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Title: Rethinking spatial assimilation and whiteness: The internal migration of ethnic Polish people in England and Wales.

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ABSTRACT

The number of Polish post-accession migrants that moved to Britain has been an unexpected consequence of the European Union's expansion and has ethnically diversified the population. The scale of the migration has been a salient concern for multiple parties (Policy makers, politicians, housing providers) for a number of reasons. Firstly, Polish migrants have moved to reception places that include suburban and rural neighbourhoods that often do not have the capacity to support the new migrant population. Secondly, unlike urban and gateway neighbourhoods, the new neighbourhoods have limited experience of migration. Arguably, whilst there has been a focus on the new areas to which Polish migrants have moved, very little is known about their subsequent internal moves. The direction and the factors that shape Polish migrant's internal migration are vital to multiple stakeholders and expose new questions about whiteness and how it is utilised and performed in these places that could enhance our understanding of the linkages between place and ethnicity. The paper will use a mixed-methods research design to look at the direction of Polish internal migrants in England as well as the factors that shape their internal migration decisions. Census 2011 micro-data will be used to analyse the characteristics of Polish internal movers as well as commissioned origin-destination tables that will be used to analyse whether counter-urbanisation is occurring and if Polish migrants are moving to more ethnically diverse or concentrated areas. To compliment the quantitative findings, in-depth interviews will be used from two case-study sites in Greater Manchester to gain a more nuanced understanding of the factors that shape Polish internal migration decisions. The paper will engage with the theoretical discussions of place and ethnicity established from the spatial assimilation and segmented assimilation theory and their relevance and application for a new ethnically white migrant group in England.

Introduction

On the first of May 2004, ten countries in Central and Eastern Europe (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, and Slovakia) joined the European Union (EU). The expansion, the fifth in the EU's history, was the largest enlargement on a number of counts. Firstly, the expansion was the single largest accession since the EU genesis. Secondly, the enlargement was the largest expansion of territory since the EU's creation, and thirdly, the accession led to the largest increase in population since the EU's creation.

From an international migration perspective, the expansion of the EU substantially changed the politics, economy and migration flows of EU citizens. For example, accession politically allowed ten countries to join the EU system that had gone through rapid democratization processes following the dissolution of communism in the early nineties. Moreover, free movement, an enshrined right to signatories of the EU charter, enabled EU citizens to migrate throughout the Union for employment opportunities and to fill in labour market gaps in other EU states. For the

UK, research by White (2010) and Burrell (2009) suggested that the lack of transitional mechanisms applied by the UK government led to an unexpected and substantial flow of new accession EU citizens to the UK from the Baltic States, Slovakia and Poland.

The migration of a large number of ethnically white migrants from new EU countries has changed not only the country of origin that many migrants to the UK came from but arguably also changed the ethnic make-up of Britain's population. For example, an analysis of the Workers Registration Scheme by the Migration Observatory (2014) suggested that between 2004 and 2011, approximately 540,000 Polish citizens migrated to the UK. Moreover, an analysis of the National Insurance Number Allocations (NINO) for 2004-2006 and 2006-2008 suggested that Polish migration to the UK had eclipsed and supplanted many of the commonwealth migration flows to become the largest share of international migrants to the UK (Burrell, 2009). Polish international migration to the UK alongside the movement of people from other accession countries has refocused attention on whiteness and what ethnic whiteness means for different migrant and minority groups living in the UK. New ethnically white migration has marked a departure from the ethnically white groups previously in the UK, which traditionally had come from the Anglosphere, commonwealth countries, or was the result of the children of white migrants. The rapid increase in particularly Polish people to the UK opened up a flurry of questions about the ethnicity of new migrant groups and the impact their arrival had on the dynamics of ethnicity in British society.

The large flow of Polish citizens, combined with a substantial Polish community in Britain that migrated as a result of the Second World War, has led to questions about the internal migration patterns of Polish people within the UK and is of particular interest to many parties including services, housing providers and local authorities, moreover, where people live and move to has the chance to theoretically enhance our knowledge about integration models that link where people live to their social implications.

Theoretically, the social implications of where people live have been well documented by scholars, particularly from the eminent work by the Chicago School of Sociology. The residential spaces of non-white and racial groups in the US have been linked to their level of assimilation and characterises a model of integration that links the places a group lives with their level of integration in a place. Initial theories from groups such as the Chicago School suggested that migrants initially settled in inner city and urban areas. As the migrant group becomes more established they will seek to move to better neighbourhoods. Subsequent generations of ethnic minorities will chart a move out of the inner city and into more suburban neighbourhoods and signals the increased affluence and overall integration of the group. The Spatial Assimilation Theory, as it became known, has become the cornerstone of assimilation research that links place with integration in the US with the subsequent large body of US scholarship detailing the segregation of African American people that remained in the inner city neighbourhoods. Whilst the scholarship on the linkages between residential places and its social implications has advanced and theories such as the Segmented Assimilation Theory and Place Stratification Theory provide different approaches to where minority groups reside, more recent work has attempted to understand the residential patterns of new migrant groups, particularly migrant groups that share many ethnic similarities with the majority population.

From a geography perspective, a characteristic of Polish migration, more specifically the patterns of Polish accession movement has been to move to multiple places in the UK. Previous flows of non-white migrants have often settled in urban and inner city areas and in reception places that have the infrastructure and capacity to cope with the arrival of new migrant groups. However, the Polish people who moved after Accession were found to be highly residentially dispersed, and these residential patterns was unlike other Central and Eastern European migrants (CEE). Polish people were observed to move to suburban and rural neighbourhoods, as well as urban, inner city and gateway neighbourhoods (Scott and Brindley, 2012). Consequently, new questions

about ethnicity have emerged as the result of Polish people moving to areas with previously little experience of international migration, particularly non-white international and internal migration.

