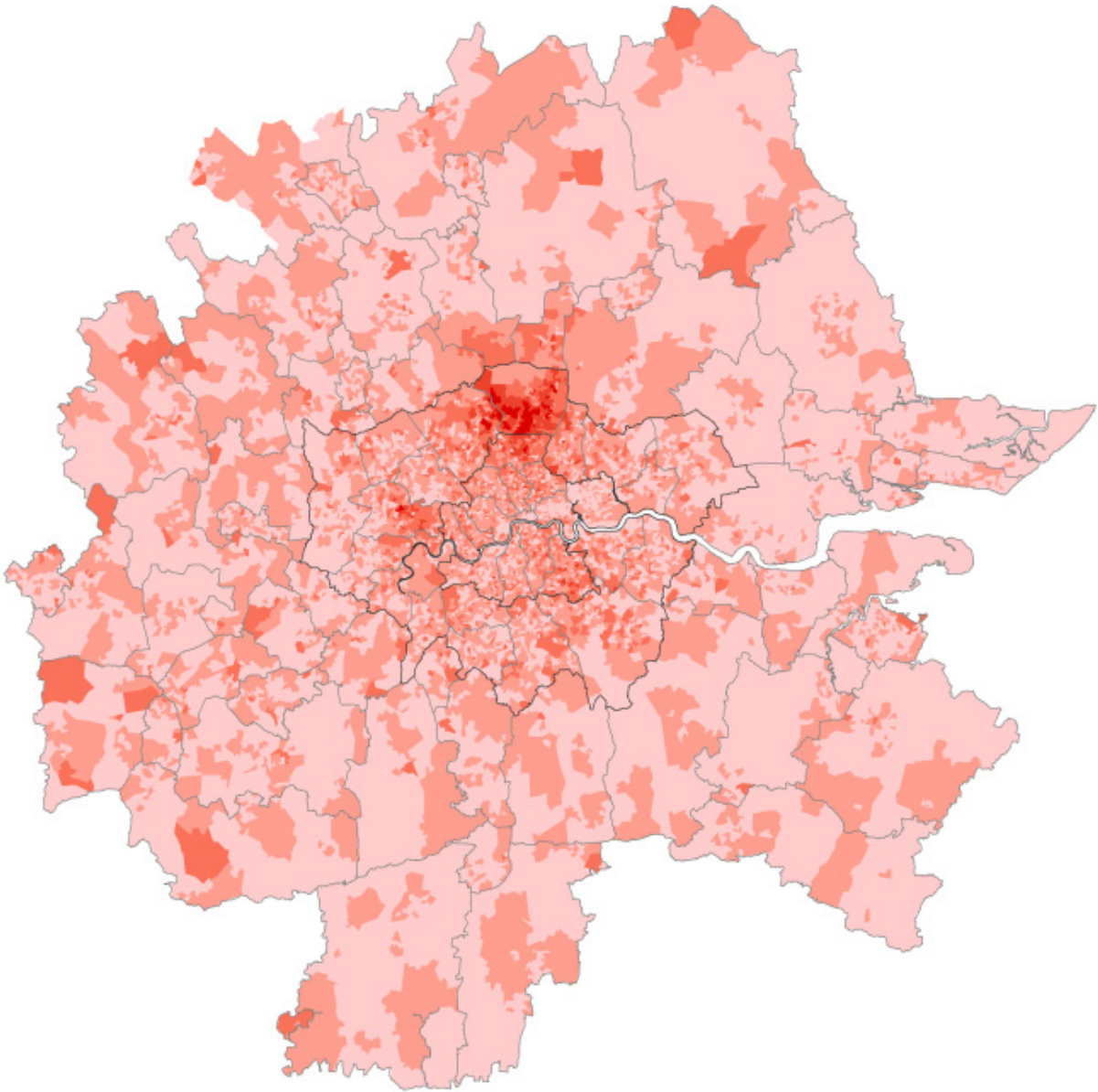
Figure 6. Proportions of residents from EU post-2001 members arriving 1971 – 1980

Europeans (post-2001 EU members) arriving 1981 – 1990
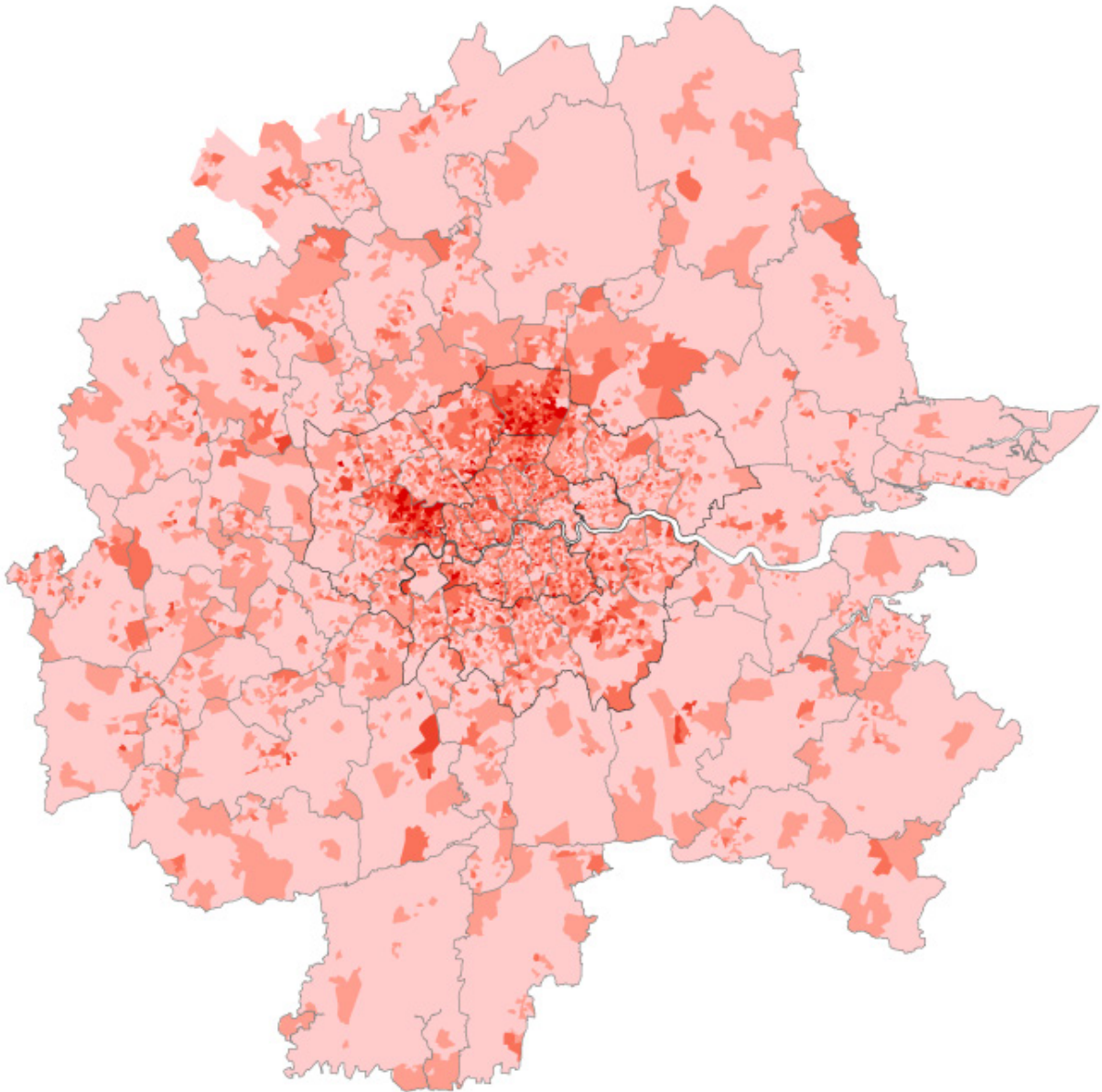
Figure 7. Proportions of residents from EU post-2001 members arriving 1981 – 1990

