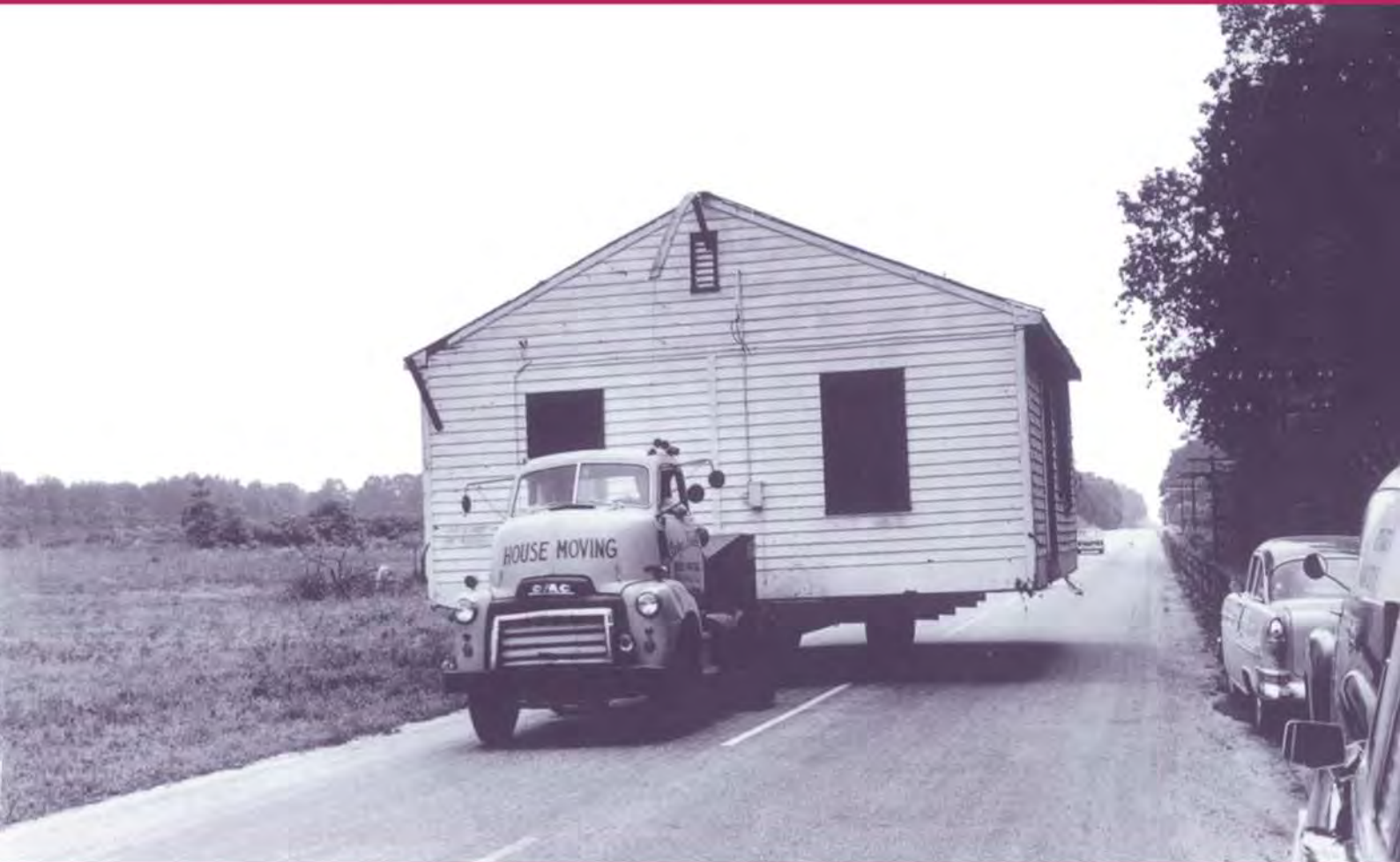


Exploring Contemporary Migration



Paul Boyle, Keith Halfacree and
Vaughan Robinson

EXPLORING CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION

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PAUL BOYLE, KEITH HALFACREE AND
VAUGHAN ROBINSON

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For
Gillian and Francis
Hazel and Barry
Jayne and Bryn

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Preface

Many authors agree that population migration is becoming an increasingly important aspect of everyday life for more people and more places. The academic interest in this phenomenon is evident from the wide range of journals devoted to the topic and the increasing numbers of articles and books being written on the subject, and this interest spans numerous disciplines. In geography at least, migration used to be taught simply as a subset of the broader field of population geography but, increasingly, the topic crops up in other courses. Indeed, in some departments human migration is a course topic in its own right. It is therefore something of a surprise that there is no contemporary textbook on the subject and this is the gap we hope to fill here.

This text, therefore, presents a theoretically informed account of some of the major migration patterns and processes that are currently of interest and importance. Examples are drawn from both developed and developing world contexts from a wide range of academic sources. The book also integrates the analysis of international and internal migration. Often these types of movement are treated independently, but there are strong arguments why they need to be considered together. First, for many migrants an international move, between neighbouring countries in Europe for example, may involve less social disruption and may occur over a shorter distance than long-distance migration within a single nation, such as China. To some extent, the international/internal distinction can thus be seen as relatively arbitrary. Second, there is an increasing realisation that international and internal migration may be strongly linked and are not the discrete phenomena that they may at first appear. These points are taken up in later chapters.

The book is written by geographers and the geographical realisation of such a spatial process as migration is undoubtedly a major focus throughout. However, the material included in the book bridges the various disciplinary divides and there has been a conscious attempt to include the work of sociologists, economists and others, such that the final product is as comprehensive as possible, given the limited space available. It seems to us rather sad in these days of inter-disciplinary research that more collaborative endeavour has not been undertaken in the field of human migration and it is hoped that this book will suggest some of the benefits that can come from addressing the topic from different but complementary perspectives.

Rather than simply providing a descriptive account of the varied work

that exists we have aimed in the book to present a case for particular viewpoints and methods that we think deserve more attention. It is not that we necessarily reject other perspectives. In fact, an important message that we hope this book provides is that the implementation of a wide variety of approaches is to be applauded in migration research, with the final choice of approach for a specific piece of work only being decided upon sensibly when the exact research question that is to be addressed has been stated. For example, the long tradition of migration modelling, much of which is founded implicitly or explicitly upon a neoclassical economic framework, appears to have been the dominant approach for a long time. However, this approach can be regarded as being unduly restrictive if applied to all areas of migration work and, consequently, we advocate more acceptance and identification of the cultural implications of the migration process. Such a perspective would adopt much more qualitative methods and would take a very different philosophical tack. Even so, it is not our aim to deride the modelling work that has been or is being done, as this would be to throw out the baby with the bathwater! Quite simply, we wish to make the case for some of the research gaps that we think exist, while accepting the worth of work that is perhaps more traditional.

The book is very detailed in places and includes a wide range of examples and specific findings relating to a broad spectrum of migration research. Consequently, for students, the book may most usefully be used as a textbook that is dipped into whenever a particular topic is addressed in the relevant class, rather than one that needs to be read cover to cover. Indeed, it may be employed most effectively as a means of bringing together a migration course that is near its conclusion. It certainly should prove useful for lecturers selecting and focusing their migration teaching and set readings. However, it is also hoped that the book will be of interest to researchers who may be developing their ideas about migration research, or who have focused for some time on a particular research direction. We hope that, besides providing a useful summary perspective on contemporary migration patterns and processes, some of the suggestions we make about the apparent reluctance among many researchers to adopt mixed approaches, which draw upon various ideas and methods, may be of particular interest to this group.

In Chapter 1, we introduce the concept of migration and demonstrate its importance by presenting some initial examples of its impact across the world at a general level. This provides an initial 'taste' before migration is explored more critically in subsequent chapters. Chapter 2 begins by discussing the definition of 'migration', the relevant migration data sources and appropriate qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. The sheer diversity of data sources and analytical techniques is stressed and the chapter provides an introduction for those who wish to undertake migration research. This chapter is complemented by Chapter 3, which sets the philosophical context for such work, reviewing general theories of migration from the nineteenth century onwards. While population geography as a sub-discipline has been criticised as being theoretically outdated, this chapter demonstrates that migration research is at the forefront of theoretical developments in geography as a whole. The chapter charts the development of a more complex conceptualisation of migration, from a focus on income maximising to an appreciation of the

more cultural aspects of migration. Hence, it looks in detail at economic, behavioural and biographical approaches, concluding that we need to accept a more pluralistic understanding of the theoretical migration process. Consequently, the thematic chapters should be viewed as complementary perspectives rather than referring to clearly distinct types of migration.

