## **Tension Points:** A Theory & Evidence on Migration in Brexit

#### University of BRISTOL ljwolf.org/post/cdrc-brexit/

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An ESRC Data Investment

Data challenge!

### **THE CHALLENGE PROMPT ITS IMPLICIT THEORY TWO MEASURES Bregman divergences Direct rate of changes PRELIMINARY RESULTS**



#### "High numbers of migrants don't bother Britons

#### high rates of change do"

Get off my lawn or I'll leave the EU

### **"High numbers of migrants don't bother Britons**

#### high rates of change do"

The real theory

#### All non-UK born are "migrants," but:

"Change" implies people who are new/different Naturalization + within-UK migration means "old" Britons might still move around, & small communities make this sizeable.

Neither examines the "volatility" of the population mix

#### "High numbers of migrants don't bother Britons

high rates of change do"

The real theory about people

Change of community identity: specific tension points No one remembers the old pub or the shop before the Tescos I don't know my neighbors anymore My neighbors aren't like me; they Celebrate different holidays Go to a different church (or don't go at all) Have hard-to-pronounce names

**"High numbers of migrants don't bother Britons** 

high rates of change do"

**Tension Points: real theory for places**  $\rightarrow$  **people** 

Non-UK born population ("not like me") Migrants from outside the UK (new to Britain) Migrants within the UK (new to community) Population structure volatility (new community)

#### high rates of change do"

#### Separate the points

### Non-UK born population ("not like me") Direct effect & year-on-year change obtained/derived from APS

#### Separate the points: not like me

#### Migrants from outside the UK (new to Britain) Migrants within the UK (new to community)





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Local Area Migration Indicators,
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#### Since 2004:

- to LA from outside UK
- $\rightarrow$  to LA from within UK
  - from LA to somewhere outside UK
- → from LA to somewhere else within UK (among other measurements)

#### Separate the points: newcomers

#### Migrants from outside the UK (new to Britain) Migrants within the UK (new to community)

#### Office for National Statistics



Dataset:

Local Area Migration Indicators,

#### **Since 2004**:

- to LA from outside UK
- $\rightarrow$  to LA from within UK
- → from LA to somewhere outside UK
  - from LA to somewhere else within UK

### Internal & External

Separate the points: newcomers

Migrants from outside the UK (new to Britain) Migrants within the UK (new to community)

$$net_{t} = \frac{(inflow_{t} - outflow_{t})}{population_{t}}$$

### Average *net*<sub>t</sub> from 2011 to 2016 for Internal & External

Separate the points: newcomers

#### **IN GENERAL:**

Internal leave London, head for the South

External migrants go exclusively London

-2.5

Average Net Immigration Flow  $net_t = \frac{Inflow_t - Outflow_t}{Population_t}$ 0.5 -0.5 0.0 0.5 -0.5 0.0 1.0 -1.5 -1.0 1.5 1.0 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 Net Loss Net Gain Net Loss Net Gain

Migrants from outside the UK (new to Britain) Migrants within the UK (new to community) Non-UK born population ("not like me")

#### Population structure volatility (new community)





Migrants from outside the UK (new to Britain) Migrants within the UK (new to community) Non-UK born population ("not like me")

#### Population structure volatility (new community)





We do a slight aggregation on these second-level ethnicity categories. We then aggregate by 2011 LSOA (SOA for NI, Data Zones for Scotland). Category populations less than 5 are set to 0. The results are then divided by the total population and rounded to the nearest 0.005 (i.e. 0.5%).

Our aggregated ethnicity categories used are (with codes used in the data files):

- WBR White: British (including English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish)
- WIR White: Irish
- WAO White: Any Other
- ABD Asian/Asian British: Bangladeshi
- ACN Asian/Asian British: Chinese
- AIN Asian/Asian British: Indian
- APK Asian/Asian British: Pakistani
- AAO Asian/Asian British: Any Other
- BAF Black/Black British: African
- BCA Black/Black British: Caribbean
- OXX Any Other Ethnic Group (including Mixed; Black/Black British: Any Other; Arab; All Other Ethnicities; &c.)

We do a slight aggregation on these second-level ethnicity categories. We then aggregate by 2011 LSOA (SOA for NI, Percentage breakdowns<sup>5</sup> are set to 0. The results are then divivolatility

**11 ethnic categories** 

#### **Aggregated to LSOA**

Since 1998

- AIN Asian/Asian British: Indian
- APK Asian/Asian British: Pakistani
- AAO Asian/Asian British: Any Other
- BAF Black/Black British: African
- BCA Black/Black British: Caribbean
- OXX Any Other Ethnic Group (including Mixed; Black/Black British: Any Other; Arab; All Other Ethnicities; &c.)

#### Separate the points: structural change

### At local authority In the run-up to Brexit

Percentage breakdowns 5 - ? . Provide the second level ethnicity categories. We then aggregate by 2011 LSOA (SOA for NI)

In ethnic mix

At local authority

In the run-up to Brexit

11 ethnic categories

#### **Aggregated to LSOA**

Since 1998 —

- AIN Asian/Asian British: Indian
- APK Asian/Asian British: Pakistani
- AAO Asian/Asian British: Any Other
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Percentage breakdowns 5 - ? - Volatility Volatility



lack British: Any Other; Arab; All Other Ethnicities; &c.)