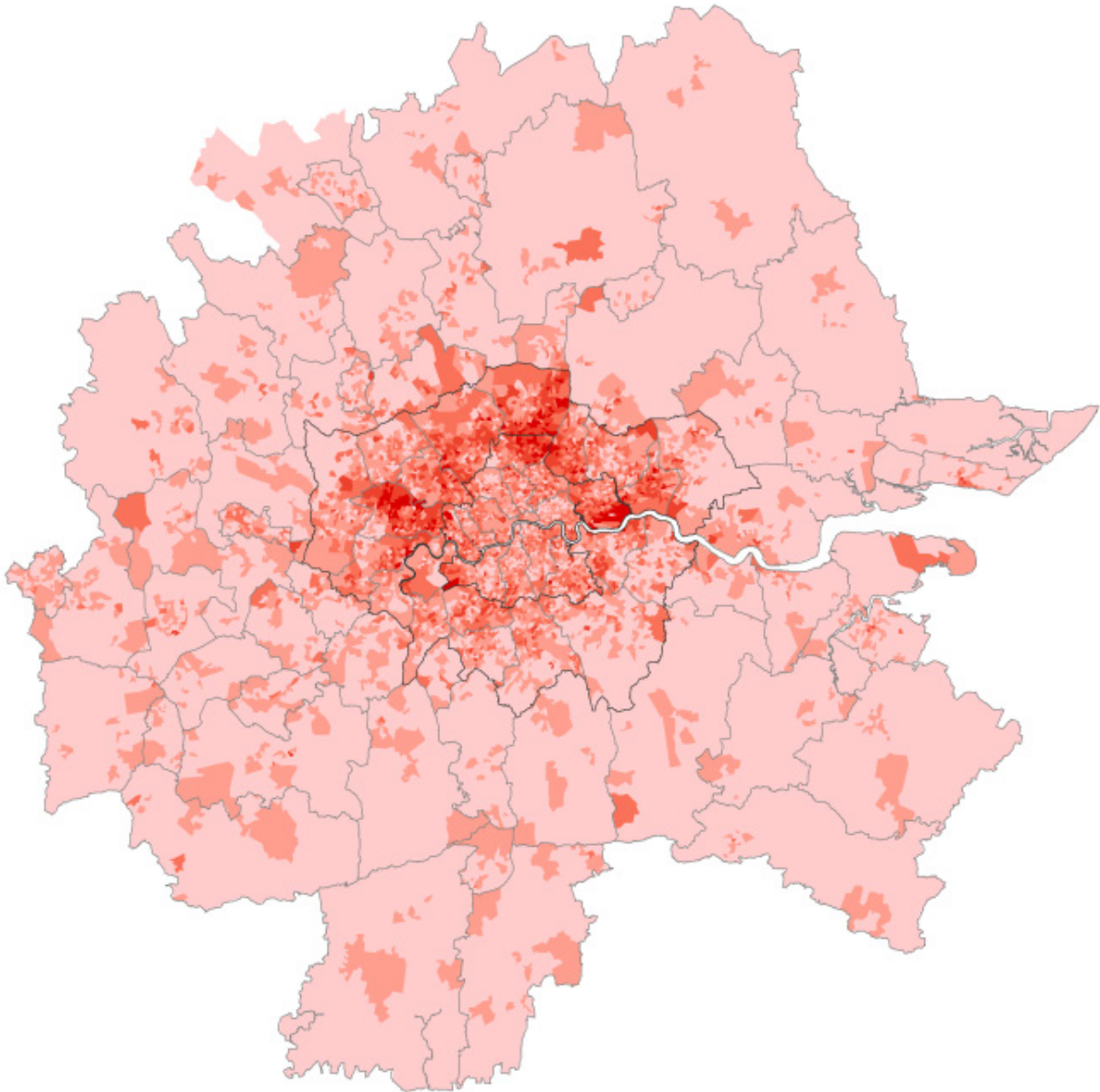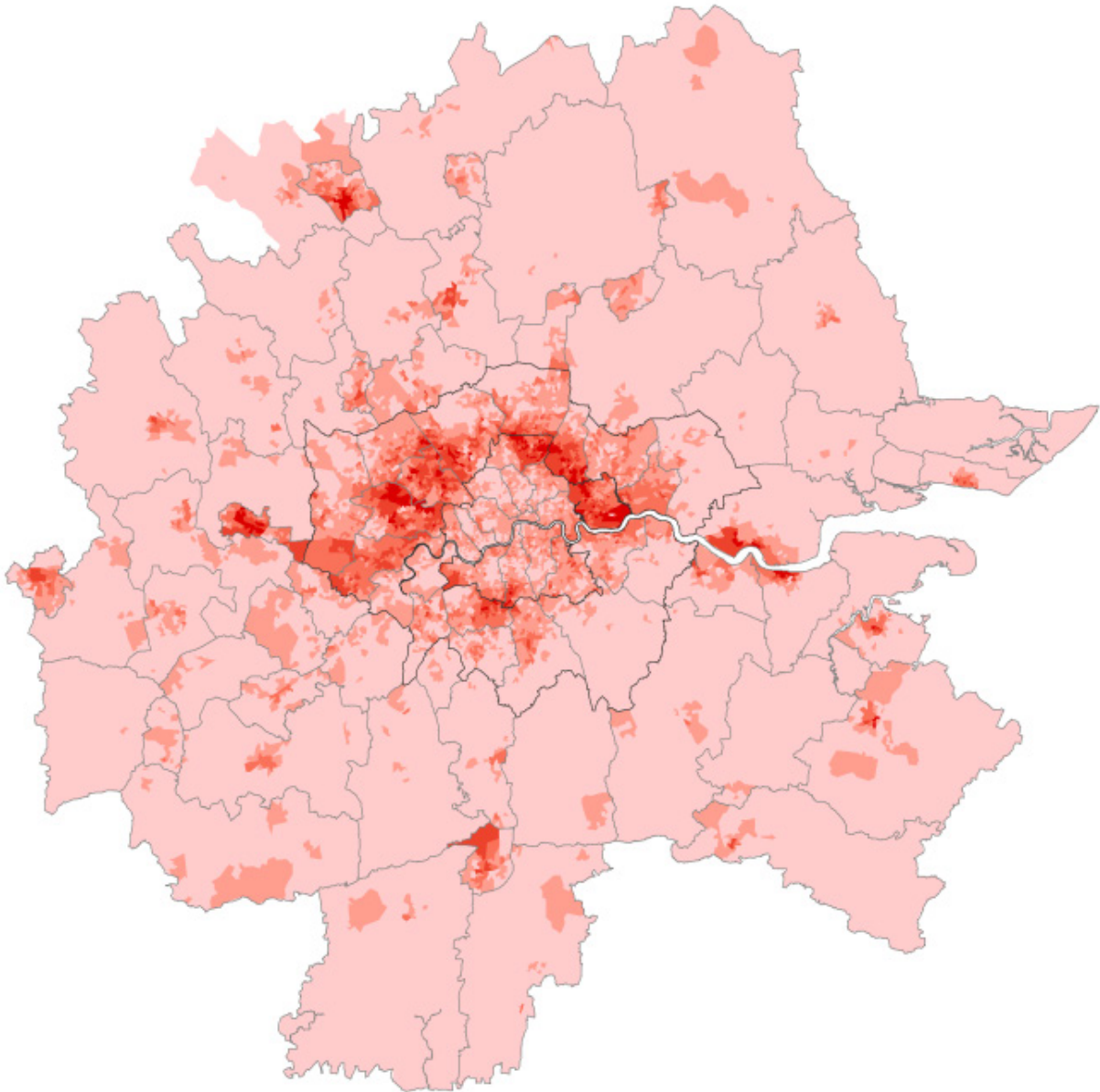**Europeans (post-2001 EU members) arriving 1991 – 2000**

Figure 8. Proportions of residents from EU post-2001 members arriving 1991 – 2000

Europeans (post-2001 EU members) arriving 2001 – 2011

Figure 9. Proportions of residents from EU post-2001 members arriving 2001 – 2011

In the sequence above we can see how one pattern of settlement transformed into another. In the 1970s, most migration in this category was concentrated in the northern outer boroughs of Enfield, Haringey and Barnet, spilling into adjacent areas of Hertsmere, Welwyn Hatfield and Broxbourne, with a focal point stretching across Palmers Green, Winchmore Hill and Cockfosters, associated with a wave of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In the 1980s this pattern was slowing down, and a new area of concentration was developing in the western outer borough of Ealing, focused along the West Ruislip branch of the Central Line of the Underground (North Acton, Hanger Lane and Perivale stations), associated with a wave of Polish migrants. In the 1990s these were joined by a third area of concentration in the eastern borough of Newham, focused on Beckton, north of the Royal Docks; this is associated with a wave of Lithuanians.

In the 2000s these patterns have lost shape somewhat and transformed into a generalised arc of settlement throughout the outer boroughs, stretching from Slough outside the west of London, through to Hillingdon, Hounslow, Ealing, Brent, Barnet, Haringey, Waltham Forest and Newham. Other focal points exist south of the river around Colliers Wood (Merton) and Streatham (Lambeth). This suggests that more recent waves of migrants from post-2001 EU member countries are not significantly following their predecessors in the manner of a chain migration phenomenon. Rather, the fact that these groups now mimic the geography of other "poor-country" migrant groups such as Southern Asians suggests that economic forces rather than social forces are now the stronger determinants of the location of their settlement within Greater London.

The 2000s also saw the emergence of several strong poles of immigration in town centres throughout the local authority areas outside Greater London, in particular Slough, Luton, Reading, Crawley, Watford, Hatfield, and, in the east, Thurrock, Gravesend, Southend-on-Sea, Gillingham (Medway) and Maidstone. Being a very heterogeneous category, this new regional pattern is also most likely ascribed to economic rather than social forces, indicative of a new pattern where "poor-country" migrants are being sorted into the inexpensive outer boroughs and outlying town centres rather than concentrating in the expensive inner boroughs.