To date, the majority of research on migration has been concerned with its links with employment. Reflecting this focus, Chapter 4 is concerned with labour migration, discussing the neoclassical interpretation and its associated modelling literature before considering the various criticisms of this approach. In particular, structural and behavioural interpretations of labour migration are examined. The form of labour migration is shown to vary considerably between spatial scales, illustrating clearly its complexity.

Besides economic considerations, a key determinant of migration is the life-cycle or, less deterministically, the life-course. As individuals and households move through different stages of their lives, significant events, such as the birth of a child or the breakdown of a marriage, often result in residential migration. In Chapter 5, the life-cycle model, which attempts to identify strictly bounded stages in people's lives, is analysed critically and it is argued that the life-course approach, which acknowledges the diversity of life stories, is more realistic. The important connections between people's changing lives and migration are identified and particular attention is paid to the way that changing trends in modern lifestyles have altered migration outcomes.

Chapter 6 follows neatly from the previous chapter by summarising the literature on migration and quality of life. People usually move to improve their overall living circumstances, and this chapter analyses different spatial patterns of migration from such a perspective, concentrating on 'environmental' reasons for moving. It discusses the 'lure of the city', in both the developed and developing worlds, as a place of economic, social and cultural betterment and freedom from constraints. Examples are given of the 'non-economic' determinants of urbanisation and of recent forms of urbanisation, such as gentrification. The chapter also details and compares the corresponding 'lure of the countryside', as represented by counterurbanisation in the developed world. Attention is also paid to quality of life migration linked less clearly to images of either the rural or the urban environment.

The strong political dimension of migration is demonstrated in Chapter 7, which deals with the role of nation-states in engineering migration flows. At both the international and national level, official and popular concerns about issues such as ethnicity, race, religion, economic buoyancy and strategic political interest are reflected in the range of migration policies that exist. Rather than interfere with fertility and mortality, migration is usually seen as the tool with which the various elements of the national character can be manipulated. Such interference, however, is often highly contentious and politically contested.

A key issue of global political concern is that of refugees and refugee movements. This topic is covered in Chapter 8, which explores forced migrations. Besides detailing the scale, location, character and composition of what has been seen as a global refugee crisis, the policies adopted towards refugees by host nations are detailed. The chapter also

investigates the varied fates of political asylum seekers worldwide, as well as forced migrations caused by economic development, industrial and ecological disasters, and state slavery. The significance and contested issue of defining groups such as refugees are emphasised.

The final chapter, Chapter 9, explores the extent to which migration is both infused with cultural values and infuses such values. It also discusses the cultural impacts caused by migration flows. This chapter provides something of a conclusion to the book, integrating many of the findings from the other thematic chapters and tying in with the theoretical discussion. It shows how the selectivity of migration by cause and by age, class, and other factors generates distinct 'cultures of migration' and how such cultures feed back into the selectivity of migration. The chapter argues that, through such cultures, selective migration experiences are naturalised and normalised. The chapter contrasts typically migratory lifestyles with more sedentary lifestyles, interpreting their cultural causes and outcomes. For certain groups, migration is shown to be a distinct feature of their cultural identities, while for other groups the act of migrating is culturally less important than it is to those living in the receiving areas.

Finally, it hardly seems worthwhile to acknowledge the shortcomings of this book as there are many. The very volatility of migration and the daily alteration in the patterns of this movement mean that much will have changed since this book was sent to print. Similarly, the wealth of research material on the subject and its various themes in both the developed and the developing world means that it is impossible to do justice to it all; we simply hope to have identified some of the more important contributions.

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Introduction: the spatial impact of migration

Migration as a feature of daily life

At first glance, writing an introductory text on migration seems to be a relatively straightforward task. Migration is a simple concept. People move between places and we are interested, as geographers, in describing and understanding these patterns. However, when you think about and study the topic in detail, it becomes clear that migration is, in reality, extremely complex and multi-faceted. This explains why there is such a large literature on migration in geography and other disciplines, and perhaps the hardest task is to order systematically such a diverse set of material in a logical and coherent manner. Migration includes international flows of large numbers of refugees stimulated by wars, famine or political unrest; young adults moving between regions in search of employment; middle-aged professionals moving back to the land in their search for a rural retreat; families moving down the road to satisfy changing housing requirements; and gypsies and other nomadic peoples for whom mobility is a way of life. Consequently, it is difficult to identify an optimum structure for a text such as this. Do we distinguish between different types of migration based on the distance moved? Do we stress the differences between broad regions or groups of countries, such as between the developed and developing world? Or do we identify the migration themes that underlie the different migration processes?

We have adopted the latter structure. A thematic approach captures the migration experience because it relates directly to the varied underlying causes of migration. However, because particular migration events and individuals' migration experiences do not fall into neat categories, inevitably there is considerable overlap between any themes that we focus our

attention on. As we demonstrate in this book, the act of moving rarely involves one factor, even if the move is motivated primarily by one overriding issue. Rather migration is firmly embedded within the complexity of people's everyday lives and experiences. Indeed, migration decisions are often influenced by factors that are much less obvious than might appear at first sight. Such an appreciation of the embeddedness of migration within daily life was captured by Chambers (1994: 2) when he observed that 'migration ... is ... deeply inscribed in the itineraries of much contemporary reasoning'. It is with the processes bringing about this inscription that this book is primarily concerned.

This chapter sets the scene for the remainder of this book. It provides a brief overview of the significance of migration in shaping people's lives and experiences in the contemporary world. This is achieved in a number of ways. First, attention is given to the migration histories of the three authors, which shows very directly that migration has been a central feature of our lives. Second, a more abstract account of the importance of migration is sketched. Third, the bulk of the chapter is taken up with describing some of the principal spatial patterns of migration within both the developed and developing worlds and at the international scale. These flows, which are set in their historical context, provide an empirical starting point for the thematic chapters' attempts to highlight in more detail the explanations for and experiences of migration in the contemporary world. Finally, although we have yet to define what we mean by migration more precisely – this issue is considered in some detail in the next chapter – a 'common-sense' understanding of the term allows this chapter to present an immediate impression of the phenomenon that forms the subject matter of this book.

Three migration biographies: an illustration

The complexity of the migration process can be gleaned immediately from the migration biographies of the authors of this book (Figure 1.1). These demonstrate the variety of factors that have influenced the migration experience of three individuals, despite the facts that they currently work in similar jobs and their migration paths converged when they worked in the Geography Department at the University of Wales in Swansea during the early 1990s.

Paul Joseph Boyle was born in Felixstowe, England in 1964. For his formative years he lived in a small rented flat until his English mother and Irish father bought a property on the other side of town, where they remain to this day. Their decision to move was prompted by the imminent arrival of their second son. In 1983 Paul went to university in Lancaster, expecting to spend three years in the area. However, he moved to Boulder, Colorado, for the second year of his degree on a student exchange scheme and travelled widely in the United States and Mexico. He spent his third year back in Lancaster. On finishing his degree he returned to Felixstowe to earn enough money to allow him to travel, and he worked in Israel and Malta for periods of a few months and cycled across Europe to Istanbul at the end of this 'year off'. During this time he was officially resident with his parents in Felixstowe but he spent little time there during the year, making his migrant status more complicated. He returned to Lancaster to begin a three-year Ph.D. For the first time he lived in Lancaster city in a large rented house rather than on campus. The travelling bug returned during this time and he spent three months working in Kenya with a charity organisation at the end of 1988, only to be persuaded to return to Kenya for a second spell of three months early in 1989. After completing his Ph.D. in 1991, he took up a lectureship in the Department of Geography in Swansea, spending four months renting a room in a nearby house, until he became an owner-occupier, purchasing a property 300 metres away. In 1993 he met his partner, Rhona, on a train. She was studying medicine in Cardiff and then took on a series of short posts in Shrewsbury, Hereford, Abergavenny and, finally, Swansea as part of her training. The decision to take this job finally allowed them to live in the same place. In 1995 Paul moved jobs to the University of

Leeds, sold his house and rented a flat with his partner in an old seventeenth-century building. Rhona managed to find work in Leeds quite easily, and has worked in Barnsley, Harrogate, Bradford, Hull and Leeds itself. In February 1997 they moved to Christchurch, New Zealand, where Paul took up a one-year visiting lectureship at the University of Canterbury, while Rhona found work in an out-of-hours clinic. Accommodation was provided in a small flat above the clinic, and after this contract ended they moved into a rented flat close to the city centre. At the end of the year they plan to return to Leeds.

