

CHANGES IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL SPACE OF LONDON DUE TO POPULATION MIGRATION. MIGRATION SPATIAL STRUCTURES CREATED BY LOCATION, DISTRIBUTION, DYNAMICS

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Abstract: *Changes in the Geographical Space of London due to population migration. Migration Spatial Structures created by location, distribution, dynamics.* London has always been one of the favorite destinations for migration, more so in the current context, when we are witnessing the transformation of the migration process in Europe, from historical situations in which the migration was dominated by the restriction of central states and the territorial borders, to a migration that is a dynamic, continuous and ascending process defined by the force of the labor markets. The aim of this paper is to capture some of the changes induced on the geographical space of London by the immigration phenomena, with an emphasis on the characteristics of the Romanian community, trying to establish whether it follows the same patterns as the rest of the communities previously established here. The analysis is based on a qualitative and quantitative study of recent Romanian migration compared to the main communities in the British capital.

Rezumat: *Schimbări în spațiul geografic al Londrei cauzate de migrația populației. Structuri spațiale ale migrației create de locație, distribuție, dinamici.* Londra a fost dintotdeauna una dintre destinațiile preferate pentru migrație, cu atât mai mult în contextul actual, în care asistăm la o transformare a procesului migratoriu în Europa, de la situațiile istorice în care migrația era îngrădită de restricțiile impuse de statele centralizate și de granițe, la cele în care migrația este un proces dinamic, aflat în continuă creștere și definit de forța piețelor de muncă. Scopul acestui articol este



acela de a surprinde unele din transformările produse în spațiul geografic londonez de către fenomenul de imigrație, cu accent pe caracteristicile comunității românești, încercând să verifice dacă aceasta urmează aceleași tipare ca și restul comunităților stabilite aici anterior. Analiza se bazează pe studiul calitativ și cantitativ al migrației românești recente comparativ cu principalele comunități din capitala britanică.

Key words: *London, Romanian immigrants, labor migration, migration effects, integration.*

Cuvinte cheie: *Londra, imigranți români, migrație pentru muncă, efecte ale migrației, integrare.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of territoriality is one of the most controversial and frequently disputed in the field of current political geography. It is a relatively new comer in this field, under the influence of ethology and psychology. By territoriality it is understood the spontaneous tendency of a particular human group to ensure control and use of certain portions, larger or smaller, of the geographical area. Personal space is highly variable from one individual to another, depending on habits, education or membership of a particular ethnic group.¹

Human territoriality lays at the fundament of the organization of space and it is an undeniable feature of humanity. There is, however, an unresolved confrontation between supporters of two conflicting theories concerning the nature and origin of human territoriality. Thus, a number of researchers, usually under the influence of ethology, the evolutionism and the anthropogeography, believe that territoriality has an instinctive character, being an intrinsic, biological part of the human being.²

The territorialities of various categories of immigrants from the London metropolis are not actually stable entities; they know changes determined by the temporality factor, depending more or less on the dimensions of the migration.

Considering the insufficiency of data regarding the dynamics, intensity and evolution of the London Romanian migration phenomena, we have chosen to compare the spatial structures that it creates on the territory of London to those occurred due to the long-time, medium and short-time migration phenomena. Therefore, the study includes an analysis of the spatial structures determined by the Indian and Pakistani population, as the oldest ones established in London, followed by the Caribbean/Jamaican origin population and finally, by the population coming from the countries that became members of European Union in 2004, in order to identify common or, on the contrary, distinctive patterns followed by the Romanian community.

For the same purpose of establishing whether the immigration of the Romanian population follows the common logic or it has its own distinctive patterns, we have also analysed the existing bibliography on the spatial structures determined by the immigration in the London area.

^{1,2} www.scritube.com%2Fgeografie%2FSpatiul-personal-si-teritorial13847

The methodology included a quantitative survey consisting of 300 questionnaires with Romanians, data from Romanian Embassy in London, Home Office statistics, National Insurance applications, London Force Survey, as well as qualitative methods: 86 in depth –interviews and focus group with Romanian families and field work. We have also analyzed statistical data and mapped the results using GIS tools.

2. SPATIAL STRUCTURES DETERMINATED BY THE LONG-TERM IMMIGRATION IN LONDON AREA

The geography of immigrants coming to the British capital which falls in the long term category (from the time of the British Colonial Empire) has created spatial structures of immigration outlining visible Indian and Pakistani nuclei, which are customized by the placement of shops, restaurants, very dense specific religious buildings or by manifestations of the specific customs. These nuclei have a territoriality well-defined by the population of the same ethnicity concentrated in compact areas occupying streets and even entire neighborhoods.