North Americans (North America and the Caribbean post-1980)

The wave of North Americans which began to rise substantially towards the end of the 20th century exhibits a very different geography to all of the "poor-country" migrants reviewed thus far. Those arriving in the 1990s are found to concentrate throughout the inner boroughs of London (with the exception of Newham), with focal points in St John's Wood, Marylebone, Mayfair, Kensington, Hampstead and the City of London, all very wealthy residential areas. The geography of North Americans' settlement outside the Green Belt proves very different as well, with focal points emerging to the southwest in the wealthy villages of Cobham (Elmbridge) and Virginia Water (Runnymede), both associated with American private schools (which had been opened in Cobham in 1975 and in Egham, Runnymede in 1995). Another focal point emerges in Beaconsfield (South Bucks) in the northwest.

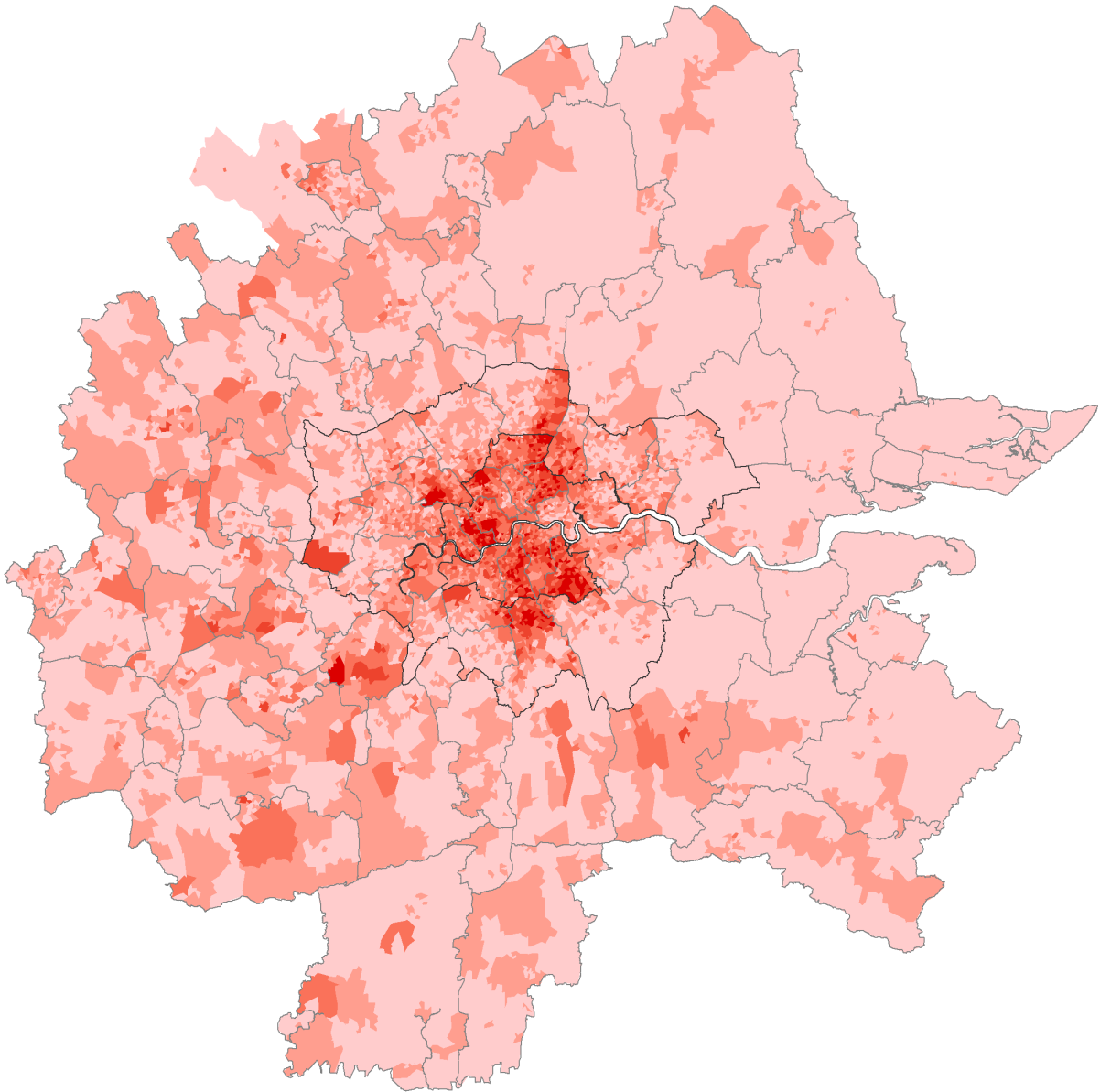**North Americans (and Caribbeans) arriving 1981 – 2000**

Figure 10. Proportion of residents born in North America and the Caribbean arriving 1981 – 2000

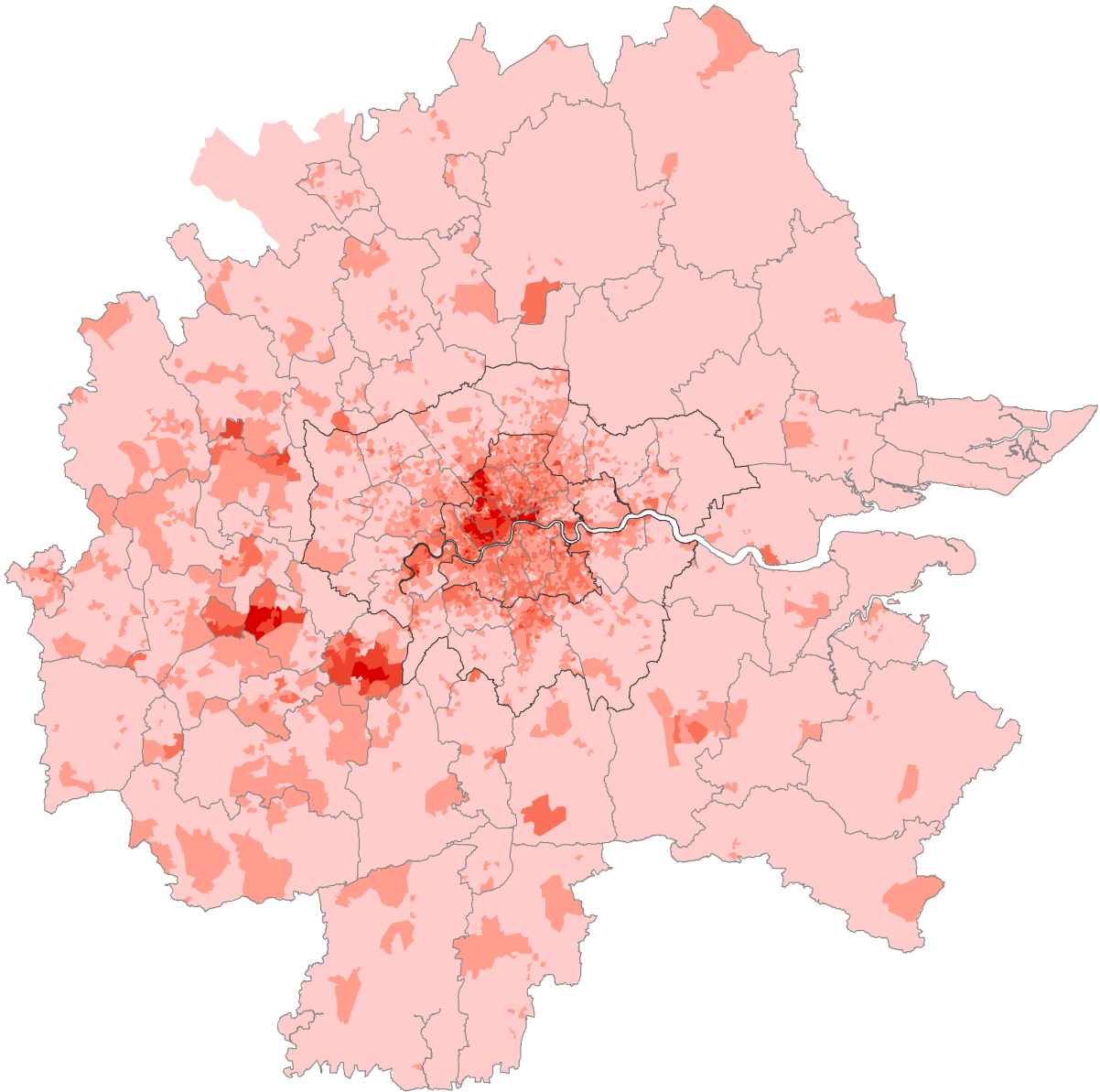**North Americans (and Caribbeans) arriving after 2000**

Figure 11. Proportion of residents born in North America and the Caribbean arriving after 2000