Born in Brent, north London, in 1965, the young Keith Harold Halfacree moved with his parents to the small commuter town of Sandy in the county of Bedfordshire two years later. This move resulted from a quality of life decision made by his parents, although the act of migrating was stimulated by his birth and his increasing demand for space. At four, he moved to an isolated house, tied with a game-keeping job in the Devon countryside when his mother remarried. During the long years at secondary school, Keith spent most of his time lodging in the nearby town of Tiverton with various relatives and their neighbours because of the difficulty of travelling from home daily. As such, he became quite used to a 'nomadic' lifestyle. He finally moved away from home in 1984, when he went off to the University of Bristol to study geography. He was there for three years and lived at three different addresses. His educational career continued in 1987, with a move to Lancaster University, where he studied for a Ph.D. He lived at four different addresses during the four years he was there. It was here that he met Paul Boyle for the first time! The last geographically significant move brought him to Swansea, to take up a job in the Geography Department, since when he has moved from a privately rented house (where he lived with Paul Boyle and various postgraduate students for a short time) to his own property, 200 metres around the corner.

Vaughan Robinson is the elder statesman among the trio, having started life in a village in the Trough of Bowland in Lancashire in 1957. When, eight years later, his father was promoted to the headship of a large school in Darwen, he had his first experience of long-distance commuting, travelling daily with his father to the new school for a term, while his mother sought a headship in the same area. Once she had achieved this, the family moved to a commuter

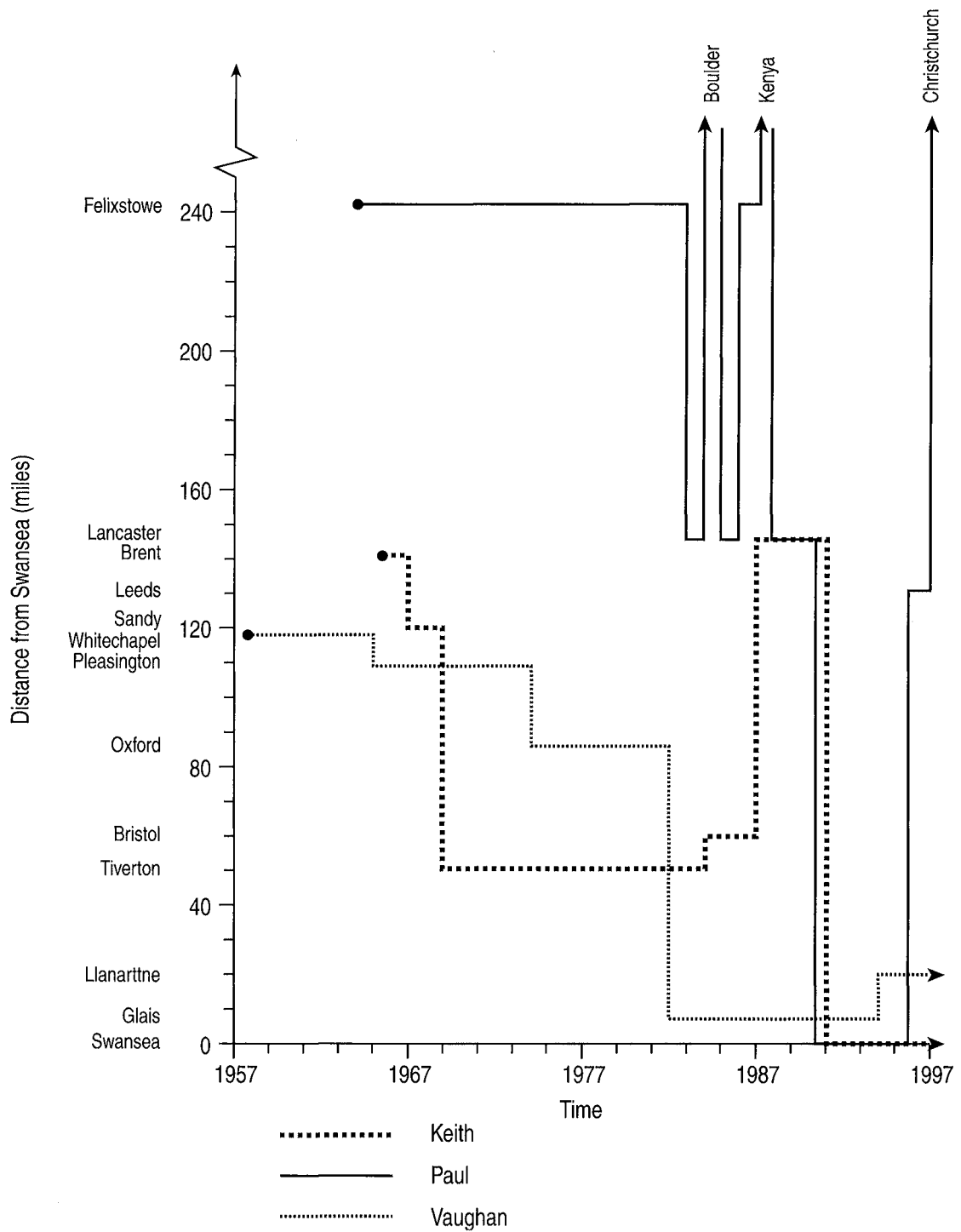


Figure 1.1 Simplified migration 'map' for the three authors. Note: only residential periods of six months or more shown.

village near Blackburn, where it remained until the retirement of his father. Vaughan, meanwhile, had departed to Oxford University in 1977, where he lived both in halls of residence and the usual unpleasant rented lodgings. He then embarked upon a D.Phil. at Oxford, and moved from one college (St Catherine's) to another (Nuffield). While at Nuffield he lived, with his partner, in a rented ground floor flat, horrifying the affluent neighbours by replacing the front lawn with an organic vegetable plot. His first job (as a research fellow) was also at Nuffield College and, having gained some financial security, he married and the Robinsons bought their first house. However, the cost of housing in Oxford necessitated a move out of the city to Bicester and a commute of two and a half hours per day. In 1982 the couple moved to Swansea when Vaughan took up a lectureship in geography. There, they bought a small cottage in a semi-rural area half an hour outside the city. Being a tied migrant moving to an area with few company head offices, Jayne Robinson was forced to accept demotion and, in her subsequent search for continued promotion, has commuted daily from Swansea to jobs in Bridgend, Cardiff, Caerphilly, Brecon and Hereford. When she gained promotion in the early 1990s, the couple began to look for a bigger house in a rural area; quality of life had become more important to them than accessibility to Swansea. Their search ended when Vaughan's mother, who had retired to west Wales prior to the death of his father in 1990, decided that the detached home that they had bought as a couple was now too large. Vaughan and Jayne bought a nineteenth-century villa near Llandeilo, 50 kilometres west of Swansea, and hope to raise a family there alongside their sheepdog, Bryn. Both of them travel with their jobs, Jayne having been seconded to a company in Oxford and also undertaking regular daily travel to Edinburgh, Alsager and London, and Vaughan working in the Sudan, Russia, Australia, India and Pakistan, as well as taking sabbaticals in Oxford. Indeed, travelling is one of their shared passions and they have visited China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Mexico, Guatemala and Thailand.

From the brief evidence presented for just these three individuals, it is clear immediately that migration and travel have played an important part in their biographies – in making them who they are today. Critical decisions often involved moving, either temporarily or permanently, and the very fact that this book came to fruition results from their co-location in Swansea for a relatively long period.

Migration is a key element in most people's lives and consequently is an important phenomenon for academic study.

The scale and importance of migration

The academic significance of migration is demonstrated further by the wide interest in the topic among people from various disciplines outside geography, including demographers, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, historians, political scientists, psychiatrists and psychologists (Richardson 1967). As geographers we aim to consolidate these perspectives, since migration is not just an inherently spatial phenomenon but is now more than ever an important element of international, national and local affairs; in short, migration is the very stuff of geography.

