

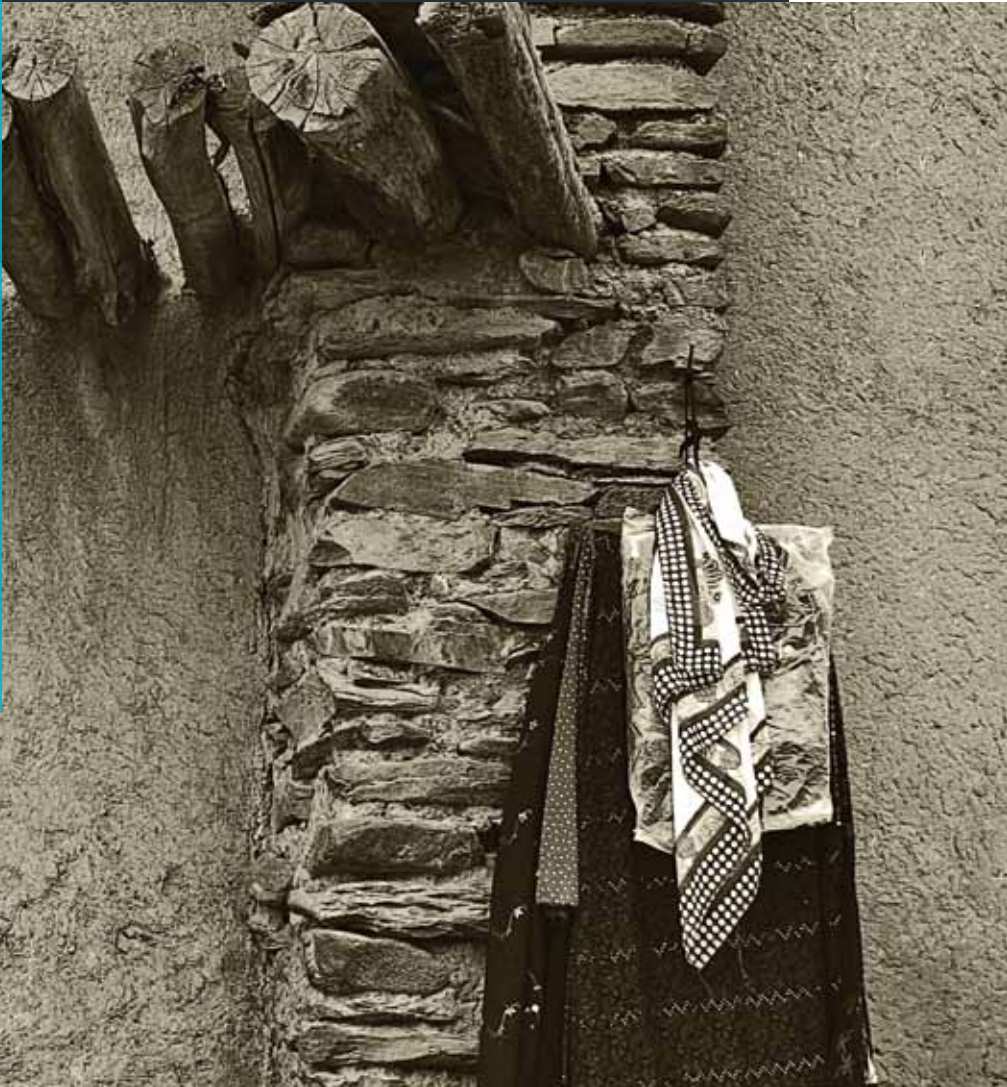


The COMPAS Approach

CONSIDERING THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE
OF MIGRATION RESEARCH

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Introduction

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'MIGRATION' IS A DIFFICULT WORD.

DIFFICULT BECAUSE IT ENCOMPASSES A VAST ARRAY OF INTERLINKED PHENOMENA, NONE OF WHICH IS CLEARLY EXPLAINED BY THE WORD ITSELF.

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Difficult because it means something different to every person who moves from one place in the world to another, and to every person who encounters these mobile people at the start of their journey, during their travels and at their point of arrival.

Difficult because it has simultaneously political, social, economic, historical, legal, anthropological, geographical, demographic and international development dimensions.

Difficult because it is something that is both personal and public, affecting individuals, families, communities, states and transnational bodies in innumerable ways.

Indeed the very word 'migration' – much like the people it is used to describe – crosses boundaries and borders, often creating vexation and confusion.

The last decade has been a momentous time for the UK and the world in terms of numbers of people moving and the creation of new paradigms of experience and understanding. For example, the expansion of the European Union has profoundly changed the migration landscape in Britain.

This dramatic time saw the founding of the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at Oxford University in 2003. During this decade of migration, COMPAS has been funded by the UK Economic and Social

Research Council (ESRC) to analyse what migration means at the local, regional, national and global levels, in both theoretical and practical terms. Our aim was to understand the dynamics and impacts of migration and the factors that influence the movement of people and their sense of identity and place.

Over these ten years of study COMPAS has brought together in one place a community of leading scholars from a wide range of disciplines with an approach that allows this paradoxically intangible and yet lived experience of – “migration” – to be understood in depth and in detail. By doing so COMPAS' body of high quality academic work has informed public and policy debate across the world.

This report provides an introduction to the range of work that COMPAS has done since it was established to create a better picture of migration, its drivers, its consequences and its meaning. The report also considers where this decade of observation and analysis has led us so far, and where it might take us in the years to come.

In particular this report is designed to illustrate how COMPAS' efforts to consider migration from many angles, and through multiple lenses, creates a framework for research that could be applied to other topics and institutions.

THE CONTEXT – REMAINING, MIGRATING AND ADAPTING

The story of humanity is a story of mobility: the creation and revision of borders, of communities, the rules governing who can move and who can't, the social and political practices that shape who is accepted within what kinds of spaces.

As long as there have been people, there have been people on the move. World Bank data going back 60 years show that the number of migrants, as a percentage of the world's population, has remained stable throughout this time (c.3%).¹ However, the spectacular growth in the global population during this period means that we are now witnessing a completely new chapter in the story of humanity's mobility. Migration, in many places, has become both a more visible and more contentious issue than ever before.

As this report will show, COMPAS has spent a decade analysing migration, from the origins of immigration management to the practicalities of integrating new communities into the systems and cultural mores of a state.

But stories of migration are also the stories of those who do not move.

Understanding migration requires an understanding of the people who deal with the departure of loved ones. It requires an understanding of the people dealing with new and sometimes strange arrivals – sometimes welcomed, sometimes not – and of the governments and businesses trying to attract or to limit the numbers of these new arrivals. It requires an understanding of the narratives that develop around these new arrivals and their behaviours.

It also requires a rigorous empirical approach, including accurate numbers. This means deeper analysis of the impacts of migrants on the countries and societies that they leave and those that they join, more far-reaching analysis of the laws that govern these movements and more insightful analysis of the responses of the wide range of people and bodies involved in the process. Furthermore, the analysis must acknowledge, even if it does not foreground, that migration does not impact on unchanging communities, labour markets and social relations and values. These are always 'under construction', and are subject to multiple pressures and influences.

The inter-disciplinary approach of COMPAS has allowed for these subjects to be investigated through an array of scholarly lenses – including sociology, economics, anthropology, political science, development studies and demography – to grasp the multiple layers and complexities of migration, policy and society. These lenses have also helped COMPAS scholars to focus their understanding of the character, the magnitude, the drivers and dynamics of multiple migration types. This does not mean that the

disciplinary approaches always fit perfectly; in fact, the tensions between different methodological and ethical perspectives have been extremely revealing and productive.

Rapid economic, technological and social changes mean that migration now has unprecedented reach. The restructuring of the global economy has created the demand for people and resources from places that were isolated or inaccessible from the rest of the world a century ago – and often much more recently. The changing world of the 20th and 21st centuries has also led to profound changes in the internal and international patterns of both global and internal flows of people. Women have become far more visible in migration policy and analysis, particularly those in low-waged care and domestic labour.

Technology – affordable transportation, global media, new forms of communication – has provided the means for high-income nations to access new populations and places, and it has also provided the poor of the world with stark evidence of the global inequality that marks their often unenviable situations. It has given some the potential to escape those circumstances – sometimes 'legally' and sometimes through strategies that raise an array of moral, legal, administrative and political challenges.