Australasia

The long history of intermigration between London and the Antipodes sees many Australians and New Zealanders very deeply assimilated within the London metropolitan region. Amongst those arriving before 2001, many have suffused along the Thames into Richmond and Kingston and throughout the counties surrounding Greater London, while those found within London exhibit very similar inner-borough settlement patterns to their North American counterparts, including focal points in St John's Wood, and Mayfair, though other focal points emerge in Richmond, Twickenham and Barnes, reflective of a tendency greater than that of North Americans to assimilate within the wealthy outer residential areas of Greater London.
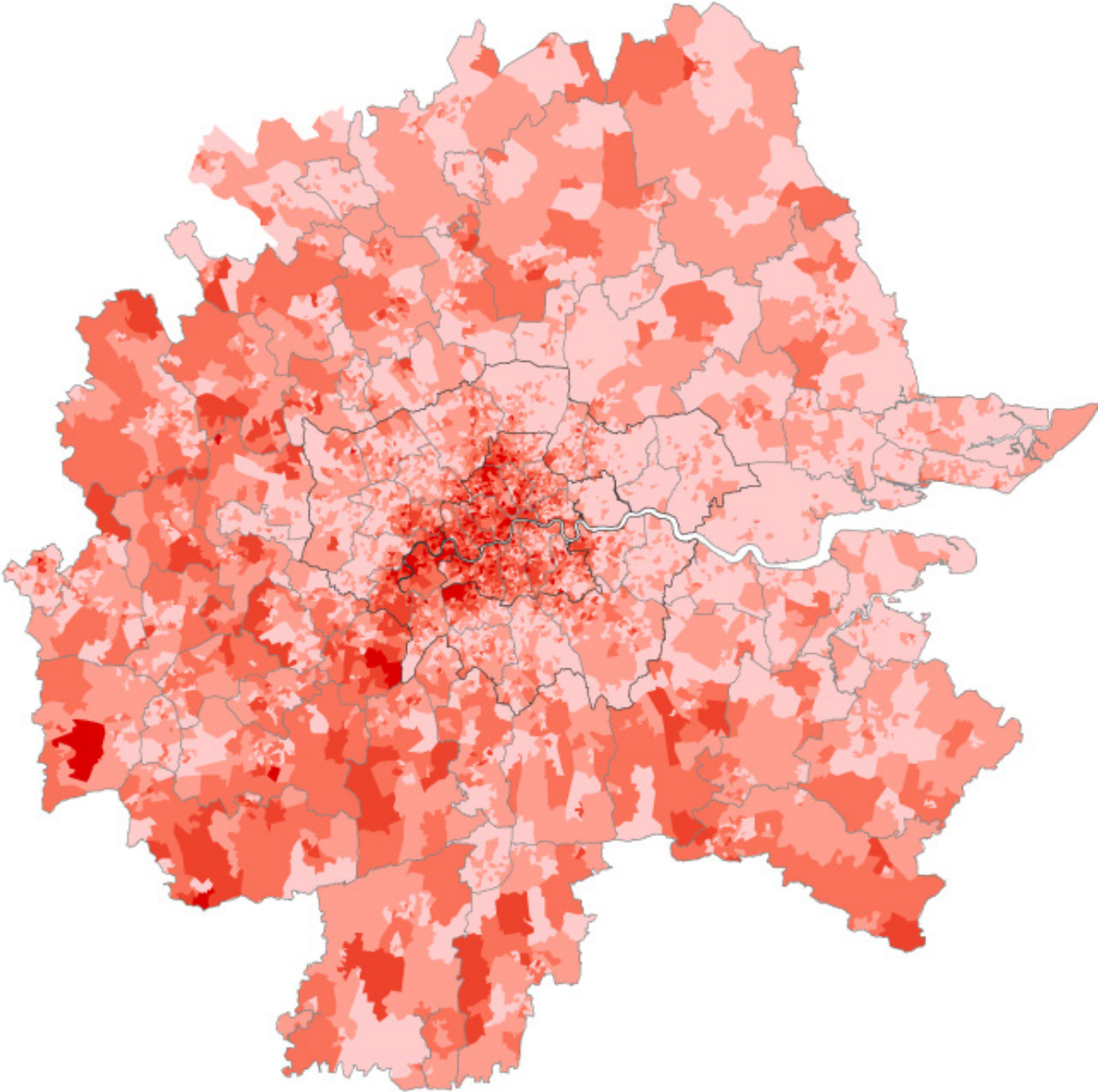
Australasians arriving before 2001

Figure 12. Proportion of residents born in Australasia arriving before 2001
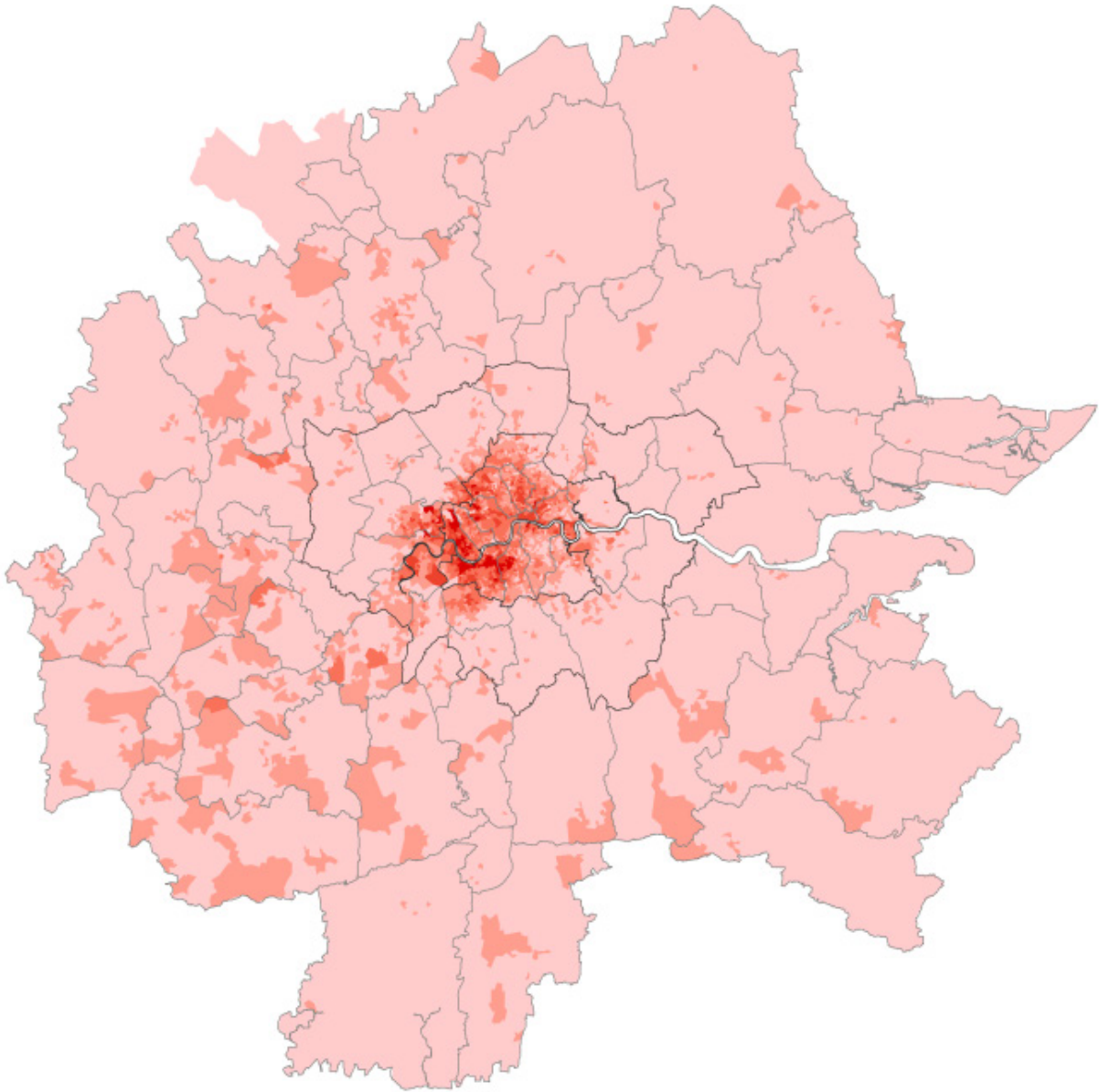
Australasians arriving after 2000

Figure 13. Proportion of residents born in Australasia arriving after 2000

"Poor-country" migrants altogether

When we map "poor-country" migrants together, we see both before and after 2001 a general settling into the outer boroughs of London. The pattern is more tightly drawn in the first decade of the 21st century than in the 20th. However it is difficult to draw conclusions from this. On the one hand, it may be that economic forces are "ghettoising" recent migrants in poorer neighbourhoods already dominated by poorer migrants. On the other hand it may be that migrants exhibit strong patterns of chain migration, drawing on pre-existing social ties to determine the location of their settlement within the region. Overall however it is of course a different mixture of both for each migrant group.