Numerically, the size of migration flows is becoming increasingly impressive. The precise number of international migrants is unknown but the International Organisation for Migration (1990) estimated that there were over 80 million persons (1.7 percent of the world's population) resident outside their country of birth; by 1992 estimates had risen to over 100 million, although these differences may be attributable to source materials, rather than real trends (Burgers and Engbersen 1996). About one-fifth of these migrants were refugees or asylum seekers, a third were labour migrants and the remainder include officially economically inactive family members (Castles and Miller 1993). Flows within broad regions of the world are also both considerable and significant. In the preface to a major study of migration within the European Union (EU) (Rees *et al.* 1996), Harry Crujisen of Eurostat (the EU's statistical division) drew attention to the sheer scale of migration within the EU alone. In the early 1990s, at least 25 million EU residents changed their place of main residence each year, with internal migration being the key demographic phenomenon in numerical terms. In comparison with this number of internal migrants, 1994 saw 4.0 million births, 3.7 million deaths, 2.0 million immigrations and 1.0 million emigrations. Within Europe, the 1960s saw a surge of migration within Spain, with 4.5 million people moving between municipalities, and high levels of migration have continued since that time (González and Puebla 1996). Likewise, in Britain it is generally accepted that around one person in ten

changes their regular place of residence in any one year. Further evidence to support the rise of both internal and international migration is readily to hand. For example, in Asia, Hugo (1996: 96) observed:

The last two decades have seen a growth of international population movements in the region which has gathered increasing momentum in the last decade and will continue to do so into the new millennium.

All of these moves have a number of overlapping dimensions that merit study and understanding:

- The need to gain an understanding of contemporary migration patterns and processes represented through the figures is reflected in migration's strongly *cultural* character and in the cultural impacts that migration can have, both for the migrants themselves and for the places they migrate from and move into. The experience of migration is written into almost all contemporary cultures and is expressed through art, the media and, perhaps most ubiquitously, through the common-sense practices of daily life.
- A cultural perspective blends into a *psychological* appreciation of migration. For example, for the migrant, the act of moving can promise much and/or can be a highly stressful and disruptive experience. For international migrants especially, migration is frequently associated with leaving a familiar home environment and the often disquieting experience of settling into a culturally very different place. New horizons can be reached as former lives are left behind, with all the existential rewards and traumas that such a change can bring.
- The *economic* impacts of migration are also immense, especially as economic considerations underpin such a high percentage of migration flows. Although it is impossible to provide precise estimates, international labour migrants are believed to remit over \$67 billion annually to their homelands, making this second only to oil in world trade figures (Martin 1992). Certain national economies rely heavily on these remittances and actively encourage short-term emigration. In contrast, in other nations immigrants are frequently unfairly blamed for high unemployment levels.
- Migration also has considerable *political* significance, both on the world stage and domestically. The reunification of Germany, the Zionist-inspired repopulation of Israel, the arrival of thousands of Vietnamese boat people in Hong Kong, and the illegal migration of Mexican

workers into the United States across the Rio Grande all involve migration events that have had considerable political impacts. Migration issues form a central aspect of the contemporary political scene, both at the domestic and at the international scale.

- Finally, we can return to focus on migration as a *spatial* event. As geographers we are obviously interested in the impacts of migration across space and it is important that the range, scale and complexity of migration patterns are demonstrated. Consequently, the majority of the remainder of this chapter is concerned with describing some of the key spatial patterns of migration, in order to set the scene for the thematic chapters, which elaborate upon the reasons underlying these empirical results. This discussion of spatial patterns provides a historical grounding within which the contemporary themes explored in subsequent chapters can be better understood.

Migration as a spatial event

Internal migration in the developed world

Urbanisation

The 'first' urban revolution occurred in the fifth millennium BC, following the agricultural revolution in the Near and Middle East, and identifiable towns and cities emerged (Figure 1.2) (overleaf). Usually, however, discussions of the beginnings of the urbanisation process focus on the period after the Industrial Revolution in late eighteenth-century Britain, which resulted in the growth of large metropolises and the emergence of a dynamic urban-industrial society (D. Clark 1982). Between 1751 and 1801 the population rose rapidly, increasing by approximately 45 percent as a result of interrelated demographic factors, agrarian change and economic development (Lawless and Brown 1986).

While the absolute population continued to grow during the nineteenth century, the percentage increases were not spectacular. However, the increasingly urban character of this population was spectacular and this was caused by the rural-urban migration that dominated this period. Complex patterns of migration resulted in regional population shifts towards the growing urban centres, and the basic population map of England was quickly re-

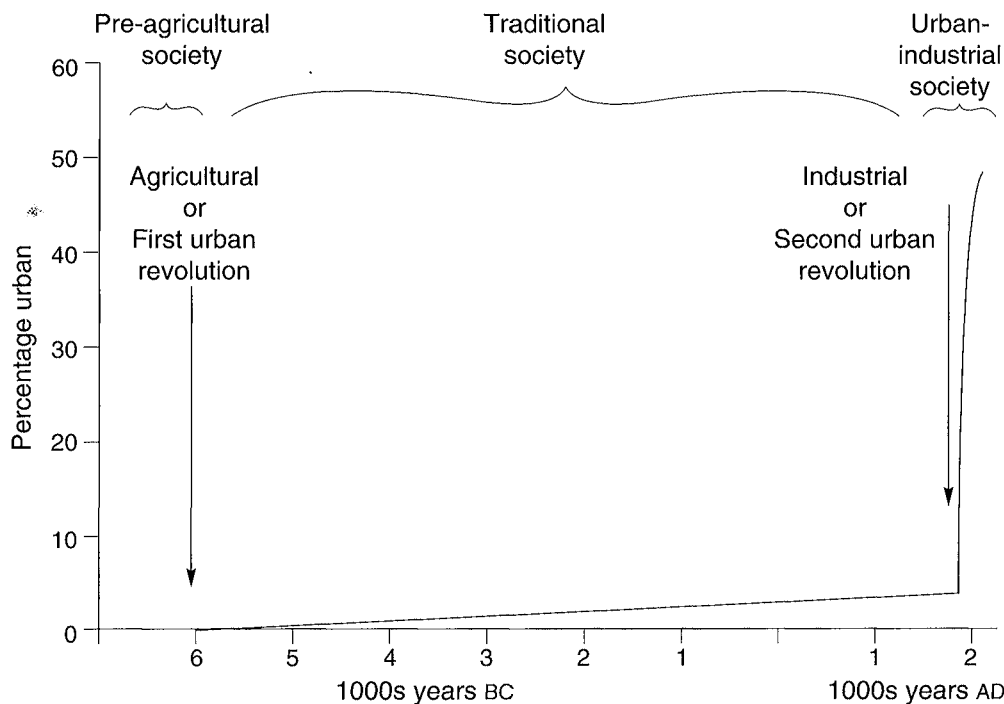


Figure 1.2 The growth of world urban population (source: Clark 1982, reproduced by permission of Croom Helm).

versed. The out-migration of young adults from the rural 'reservoirs' provided the impetus for rapid urbanisation, despite the high mortality rates in these centres. From the 1780s the pull towards London was increasing, but the population of new economic centres was also beginning to rise rapidly. Thus, between 1781 and 1830, the most marked migration gains were seen in the coalfield areas of South Wales, Lancashire and Durham and the growing industrial areas of the North West and Midlands (Figure 1.3).

During the nineteenth century, the centre of gravity of the British population continued to be pulled northwards, where industry was concentrating, but more detailed data show how population redistribution through migration was spatially concentrated into relatively few areas between 1841 and 1911, not all of these being in the north. Primarily, it was London, the larger towns, the residential towns and the colliery districts that gained substantially through migration, while the industrial towns began to witness net out-migration during this period. The rural exodus that helped to fuel the urban population increases was striking: while rural areas lost 4.5 million people through net out-migration, the

towns and colliery districts gained 3.3 million (Table 1.1) (page 9).

Moch (1989) warns that we need to delve deeper than simple urban and rural net migration figures if we are to understand fully the complexity of the urbanisation process. In France, the 'rather faceless population concentration and urbanisation' (p. 97) actually involved many types of migration other than simple rural-urban flows. These included temporary moves; exchanges between towns and cities within regions; long-distance moves of professionals and bureaucrats; and intense movement between cities and their immediate hinterlands, or *basins démographiques* (Figure 1.4) (page 10). A second migration process, which has received less attention, is the movement into and out of small towns. While cities grew, rural areas declined and larger towns stagnated:

small towns were deceptively active; they received rural people and sent their own citizens to regional centres and other cities ... they were not backwaters, but rather the receiving areas for rustics and the cradle for urbanites.