But technology has also shrunk the world, and allowed greater communication between migrants and their places of origin, making the migrant experience at once more accessible and more mundane than ever before.

Families have become stretched over continents, and movement to join partners or other family members has spanned wider distances.

The long tail of European colonialism still looms large over many migration debates. The well-trodden themes of movement from poor to rich countries, from the global south to the global north, continue to be central to global debates on human migration. But there is growing recognition of the importance of other mobilities, between the countries of the global south, between the countries of the global north and so on. Movement from east to west, for example, is also receiving increasing attention, both within, outside and at the borders of the European Union, with the rising economic powers increasingly crucial to a multi-centred global migration system.

New and newly accentuated themes of rural to urban migration, often internal rather than international, illustrate immense shifts in technologies and societies and the emergence of major new global powers, but continue to raise profound practical, economic, ethical, political and social questions.

The changing locations of the world's theatres of war has created new patterns of conflict migration, while free movement within Europe – and the complexities

of managing political systems, welfare systems, labour markets and trade at a national and multi-national level concurrently – has raised new and unprecedented challenges.

COMPAS' unique community of scholars provides space for this multiplicity of issues to be investigated together; to create a deeper, more complex picture of migration phenomena. As you will read in this report, COMPAS researchers have worked to track these issues in spaces as diverse as the megacities of China, construction sites in Qatar, conflict zones in Sri Lanka and council estates in South London.

FROM TURBULENCE TO PATTERNS THROUGH THE INTERDISCIPLINARY APPLICATION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

No-one could adequately describe migration as a whole; rather, we can understand it as a series of interlinked phenomena that form part of a bigger social and economic turbulence – the turbulence of globalisation.

Turbulence while confusing and complicated, is not beyond explanation. It has drivers, patterns and results that are both eminently describable and, at a certain level, predictable.



¹ Czaika, M. and H. de Haas (2013) 'The Globalisation of Migration: Has the world really become more migratory?', IMI Working Paper 68

COMPAS has taken an inter-disciplinary approach to describing this turbulence, its drivers and results in a way that allows for as comprehensive an understanding as possible.

As the examples in the rest of this report show, this requires us to look at migration through a number of frames:

- The Macro** – The big picture, considering global governance and multi-lateral issues; broad economic, social, political and environmental drivers of migration and the international systems and structures that affect how migration is enabled or constrained.
- The Meso** – The national and sub-national realities of migration; the regional and national issues affecting migration patterns and their connections to one another and the broader global picture; the communities and groups involved in the debate; the social networks linking people in sending and receiving countries; the national and sub-national institutions, bodies and systems affected by the movement of people and the political ramifications of migration and of the responses to migration.
- The Micro** – The detail; the lives caught in this turbulence and the realities faced by those who move and those who stay; revealing how the bigger factors that shape or are shaped by migration concretely affect the human beings at the centre of the story.



THE COMPAS POINT

The study of migration by its very nature breaks disciplinary boundaries – it’s a phenomenon that doesn’t make sense if we only look at it through the lens of one specific discipline or methodology. Nor can migration be approached in isolation. Broader questions such as ‘how can national labour markets be protected whilst still maximising competitive advantage in a global arena?’, ‘how should nations, sovereignty and citizenship move forward in order to represent publics in the 21st Century?’, ‘how can we attend to global inequalities and how can we enhance the well-being of people who move and people who don’t?’ and ‘how should we respond to rapid growth in our cities?’ cannot be considered without taking migration into account. Just as migration research cannot ignore wider social, political and economic factors.

Society is diverse and complex, and diverse in increasingly complicated ways. Analysing this diversity requires drawing on the insights of different disciplines – as COMPAS has done for the past decade, and will continue to do into the future. Migration is a topic that attracts simple stories in the public sphere – the benefits tourist, the hard-working migrant, the brain drain and the refugee – but the job of rigorous social science is to challenge the assumptions behind these simple stories, while working to provide a narrative that starts to make sense of this complexity.

As this report will show COMPAS has made a series of contributions to global understanding of migration, some of which can be found in the thematic sections of this report. COMPAS research insights have not just animated our research and publications, but also our public engagement. In our programme of teaching – at Masters and Doctoral level – we have sustained a growing community of scholarship, training future generations of academics, practitioners and policy-makers.

COMPAS has worked hard over the past ten years to transcend disciplinary boundaries and push forward the study of migration. COMPAS has become a space for innovation and new approaches, but also for testing anew old assumptions, languages and theories. This has, and will continue to, enable a re-calibration of academic understanding and public policy in order to address the challenges of our rapidly changing world. ■

COMPAS: The foundation and evolution

COMPAS WAS ESTABLISHED IN 2003 WITH FUNDING FROM THE UK’S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL (ESRC). THE MULTI-DISCIPLINARY TEAM, WAS AND IS, BASED IN THE SCHOOL OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND MUSEUM ETHNOGRAPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. LED BY PROFESSOR STEVEN VERTOVEC, THE CENTRE COMPRISED RESEARCHERS FROM A RANGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE DISCIPLINES AND DREW ON A FAR-REACHING NETWORK OF INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS IN BOTH ACADEMIC AND POLICY CIRCLES. COMPAS SOON BECAME MORE THAN A SUM OF ITS PARTS, WITH AN INTEGRATED GROUP OF RESEARCHERS, STUDENTS AND SUPPORT STAFF ALL BASED IN ONE BUILDING AND WORKING TOWARDS SHARED GOALS.

COMPAS’ original brief was to conduct research that provided new evidence, challenged assumptions, developed theory, and informed policy and public debate in the migration field: this remains true today.

During COMPAS’ first phase (2003-7) projects sat within five programmes of work: Sending Contexts, Infrastructures of Migration, Integration and Social Change, The Migration-Asylum Nexus, and Managing Migration.

This set of themes reflected new approaches to the study of migration as well as responding to profound changes in the global migration arena. In the UK and Europe, the accession of new states to the EU and accompanying shifts in the significance of Europe’s neighbours led to new configurations of mobility and added to the complex mix of migration in the region and beyond. On the global stage, the emergence of economic powerhouses, such as Brazil, Russia, India and China, and other shifts in the global political economy were also shaping new patterns of migration.

During the first five years of COMPAS’ work, three key areas reflected the range of our research efforts:

- First, understanding migration processes, our research sought to investigate migration comprehensively as a process. It also aimed to understand what migration goals, channels and impacts look like from sending country perspectives; the infrastructures that shape migratory processes; and the networks, groups and institutions that create demand, facilitate or constrain migration. This area included projects on: transit migration, forced migration and trafficking, skilled migration, return, migration agents and new refugee diasporas.
- Second, exploring migration outcomes, COMPAS research on migration outcomes explored ways in which diversity, community and identity are accommodated by both newcomers and established members of the existing society. The research particularly interrogated definitions, models, social processes and policy aspects of integration and cohesion. Another strand of migration

outcomes focused on the demand for and impact of migrant labour, as a prominent feature of labour markets in high-income countries. Work in these areas included: employer demand, migrants making trade-offs, soft skills, immigrant work strategies and networks, super-diversity in the UK, accommodating difference and Muslim migrant social cohesion.

Third, informing migration policy, at the start of this decade there was a recognition that migration had become a central feature shaping society. This led to a significant shift in the language of migration policy – from control to migration management in the interests of sustainable growth and social inclusion. COMPAS worked to address some of the gaps in the evidence base, interrogated underlying assumptions, and investigated the development of migration policy itself. Research in this area analysed a range of policy implications, including: temporary migration programmes, sector based schemes, UK labour shortages, new asylum paradigms and cities’ local integration policies.

Professor Michael Keith took over as director of COMPAS in 2008, and building on the legacy and approach of Professor Steven Vertovec, introduced a system of collegial grouping by research interest with a focus on working across disciplines. This system has evolved over the five years since it was introduced. COMPAS’ current five “clusters” consider: Migration Flows and Dynamics, Citizenship and Belonging, Labour Markets, Urban Change and Settlement and Welfare.