Indians are now spread across London, but with certain areas of maximum concentration, as shown in the figure below (Figure 1). The highest densities overlap the north-west and south-west, Ealing, Hounslow, Brent, Harrow, Barnet, Hillingdon, districts in which Indians have immigrated first, and where can be found the oldest centers of Indian immigration into the space of metropolitan London, their share could reach up to 52.4% of the total population in these districts. In the western part of London are the most famous and representative temples of Indian culture in the British capital, which probably contributed to the decision of Indian immigrants to settle in these parts of London.

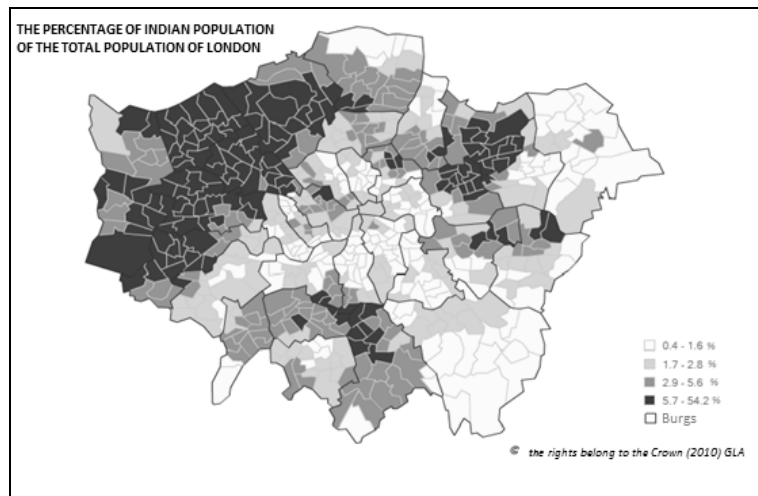


Figure 1: *The percentage of Indian population out of the total population of London*
(Source: <http://data.london.gov.uk>)

A second area of concentration of Indian immigrants is the south and south-west of London in districts such as Merton, Croydon, Kingston Upon Thames. A third region of high density population of Indian origin is the Eastern part of London, the districts of Redbridge and Newham in particular, and this distribution is closely related to the pioneer Indian immigration, many of them descendants of those who have established on the docks in the East of London, and others being descendants of nannies and servants that British families used to bring from India to work for them.

The Indians in the London metropolis are quite numerous, but their numerical value aside, because their immigration began a very long time ago, they have succeeded over the years to create a very well defined territoriality. In the London metropolitan area there are streets or neighborhoods populated entirely by the Indian community. According to the 2001 census, the number of Indians immigrant habitants of London was of 437,000.³

The Pakistani immigration to the British capital manifested itself similar to the Indian immigration. The first Pakistani "immigrated to London around 1950 and came mainly from Pakistan's four provinces: Punjab, Pathans, Sindhis and Baluchis".⁴

Pakistani community numbers about 100,000 members in London and is one of the largest ethnic communities in the capital. As shown in the map below (Figure 2), Pakistani community is now well established in British culture. Although the first Pakistani immigrant in London settled mainly in the eastern part, now, it appears that Pakistanis are scattered in all parts of London, but just as with the Indian community, there are several areas with higher densities of the presence of this ethnic group in the south-western, the eastern and southern parts of London.

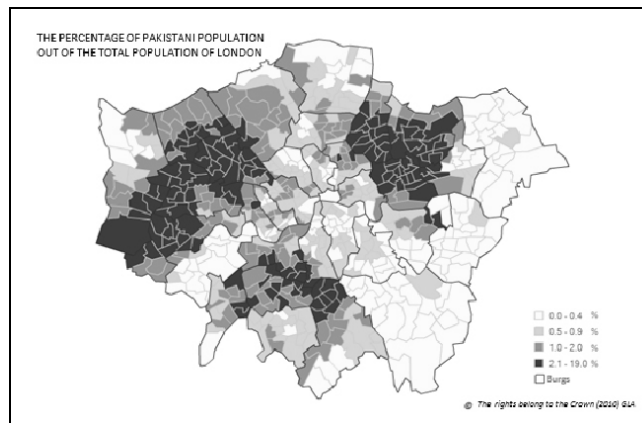


Figure 2: *The percentage of Pakistani population out of the total population of London*
(Source: <http://data.london.gov.uk>)