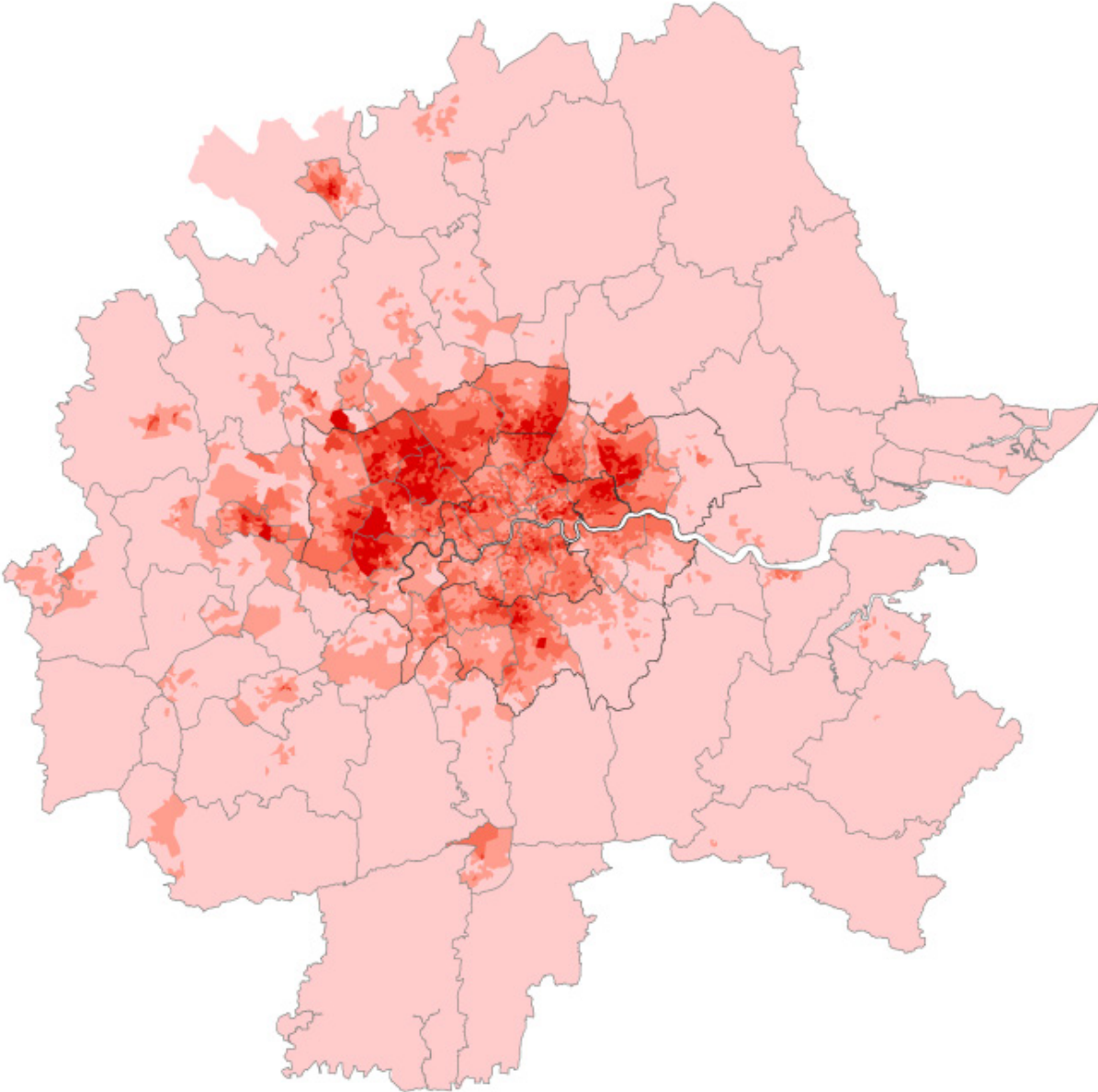**"Poor-country" migrants arriving before 2001**

Figure 14. Proportion of residents born in "poor countries" arriving before 2001

In addition, while in the late 20th century a small number of towns outside the Green Belt had become focal points for "poor-country" migrants, namely Luton, Slough, Reading and High Wycombe, they have been joined by quite a number of other towns in the past decade, in particular Hatfield, Watford, Crawley, Aldershot and Farnborough (Rushmoor), Guildford, and, in the east, Thurrock, Gravesham, Gillingham (Medway) and Maidstone. This new geography of "poor-country" migrants settling into town centres outside the Green Belt rather than within London will likely become an increasing feature of migration into the London metropolitan region, and demonstrates the need to continue to examine migration at this regional level in the future.
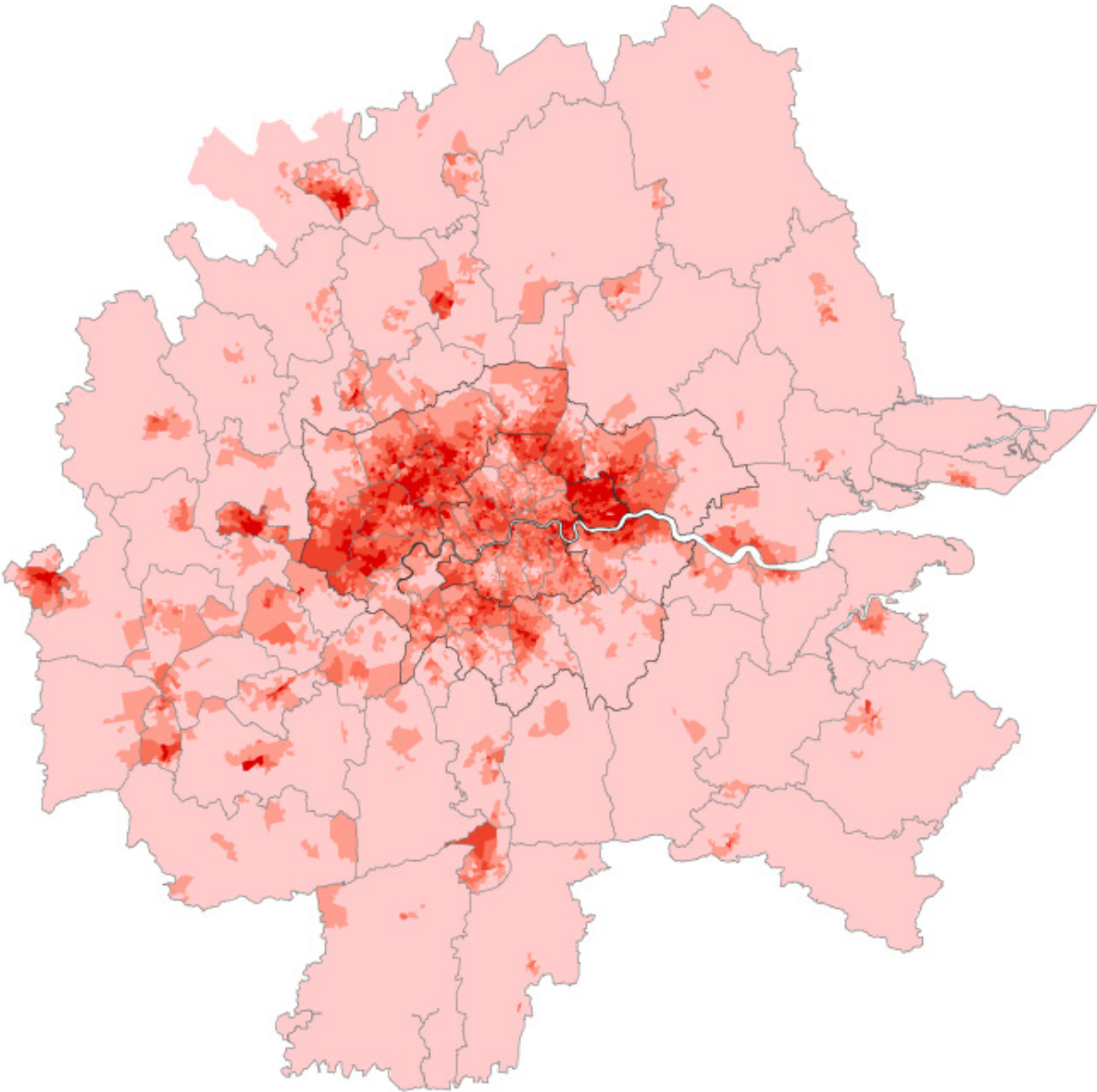
"Poor-country" migrants arriving after 2000