These broad topics create space for cooperation

and debate between academics of various disciplines who share an interest in certain migration issues. The focus, rigour and expertise that come with disciplinary specialism are never compromised. The emergence of important texts such as “*Who Needs Migrant Workers?*”, with contributions from leading academics in fields ranging from management to demography and geography to politics – is testament to the effectiveness of this approach. As is the joint-authored book, “*China Constructing Capitalism*” that exemplifies our international expertise and collaborative work.

The cluster sections contained in this report provide a space for the academics currently leading these clusters to outline key elements of their work, considering the broad context in which research is undertaken, the approaches taken, some of the important outputs to date and considerations for the future. This by no means offers a comprehensive summary of the wide array of COMPAS’ work, but instead it provides a flavour of our findings, achievements and approaches.

A key benefit of the cluster approach is its flexibility, meaning it can accommodate and harness the diverse array of research interests of COMPAS scholars to weave a complex tapestry of narratives and data where each thread contributes to a clearer picture of the entirety of ‘migration’ as a word and an phenomenon.

COMPAS has always worked to ensure its research is of relevance within and beyond academia. COMPAS staff have actively contributed to the MSc in Migration Studies and we have a growing cohort of doctoral students

with an interdisciplinary migration studies pathway recognised in the University of Oxford ESRC Doctoral Training Centre. All of our projects rely on reciprocal relationships with research users from project inception to final dissemination in order to identify and target key evidence gaps. Our portfolio of outreach activities has been strong and varied, including: the COMPAS website and blog, monthly Westminster Breakfast Briefings and COMPAS’ annual photo competition whose winning entries are displayed throughout our materials.

This second phase of COMPAS also saw the establishment of the Migration Observatory – a unit designed to inform media, policy and public debates on immigration with independent and strictly evidence-based data and analysis on migration. The Migration Observatory has quickly established itself as one of the most trusted voiced in the UK’s migration debate, used by policy makers, journalists and civil society groups across the political spectrum as a lodestone in an often polarised debate.

This report considers COMPAS’ current work and approaches, and considers the key challenges and emerging agendas for the clusters, and for the centre as a whole, for the next phase of COMPAS. While individual components of COMPAS – its staff, leadership and funders – may change over time, its flexible, inter-disciplinary approach offers a long-term opportunity for the study of an issue that seems set to continue to dominate media and policy debates for the foreseeable future across the globe – migration. ■



A DECADE OF IMPACT – SOME COMPAS HIGHLIGHTS:

01. **Rethinking diversity**
COMPAS research has helped to move academic and policy debates away from established, sometimes limiting ideas about “multi-culturalism” and towards a more nuanced understanding of the interactions between groups in complex modern societies. Among other important developments it led to the coining of a new term – “super-diversity” which now helps inform many new approaches to the study of immigration and diversity, and to policy making in this field.

02. **Trade-offs**
COMPAS’ work has revealed the trade-offs that characterise migration decision-making at every level, from the personal to international policy making. Trade-offs shape policy and yet their hidden nature means they are often not debated. Moreover, decisions made in areas of policy unrelated to immigration, such as funding of the social care system, can have a huge impact on migration patterns without those connections ever being made clear. Key areas of work have included analysis of the tension between access and rights for migrants to high-income countries, the rights of migrant care workers and those of elderly employers, as well as questions about the impacts of immigration on welfare provision and the challenges migration generates for welfare states.

03. **Border Crossing**
By developing our understanding the history of citizenship, mobility and immigration controls COMPAS has analysed how immigration and asylum policies contribute to ‘making’ migrants. Detailed analysis of mobile communities and diaspora around the world has helped to inform a clearer ‘bottom up’ understanding of transnational connections and contemporary migration.

04. **The importance of the urban context**
COMPAS’ work has recognised that metropolitan spaces are characterised by the most brutal forms of exclusion and hostility and the most intense forms of conviviality and cultural creativity. COMPAS has developed vital evidence-based interventions in the governance of diversity in European cities; has been at the forefront of efforts to map and understand the changing contours of diversity in the UK’s neighbourhoods, towns and regions; has studied Chinese and Indian urbanism, orienting migration studies away from South-North migration flows towards South-South flows, such as movements from the country to the city in modern China.

05. **Migration within the European Union**
COMPAS was at the vanguard of the study of implications of EU enlargement for mobility in both the sending and receiving countries. COMPAS’ work during the 2004 accession of 10 countries to the EU provided unique insights that have subsequently formed the basis of academic and policy responses to the mobility of EU citizens. More recent work has detailed how migration structures the new Europe, challenging our understanding of borders, identity, security and place.

06. **Providing dispassionate analysis**
Migration Observatory: The Migration Observatory was established by COMPAS to inject dispassionate and evidence-based analysis of migration, into media, public and policy debates in the UK, and has rapidly become the UK’s most trusted independent voice on the subject. Both the Observatory’s original research and comprehensive suite of materials are used by policy makers from all major political parties in the UK and by all major media outlets as a source of reliable, accessible and neutral information in this complicated and polarised debate.

Flows and Dynamics

THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS IN THE STUDY OF MIGRATION ARE ‘WHY DO PEOPLE MOVE?’ AND ‘HOW DO THEY MOVE?’ OVER THE PAST DECADE COMPAS HAS APPLIED ITS INTER-DISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING THESE QUESTIONS AT INDIVIDUAL, COMMUNITY, NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND GLOBAL SCALES. OUR RESEARCH HAS LOOKED AT THE PRACTICES, RELATIONSHIPS, INSTITUTIONS AND NETWORKS THAT SHAPE EXPERIENCES OF LIFE ON THE MOVE, FROM A VARIETY OF DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES INCLUDING SOCIOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, DEMOGRAPHY, POLICY, DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMICS. WHILE TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE OUTCOMES OF MIGRATION, THE PRIME FOCUS OF WORK HAS BEEN ON THE MIGRATION TRAJECTORY, INCLUDING DECISION-MAKING, PREPARATION, ORGANISATION, MOVEMENT AND ARRIVAL.

Research at COMPAS on migration flows and dynamics concentrates on movements to and within Europe, but set within broader global trends it has analysed the relationship between migration processes and social, economic and political change, particularly in the context of global, regional, national and local disparities in human development and security. It has also aimed to understand how migration dynamics play out at different levels, from individuals and households to regions and states as well as how these levels inter-connect with one another in different settings and locations

CONTEXT

Social, economic and political changes often influence migration decisions, directly or indirectly which points to the need for an interdisciplinary approach. Shifts in economic and political fortunes between countries and regions affect decisions to move, as well as routes taken and the reception that migrants receive during their journey. COMPAS has aimed to track some of macro geo-political developments, in order to situate their fall-out for the global migration scene at different levels.

Current migration features a bewildering variety of forms and types of movement. The term ‘migrant’ can encompass highly diverse types of people on the move, both within and between countries: among them are permanent emigrants and settlers; temporary contract

workers; labour; professional, business and trader migrants; students; refugees and asylum-seekers; people who move from rural settings to cities, or from smaller towns to larger ones; people moving for marriage and family reasons; and people who seek safety from conflict within their own countries. Moreover, people often shift between these categories: they may enter a country as students, tourists or visitors, for example, but then overstay, work, ask for asylum, or seek permanent settlement, and eventually become naturalised as citizens. Likewise, internal migrants driven by conflict or in search of opportunity may in time cross state borders and become international migrants. How is this great diversity of migratory trajectories to be made sense of?

KEY AREAS OF WORK

Drivers: *Mixed Migration*

Over the last twenty years there has been increasing recognition that much mobility has mixed motivations. Many migration streams include both people who move to escape conflict or distress and those that are seeking betterment. As work at COMPAS has shown this is partly because poverty, inequality and conflict often co-exist: those who flee a country where conflict, persecution, discrimination and human rights abuse are rife, for example, may also be trying to escape dire economic circumstances. People may then move to escape life or

death circumstances; they may move to escape intolerable living conditions; they may move to better themselves; or they move for a combination of these and other reasons. Migration can be mixed in several senses, which to some degree relates to stages of the migratory process: motivations may be mixed at the point of making the decision to move; different kinds of migrants may make use of the same agents and brokers; they may travel with others in mixed migratory flows; motivations may change en route and after arrival; and people may find themselves in mixed communities during their journeys or at their destination.