^{3, 4}http://www.bbc.co.uk/london/content/articles/2005/05/26/indian_london_feature.shtml&sa=U&ei=vLyfTqyvNonG8QOO_uDFBQ&ved=0CBoQFjAD&usg=AFQjCNfKpikLmRWWZNd1B0XVVqAfAaXCOA

Most of them are assigned to the west and southwest districts of the British capital, in Ealing, Harrow, Brent, Barnet, Hounslow, Hillingdon, their percentage here being 19% of the total population, much lower than the percentage of Indians in the same areas. Highly mixed with ethnic Indian immigrants, in fact Pakistani concentration areas overlap largely over areas with high densities of people of Indian origin. Similar to Indian immigration, Pakistanis have also concentrations of population in districts in northeastern London, Redbridge, Barking and Dagenham Newham, where their percentage rises to 19% of the total population. The lowest density of Pakistani origin people with a rate of up to 0.4% of the total population can be observed in the outskirts of the capital, in districts like Bomley and Bexley Havering, highlighting thus a low degree of mixture with the British population.

3. SPATIAL STRUCTURES CREATED BY THE MEDIUM TERM MIGRATION IN THE BRITISH CAPITAL

Migration of the Caribbean origin population, of which we decided to analyze the Jamaican immigration to the British capital, occurred later than the Indian and Pakistani, namely to the early twentieth century. However the largest Jamaican population inflows occurred after World War II when, as with many Indian and Pakistani immigrants, their arrival overlapped over a period when the British economy needed a lot of labor force to rebuild the country from the damage suffered during the Second World War. Today Jamaican community in London is well represented as Jamaicans who have immigrated after the Second World War, in majority have found jobs in the field of building railways or of health and their descendants have followed.

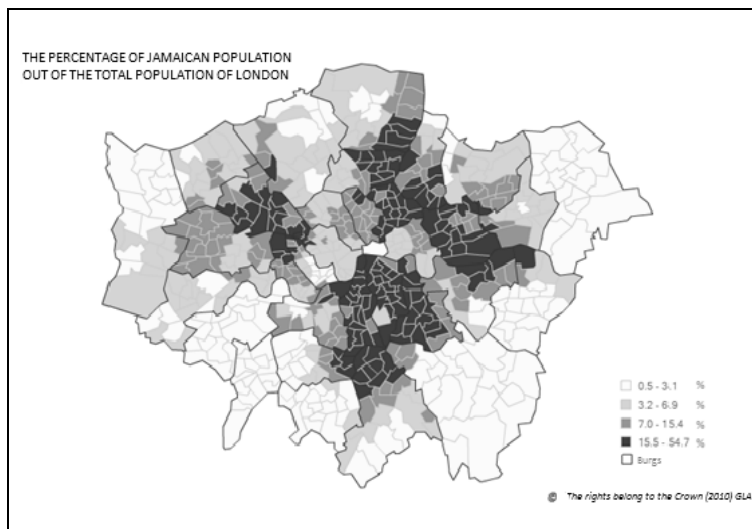


Figure 3: The percentage of Jamaican population out of the total population of London
(Source: <http://data.london.gov.uk>)

As shown in Figure 3, Jamaican origin population is spread all over London, but the largest concentrations are found in Brixton, a neighborhood in the southern district of Lambeth, and in the Tottenham Hale neighborhood, in the north-eastern Haringey district, which is the second neighborhood with a large number of Jamaican population. Many Jamaicans also are encountered in the District administrative units: Brent, in north-west London, Hackney in the east of London, Lambeth in south London, Lewisham in Southeast of London, Southwark in the London and South-Central Whaltam Forest and Redbridge in north-east of London, where their percentage reaches up to 22.8% of the total population.

Considerably numerous and with a rather long history of migration towards the British metropolis, quite old in comparison with other nations present here, Jamaican community has successfully managed to impose its own identity. They have created their own territories, to which they are sometimes identified, but which, most of the times, are controlled by imposing a specific behaviour, by the numeric presence and by introducing in the features of the London society specific items from their country of origin, such as Jamaican restaurants, public or private social places and, not least, the elements of clothing.