As with the Polish accession migrants in the U.K., U.S. scholars such as Hall (2013) and Waters and Jiménez (2005) have looked at the new residential places that Hispanic and Asian Americans have moved to in the US. The new migrants were observed to enter directly into suburban and peripheral neighbourhoods without the necessary social and economic acumen prescribed by the Spatial Assimilation Theory. For new migrants in Britain, work by Scott and Brindley (2012) have argued that the changes in the geographies of Accession citizens, particularly Polish migrants has been the result of the change in sectors requiring low skilled and low paid labour with many agricultural, food packing and service industries requiring labour which was often located outside urban centres and in peripheral, suburban and rural areas. Consequently, Polish Accession citizens have entered new residential places and led to ethnic whiteness emerging in areas previously reserved for the ethnic white British population.

Burdsey (2011) and de Lima (2009) have considered the implications of the new migrant settlements in areas without a historical link to non-white migration and the relations between the minority and majority communities in these places. However, there is a dearth of evidence about the subsequent internal migration movements that Polish people make after these initial reception sites and little evidence that describes the drivers of these moves. Knowledge about what motivates the internal migration patterns of Polish people could contribute to our theoretical understanding of residential integration models for new migrant groups in Britain as well as be an important information source for multiple parties to provide services and resources for the new migrant group in the new areas they reside. Moreover, Polish peoples' new resident geographies have led us to address the questions: what is the direction of Polish internal migration? Are Polish people moving from suburban and rural areas to more urban areas (urbanisation) or are they moving from more urban areas to more suburban and rural areas (counter-urbanisation)? The paper will also attempt to address the question, what factors shape the internal migration patterns of Polish people in England and Wales?

Method

The paper employs a mixed-methods approach to look at the internal migration of ethnic Polish people in the England and Wales. The paper will firstly describe the quantitative research methods and then move on to describe the qualitative research methods.

For the quantitative element of the paper, the Census 2011 for England and Wales was used to address the direction of Polish people's internal migration flows and the characteristics of Polish internal movers. Two micro data releases were used to analyse the characteristics of Polish internal migrants and these were the Census 2011 micro data at regional and local authority district level. The analysis uses the Census variable from the question 'what was your address one year before the Census 2011'. Furthermore, the micro data will be used to analyse the distance that the migrants moved internally in England and Wales compared to their address one year prior to the Census 2011.

In addition, this paper uses a bespoke, commissioned origin-destination table from the Census 2011 England and Wales that includes information from the write-in element of the census ethnicity question. The question provides respondents with the chance to write-in their self-perceived ethnic identity and enables the analysis of Polish people's internal migration at Local Authority District Level. The analysis was used to investigate the direction of the internal flows of Polish people's migration in England and Wales and will be used to answer the questions about the direction of internal migration flow.

To complement the quantitative analysis, the paper also used 30 in-depth semi-structured interviews of Polish people living in Greater Manchester to gain a more nuanced understanding of the factors that shape Polish migrants' internal migration decisions. The interviews will be used to analyse what factors shape the internal migration movement of ethnic white Polish migrants as well as to gain a greater understanding of the mechanisms that drive their migration trajectories since arriving in the UK.

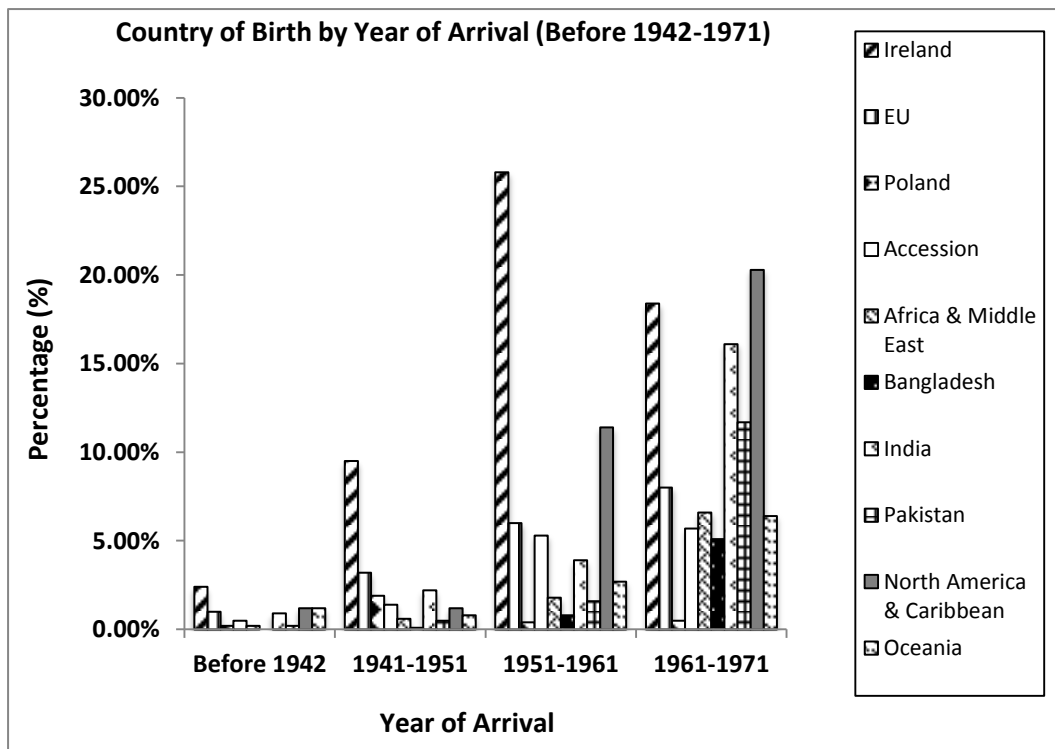
Two case study sites were chosen to recruit interviewees; the first in Salford- the site of previous flows of ethnic white Polish migrants to Greater Manchester, and the second in Tameside- the site of new accession international migration. The two sites were chosen to look at any differences between the internal migration trajectories of Polish migrants living in the two local authorities. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed and analysed using thematic and narrative analysis with the use of NVIVO to code the data.