COMPAS work has contributed to increasing recognition of these complex migration dynamics and the challenges they pose for migration policy, and has led to the growing purchase in policy circles since the early 2000s of the notion of ‘mixed migration’. Managing such diverse migratory populations presents obvious policy challenges. Who should be admitted and on what grounds? What rights and entitlements should different types of migrants have once admitted? The problem remains that policy regimes still tend to classify migrants by discrete categories based on a single motivation for migration – labour;

APPLIED RESEARCH

Marriage migration

Spouses form the largest single category of migrant settlement in the UK, but research and policy making on marriage-related migration to Britain provides only partial coverage of the phenomenon, dominated by a focus in the South Asian populations which are among the largest groups of such migrants. By bringing together immigration statistics with data from academic and third sector sources, researchers at the University of Bristol and COMPAS attempted to provide a more balanced and nuanced portrayal of patterns and practices of marriage-related migration to the UK. Their work revealed important nationality and gender differences in migration flows, and considered how varying marriage practices, social and political contexts, and policies of both receiving and sending countries may work to influence marriage-related migration streams. Their work also exposed the limitations in existing research on this diverse form of migration, highlighting the danger that immigration policy made on the basis of partial evidence may produce unexpected and unintended consequences. This work is now going forward in a 2 year ESRC funded study, again in collaboration with Bristol University, investigating the impact of trans-national marriages on integration in the UK.



highly-skilled, refugee, family, student etc. – and organise entry and entitlements accordingly. In reality migration may be driven by a combination of these kinds of motivation – the search for livelihood, for safety, to rejoin family members, for study and so on – which points to the need for a correspondingly variegated policy approach to address them.

Movement: *Borders, security and irregularity*

Understanding the nature of the movement of people across borders requires analysis of the nature of borders themselves, as physical, legal and metaphysical constructions. But it also requires consideration of the broad array of impacts – from the personal to the geopolitical – that arise from different kinds of movements across borders.

COMPAS has conducted research across Europe that provides a comparative inventory of data on irregular migration (stocks and flows). Working with data on 'clandestine' migration required in depth consideration of ethical and methodological issues, as well as the factors affecting shifts between legal and undocumented status among migrant populations.

Other complementary studies have focussed on mixed and transit migration to Europe. The expansion of the European border control regime has moved responsibility from core countries to the peripheral EU countries and their immediate neighbours, such as Ukraine and Turkey. Research therefore investigated clandestine entry to the EU: the institutions, practices, relationships and networks that shape experiences of life on the move, the governance, policies and practices of border controls, and the interplay and dynamics influencing outcomes of migration in sending, transit and destination countries.

The nature of the UK border in particular and its evolution over the last decade from a physical space, to metaphysical symbol of security, is the subject of current research. Increasingly border practices, such as checking visa status, are manifest in almost any space in the country from a university tutorial to a doctor's waiting room, a school, a restaurant or a marriage ceremony. Contemporary policy discourse, practices of "the border" and public perceptions are analysed together in order to see how the different aspects connect or diverge.

Place: *Diaspora formation and engagement*

The large migratory movements of recent decades, including those to the UK from post-socialist European nations, have generated many new diasporas that appear to be enduring and are pursuing a variety of forms of transnational activity: these forms of engagement are contributing to the transformation of global society, reshaping the societies of sending and receiving countries, as well as political practices in both, and making for fundamental shifts in how states govern. Our research explores forms of engagement in varieties of conditions of

transition – from war to peace, from instability to stability, as well in other forms of economic, political, social and cultural change. Research in this strand combines an 'outside-in' perspective looking at the diasporas that have formed as a result of the diverse migration to the UK over the last two decades or more, with an 'inside-out' view exploring the influence of these diasporas on their homeland and the world at large through their transnational connections and engagements.

Our research traces the emergence of diasporas in terms of their socio-economic make-up, taking account of cohort/time of arrival, immigration status, and class, ethnic, generational, gender and other social cleavages, all of which shape diaspora members' capacity for engagement. Having established the contours of diaspora formation, research tracks the relationship among different spheres of diaspora engagement: the individual or household sphere; the community sphere; and the wider 'imagined community' or political sphere.

These spheres, of course, interact with one another, so that for example, what happens in the political sphere may shape what is possible in the community and household spheres. There are also tensions among the different spheres – migrants may find themselves pulled among obligations to their own family in the host country, to their own community in the host country, to those in the wider diaspora, to those left in the homeland and to the wider political struggle in the homeland. Their capacity to meet these different calls varies according to their resources and social position, and shifts over time.

The nature and possibilities for diaspora engagement in the homeland and beyond are contested. In conflict settings for example, recovery in the aftermath of conflict is seen in terms of the restoration of the status quo ante; for others it presents the opportunity for social and economic transformation. In seeking to understand how these different interests play out, our work uses a broad notion of 'social recovery' and explores the nuances of identity resulting from diaspora formation and engagement.

EMERGING FUTURE AGENDAS

The post 2008 world economic and financial crisis helped to consolidate shifts in the global political economy, which have, in turn, been re-shaping the global migration order; as emergent powers become increasingly important players on the world migration scene. The UK contributes to and is influenced by such shifts no less than other nations prominent in the global migration order. In order to place the UK's position in this wider global context, a strand of research on *Shifting powers* and *shifting mobility* will track recent and prospective changes in global migration and mobility patterns and their governance. Our work will seek to understand the diversification of migration flows

and the interdependence of migration policies nationally and transnationally. Research in this strand will thus seek to understand how current global geo-political shifts – principally the now well-documented rise of 'emerging powers' -- play out in the migration arena, and conversely how migration plays into the emerging global dispensation of economic and political power.

Research projects within this strand will draw on this overall framework to pursue salient themes in the emergent global migration order. These projects will explore three main dimensions – the emergence of new forms of migration on the global stage, the forms of governance that are emerging to handle them, and how migrants and their networks shape these processes. ■

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APPLIED RESEARCH

Making data on migration flows accessible

Migration flows and their characteristics are often central themes in public discourse on migration. Whether these discussions are in the media, policy debates or conversations in a pub or café, numbers are invariably a key element. But these numbers are often speculative, out of context or quite simply, incorrect. An important part of the role of the Migration Observatory has been to separate speculation from fact in the quantitative element of UK's migration debate. This has meant clarifying what is and what is not known about both the flows of migrants to and from the UK, specifying the composition of the UK's migrant population, and presenting data in accessible formats.

The Observatory's analysis includes more than 35 briefings dealing with migration flows to and from the UK, migrant stocks in the UK and how these fit into an international and sub-national context. These provide authoritative data on issues ranging from countries of origin, or employment rates of migrants to the bilateral net stocks between various EU member states. Beyond these, the Observatory also issues regular press releases and social media outputs to clarify data points pertinent to specific debates.

The Observatory's analysis aims to ensure that the migration debate is, as far as possible, based on evidence rather than assertion, and its politically neutral data on migration flows can play an important role in helping to keep an often-impassioned debate grounded in reality.

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Migration Observatory

FOR MANY YEARS THE UK'S MIGRATION DEBATE HAS BEEN POLARISED, ANGRY AND OFTEN CHARACTERISED BY ASSERTIONS RATHER THAN EVIDENCE.

To help to improve the quality of this debate, the Migration Observatory was established by COMPAS in 2011. It was created as an arms-length organisation – kept firmly distanced from the (perceived or genuine) political positions of any past or present COMPAS staff – to provide accessible, politically neutral and strictly evidence-based analysis of key issues affecting the UK, setting them in an international context.

Built on the COMPAS model, the Observatory draws on expertise from a wide array of departments and disciplines around Oxford University, including anthropology, sociology, demography, criminology, economics, political science, development studies and law. It provides a wide suite of materials designed to allow anybody with an interest in migration to and from the UK to understand what is and is not known about its social, economic, demographic and legal implications. The Observatory explains the often complex and nuanced official data

on migration and provides detailed analysis looking at the subject in media, public opinion and policy debates at an international, regional/continental, national, sub-national and local level.