We do a slight aggregation on these second-level ethnicity categories. We then aggregate by 2011 LSOA (SOA for NI, Percentage breakdowns 5 are set to ? The results are the div Volatility



### How to measure the magnitude of total change from Year 2 to Year 1?

lack British: Any Other; Arab; All Other Ethnicities; &c.)

Percentage breakdowns — → ? → ► Volatility

#### Structure and information in spatial segregation How to measure the magnitude of



total change from Year 2 to Year 1?

Philip S. Chodrow

PNAS October 31, 2017. 114 (44) 11591-11596; published ale Sof private by S2117 CAL https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1708201114

Edited by Michael F. Goodchild, University of California, Santa Dan / ERGENDER 11, 2017 (received for review May 17, 2017)

Percentage breakdowns →? → Volatility



Fraction of population in category i = 1, 2, ..., k in time t

Percentage breakdowns — → ? → → Volatility



 $p_{1}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{$ 

Percentage breakdowns —∧? → Volatility

 $p_{1}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{2}^{t} p_{1}^{t} p_{$ - 6

$$p_1^{t+1}, p_{2'}^{t+1}, p_k^{t+1} =$$

and again in time 
$$t+1$$

#### Percentage breakdowns →? → Volatility



$$p_1^{t+1}, p_2^{t+1}, \dots, p_k^{t+1} =$$

Divergence *D* is a function:  $D(h_t \parallel h_{t+1}) = m$ Where  $m \ge 0$ And m = 0 iff  $h_t = h_{t+1}$ 

#### Percentage breakdowns →? → Volatility

 $\begin{array}{c} h_{2011} \\ h_{2012} \\ h_{2013} \\ h_{2014} \\ p_{2014} \\ p_{2015+1} \\ h_{2016} \\ p_{2016} \\ p$ 

Divergence D is a function:  $D(h_t \parallel h_{t+1}) = m$ Where  $m \ge 0$ And m = 0 iff  $h_t = h_{t+1}$ 

#### Percentage breakdowns →? → Volatility



Divergence D is a function:  $D(h_t \parallel h_{t+1}) = m$ Where  $m \ge 0$ And m = 0 iff  $h_t = h_{t+1}$ 

#### Percentage breakdowns →? ► Volatility

Magnitude of yearly change in population mix over the entire population distribution. i.e. the volatility of pop mix!

#### **Statistical Divergences**

*m*<sub>2012</sub>

*m*<sub>2013</sub>

*m*<sub>2014</sub>

*m*<sub>2015</sub>

*m*<sub>2016</sub>

- → Kullback-Leibler (KL)
- → Mahalanobis Distance
- → Wasserstein/Earth Mover's Distance

(NOTE: A "divergence" can be asymmetric, so  $D(h_t \parallel h_{t+1}) \neq D(h_{t+1} \parallel h_t)$ but any "distance" usually implies a metric, which must be symmetric)

- → Kullback-Leibler (KL)
  → Mahalanobis Distance
- → Wasserstein/Earth Mover's Distance

$$\sum_{j=1}^{k} |p_{j}^{t+1} - p_{j}^{t}| = \text{EMD}(h_{t} \parallel h_{t+1})$$

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- → Kullback-Leibler (KL)
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 $\sum_{j} |p_{j}^{t+1} - p_{j}^{t}| = \text{EMD}(h_{t} \parallel h_{t+1})$ Change in % category between years

- → Kullback-Leibler (KL)
  → Mahalanobis Distance
- → Wasserstein/Earth Mover's Distance

 $\sum_{j} |p_{j}^{t+1} - p_{j}^{t}| = \text{EMD}(h_{t} \parallel h_{t+1})$  **Absolute Change in % category between years** 

- → Kullback-Leibler (KL)
  → Mahalanobis Distance
- → Wasserstein/Earth Mover's Distance

 $\sum_{j=1}^{n} |p_{j}^{t+1} - p_{j}^{t}| = EMD(h_{t} \parallel h_{t+1})$ Absolute Change in % category between years summed over all categories

→ Kullback-Leibler (KL)
→ Mahalanobis Distance

1

→ Wasserstein/Earth Mover's Distance

$$\sum_{j=1}^{n} |p_{j}^{t+1} - p_{j}^{t}| = \text{EMD}(h_{t} \parallel h_{t+1})$$

Total probability mass that must be moved.