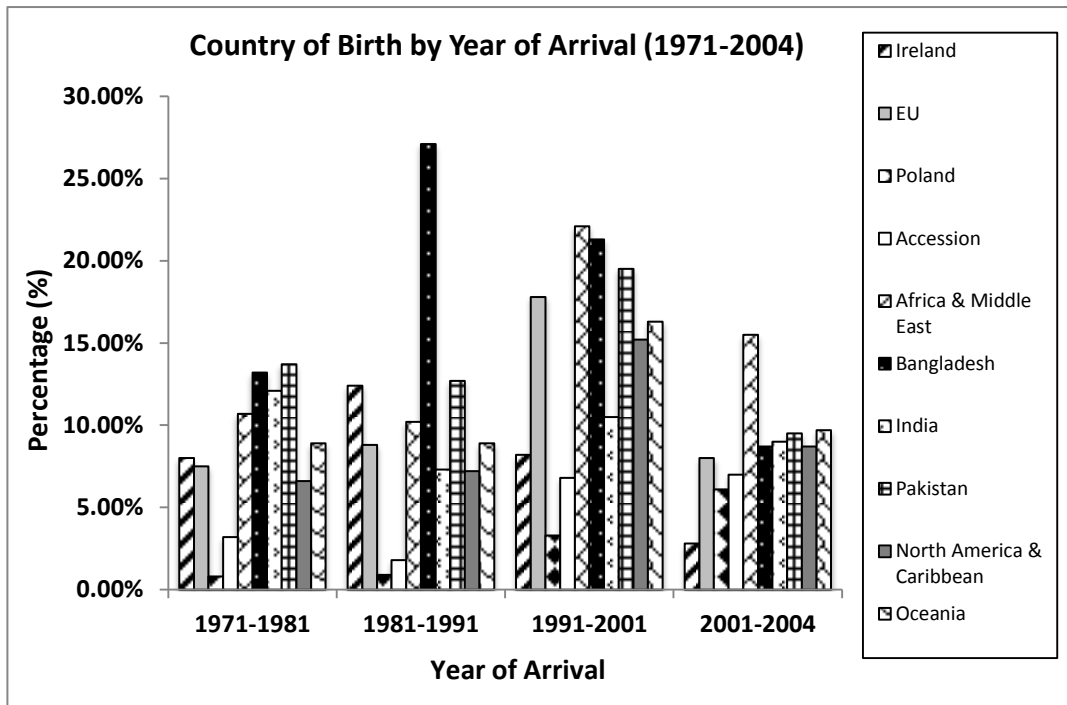
This paper will contribute to our knowledge of the direction of the movement of a major new migrant population that will provide essential evidence for multiple parties such as housing and service providers. Moreover, the paper will provide evidence to support the mechanisms that underpin the residential patterns of new ethnically white migrants in England and Wales allowing the interrogation of spatial assimilation theories and concepts of whiteness.

Results

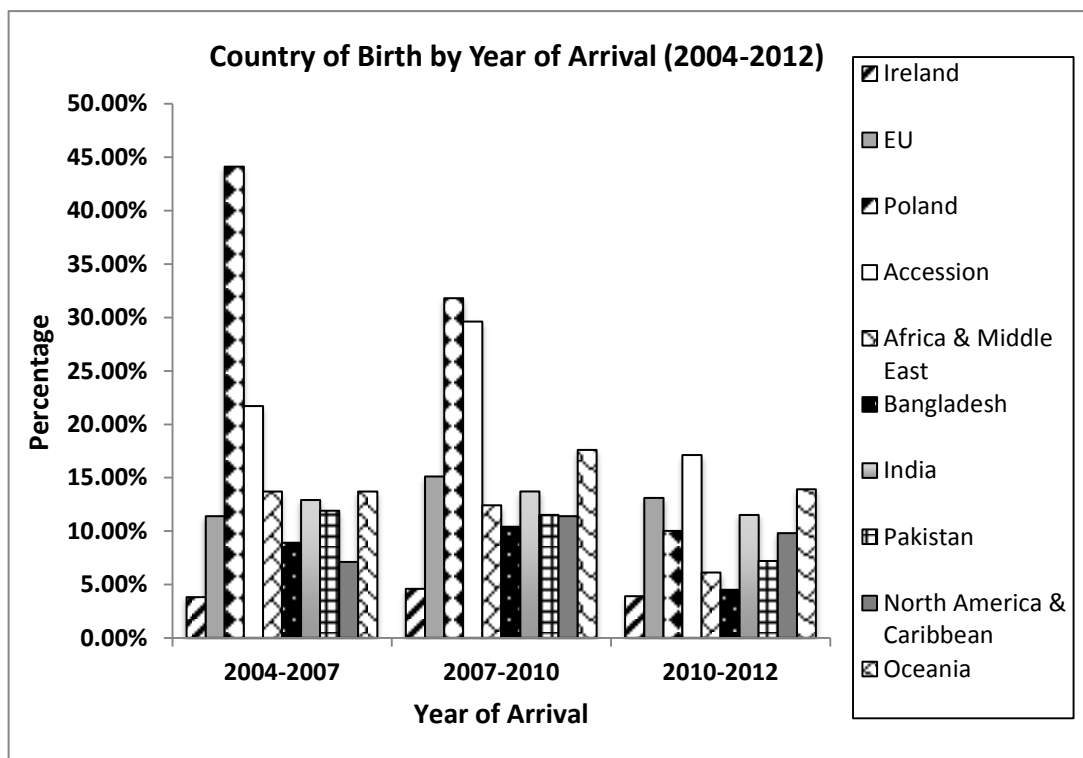
Preliminary results from the Census 2011 that use the 'Country of Birth' variable as a proxy for ethnicity suggest that Polish residents largely moved to England and Wales after the E.U. accession in May 2004. Polish international immigrant flows differed considerably from other 'country of origin' immigrant groups, notably from the Caribbean and from the South Asian countries (Bangladesh, India and Pakistan) who arrived at earlier decades of the twentieth century. It appears that the main share of Polish immigration to England and Wales was made up of those who had arrived during two distinct time periods. Firstly, the substantial increase of Polish born people to England and Wales in the years that surrounded the Second World War, and secondly, the large immigration of Polish migrants that migrated to England and Wales after the E.U. accession.