The Migration Observatory's distinctive remit to offer neutral evidence on migration is key to its success. While drawing on the extraordinary skills, knowledge, connections and resources of COMPAS staff, the Observatory's separate identity and approach from the main centre provides an important firewall: It protects the Observatory's political neutrality, ensuring is not compromised by the positions or outputs of any of its contributors while avoiding any limits on the academic freedom of COMPAS academics to draw conclusions that may be provocative, critical or make policy recommendations.

WHAT HAS THE MIGRATION OBSERVATORY DONE?

In the three years since the launch of the Migration Observatory it has published a large number of outputs to inform the UK's migration debate. These include:

- 50 detailed briefings on an array of key migration issues;
- Nearly 20 in-depth policy primers, considering the nuances and complexities of key subjects and supported by video interviews with the authors;
- Nearly 40 commentaries providing analysis of current or key media and policy debates.
- 6 long-form reports dealing with issues such as: migration in the media; migration and population limits in the UK; public opinion on immigration; and problems in the evidence base for migration policy making;

These products, and a proactive media outreach strategy, have allowed the Observatory to rapidly become one of the key voices in the media debate on migration in the UK – being referenced in more than 200 major national news stories and innumerable smaller stories since its launch, while shaping the content of many more. It occupies an important space in this debate as a trusted neutral source of information.

The Observatory has also worked with policy makers, parliamentary researchers, the civil service and civil society groups involved in migration-related work to help ensure that the best evidence is used in debates and policy making.

"I'm an avid reader of what the Observatory produces and overall I'd say they are unimpeachable in their impartiality." (MP/Special Advisor in the 2013 evaluation)

The Observatory is very active on social media, working to insert pertinent data and analysis into the public debate.

WHAT HAS THIS TOLD US?

A debate on a subject as complex, politicised and contentious as immigration desperately needs a reliable, independent source of analysis.

While migration elicits extremely strong feelings, there seems to be little real understanding on the part of many people, be they politicians, journalists or members of the public, about the actual level, composition or social or economic impacts of migration. The sheer quantity, complexity and sometimes contradictory nature of migration data exacerbates this problem.

Even more apparent is a lack of clarity about the social and economic trade-offs that accompany any course of action to manage migration. This creates a debate that is often both volatile and simplistic with little basis in established fact.

The impact of the establishment of the Migration Observatory as an independent voice in this policy

arena has not been to silence strong opinions or to drive a certain policy agenda on the part of government, but rather to add a new dimension to the debate – empiricism and clarity.

The establishment of a body which has successfully demonstrated that the migration debate does not need to be informed exclusively by "pro" or "anti" migration voices demonstrates that the debate can evolve and become more evidence-based.

THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE:

The Migration Observatory provides a solid bedrock for policy debates by removing the binary "pro" or "anti" from the analysis of migration and reframing it as not one homogenous issue, but innumerable complex interlinked ones.

An optimistic look to the future places the Migration Observatory as a key player in the evolution of the migration debate from a bitter fight between opposing sides, to a polite and thoughtful discussion between people with differing perspectives.

A more pessimistic view of the future makes the Observatory equally essential as a voice of reason, able to stand at the centre of the bitter fight and point out both the value and the problems in the arguments that all sides put forward. ■



Labour Markets

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO FULLY UNDERSTAND THE ROLE OF MIGRANT LABOUR WITHOUT CONSIDERING THE LINKS BETWEEN LABOUR AND SKILLS SHORTAGES, ECONOMIC CHANGE AND LABOUR DEMAND, IMMIGRATION AND PUBLIC POLICY. OVER THE PAST DECADE MOST HIGH-INCOME COUNTRIES HAVE EXPERIENCED RAPID INCREASES IN LABOUR IMMIGRATION. A COMMON ASSUMPTION IS THAT IMMIGRATION POLICY AND LIMITING NUMBERS OF VISAS ISSUED, CAN EFFECTIVELY ACT LIKE A TAP TO TURN ON AND OFF THE SUPPLY OF MIGRANT LABOUR. COMPAS' WORK IN THIS AREA HAS SHOWN HOWEVER THAT IMMIGRATION POLICY CHANGES ALONE ARE A BLUNT TOOL IN THIS RESPECT.

There is now a focus within policy development on making labour migration policy responsive to the changing needs of the labour market. In the UK and in other countries there is a move towards using research to help identify shortages in the labour market and to assess the implications for labour immigration policy (see, for example, the work of the UK's independent Migration Advisory Committee on which COMPAS has been represented). COMPAS research on employer demand is therefore directly relevant to discussions within national, European and international arenas.

Economic downturns can restructure labour markets and open new debates about the scale and form of demand for labour migration. They also amplify old concerns about the interplay of migrant rights and labour markets. Drawing on theories and insights from industrial relations, economic social policy and economics geography, COMPAS research has analysed the characteristics and experiences of migrants and their employers in low-waged labour markets as well as the nature and determinants of the demand for migrant labour in different sectors, occupations and geographical areas in the UK.

CONTEXT

The global economic downturn that began in 2008 has added further momentum to what in many countries were already highly charged debates about the impacts of rising numbers of migrants on labour markets, welfare states and on the host economy and society more

generally. A survey by the Financial Times in March 2009 showed that over three-quarters of adults in Italy and the UK, and about two-thirds in Spain, Germany, and the US, supported the idea of sending migrants who cannot find a job home. While some countries have tightened their labour immigration policies in response to the economic downturn, many states have found it challenging to reduce the growth in their economies' reliance on migrant workers, even during times of economic downturn and rising domestic unemployment. It is clear that many countries labour markets, or at least certain occupations and sectors, have become structurally dependent on migrant labour – a dependence which has proven very difficult to reverse.

In the UK, the share of foreign-born persons in employment doubled from less than 8 per cent in the late 1990s to almost 15% in 2013. The growth in employment shares of foreign-born workers in recent years has been fastest among lower-skilled occupations and sectors in the UK. For example, among process operatives (e.g. food, drink and tobacco process operatives, plastics process operatives, chemical and related process operatives), the share of migrants tripled from 8% in 2002 to 25% in 2012.

The rise in migrant workers in low-skilled jobs in the UK has been primarily driven by the accession of the A8 East European countries to the EU and the UK government's decision to fully open up British labour markets to A8 workers in May 2004. COMPAS' work in this area has taken a multi-disciplinary and multi-scale approach.

KEY AREAS OF WORK

Regulating labour markets

A central question in debates about labour immigration policy is how to link the admission of migrant workers to the 'needs' of the domestic labour market and the national economy more generally. What these needs are, how they vary across sectors and occupations, and how they change during periods of economic growth and crisis are highly contested. There is significant controversy about the role that migrants can, or should, play in meeting 'skills needs' and in reducing 'labour and skills shortages' in particular sectors and occupations. Employers often claim, especially but not only during times of economic growth, that there is a 'need' for migrants to help fill labour and skills shortages and/or to do the jobs that, they allege, 'locals' (a highly contested term) will not or cannot do. Sceptics, including some trades unions, argue that in many cases these claims simply reflect employers' preference for recruiting cheap and exploitable migrant workers over improving wages and employment conditions.

A series of research projects in the labour market cluster have studied the nature, determinants and potential policy responses to employer demand for migrant labour. The multi-disciplinary research project *Who Needs Migrant Workers?* analyses the role of migrant workers in six different sectors of the UK economy, and includes a comparative discussion with the US. It shows how labour immigration and employer demand for migrant workers are closely related to a wide range of institutions and public policies that go beyond immigration policy. Labour market policies, housing policies, and a wide range of social policies have in many countries created incentives for employers, especially in low-waged sectors, to develop a preference for recruiting migrant over domestic workers. For example, in the UK's construction sector the difficulty of finding suitably skilled British workers is critically related to low levels of labour market regulation and the absence of a comprehensive vocational education and training system.

Social care is another sector in the UK economy where public policies create demand for migrant workers. The shortages of social-care workers and care assistants are largely due to the low wages and poor working conditions. Constraints in local authority budgets have contributed to chronic underinvestment, which has contributed to a growing demand for low-waged, flexible workers. Reducing or at least slowing down the growth in the reliance on migrant labour – a goal of government policies in the UK and many other countries – will not happen without fundamental changes to the policies and institutions that create the demand in the first place.