4. SPATIAL STRUCTURES CREATED BY THE SHORT TERM MIGRATION IN THE BRITISH CAPITAL

The geography of the short-term immigration in London metropolitan area covers mainly the migration of the population from the former communist countries. Of course, their arrival causes are different: some have exercised a type of forced migration due to wars (Kosovo conflict), others have practiced an economic migration, characteristic of the former communist countries with economies in transition towards a market economy, this change necessitating restructuring the industry and thus generating increased unemployment. To this situation were added the attractiveness factors of Western European countries, which prompted significant immigration inflows. Under this category fall the citizens coming from the countries that joined the European Union in 2004 (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Lithuania, Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia and Slovenia), plus Cyprus and Malta, but also the citizens of Bulgaria and Romania, which joined the EU in 2007.

The short-term trend of migration phenomenon in the London metropolis is characterized by a lack of compact groups of migrants from former communist countries (except for Polish, who have already created in a relatively short time entire Polish neighborhoods of in the London metropolitan area).

Study of Polish immigrants is relevant because the Polish community is the largest among the immigrants who arrived in 2004, but especially because the dynamic of their migration process to London had a very rapid evolution and the Polish model of immigration in the British metropolis is similar to the Romanian one.

In the years preceding the EU enlargement in 2004, the British government estimates based on reduced rates of migration from previous years have been between 5,000 and 13,000 entries annually, but not much later, in 2006, United Kingdom experienced the highest rate of migration in the last 40 years, rate determined mainly by the large number of Polish immigrants.

There are currently in the London area many shops, especially food stores, where Polish goods are sold by Polish personnel, who have monopolized this market in many neighborhoods of London, especially in the north-west of the metropolis, where most of the

times on the same street there are two, even three Polish grocery stores, beauty salons, restaurants and Polish clubs, cafes, which bring a lot of Polish specific to the local London space.

Polish immigrants arrived in the British capital follow very closely the trends of previous immigrant ethnic groups: living in close areas, usually where other Polish live, they tend to work in groups, assisting each other in terms of finding a job, socialize more often with their known group consisting of Polish, living the events and traditions important in their lives together with their circle of acquaintances.

5. SPATIAL STRUCTURES DETERMINATED BY THE ROMANIAN MIGRATION IN LONDON AREA

As for the phenomenon of Romanian immigration in the London metropolis and the effects it has on the local area, it falls into the category of structures created by short-term migration, although especially after January 1 2007, the Romanian migration towards this European city experienced quite significant rates.

Is well outlined in Figure 4 that Luton airport, located in the north-west of London, which makes the connection between London and the Romanian airports Bacau, Bucharest Baneasa, Timisoara, Sibiu, Cluj Napoca and Tirgu Mures, had the highest passenger traffic (certainly most of them Romanian), in number of 402,652 in 2010. This can be explained on one hand, by the large presence of Romanian immigrants in the northwest of London, and on the other, by the fact that the airline that links Romania of the United Kingdom, practices the lowest prices. The number of passengers for Luton airport has seen a steady growth since 2007.

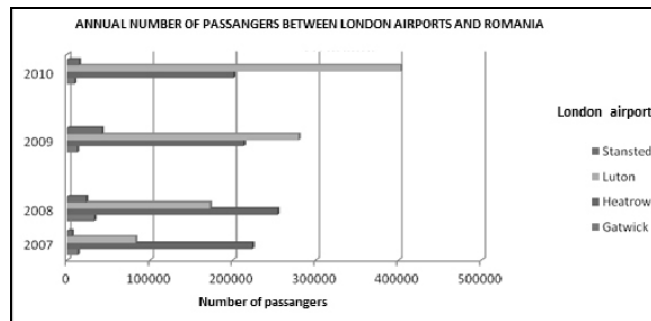


Figure 4: Number of Romanian passengers between London airports and various airports in Romania, 2007-2010

(Source :our processing based on data from <http://www.caa.co.uk/airportstatistics>)

In terms of spatial mixing with other nationalities, we can observe (Figure 5) that Romanians tend to mix more with Indian population rather than with the Pakistani, but are pretty well mixed with British people, especially in the west and northwest of London. Their number should also not be neglected in mixed neighborhoods, indicating a high

degree of adaptability of Romanian immigrants, on the principles of tolerance in a multicultural metropolis as London.