(*ibid.*: 99).

It is also misleading to interpret the net urban

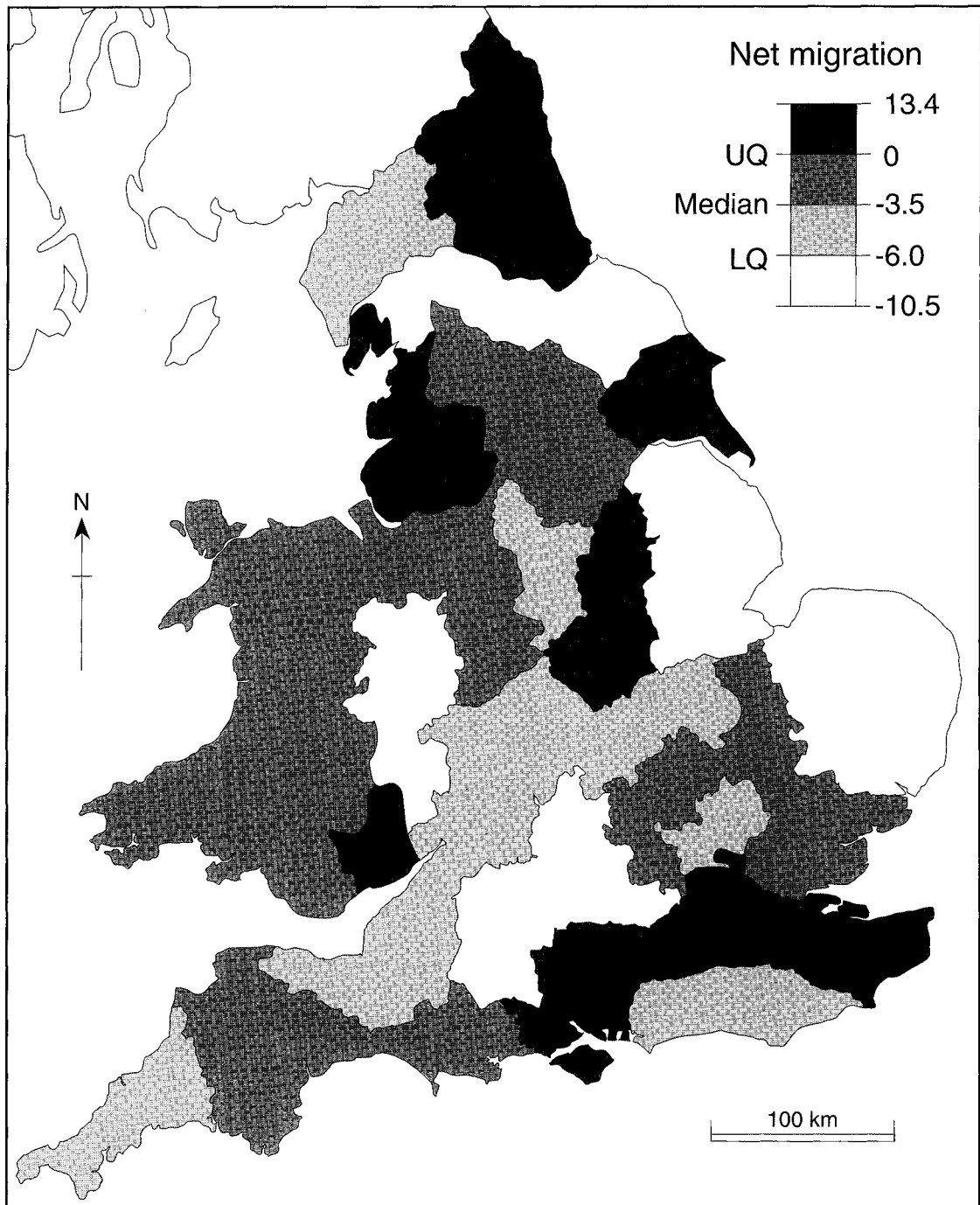


Figure 1.3 (a) Net migration in England and Wales, 1781–1800 (source: Lawton 1978).

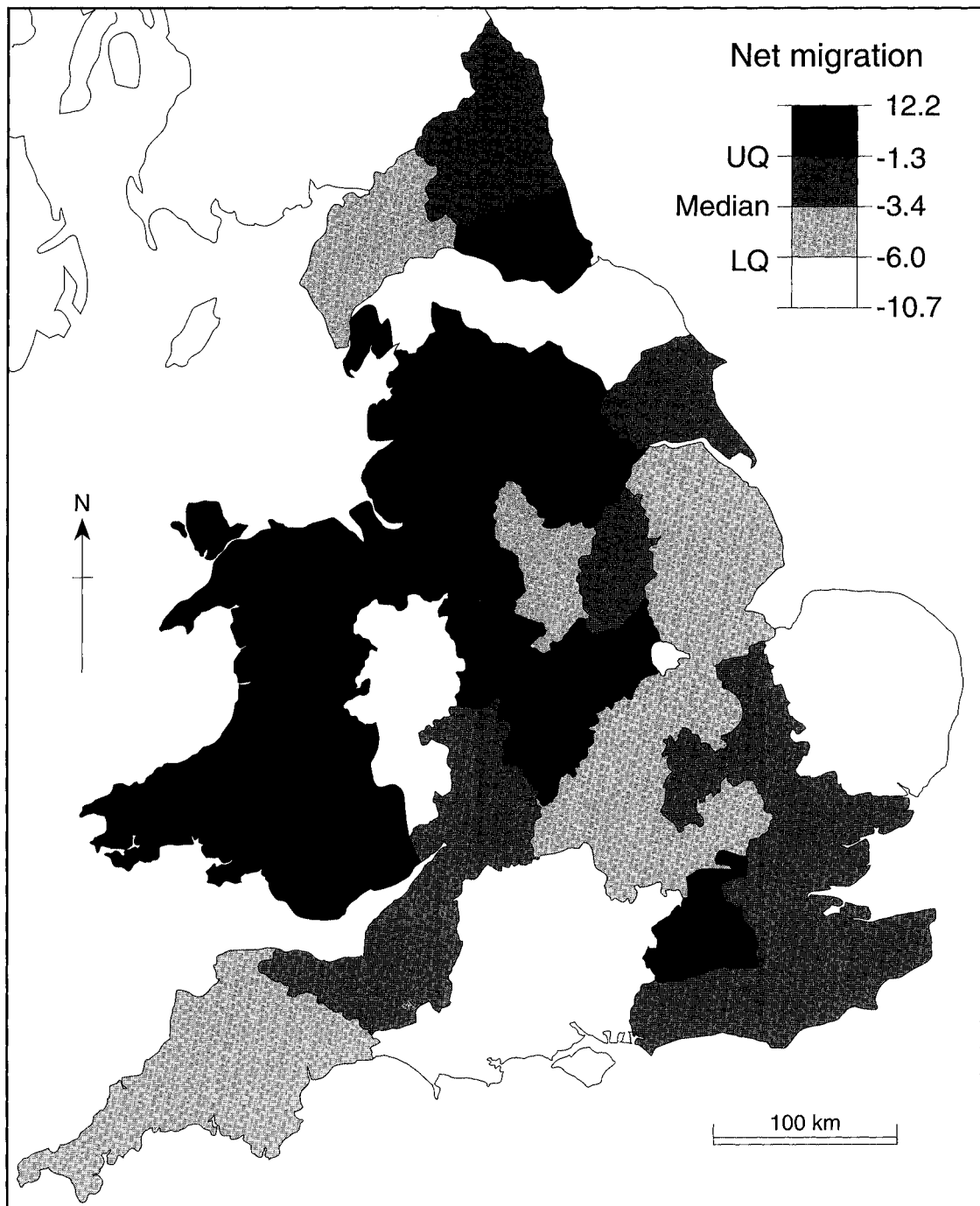


Figure 1.3 (b) Net migration in England and Wales, 1801–1830 (source: Lawton 1978).

Table 1.1 Urban and rural population growth in England and Wales, 1841–1911.