East European workers in the UK

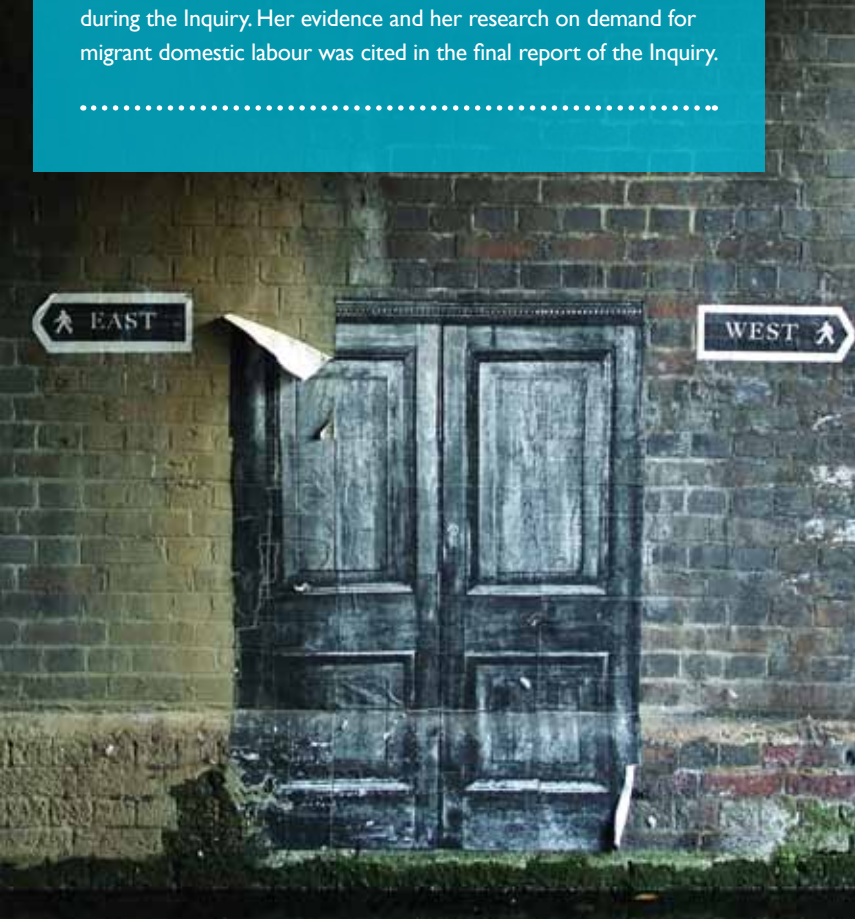
A key COMPAS research project on migration and labour markets focussed on the impacts of gaining EU status for A8 migrants in 2004. The *'Changing status, changing lives?'* project included interviews with employers, workers,

APPLIED RESEARCH

Changing the terms of debate on UK labour migration policy

Anderson and Ruhs' expertise on migration and low-waged labour markets led to close engagement with government at all stages of the policy cycle. Their research on demand for labour in six high-usage sectors was commissioned by the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) – a group of economists established to advise the government on labour and immigration policy. Its first report, analysing the UK's skilled labour market, addressed the question 'Is it "sensible" to fill a shortage with migrants?' and in this chapter acknowledged: "We draw heavily on Anderson and Ruhs (2008)". The report was later published by OUP as the edited volume *Who Needs Migrant Workers?* and described by Professor David Metcalf, the Chair of the Migration Advisory Committee, as "the definitive research on the demand for migrant workers... [it] will inform the debate for years to come".

In the same year the controversy surrounding government policy resulted in the House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs Inquiry into the Economic Impact of Immigration. Ruhs served as its specialist adviser and was responsible for the first draft of its report. Anderson provided oral and written evidence during the Inquiry. Her evidence and her research on demand for migrant domestic labour was cited in the final report of the Inquiry.



agencies, government officials and civil society at local, regional and national levels. The analysis combined qualitative approaches (e.g. to explore why some employers prefer A8 migrants to British workers) with quantitative analyses (e.g. to assess the impacts of becoming an EU national on wages of A8 workers). In total, more than 600 migrants and over 500 employers of migrants were surveyed and interviewed before and after EU enlargement on 1st May 2004.

The project identified a positive wage effect from becoming an EU national and explored the various ways in which immigration status interacts with employers' and workers' strategies and outcomes. The research showed that employers considered A8 workers 'high quality workers for low-waged jobs' in the UK. It also identified key differences between British and A8 workers, which frequently made A8 workers more attractive to British employers, especially in low-waged occupations. These reasons included, among other things: a higher skill level of A8 workers; greater willingness to work for lower wages, unsocial hours and in more remote areas; a temporary mindset (i.e. the expectation that the job will be done temporarily before moving on to a better job); and, importantly a different 'frame of reference' which encourages new migrant workers to compare wages and conditions in Britain with those prevailing in migrants' countries of origin. The study showed that those workers exercising their mobility rights within the EU can face the same integration challenges as non EU migrants, yet were at that time regularly ignored in integration debates.

Migration and precarious labour

Research in this area has aimed to move beyond the notion of illegality as a reason for migrant vulnerability to examine state and social constructions of labour markets and 'workers'/'employees', with attention to the employment relations that such constructions imply. We have explored how these constructions constrain and facilitate migrants, and the dynamic inter-relationship between immigration controls and precarious labour. This reveals tensions between hyper-regulation of immigration on the one hand, and deregulation of labour markets on the other; as well as how this intersects in particular with the temporalities of immigration controls and labour processes. The ways in which immigration controls do not just admit certain numbers and types of migrant workers, but create certain types of employment relations and workers has been critical to our analysis. This makes visible categories of migrants that have been often ignored in analysis of migration and labour markets.

COMPAS has had a longstanding interest in care work, and particularly elder care in institutional home care settings and private households. These pieces of the research were the first to highlight potential for conflict of rights between migrant workers and vulnerable service users and to show

that the challenges relating to migrant care workers are fundamentally those of the social care system.

Trafficking and forced labour

COMPAS' work on trafficking, gender and migration has resulted in analytical papers and high level policy interventions, demonstrating the importance of relating exploitative and abusive relations between a 'migrant' and an employer to the wider legal (immigration and employment) and social context. Terms critical to trafficking such as 'consent' and 'exploitation' are extremely difficult to operationalize, not least because the more desperate one's circumstances the more genuine one's consent to take on dangerous work for little or no recompense.

A particular concern has related to migration and domestic labour; a sector where trafficking is regarded as particularly prevalent. Results have highlighted the contingent, gendered and racialised nature of what counts as work in private households, and the contradictions that emerge when household labour is commodified and where this intersects with immigration controls. Critical analysis has questioned the nature of trafficking as demand led, arguing that there is very rarely a demand per se for 'trafficked' people, but rather for workers who are cheaper and more dependent. The framing of the abuse of migrant domestic workers as 'modern day slavery' risks ignoring the role of the state and the structural reasons for the poor situations of many workers in the sector; especially the ways in which women are not excluded, but differentially included in labour markets, states and nations.

EMERGING FUTURE AGENDAS

The evidence thus suggests that, following a temporary slowdown immediately after the onset of the economic crises, labour migration to the UK and high-income countries can be expected to continue to grow. National immigration and other public policies will of course be able to influence the scale and composition of labour immigration but it is clear that there will be continuing and sustained pressure to admit more migrant workers.

A key question for future analysis is how the employer demand for migrant workers will change and develop as the economy recovers, and how policy can influence the future trajectory and dynamics of low-waged labour markets in the UK. A key insight from the work carried out in the COMPAS labour market cluster is that the scale and conditions of labour immigration we observe are in important ways related to the nature of Britain's economic model including a wide range of public policies relating to the labour market, training, housing, etc. Going forward labour immigration debates need to consider these wider trends and public policy issues rather than narrowly focus on immigration and immigration policy. ■

INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

Regulating Labour Migration

Labour immigration management requires policies for regulating the admission of migrant workers as well as decisions on what rights to grant migrants after admission. A series of COMPAS interdisciplinary research projects, culminating in the book *The Price of Rights*, have explored how and why high-income countries restrict the rights of migrant workers.