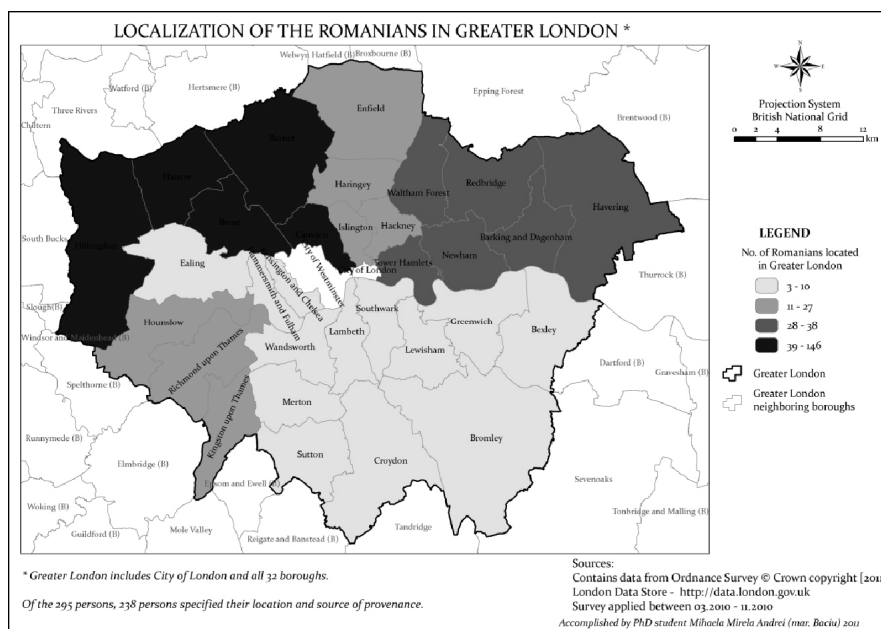


Figure 5: Localization of the Romanian population in Greater London

Many Romanian immigrants in the London metropolis participate and actively contribute to the payment of social systems. All immigrants who want to work in the UK must contribute, by law, to the social funds, which are deducted from salary, depending on income. This allows those who pay insurance contributions primarily state pension payments based on the number of years the contribution was made, and then take advantage of certain social benefits if they become unemployed, receive child benefits or paid maternity leave.

The localization of the insured Romanian employees in London (Figure 6) overlaps most of the geographic distribution of Romanian immigrants in the London metropolis. Therefore, most Romanian immigrants in London who pay these contributions are registered in the north-western part of the metropolis, as was to be intuited, because the greatest Romanian concentration is in this area. The number of persons contributing to insurance settlements can be very high, between 1000-3000 people in the districts of: Brent, Barnet, Harrow, Haringey, Waltham Forest and Newham.

Then there areas of the British capital, where the contribution made by the Romanian immigrants to the social security system is lower than in the above mentioned districts, such as: Enfield and Redbridge, where, although Romanian immigrants are rather numerous, they are probably not registered yet to pay the insurance.

Another part of the London districts namely Ealing, Hounslow, Hackney, Barking and Dagenham have lower values of Romanians insured, between 251 and 350 people. Districts with the lowest values of this indicator are from Central London: City of London, Camden, Islington, Kensington and Chelsea, Hammersmith and Fulham, City of Westminster, but also those located in the central-south and Eastern part of the capital: Havering, Bexley, Bromley, Sutton, Kingston Upon Thames, Richmond Upon Thames.

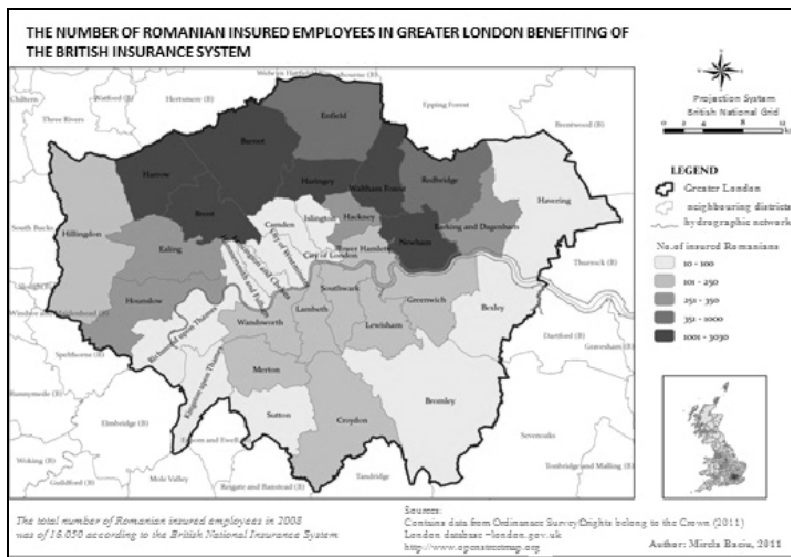


Figure 6: The number of insured Romanian employees in London benefiting of the British National System