Figure 15. Proportion of residents born in "poor countries" arriving after 2000

"Rich-country" migrants altogether

When all "rich-country" migrants are taken together, they appear to saturate the western inner boroughs, with strong concentrations throughout Westminster, Kensington and Chelsea, Camden, and Lambeth boroughs. Notable also is their manner of diffusion into the districts outside London. While "poor-country" migrants move out only to specific, inexpensive town centres such as Luton, Slough and Reading, "rich-country" migrants permeate rural areas throughout the west outside London, reflective of higher incomes, greater capacity for mobility and a preference for larger spaces. Once again however this is a pattern perceived only when the metropolitan region is taken as a whole.
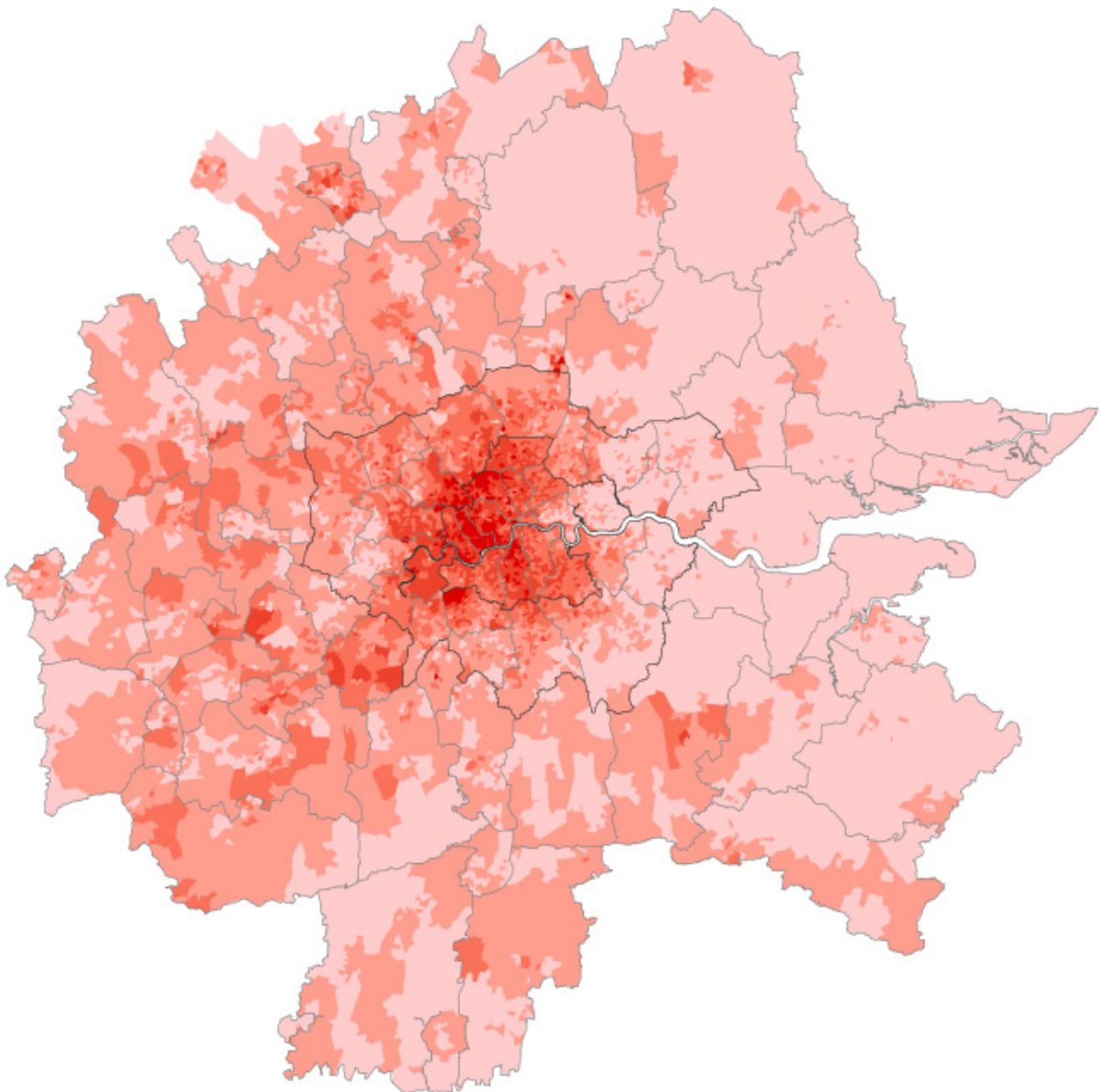
"Rich-country" migrants arriving before 2001

Figure 16. Proportion of residents born in "rich countries" arriving before 2001

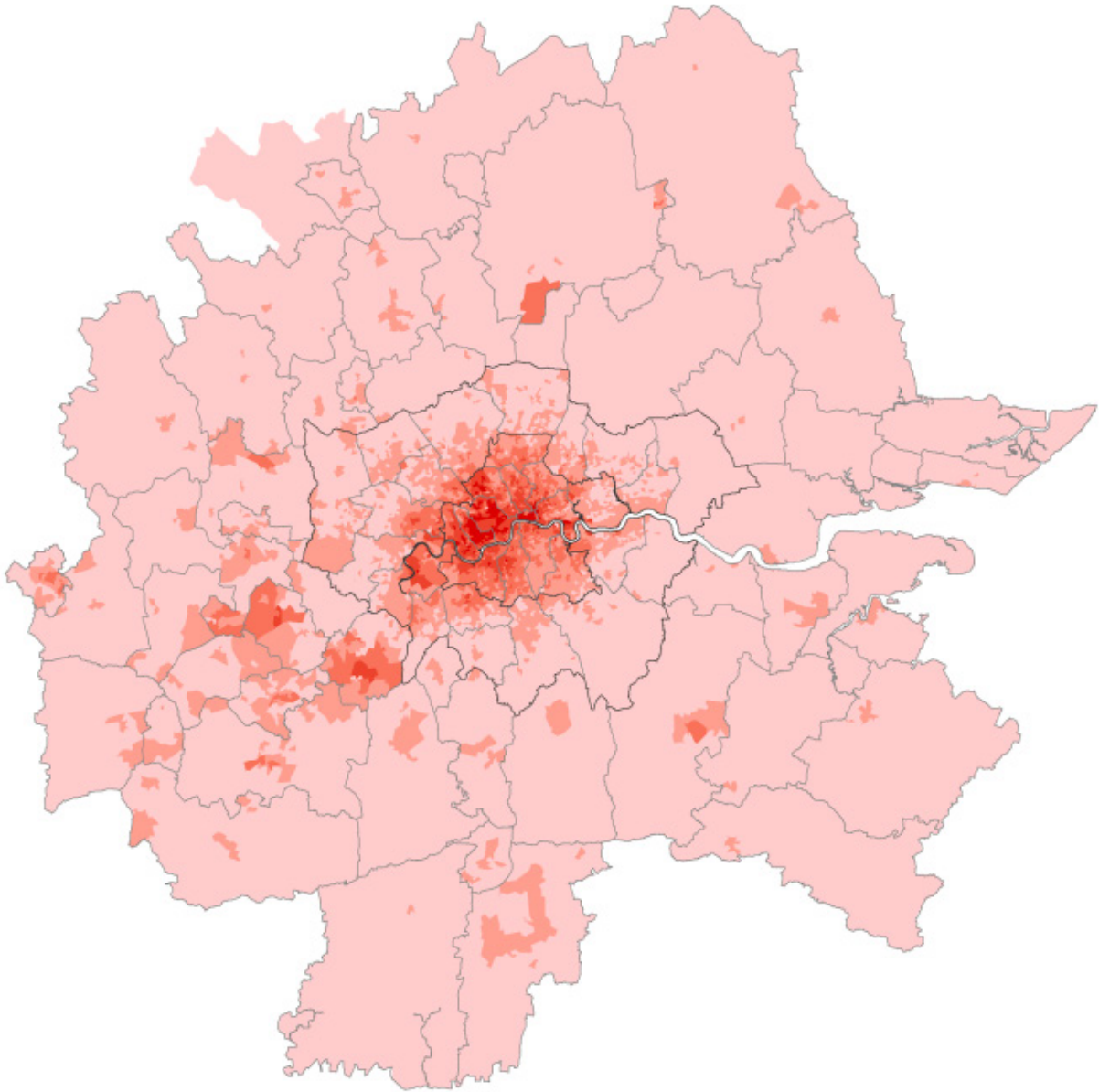**"Rich-country" migrants arriving after 2000**

Figure 17. Proportion of residents born in "rich countries" arriving after 2000

Outside the Green Belt

Overall, at the metropolitan scale a slightly complex concentric pattern emerges focused on the western inner boroughs of London. At the centre is the wealthy City of Westminster and immediate surrounding areas, home to wealthy migrants from North America, Australasia and Western Europe. Outside these areas, in the eastern inner boroughs and throughout the outer boroughs, are a thick band of poorer migrants from Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and Asia, and Africa. Beyond the Green Belt is a wide expanse of wealthy villages and garden suburbs set in rural landscapes, though studded at intervals across these landscapes are a few commuter towns in which many poorer migrants now find themselves as settlement within the boroughs of London becomes increasingly difficult. Though this belt of rural settlement is lopsided; due to the lower population densities (and lower levels of transport infrastructure) in counties to the east of London such as Essex and Kent, there has been little cause for migrants to agglomerate on the eastern fringe of the region.

Both the prior literature and the 2011 census data indicate that migration patterns into the area of Greater London (inside the Green Belt) consists of a much simpler concentric pattern: wealthy migrants settle in the wealthy western inner boroughs, and poorer migrants settle in the eastern inner boroughs and the outer boroughs. Extrapolating this notion to the counties outside the Green Belt, one might easily have hypothesised that as the population of the London area expands beyond the capacity of Greater London that this simple concentric pattern might simply have enlarged in diameter, i.e. that wealthy migrants might push further into the outer boroughs, and poorer migrants would be pushed beyond the Green Belt. This has not happened. Instead we see confirmation of the consensus that wealthy populations have leapfrogged the outer boroughs to settle throughout the counties outside London. And yet this is not all we see, since these wealthy populations appear to have settled only throughout the western half of the region outside London, just as they began in the western inner boroughs of London. Noting this, we could also have imagined that poorer migrants might be pushed towards the eastern half of the region outside London, just as they are found in the eastern inner boroughs. This has not happened either.