Graph 1-3. Showing the Country of Birth by Year of Arrival from the Census 2011 England and Wales.

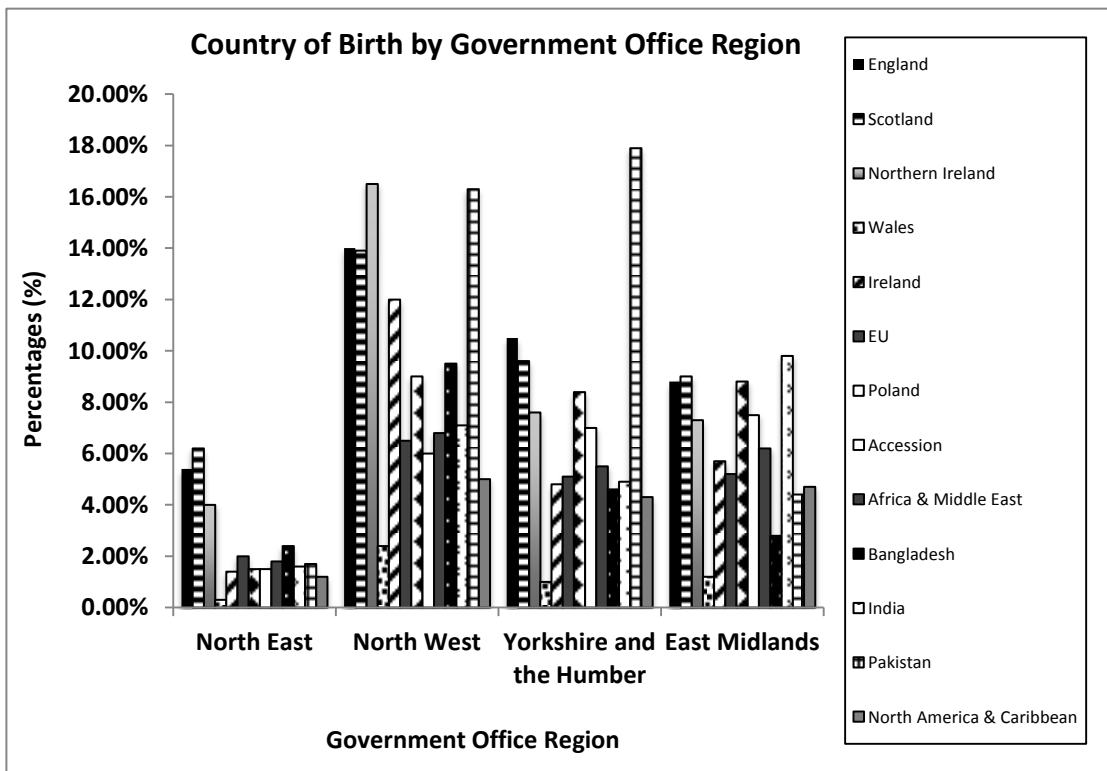
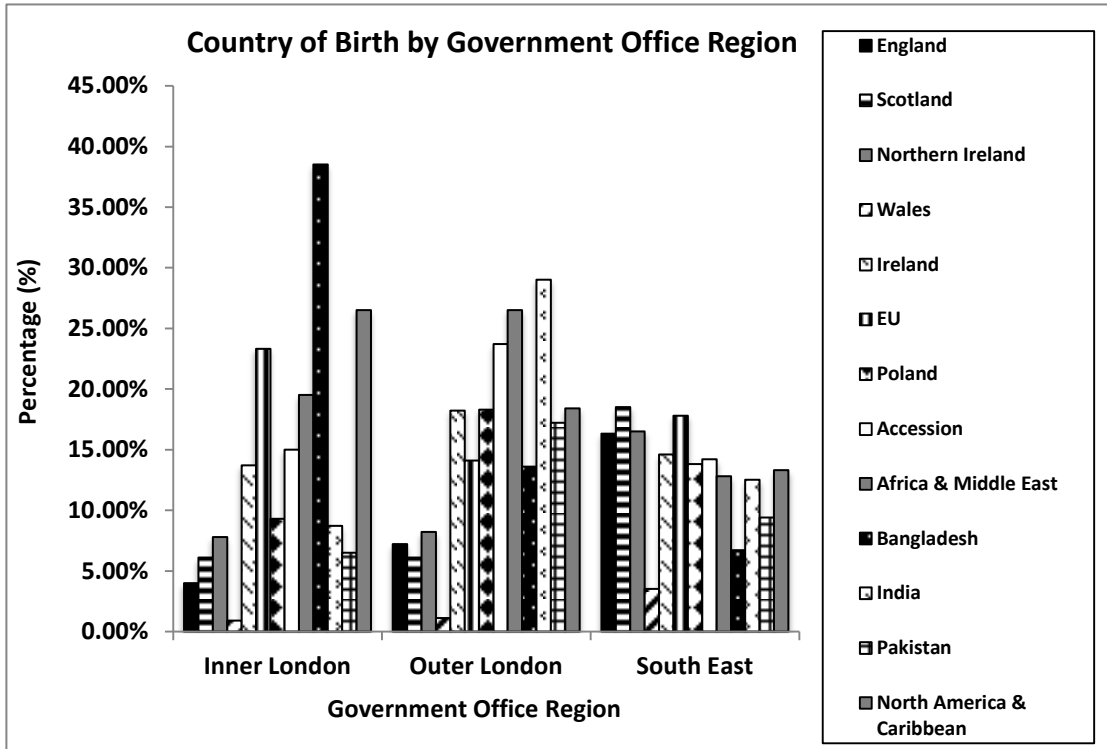