COMPAS work has also discussed the implications for global debates about regulating labour migration and protecting migrants. Examining labour immigration policies in over forty countries, as well as policy drivers in major migrant-receiving and migrant-sending states, international comparative research for *The Price of Rights*, by Martin Ruhs, shows that high-income countries' labour immigration policies are characterised by a trade-off between openness to admitting migrant workers and some of the rights granted to migrants after admission. More open admission policies are associated with greater restrictions of migrant rights (especially but not only social rights giving access to the welfare state). This implies that insisting on equality of rights for migrant workers can come at the price of discouraging the liberalization of international labour migration, especially for lower-skilled workers whose international movement is currently most restricted. How to respond to the tension between "more migration" and "more rights" is one of the most important questions for global and national debates about international labour migration.



Borders

AS DISCUSSED ELSEWHERE IN THIS REPORT, THE THEME OF BORDERS AND 'BORDERING' IS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE ACROSS COMPAS CLUSTERS. EACH CLUSTER ADDRESSES DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF BORDERING – FROM RESEARCH ON BORDER MANAGEMENT AND SECURITY WITHIN THE FLOWS AND DYNAMICS CLUSTER, TO RESEARCH ON IMMIGRATION CONTROL AND CITIZENSHIP WITHIN THE CITIZENSHIP AND BELONGING CLUSTER, TO RESEARCH ON INTEGRATION WITHIN THE URBAN CHANGE AND SETTLEMENT CLUSTER.

COMPAS work draws on and contributes to a growing literature showing that borders are not merely lines that delineate national territories, but also practices that constitute the polity and the community. For example, 'bordering' manages flows of people by sorting them into categories with differentiated access to rights and services. Consequently, borders are increasingly distributed within the political territory and not only at border checkpoints. This does not mean that borders and bordering are therefore everything and everywhere, but rather that border management in border checkpoints is intricately linked with re-bordering within the political space. It is especially so in Europe, where the securitization of the European Union's external borders is widely seen as a primary condition for enabling internal freedom of movement. Political space can only be seen clearly when research on borders, conventionally understood, is considered alongside broader concepts of bordering.

SELECTED KEY AREAS OF WORK

Over the course of the last decade, COMPAS researchers have undertaken a number of projects directly and indirectly dealing with borders and bordering. For example, a project implemented by the Citizenship and Belonging cluster under the leadership of Bridget Anderson explored how immigration controls and deportation regimes do not only target those who are thought not to belong, but also those who belong - or barely belong - by educating them how to be good citizens. Bridget Anderson has also stimulated academic debate on the practical politics of 'no borders' that question sovereignty and territorialisation as foundational aspects of polity-making.

A project implemented by Bastian Vollmer and Franck Düvell within the Flows and Dynamics cluster has interrogated the limits of law enforcement by asking how is it that irregular immigration is on the rise alongside increasingly strict immigration policies while, Sarah Spencer has explored the coexistence of those policies with legal entitlements for irregular migrants to access welfare services. Bastian Vollmer's research has looked at what borders are actually like by tracing practices of border-crossing. He has also addressed the tension between the European nation state's desire to enforce strict immigration policies as a matter of national sovereignty and its commitment to international human rights and protection of refugees and asylum seekers.

Dace Dzenovska's research, in turn, focuses on the internal re-bordering of the European political space in the context of European enlargement. She is concerned

with how 'de-bordering' – lifting internal border controls – is itself a form of bordering productive of a differentiated Europe, as well as with how relating to border control in a particular way can become a mark of a good citizen. Biao Xiang's work engages migration not as a social phenomenon to be explained, but rather as a force of social and political change. To that end, he has analysed the constitutive tensions of contemporary statecraft – for example, the need to rely on transnational practices and the simultaneous desire to nationalise them.

WHAT HAS THIS TOLD US?

COMPAS research has told us that borders are not what they seem. Bastian Vollmer argues that border crossing can be lightly negotiated in addition to being experienced as highly securitised. Bridget Anderson suggests that rather than protecting British jobs and migrants from exploitation, immigration controls exacerbate vulnerability and produce precarious workers. She has also pointed out that borders and bordering are not only comprised of bordering practices, such as detention and deportation, but also impose a vision of a divided and differentiated world. Biao Xiang's work has demonstrated the integral role of intermediate agents in transnational migration, thus illuminating how bordering and migration regulation are systems that rely on an intricate web of state and other actors. Dace Dzenovska has questioned the assumption that universal human capacity for empathy can generate civil relationships between border agents and border crossers, instead suggesting that it is historically generated understandings of conditions of life and power relations that may hold such potential.

COMPAS researchers have traced the emergence of categories and concepts such as transit migration and the figure of the migrant. Their work has also unsettled assumptions, such as, for example, the assumption that borders merely halt the movement of illegal immigrants, instead showing how borders produce both illegal immigrants and citizens. COMPAS research thus suggests that bordering is at once a crucial and highly contested element of contemporary forms of government.

ACADEMIC AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

COMPAS researchers have produced academic articles and policy reports, often bringing an academic perspective to bear upon policy research – and vice versa – in productive ways. For example, while producing reports for policy institutions such as the UNHCR, OSCE and the Migration Advisory Committee, COMPAS researchers also raise questions about the ways in which the political language of the day shapes research problems. Such an approach cautions against transposing politically relevant categories - for example, victims of trafficking or irregular migrants - into research in a straightforward manner, and calls attention to the ways in which these categories are productive of subjects



of interest to the governing apparatus of the European Union. Alongside providing answers to questions of immediate interest to policy-makers, Franck Düvell and Bastian Vollmer also raise questions about the ethical implications of working with irregular migrants. The strength of COMPAS' approach is that researchers are able to produce work that has direct policy implications, but that also enables reflection on the methodological, conceptual, ethical and political aspects of policy-relevant research.

THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE

Borders and bordering are sites of tension. On the one hand, bordering entails rigid controls of movement, detention, and deportation. On the other hand, bordering is an integral element of life and government. At present, both movement and bordering are intensifying. People are increasingly moving as life becomes more precarious or even unlivable. States are tightening immigration and border controls, mostly by juridical means, but, in some cases, by way of building walls. Yet borders are also porous, like the borders of welfare states that exhibit contradictory exclusionary and inclusionary trends with one group of migrants – those from the EU – afforded broad access while other migrants are excluded. It seems that borders are becoming a paradigmatic site for tracing the contours of future political formations, which are far from certain. As Wendy Brown has argued, contrary to the assumption that walls represent a resurgence of sovereignty, walls may, in fact, suggest the waning of sovereignty. An important question for the future is, thus, what do reconfigurations of borders and shifts in bordering practices tell us about our collective political future? ■

Citizenship and Belonging

CITIZENSHIP, LIKE MANY OF THE ELEMENTS IN THE STUDY OF MIGRATION, IS SOMETHING THAT ON THE SURFACE CAN APPEAR STRAIGHTFORWARD, BUT WHICH, ONCE ITS SURFACE IS SCRATCHED IS EXTREMELY COMPLEX. IN RECENT YEARS CITIZENSHIP HAS MOVED FROM A SUBJECT OF ACADEMIC DEBATE TO AN OBJECT OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY CONCERN.

COMPAS analyses of citizenship and belonging over the last decade have been informed by both current global, national and local issues and by questions on the origins and the structural, historical, legal and philosophical underpinnings of our concepts of citizenship. COMPAS' inter-disciplinary approach has brought together academics from the fields of sociology, law, political science, history, classics, demography, and philosophy to look at citizenship and its meanings from multiple angles and perspectives, and to analyse questions about power, communities, exclusion, protection and place.

COMPAS' contribution could be broadly characterized as contributing to three strands of debates: policy and practice in the construction of citizenship and belonging; politics and citizenship; and, more recently, citizenship and the European Union.