Instead, the pattern is that as larger numbers of poorer migrants find themselves settling beyond the Green Belt, they are doing so in a highly localised way, concentrating in the centres of a number of commuter towns, with more of them in the west than in the east of the counties outside London. To caricature this slightly, this is a kind of "ghettoisation in the countryside" phenomenon that could not easily have been extrapolated from the geography of migration into Greater London by itself. This is the most distinctive feature of migration into the London area to emerge between the 2001 and 2011 censuses.
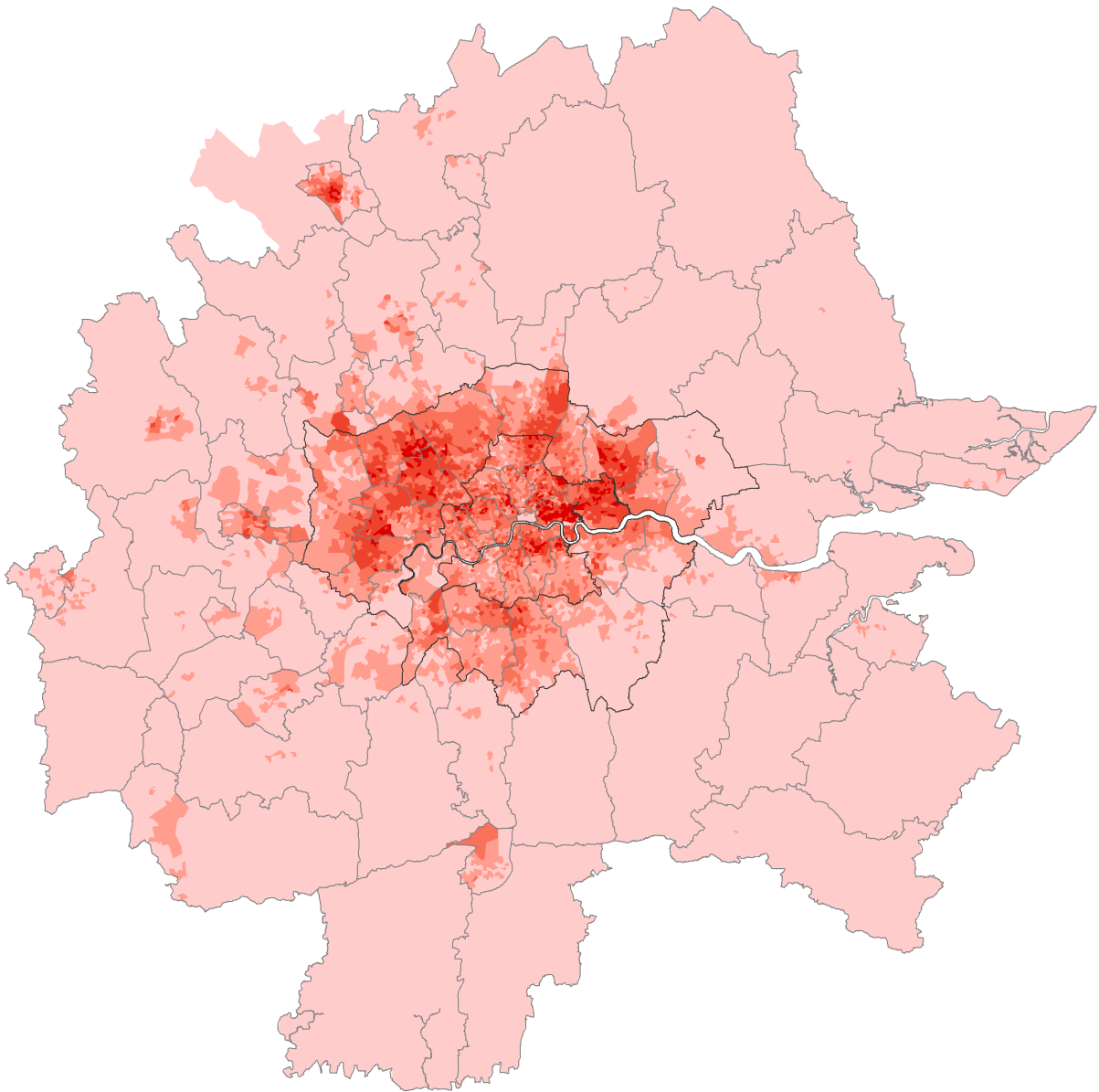
"Poor-country" migrants arriving 1981 – 1990

Figure 18. Proportion of migrants from "poor countries" arriving 1981 – 1990

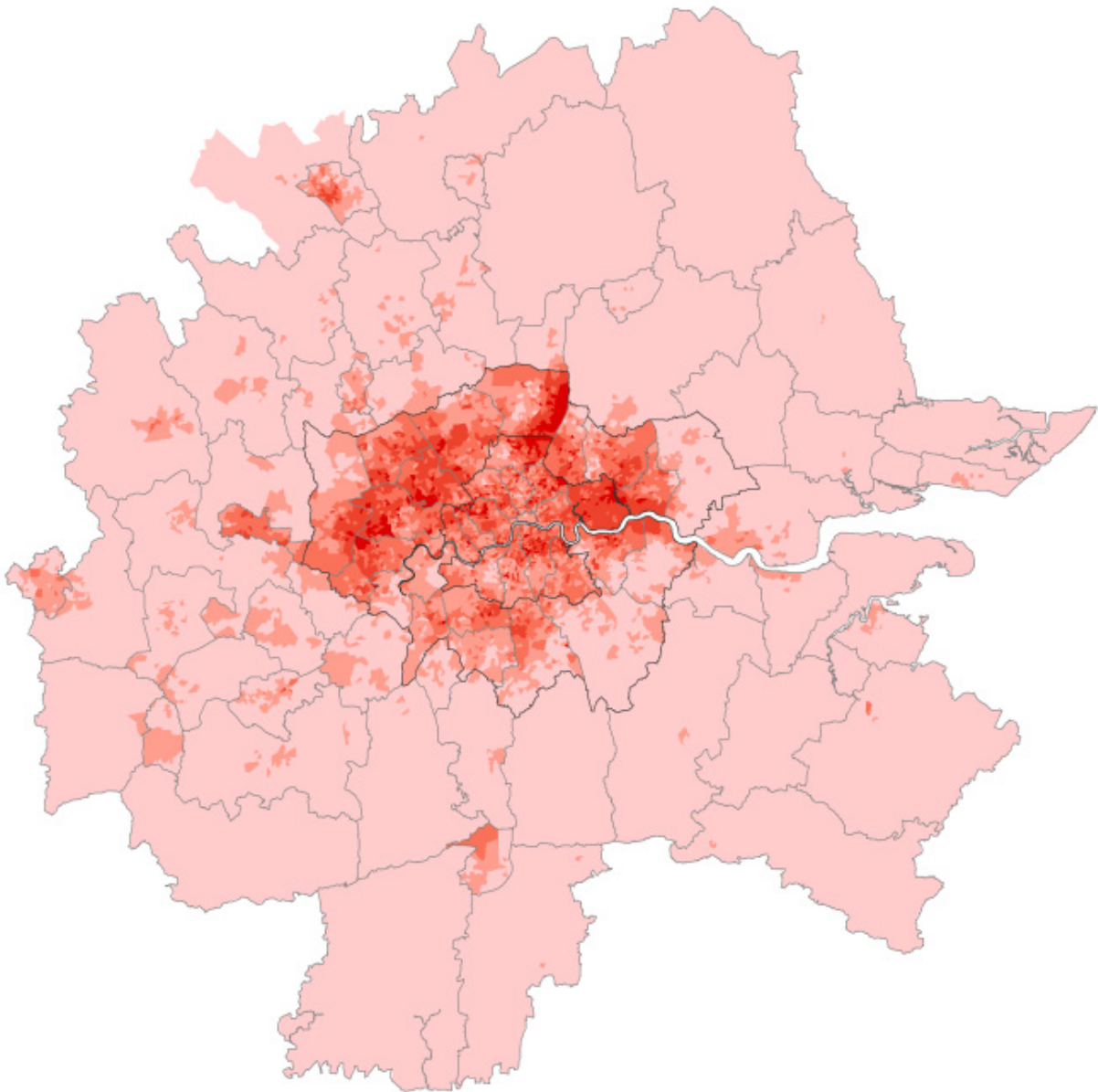**"Poor-country" migrants arriving 1991 – 2000**