Location	Population 1841	Population 1911	Net migration 1841–1911	Net migration as a ratio of natural increase
Large towns				
London	2,261,525	7,314,738	+1,250,511	+32.9
8 Northern	1,551,126	5,191,769	+893,337	+32.5
Textile towns				
22 Northern	1,386,670	3,182,382	+89,933	+5.3
Industrial towns				
14 Northern	603,214	1,812,219	–152,994	–11.2
11 Southern	196,009	708,693	–15,679	–3.7
Old towns				
7 Northern	289,819	648,769	+15,944	+4.6
13 Southern	664,782	1,375,651	–22,004	–3.0
Residential towns				
9 Northern	206,897	559,022	+140,230	+66.2
26 Southern	692,185	1,770,030	+327,362	+43.6
Military towns				
16 Southern	470,821	1,212,413	+124,948	+20.3
Colliery districts				
9 Northern	1,320,342	5,334,002	+650,548	+19.3
Rural remainder				
12 Northern	2,425,614	2,875,113	–1,643,770	–78.6
12 Southern	3,740,228	4,085,691	–2,863,266	–89.2

Source: Lawton 1978.

gains and rural losses that were witnessed in much of Europe during this period as evidence of permanent migration. Langton and Hoppe (1990) argue that the picture of rapid demographic urbanisation that results from cross-sectional data, where everyone is classified as living in *either* urban *or* rural areas, hides the fact that:

Very few individuals are either 'rural' or 'urban', peasant or wage-earning, 'traditional' or 'modern' throughout their lives, or exclusively one or the other for significant lengths of time.

(Langton and Hoppe 1990: 140).

Net migration figures disguise the movement of short-stay migrants and there is evidence that circulation, rather than rural–urban migration, was characteristic of many parts of late nineteenth-century Europe (Anderson 1982; Hochstadt 1981; Johnson 1979). In Vadstena, Sweden, longitudinal household registers (Chapter 2) allow the migration histories of nineteenth-century inhabitants to be detailed. It appeared:

normal for people to change their place of residence at all stages of the life-cycle. Although there was a tendency for

this mobility to be at its most frenetic when people were in their twenties, everyone had moved, some two or three times, by their early teens, and everyone continued to move about until their sixties and seventies.

(*ibid.*: 147).

The urbanisation processes described above involved a complexity of migration forms that are not identified from the more traditional cross-sectional sources of information. Overall, however, migration was redistributing population towards urban areas and away from the rural periphery, such that urbanisation was the dominant migration process of this period, just as it is in much of the developing world today.

Suburbanisation

As the number of urban in-migrants swelled, city growth could not continue unabated. Suburbanisation, or the gradual decentralisation of population at the city edge, is a process that has been occurring since the earliest cities began:

Our property seems to me the most beautiful in the world. It is so close to Babylon that we enjoy all the advantages of

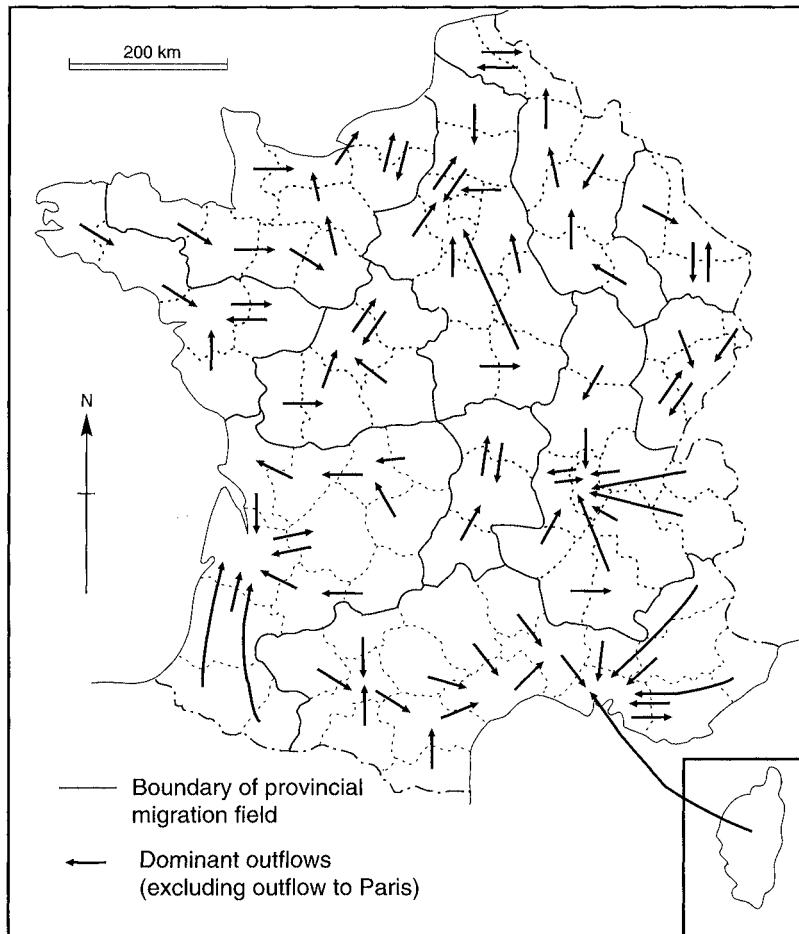


Figure 1.4 Lifetime migration in France, 1911. Note that the map depicts dominant out-migration from each *département*, excluding movement to Paris (source: White 1989).

the city, and yet when we come home we are away from all the noise and dust.

(Anonymous letter to the King of Persia in 539 BC on a clay tablet, quoted in Jackson 1985: 12).

Indeed, suburban villa developments with spacious gardens existed in Ur in southern Mesopotamia from about 2300 BC.

More recently, however, suburbanisation has been most prolific and culturally distinctive in the United States, where it is the most outstanding residential characteristic of everyday life in the twentieth century. Sustained growth at the edges of cities had occurred since the early nineteenth century and, in 1880, the United States Bureau of the Census was the first to employ the term 'suburb' in its analysis of Greater New York. Central to an understanding of

this process is a set of beliefs and values that were, and are, ingrained in American society (Chapter 6), but more practical transportation considerations are also important.

Pre-industrial cities, or 'walking cities', were characteristically disaggregated between the opulent centre and the inferior periphery. The most fashionable addresses were close to the city centre, as the lack of transportation meant that the optimum residential sites were close to the central facilities. Thus, in Philadelphia in 1790, the wealthy lived in the centre, while the city's first suburb contained a variety of blue collar artisans (carpenters, shoemakers and tailors) or those whose work was associated with the sea (Table 1.2). Indeed, as Foster noted in 1849, the most remote suburbs often housed the least privileged:

Table 1.2 The occupations of residents in Southwark, Philadelphia, United States, 1790.

White collar (17%)		Blue collar (45%)			
Sea captains	37	Labourers	128	Cabinet makers	4
Merchants	26	Ships' carpenters	56	Plasterers	4
Innkeepers	22	Mariners	45	Painters	4
Grocers	20	Shoemakers	39	Porters	4
Shopkeepers	18	House carpenters	32	Ships' joiners	4
Schoolteachers	15	Tailors	30	Caterers	3
Pilots	14	Blacksmiths	29	Caulkers	3
Lodgehousekeepers	11	Coopers	26	Mantua makers	3
Gentlemen	10	Weavers	17	Brewers	3
Gentlewomen	7	Bakers	15	Wheelwrights	3
Clerks	5	Rope makers	15	Silversmiths	3
Doctors	4	Mates	12	Sailmakers	3
Justices of the Peace	4	Joiners and cabinet makers	11	Sailors	2
Ministers	4	Bricklayers	7	Potters	2
Tobacconists	3	Ships' caulkers	7	Tinmen	2
Attorneys	2	Butchers	6	Printers	2
Constables	2	Mast makers	5	Barbers	2
Others	9	Seamstresses	5	Shallop men	2
		Boat builders	4	Others	25
		Bees housekeepers	4		

Source: United States Bureau of the Census 1908, adapted from Jackson 1985.

Nine-tenths of those whose rascalities have made Philadelphia so unjustly notorious live in the dens and shanties of the suburbs ... the core of the rottenest and most villainous neighbourhood ever peopled by human beings.

(quoted in Taylor 1969: 34).

The development of public transport within urban centres heralded the beginnings of population migration towards suburban communities. Between 1815 and 1875, American cities were turned 'inside out' as population growth occurred at the city edge and people's average journey to work increased. Brooklyn has been identified as the first 'commuter suburb', transformed by the regular steam ferry service that ran to New York City and offering a highly desirable residential environment. The daily commuting experience was captured by the celebrated writer Walt Whitman:

In the morning there is one incessant stream of people – employed in New York on business – tending toward the ferry. ... It is highly edifying to see the phrenzy exhibited by certain portions of the younger gentlemen ... they rush forward as if for dear life, and woe to the ... unwieldy person of any kind, who stands in their way.