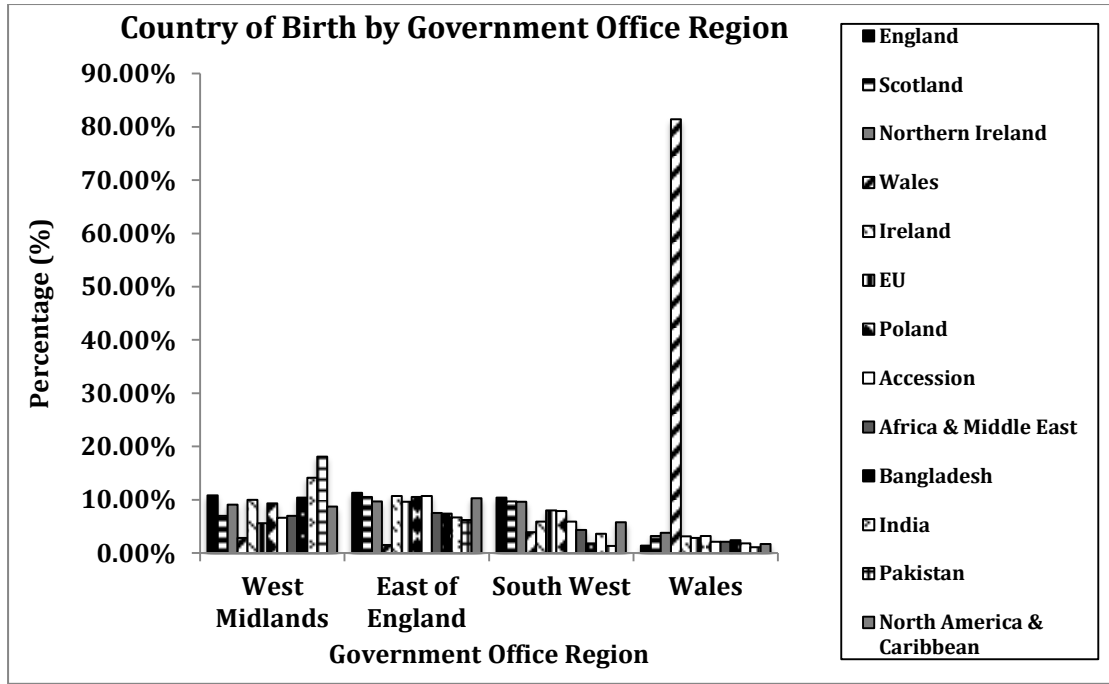


The results also suggested that the Polish migrants were residentially dispersed throughout England and Wales; with the highest concentration of Polish people residing in the suburban and outer London local authorities. Polish residents were found to move more within their local authority area compared to other 'country of birth' groups using the 'address one year before the census' variable.