Figure 19. Proportion of migrants from "poor countries" arriving 1991 – 2000

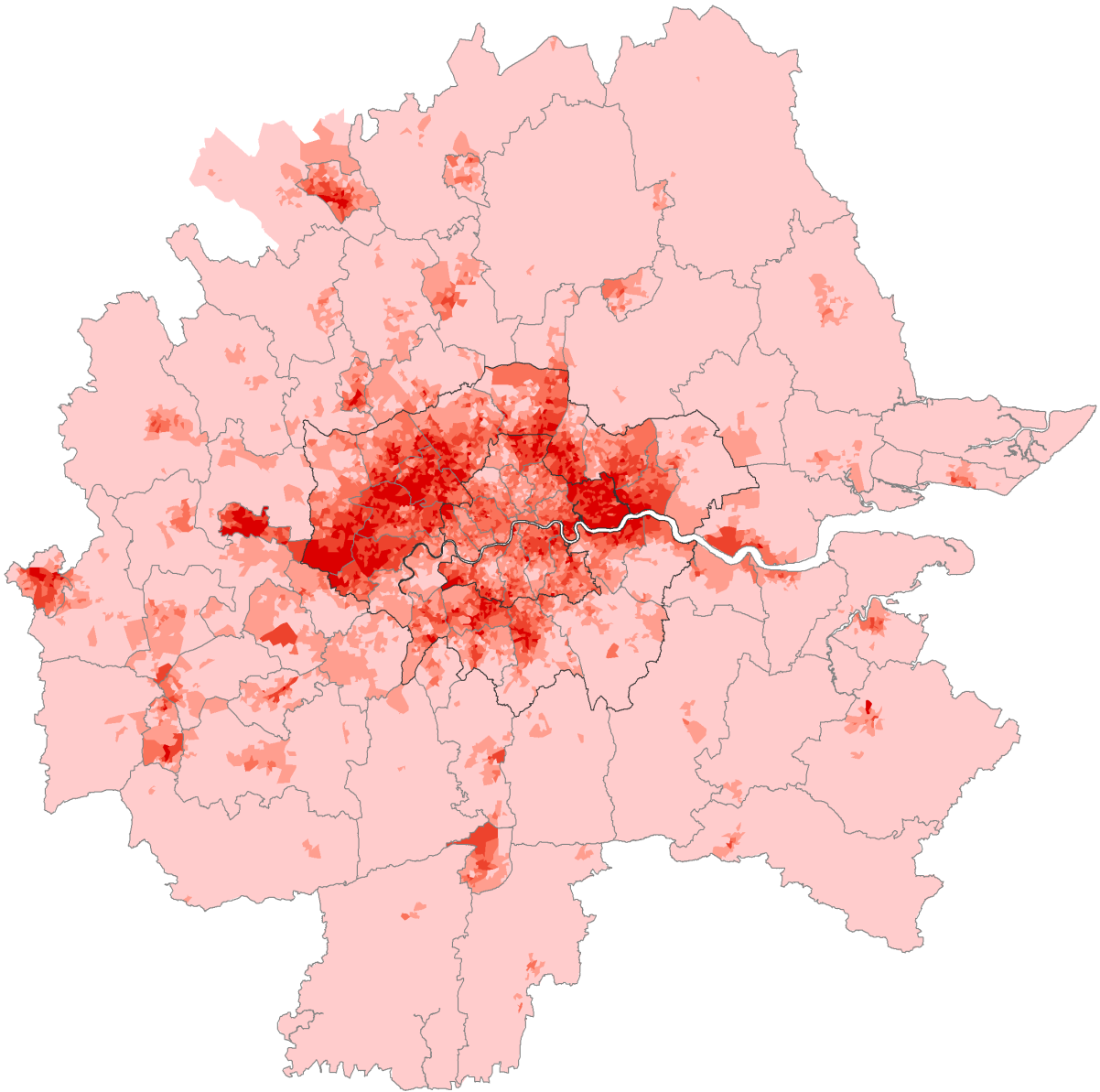**"Poor-country" migrants arriving 2001 – 2006**

Figure 20. Proportion of migrants from "poor countries" arriving 2001 – 2006

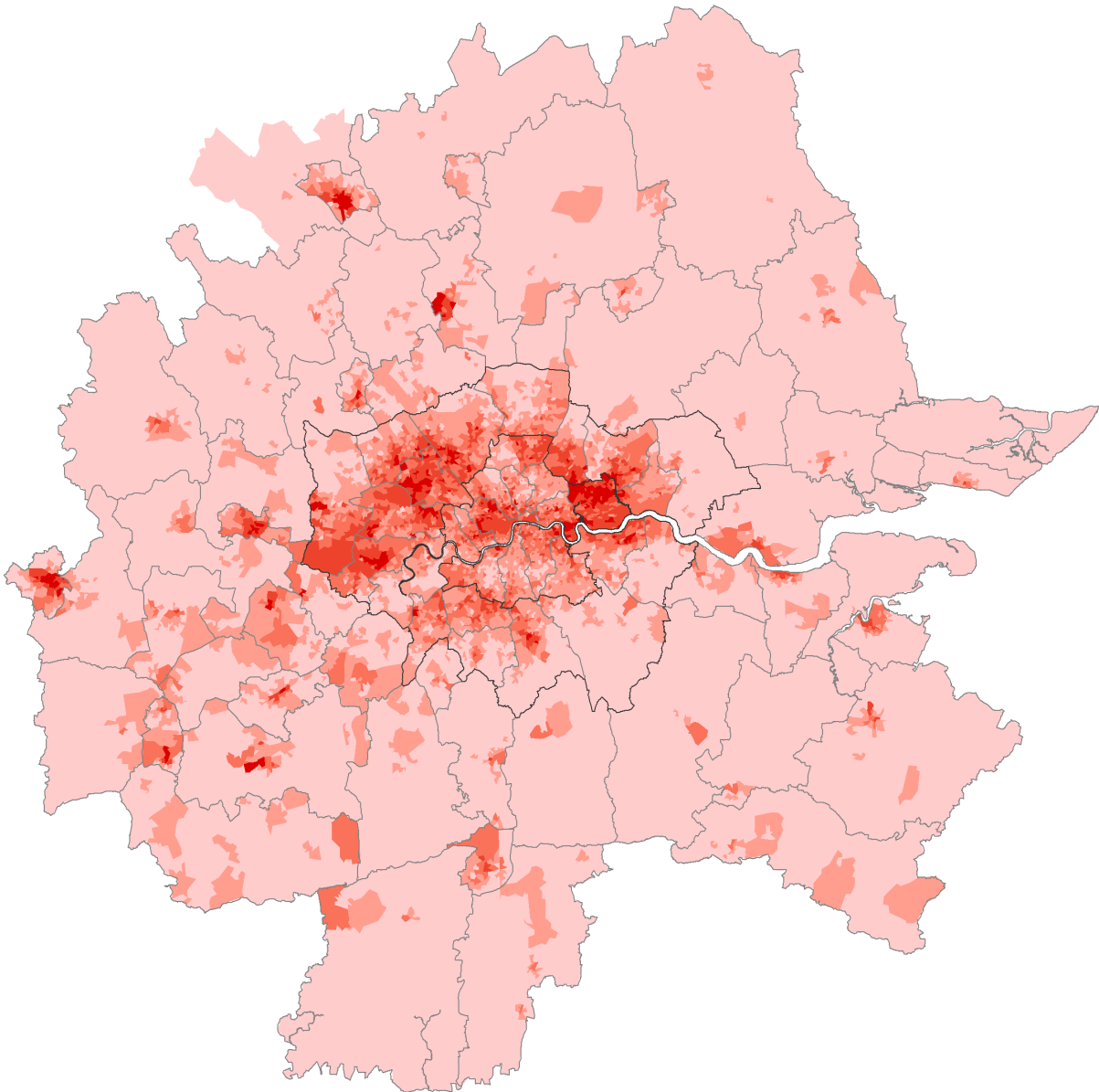**"Poor-country" migrants arriving 2007 – 2011**

Figure 21. Proportion of migrants from "poor countries" arriving 2007 – 2011

Looking at this sequence in detail, we see not much more than four towns outside Greater London that are prominent focal points for "poor-country" migrants who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s: Luton, Crawley and Slough. (One might add Moor Park in Three Rivers district, though this comprises more well-to-do Southern Asians enjoying direct access into London on the Metropolitan Line of the Underground). A great number of focal points bloom however for "poor-country" migrants arriving throughout the 2000s, including Aldershot, Farnborough, Guildford, High Wycombe, Hatfield, Watford, Thurrock, Gravesham, Gillingham and Maidstone. This is important, since it indicates that a tipping point has been reached since the beginning of the 21st century, and that migration directly into commuter towns outside the Green Belt is likely to be an increasingly important feature of migration into the London area.

Conclusion

It has been seen that migration into the London area is now a phenomenon to be appreciated at the metropolitan scale, not because settlement patterns once confined to the 33 boroughs of Greater London are now expanding into surrounding districts, but rather because these external districts, while becoming integral to the dynamics of migration into London, are exhibiting a different pattern to Greater London entirely, which we have churlishly termed "ghettoisation in the countryside".

If "poor-country" migrants are now making their home in great number in these commuter town centres outside the Green Belt, there will be policy implications for the metropolitan region in two areas. First, the potential demands this phenomenon places on national rail infrastructure between these commuter towns and Greater London needs to be understood in finer detail, as do the impacts that this commuting has on the disposable incomes and social well-being of "poor-country" migrants making these long journeys every day. Second, the emergence of larger concentrations of lower-cost labour in otherwise rural areas may gradually cause subtle changes in the geographic structure of the regional labour economy, with the possibility that more jobs may now be created or move to these satellite centres, or that the wealthy villages that surround them may begin to make use of these pools of labour, creating new concentration or dispersion patterns disconnected from the concentric geography of migration within Greater London.

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