### **IN GENERAL:** Cities are more volatile

#### Not all cities are equally volatile (e.g. **Exeter** vs. **Bristol**)

LA average rescaled EMD





### **No Monocausal Explanations**

### → Also control for:

- Education level: no qualifications & uni degree %
- Change in % manufacturing since 2011
- White Unemployment
- Age distributions (youngs & old only)
- Number of Votes cast (large LAs may be more Remain)

#### Varying intercept/Region RE model:

$$\begin{split} y &= \mathrm{R}\alpha_{J} + \mathrm{R}\zeta + X\beta + \varepsilon \\ \zeta &\sim \mathrm{N}(0,\tau^{2}) \\ \varepsilon &\sim \mathrm{N}(0,\sigma^{2}) \end{split}$$

### Varying intercept/Region RE model:

### $y = R\alpha_{J} + R\zeta + X\beta + \varepsilon$ $\zeta \sim N(Typical data \& marginal effects for N LAs$ $\varepsilon \sim N(0, \sigma^{2})$

### Varying intercept/Region RE model:

### $y = R\alpha_{J} + R\zeta + X\beta + \varepsilon$ 5 Aggregation matrix from NLAs to J regions $\varepsilon \sim N(0, \sigma^{2})$

### Varying intercept/Region RE model:

$$y = R\alpha_{J} + R\zeta + X\beta + \varepsilon$$
  
$$\zeta \sim N(0,\tau^{2})$$
*Regionally-unique intercept*  
$$\varepsilon \sim N(0,\sigma^{2})$$



% Uni Degree -.7631 -.8402 -.6848-10.72  $\Delta$  % Manuf. Emp. -.0751 -.2208 .0698 -.2628 White Unemp % .2076 -.0488 .4662 .6019 % 16 to 19 -.7749 -.4353 -.1051-.7942 % 20 to 24 -.3908 -.6366 -.1410 -1.151 % 50 and Up -.0252 -.1283 .0756 -.2623 -.0270 Votes Cast -.0164 -.0057-.8001  $R^2 = .81$ 

Median

-.0629

2.5%

-.2627

97.5%

.1392

ΔIQR

-.2516

#### **Parameter Estimates: Confounders/Controls**

58

% No Qualifications



	Median	2.5%	97.5%	ΔIQR
% No Qualifications	0629	2627	.1392	2516
% Uni Degree	7631	8402	6848	-10.72
Δ% Manuf. Emp.	0751	2208	.0698	2628
White Unemp %	.2076	0488	.4662	.6019
% 16 to 19	4353	7749	1051	7942
% 20 to 24	3908	6366	1410	-1.151
% 50 and Up	0252	1283	.0756	2623
Votes Cast	0164	0270	0057	8001
$R^2 = 81$				

#### **Parameter Estimates: Confounders/Controls**

58



% Leave (Baseline)

Median 2.5% 97.5% ΔIQR % No Qualifications .1392 -.0629 -.2627 -.2516 % Uni Degree -.7631 -.8402 -.6848-10.72  $\Delta$  % Manuf. Emp. -.0751 -.2208.0698 -.2628 White Unemp % .2076 -.0488 .4662 .6019 % 16 to 19 -.4353 -.7749 -.1051-.7942 % 20 to 24 -.3908 -.6366 -.1410 -1.151 % 50 and Up -.0252 -.1283 .0756 -.2623 Votes Cast -.0164 -.0270 -.0057-.8001  $R^2 = .81$ 

#### **Parameter Estimates: Confounders/Controls**

	Median	2.5%	97.5%	ΔIQR
% Ethnic Non-UK born	.0842	0505	.2249	.4801
Change in ↑	1.249	.3624	2.164	.4538
% White Non-UK born	.0639	0977	.2256	.3162
Change in ↑	1.572	.5323	2.638	.7858
Volatility	8064	-1.640	0.011	7724
Mean Net External	-1.562	-3.125	0460	4720
Mean Net Internal	1.794	.2091	3.298	1.081

#### **Parameter Estimates: Change effects**

### Total non-UK is not strongly associated.

	Median	2.5%	97.5%	ΔIQR
% Ethnic Non-UK born	.0842	0505	.2249	.4801
Change in $\uparrow$	1.249	.3624	2.164	.4538
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#### **Parameter Estimates: The Economist's Empirics**

#### Change in non-UK, regardless of ethnicity, is strongly associated Leave.

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#### **Parameter Estimates: The Economist's Empirics**

#### More migrants from within the UK is associated with Leave.

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#### Parameter Estimates: Migration from inside UK

#### More migrants from outside the UK is associated with Remain, not Leave!

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% Ethnic Non-UK born	.0842	0505	.2249	.4801
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#### **Parameter Estimates: Migration from outside UK**

#### **Volatility** is weak, 95-99% of posterior is below 0 during re-simulation.

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#### **Parameter Estimates: Migration from outside UK**

#### - not like me

- L RoC not like me
- not like me
- L RoC not like me

#### **Rw Volatility**

- **R** New to country
- L New to community

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#### **Parameter Estimates: Change effects**

"High numbers of migrants don't bother Britons, high rates of change

#### *in their community's national backgrounds or in the people new to their community from elsewhere in the UK*

**do**."

The Economist correct on some points

But, high rates of change in other types of migration & social structures, like

# *in the community's racial/ethnic mix or in the people new to the country*

may actually do the opposite.

The Economist correct on some points

#### **QUESTIONS ON:**

# **Tension Points:**

### A Theory & Evidence on Migration in Brexit

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