On the report between the number of Romanian workers insured in London and the total number of immigrants insured in the British capital, paying and receiving benefits (based on data provided by the British National Insurance System for 2008), we can say that in some administrative units Romanian immigrants have a high percentage, between 11, 51 and 22, 77% of the total immigrant population. This situation is encountered in Brent, Barnet, Harrow and Waltham Forest. Since in these districts, the percentage of immigrants is high, we conclude that the Romanians are a part of it. In other districts of London, like Enfield, Haringey, Redbridge and Newham, Romanians receiving insurance system represent between 5, 01 and 12, 50 out of the total of immigrants insured. Other districts have shares of registered Romanian immigrants benefiting from the insurance ranging between 0.74% and 5% out of the total of immigrants insured. Also, there are districts with a large total number of immigrants who pay these assurances, but the percentage of insured Romanians is small, as in Ealing district, or districts with a total number of immigrants low, but with a large percentage of Romanian immigrants insured in relation to them, like in the case of the districts: Enfield and Barking and Dagenham.

It is important to emphasize that, similar to other communities, Romanian immigrants tend to settle in certain areas of London, as confirmed by many respondents, who are concentrated in the districts of the north-western part of the city, like Brent, Barnet, Hillington, Harrow, Camden, but also in the northeastern part of London, Newham, Whaltam Forest, Barking and Dagenham, Redbridge, areas with higher concentrations of Romanian immigrants.

A brief analysis of the number, structure and functions of foundations, institutions and Romanian organizations in the British capital, induces the conclusion that they emerged, have diversified and multiplied because the Romanian immigration was highly endorsed towards this destination especially in recent years.

Many of the Romanians in the British capital (65.3%) according to the questionnaire applied by the author, said they had resorted to various Romanian associations in London, which often operate as consulting firms, where Romanians have requested advice and information for applications for work permit, for job offers in London, for the opening of a business or for translations. However, 27.9% of respondents have no idea of the existence of these institutions in the British capital. While 35, 5% of Romanian immigrants in the London metropolis, which appealed to these associations, were satisfied with their contribution, 21.9% of those surveyed believe that they are not useful for the Romanians in London.⁵

The geographic distribution of the offices of these organizations overlaps areas with large concentrations of Romanian population, respectively in the north-western part of the city, in the east and north-central area, so that it can provide a balanced service for Romanians from all over London.

The interviews and questionnaires also revealed that, unlike other ethnic groups, some small groups of Romanian immigrants have been reluctant to join various associations in London and prefer Romanian individuals as contacts and informal networks. They have also built mini communities that are limited to the circle of friends, colleagues, relatives or just people they know. These become the point of contact and provide the necessary consultancy. It is imperative that they have things in common with these communities, like sharing the language or different customs. However it is worth noting that there are a growing number of Romanian immigrants' consultancy centers in London, forums, restaurants, social clubs, schools, kindergartens and Romanian cultural associations that stand out and gain increasing shape in the geography of London area.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The influence that the different immigrant communities exert over the geographical space of London can vary according to the history and intensity of their migration process. It can generally be perceived in terms of localization of the population, specialisation in certain work fields, distinctive activity and leisure areas, specific clothes and customs.

⁵ Unless otherwise stated, all references to the questionnaire and interview responses, refer to data collected by the author through a series of responses to 300 questionnaires and 86 interviews with Romanian immigrants in London

The Romanian immigration process, more intense after 2007, tends to follow the previous patterns set by the others, although the working restrictions hinder the evolution and set some particularities to the behaviour and the emerging spatial structures.

That is why compared to other ethnic groups, perhaps in part due also to larger size of community and a longer history of immigration process, the geographical composition of the Romanian community in London is less evident.

However, the activities undertaken by the Romanian immigrants in the London metropolis had a rather important role in the life of the Romanian community and led continuously to shaping the Romanian identity in the multicultural and rapidly changing London geographic space.

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