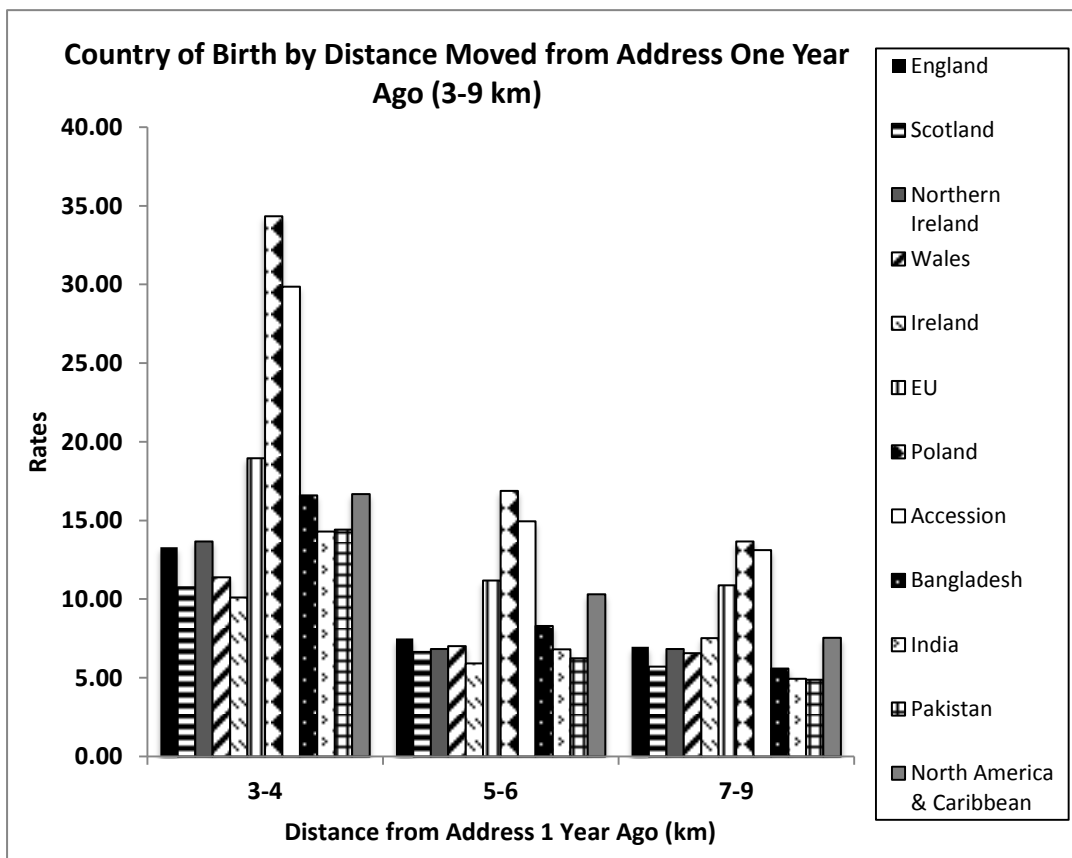
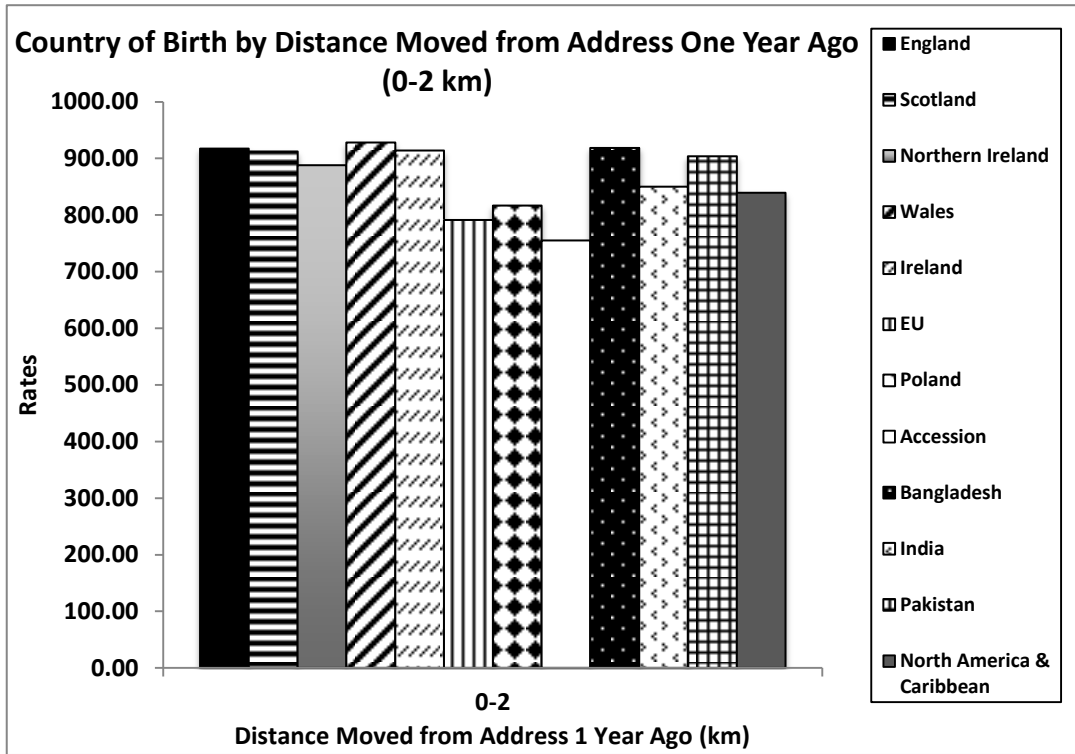