(quoted in Jackson 1985: 28).

By 1860, the various urban ferries were carrying just under 33 million passengers a year rising to 50 million

by 1870 (Jackson 1985). This reflected the suburb's faster growth rate than the city, doubling its population every decade from 1800 until the Civil War.

Demand for non-water-based transportation systems grew as congestion increased; prior to 1825 no city possessed a mass transit system. The first horse-drawn omnibus was developed by a French army officer called Baudry in Nantes (western France), and this innovation was copied in American cities during the 1820s and 1830s. By the middle of the century these were a standard feature of urban life, and a further key turning point in the history of the American suburb came with the invention of the electric street-car in 1884. The result was a series of cities developing along linear routes out of the city centre. These new suburban territories revolutionised the social geography of metropolitan areas, with middle-class higher-income workers migrating further from the city centre.

In 1905, Henry Ford introduced the mass-produced Model T, which substantially reduced the cost of car ownership. Two million cars were registered by 1916, rising to 33 million by 1940 (Muller 1981). Concurrent with this increase in private vehicles, concrete and asphalt roads were developed rapidly, along with tunnels and bridges spanning urban waterways. By the 1930s, suburban population growth overtook that of the cities (Figure 1.5) (over-

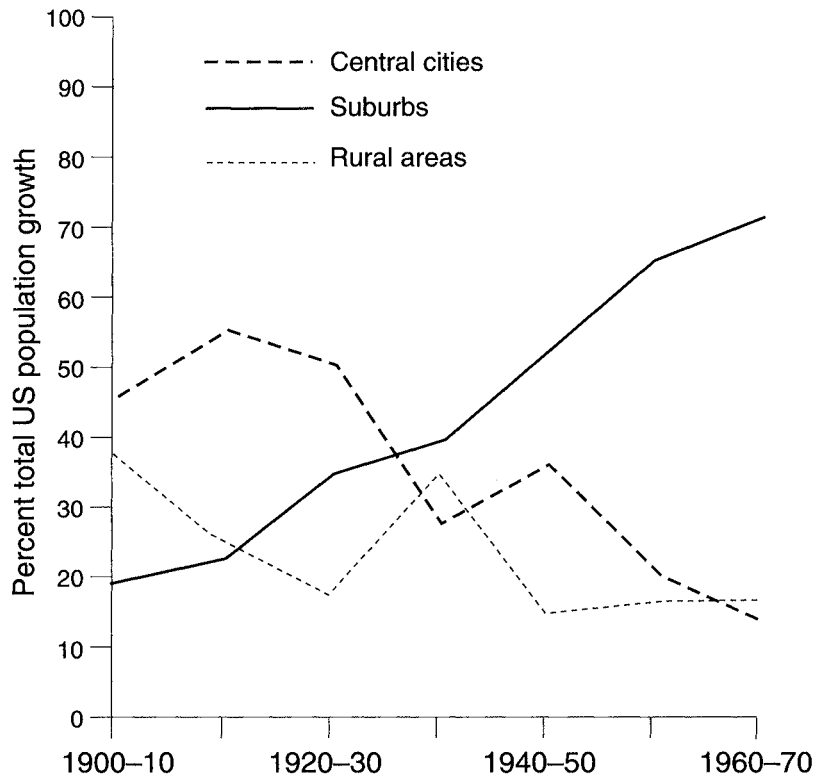


Figure 1.5 Percentage share of United States population change, 1900-1975 (source: Muller 1981).

leaf) and after the Second World War the growth of suburbs was monumental; the suburban population increased by 3 percent between the wars but by 13 percent between 1945 and 1960 (Muller 1981). By 1980, only one of the fifteen largest metropolitan areas in the United States (Houston) had a majority of its residents in the central city, although defining city and suburban boundaries makes comparisons problematic (Table 1.3).

Whether suburbanisation will continue so strongly into the future is debatable, although current trends show that suburbs remain the focus for middle-class growth (Frey and Fielding 1995). Indeed, many commentators have argued that suburbanisation is an inherent characteristic of American society that is unlikely to change in the future. For example, the sociologist Herbert Gans wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* in 1968 that 'Nothing can be predicted quite so easily as the continued proliferation of suburbia' (Stave 1989).

Table 1.3 Suburban population in the fifteen largest metropolitan areas in the United States, 1980.

Metropolitan area	Metropolitan population	Suburban population	Suburban percentage
Boston	3,448,122	2,885,128	83.7
Pittsburg	2,263,894	1,839,956	81.3
St Louis	2,355,276	1,902,191	80.8
Washington	3,060,240	2,422,589	79.2
Atlanta	2,029,618	1,604,596	79.1
Detroit	4,618,161	3,414,822	73.9
Cleveland/Akron	2,834,062	2,023,063	71.4
Philadelphia	5,547,902	3,859,682	69.6
San Francisco Bay	5,179,784	3,524,972	68.1
Los Angeles/Anaheim	11,497,568	7,620,560	66.3
Baltimore	2,174,023	1,387,248	63.8
Chicago	7,869,542	4,864,470	61.8
Dallas/Fort Worth	2,974,878	1,685,659	56.7
New York/New Jersey	16,121,297	8,721,019	54.1
Houston	2,905,350	1,311,264	45.1

Source: Jackson 1985.

Box 1.1 The Levittown developments

Advances in transportation technology allowed people to live further from their place of work but it has been argued that this was an enabling factor rather than the cause of suburbanisation. In the post-1945 United States, there was a rapid growth of large residential builders:

There was nothing new about suburban development in America. What was new in this period was the developed capacity of large builders to take raw suburban land, divide it into parcels and streets, install needed services, apply mass production methods to residential construction, and sell the finished product to unprecedented numbers of consumers.

(Checkoway 1984: 153).

The impact of such developments is clear from the following table of new housing units in the United States between 1938 and 1959:

Year	New housing units started	Houses built by large builders (%)
1938	406,000	5
1949	1,466,000	24
1959	1,554,000	64

Levitt and Sons exemplified the importance of large builders. Founded in 1929 by Abraham Levitt, the company was forced to build low-cost housing in government defence areas during the war years and this provided experience in building prefabricated, mass-produced housing. In 1947, the company bought around 560 hectares of farmland on Long Island, 50 kilometres from New York City, and by 1948 it was completing more than 35 houses per day. The house-building industry had been revolutionised and more than 17,000 identical homes for 70,000 people were constructed in uniform rows in Levittown. Selling at \$7990, they were widely regarded as the best value for money in the United

States (Larrabee 1948). A second Levittown was developed outside Philadelphia, in Lower Bucks County, and when the first houses were opened for inspection in 1951 more than 50,000 people came to view during the first weekend. On the first two days, more than \$2,000,000 worth of houses were sold!

These impressive developments were achieved by transferring Fordist mass-production techniques from the factories to the construction industry. Each site was an assembly line with people and machines moving through in teams to perform one of 26 operations, using parts that had been pre-assembled or pre-cut in factories beforehand. Levitt also gained considerable financial backing from the government and invested more money in consumer research than any other builder. The homes were well advertised and the salespeople were remarkably efficient; the entire financing and title transaction took one hour.

Mass suburban development in post-war America was therefore, at least to some extent, structurally determined. While the role of individual preferences and the search for socially homogenous enclaves were important determinants of the drive towards suburbanisation, the role of large developers and the federal government support provided to them were crucial factors. Thus, we must:

question those studies which fail to explain the impossibility of inferring the spatial dynamics and decision behaviour of large operators and government partners from the residential aspirations and satisfaction of the eventual suburban consumers, or which fail to specify the narrow range of alternatives actually available, or which fail to emphasize the fact that consumers were important but not decisive actors in the decisions which produced the choices they made. Consumers made a logical choice among alternatives developed elsewhere.

(Checkoway 1984: 167–168).

Source: Checkoway 1984.