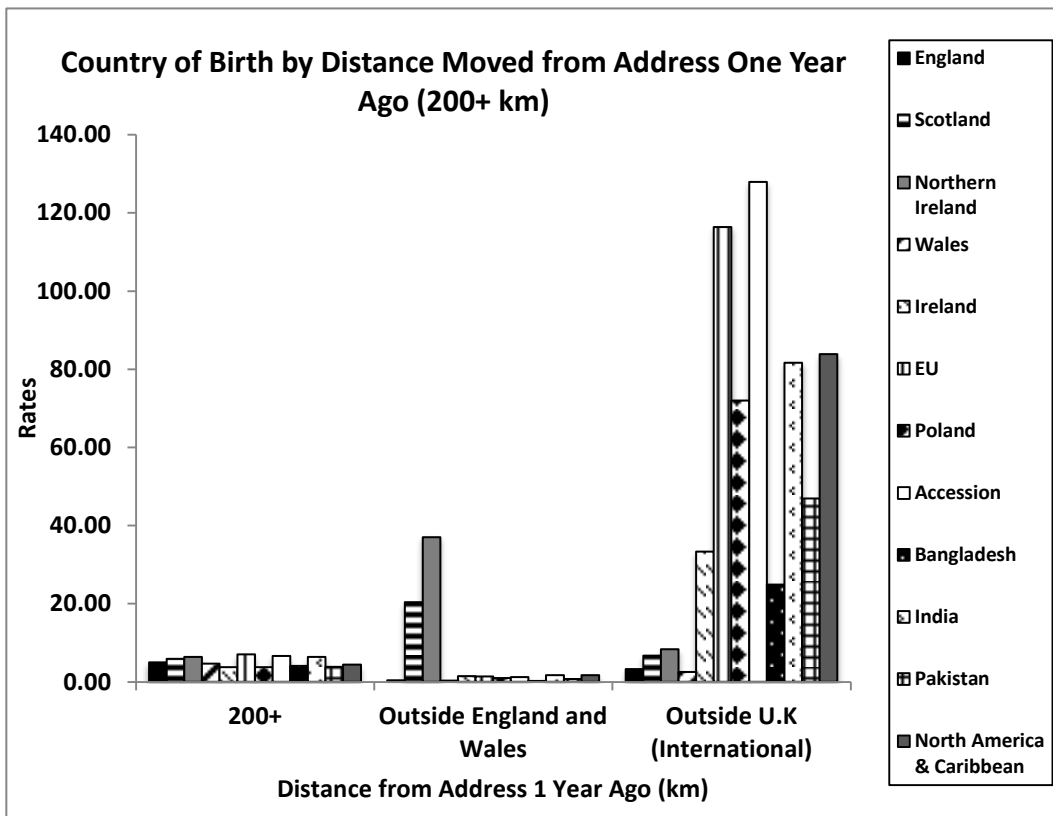
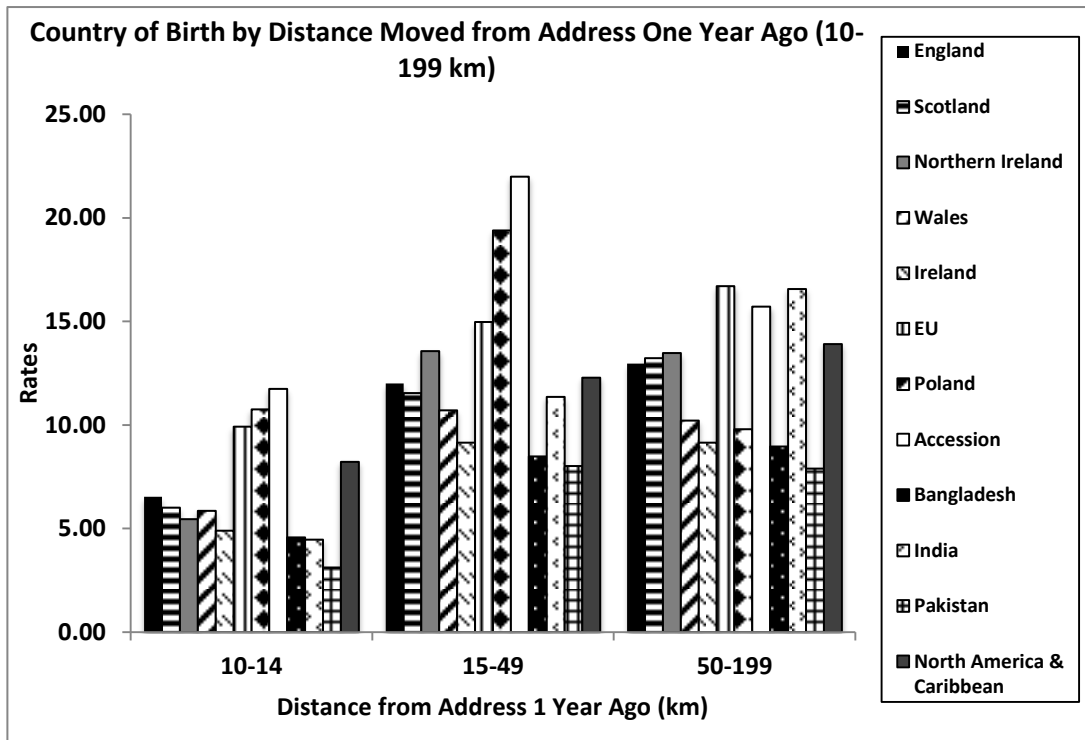
Graph 4-6. Showing the Country of Birth by Government Office Region from the Census 2011, England and Wales.





Graph 7-10. Showing the Country of Birth by Distance Moved from Address One-Year Ago, from the Census 2011, England and Wales.





Preliminary results from the in-depth semi-structured interviews with Polish people living in Salford and Tameside local authorities suggested a number of core factors that shaped their internal migration patterns. The factors were: employment opportunities, proximity to employment, transport services, access to leisure spaces, housing options and area safety.

The Census analysis suggested that the Polish 'Country of Birth' group moved shorter distances compared to the other 'Country of Birth' groups, such as, the Bangladeshi, India and Pakistani groups. The interviews with Polish residents in Tameside and Salford suggested that the frequency of internal migration and the distance travelled was related to their employment opportunities and English language ability. Many of the interviewees suggested they had a low level of English when they migrated to the UK but through ESOL classes they quickly learnt the language, which enabled them to seek better employment opportunities in the same area. The upward mobility of many of the migrants in the labour market meant that they could move to better accommodation and as a result many of the Polish interviewees moved often and frequently within the same or adjacent local authority. Arguably, this pattern of Polish internal migration links closely with the ideas described by the Spatial Assimilation Model. For many of the interviewees, they wanted to remain in Manchester because of its employment opportunities, cosmopolitanism and affordability.

The initial residential spread and diverse nature of Polish migration during the Second World War and after EU accession resulted in a lack of residential concentration anywhere in the UK with Polish people represented in every region of the country. This was contrary to other country of birth groups such as the South Asian and Caribbean groups who tended to have migrated to the UK for specific sectorial employment. Accession had created a context that permitted a diverse range of Polish migrants to move to the UK and as such they had settled in multiple places. For example, many of the interviewees who were well educated but had little or no knowledge of English had initially moved to rural and suburban places to low paid low skilled employment opportunities. However, as soon as they gained English language skills or understood the British labour/employment system they quickly took up increased employment opportunities often situated in more urban areas. The internal movement towards urban areas contradicts the trajectory suggested by the Spatial Assimilation Model, but instead suggests Polish people move towards more urban areas after their initial phase of migration.

The residential spread of Polish migrants throughout local authorities in England and Wales suggested the diverse nature of the Polish international migration to many sectors after the EU expansion. Furthermore, remaining living near other Polish people was of little or no importance to many of the Polish interviewees, but for some interviewees with little English skills or employment experience or qualifications living close physically or virtually to other Polish people enabled them to navigate life in Greater Manchester and remain deeply connected to life in Poland. Moreover, ethnic whiteness similar to that of the white British population enabled Polish people to fit into various neighbourhoods that arguably were out of the reach of many non-white migrant groups.

The level of involvement interviewees had with other Polish people did not appear to influence the residential pattern of Polish residents after the initial stages of migration but other factors such as family composition and type of employment appear to be paramount in the level of involvement with the Polish community. Many of the Polish interviewees with children described the importance of their involvement with the Polish community as paramount to ensure their children learnt about Polish life and the Polish language. Moreover, it provided many families, particularly the parents those who had young children, with the connection to Poland. However, for many of the single migrants interviewed, involvement with the Polish community was suggested to be less important as many suggested they did not feel constrained to remain in the UK and could return to Poland when they wanted to. Moreover, advances in technology and cheap flights, meant that staying connected with Poland was very easy.

Family composition was also a significant factor in the internal migration of Polish migrants in England and Wales with single and coupled migrants more likely to move internally than migrants with children. The interviews suggested that many of the single and coupled migrants moved extensively to seek better employment; whilst migrants with children wanted to remain

settled to provide stability for their children. Furthermore, from the interviews, family composition appeared to influence the extent interviewees remained in touch or connected to the wider Polish community in their area. Many Polish interviewees with children stated their preference in remaining part of the wider Polish community to support their children learning Polish language and culture; whereas single and couple migrants were less likely to mention the importance of their involvement with the Polish community.

As a result, the paper puts forth a typology of Polish internal migrants in England and Wales and suggests the asymmetry to their internal migration trajectories that is important in understanding inequalities along a number of dimensions.

Typology	Description
Choice internal movers	Polish residents who are able to move to different places because of increased education and employment opportunities.
Forced internal movers	Polish residents who were forced to move because of fragile nature of their education or employment.
Trapped stayers	Polish residents who are unable to move because of their housing options, education or employment.
Choice family stayers	Polish residents who remain in the same area because of their family.
Trapped family stayers	Polish residents who are unable to move to a different area because of their housing options, education or employment.

Discussion

Since the expansion of the European Union in 2004, Polish migrants alongside other Accession migrants, have had unrestricted access to migrate to Britain. This has led to a rapid flow of migrants from Poland to the UK and substantially increased the number of ethnic Polish residents in the country. A decade on, many of the migrants who internationally migrated have remained in the UK, particularly those with families (White, 2010) and thus the factors that have shaped where they have moved to and settled as well as their characteristics is a key consideration for multiple parties and for our theoretical understanding of the integration of new migrant groups.

Unlike other migrant groups, particularly compared to scholarship about the residential and internal migration patterns of non-white migrants and minority groups, ethnic whiteness appears to enable Polish residents of England and Wales to move to multiple places. Language ability, work experience and confidence appear to initially shape Polish migrants residential patterns and constrain where they live and this promotes residential congregation as a form of safety and as a resource of information; however the process appears to be a function of the initial stages of migration and coincides with the Polish migrants gaining information and resources that assist them in adapting to British life and provides a network of connections to ease the process of migration.

Methodologically, the paper uses a mixed-methods approach to reveal different facets of the internal migration patterns of ethnic Polish people in England and Wales with the quantitative analysis supporting the direction of their internal migration patterns and the characteristics of the residents who internally move. The in-depth semi-structured interviews suggest some of the factors that shape ethnic Polish peoples' internal migration decisions.

Theoretically, the paper advances our knowledge of integration models that uses spatial patterns to map out the integration of an ethnic group after their international migration to a country. The paper has suggested that ethnic Polish peoples' residential patterns are asymmetrical and

instead their ethnicity intersects with age, marital status, family composition and gender to form a typology of internal migration that links to their level of integration.

Ethnic Polish people in England and Wales are a diverse ethnic group. They are comprised of people who moved to the UK during the Second World War as well as following the dissolution of communism in Eastern Europe and more recently as a direct result of the expansion of the EU. The typology put forth by the paper has suggested that unlike other migrant/ethnic minority groups, particularly the non-white minority groups, for the Polish groups (highly educated/high level of English; Highly educated/Low level of English; low-medium educated/high level of English) their ethnicity has enabled them to move to multiple locations with little difficulty. However for Polish residents (low educated/low levels of English) their whiteness has not prevented them from experiencing discrimination and stigma in the places to which they have moved.

Pragmatically, the Polish Accession migration alongside other 'Accession 8' / 'Accession 10' migration to the UK has been a chief concern for multiple parties including the national government, housing and service providers and community/third sector and NGO groups. The paper has offered a typology that can be used to identify certain sub-groups (Low skilled/educated/social housing) of ethnic Polish people who have become isolated and bounded to a place, which has thus, faced inequality in housing, health and education.

Conclusion

It has been over a decade since the EU expanded its border eastwards enabling Polish people the right to move freely across the Union's countries. The paper has shown the utility of a mixed-methods approach to the study of internal migration in the UK. In addition, the paper has contributed to our knowledge of integration models and suggested a typology approach to the integration of a new migrant group in a British context. Finally, migration, both international and internal, has become a salient issue on many fronts in Britain today. The paper provides compelling evidence of the residential patterns of ethnic Polish people living in England and Wales that can benefit our understanding of the needs of different sub-groups within the Polish community.

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