Counterurbanisation

The decentralisation of population from urban centres into surrounding suburbs dominated migration patterns in much of the developed world after 1945 and urban growth continued at the expense of the rural periphery. More recently, this pattern of migration has been superseded by a radical reversal of the trend towards urbanisation. First witnessed in the United States (Beale 1975), *counterurbanisation* was the term used to describe both the population growth that was occurring in non-metropolitan

American counties and the population decline in the metropolitan counties during the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, it was shown that the 'rural renaissance' (Morrison and Wheeler 1976) was gaining pace faster in remote rural areas than in rural areas neighbouring metropolitan counties; it was not simply an extension of metropolitan expansion (McCarthy and Morrison 1978; Sternlieb and Hughes 1977).

Several multinational studies have found similar patterns of counterurbanisation in much of north west Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and parts of Scandinavia (Berry 1976a; Champion 1989;

Table 1.4 Population change in English East Midlands parishes of under 1,000 residents, 1971–1981.

County	Total parishes	Population loss	Population gain	Parishes depopulating (%)
Derbyshire	169	83	86	49
Leicestershire	206	93	113	45
Lincolnshire	452	217	235	48
Northamptonshire	203	87	116	43
Nottinghamshire	169	72	97	43
East Midlands total	1,199	552	647	46

Source: Weekley 1988.

Vining and Kontuly 1978; Vining and Pallone 1982). Various reasons for this radical reversal of population concentration have been suggested (Champion 1992). Perhaps the most persuasive are those related to quality of life decisions (Chapter 6) and economic restructuring and industrial (re)location (Chapter 4).

Other studies have been more sceptical of the extent of counterurbanisation. Weekley (1988) used parish data in the East Midlands of England to show that, while at larger scales it appears that rural areas are growing rapidly, there was considerable variation between local areas, with many continuing to experience depopulation (Table 1.4). Elsewhere, Flowerdew and Boyle (1992) used local-level 1981 census data in Hereford and Worcester county in England to show that the vast majority of in-migration from the nearby West Midlands metropolitan conurbation was over very short distances and could more convincingly be described as an extended suburbanisation than typical counterurbanisation. Furthermore, Boyle (1995a) statistically modelled (Chapter 2) the flows into and within rural districts in England over the 1980–1981 period and showed that flows from the most urban areas into the most remote rural areas were not unusually large. Thus, metropolitan population losses and rural gains were not necessarily directly linked. Even with such qualifications, however, it is generally agreed that the 1960s and 1970s were periods of rural population growth at the expense of urban areas in many developed nations.

The urban revival

The experience of the 1980s has suggested yet another unexpected turnaround in population redistribution. It was in the United States that counterurbanisation occurred first and appeared to be most strongly developed but, from the beginning of the

1980s, metropolitan growth began to rise once more (Long and DeAre 1988). As demonstrated in Table 1.5, the metropolitan revival between 1980 and 1990 was even greater in the large metropolitan areas than in the smaller ones. Contrary to the beliefs of many researchers writing in the early 1980s, it is thus possible that counterurbanisation may have been a relatively short-term blip in the general trend towards metropolitan growth.

Various theories have been suggested to explain this turnaround. Berry (1988) compared the pattern of net migration change in the urban centres of the United States with economic cycles (Figure 1.6) (page 17). The relatively consistent waves of gross national product (GNP) are negatively related to the familiar *Kondratiev waves* of prices, which rise during lean spells but, according to Berry, there is also a strong positive relationship between economic growth cycles and urban in-migration in the United States.

Geyer and Kontuly (1993) developed a broader *differential urbanisation* model, which distinguishes between large, intermediate and small cities, which appear to go through successive phases of fast and slow growth (Figure 1.7) (page 18). Initially, population concentration, through net migration, dominates as primate cities grow rapidly. Subsequently, new urban centres begin to expand and economic

Table 1.5 Population change in the United States, 1960–1990 (percentage).

Period	Large metropolitan areas	Other metropolitan areas	Non-metropolitan areas
1960–1970	18.5	14.6	2.2
1970–1980	8.1	15.5	14.3
1980–1990	12.1	10.8	3.9

Source: Frey 1992.

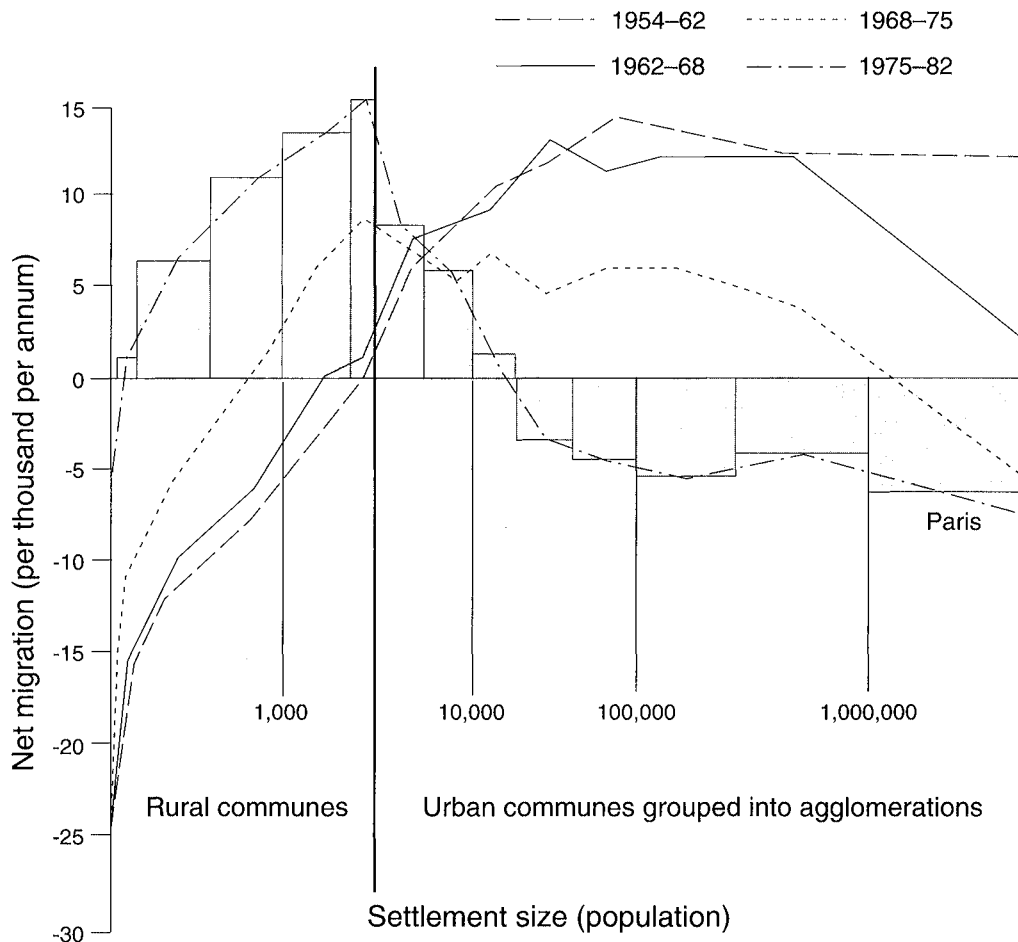
Box 1.2 Counterurbanisation in France

While work has shown a widespread pattern of urbanisation and counterurbanisation in many developed societies, France may represent an exception. Here, the urbanisation process was unusual because of the slow rate of population growth during the nineteenth century, which restricted the development of industrial agglomerations and left Paris as a dominant primate city (van de Walle 1979). Urbanisation and counterurbanisation were telescoped in time, as evidence for a rural revival was identified in the 1975 census results (Courgeau 1978). France has since displayed some of the classic features of counterurbanisation, with rural *communes* experiencing population gains after a century of loss. The diagram below shows that, between 1975 and 1982, with the exception of the smallest, all the *communes* under

20,000 population experienced net in-migration, while the larger *communes* witnessed net declines. Even so, some authors are less than convinced by the counterurbanisation thesis in France, arguing that these trends are more apparent than real because of problems with data sources and with the definition of 'urban' and 'rural' (Noin and Chauviré 1987).

Winchester and Ogden showed that, in 1982, it was the rural *communes* within the functional urban regions (*zones de peuplement industriel et urbain*) that experienced population gains, while depopulation continued in the remoter rural areas. Decentralisation appeared to be more important than deconcentration.

Source: Winchester and Ogden 1989.



France 1954-1982 - the relationship between net migration and settlement size (source: Fielding 1982), reprinted from *Progress in Planning*, 17: 1-52, 'Counterurbanization in Western Europe', © 1982, with kind permission from Elsevier Science Ltd, The Boulevard, Longford Lane, Kidlington, OX 51 GB, UK.