CONTEXT

There has been a proliferation of multiple types of citizenship and citizens: from biological citizenship to global citizenship, from sexual citizenship to acts of citizenship. Citizenship has been applied to a range of different types of relations and activities. The context of migration, however, reminds us that citizenship is a formal status giving a right to enter, to remain and to not be deported from a state. That is, it describes a legal relation between an individual and a state. It is also a status that is necessary for the current global state system, which requires mutual recognition by states of their respective responsibilities to admit and govern their own citizens. Increasing mobility and shifts in relations between states are opening up new spaces of contestation around migration and membership and between migration, legal status and rights. However, this does not mean that migration scholars are only interested in formal status, and they have also explored

citizenship as a subjective feeling of identity. This overlaps with social relations of belonging to a 'nation' to a state and to a community, matters which are often associated with 'integration'. These two senses of citizenship, the formal and the subjective, are 'bridged' by the political relations of citizenship, the sense that citizenship is about political participation, or participation in public life. Migration scholars have done important work in this debate by highlighting tensions and overlaps between formal status on the one hand, and belonging on the other.

KEY AREAS OF WORK

Policy, Practice and the Construction of Citizenship and Belonging

What is the content of citizenship? For such a category, with considerable normative and political weight, the reduction to the right not to be deported, and the right to vote in national elections seems surprisingly flimsy. There have been multiple attempts to uncover new facets of citizenship, particularly to transcend the public/private divide. COMPAS has joined other migration scholars in foregrounding the importance of legal status and exclusion in debates, previously focussed on citizenship as straightforwardly inclusive. They have also contested the citizen/non-citizen binary by illustrating the rise of the (permanently) resident non-citizen, the dual national and the stateless. This work has also argued that the right not to be deported is a key distinguishing right of citizens and vulnerability to deportation or 'deportability' is an important component of non-membership that is in practice common to both regular and irregular migrants (though some are more deportable than others).

The project *Deportation and boundaries of belonging* held with political scientist, Matthew Gibney and Emanuela

Paoletti at the Refugee Studies Centre, explored the ways in which the rise of deportation reflects and generates changes in conceptions of membership in liberal states. Much work on membership examines the rules and processes by which foreigners gain citizenship in liberal democratic societies. We examined the processes through which rights of residence are lost, in order to shed light on membership and examine deportation as a mechanism for social control with impacts on populations more generally.

Developing our interest in the consequences of removal and enforcement for citizens as well as non-citizens *Tried and Trusted?* examined the role of NGOs in the Assisted Voluntary Returns (AVR) of asylum seekers and irregular migrants. Jointly conducted with the Centre for Population Change (CPC), University of Southampton it explored attitudes towards AVR within the voluntary sector and the challenges arising from collaboration between a refugee charity and the Home Office. It found a nuanced critique of the 'voluntariness' of return, within the context of the extremely poor options that many applicants were faced

APPLIED RESEARCH

Contributing to national policy debate

In the lead up to the 2014 Scottish referendum on independence, the Migration Observatory is providing analysis and data on migration and migrants in Scotland in order to inform public and policy debate. 'The Migration Observatory Scotland project', funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) as part of the ESRC's *Future of the UK and Scotland* programme will offer important evidence in the run to the forthcoming referendum. This body of work is analysing key questions around the meaning of citizenship in the light of Scottish independence. These include: Could Scotland have its own immigration policy if it remains part of the UK or part of a Common Travel Area with the rest of the UK and Ireland? What are the implications for identity where a new border is created?



with. The AVR option also meant that citizens who were working with people who had come to the end of the appeals process felt that they could offer a choice rather than simply informing them they had to give themselves up for removal.

While previously ‘integration’ tended to be treated separately from matters of citizenship more recently they have overlapped. Formal citizenship has become more related to matters of belonging and values that are also associated with integration.

Politics and Citizenship

Questions about who belongs and who does not, what rights and duties attach to belonging, and who decides about belonging, are unavoidably political. Furthermore there is a tension between the liberal desire to expand citizenship as a vehicle of liberal rights, and increasing restrictionism often in the name of preserving liberal values.

COMPAS has examined public discourses and attitudes to immigration and demonstrated that public opinion is arguably more nuanced than the terms of the political debate might suggest. Opinion polls have consistently shown that the British public is in favour of a reduction in immigration. But answers to basic questions about people’s preferences for reducing, increasing or maintaining prevailing levels of immigration provide only a very partial understanding of the British population’s views on this issue.

COMPAS and the Migration Observatory, integrated political science, economic and sociological perspectives in order to build a more detailed understanding of public attitudes to immigration by commissioning a poll asking a series of questions about immigration and immigrants to a representative sample of 1,002 adults living in Britain. The poll supported previous findings that a large majority of people in Britain favour cuts in immigration, but it also found that the public’s views on immigration are complex and nuanced in a way that previous polls have failed to capture, and that these views vary substantially depending on which immigrant groups the public is considering. Analysis shows that survey respondents hold more negative attitudes toward immigration if they think of migrants as asylum applicants, permanent arrivals to Britain, and/or EU nationals. They hold less negative attitudes toward immigration if they think of migrants as workers or as British citizens returning from abroad.

This work on the figure of the migrant and the norm against prejudice sits alongside other work at COMPAS on the changing modalities of racism and exclusion, including work on anti-Gypsy racism, Islamophobia and antisemitism, and on racist expression. These forms of intolerance structure who belongs and who doesn’t in today’s UK.

Citizenship and the European Union

EU citizenship marks an important shift in the conceptualisation of what it is to be a citizen. The rights of EU citizens only come into force when a citizen of one EU

state moves to another EU state. That is, while citizenship has previously been associated with stasis and with the acquiring of rights through remaining in one place for a set period (or being born there), EU citizenship is enacted only by the mobile. Furthermore, while there is anxiety about the ways in which EU citizenship has the potential to undermine national sovereignty when it comes to EU citizens, making it difficult for them, for example, to deport EU criminals, in the case of resident non-EU citizens (so-called third country nationals) EU citizenship gives an added value to citizenship of single member states. Indeed, in some EU member states, citizenship will be granted to some who do not reside in the state but who are wealthy enough to invest above a certain amount (Malta), pay off the national debt (Spain), or have lost money in bank bailouts (Cyprus).

Balancing citizenship of insiders and outsiders is an EU FP7 project that raises important questions within sociology and law, of insiders and outsiders of *belonging* to what? It postulates that it is useful to distinguish between insiders and outsiders of *European nation states* (‘migrants’), insiders and outsiders of *labour markets* (‘welfare claimants’) and insiders and outsiders of *the EU* (‘third country nationals’). It examines how rights and obligations in relation to (paid and unpaid) work and welfare are stratified among formal citizens and among non-citizens, as well as between citizens and non-citizens, in selected EU/ non-EU nation states and what inclusions/exclusions tell us about the social relations of work, care and welfare in different states.

The New Labour government (1997-2010), articulating a civic republican conception of citizenship, instituted the Life in the UK test, designed to ensure those seeking naturalisation understood the historical narrative and shared values which were presumed to be at the heart of this form of citizenship. The test was originally intended to promote active citizenship, with formal nationality seen as a step towards full active citizenship and civic integration. However, in practice – as elsewhere in Europe – this intention has come up against a more punitive understanding of citizenship, in which integration is seen as a *condition* rather than foundation for naturalisation. Hence the test is now required for migrants to achieve settlement. COMPAS was commissioned by the Home Office in 2010 to conduct the largest ever survey of Britain’s new citizens, finding that the newly naturalised were more civically active and more likely to feel a strong sense of national belonging than the “native” population.

EMERGING FUTURE AGENDAS

Over the next decade it seems inevitable that tensions between mobility, sovereignty and citizenship will continue. The theoretical and political challenges this raises are scarcely new. What is new is the extent to which core political categories, including citizenship and the nation have been revealed as unstable, leading to important new theoretical tensions in recognising and reflecting political

subjects and subjectivities without simply reproducing policy subjects. ‘Subject making’ is consequently more important theoretically and practically, particularly the ways in which the subject making of migrants and of citizens is mutually constitutive. Entrenchment of ideas about ethnicity and nationhood runs alongside rethinkings of identity and membership, in the context of the rise of urbanism, regionalism and the European Union. That is, belonging is becoming untied from the project of the nation state. Research on populism and public attitudes is important here, and the relation between the ‘migrant’ and the ‘failed citizen’. Relatedly, the academic, if not the political debates on migration have tended to be (artificially) kept apart from debates on race, overlapping more in the fields of ethnicity, religion and integration. The prominence of intra EU migration and its association with degrees of whiteness is leading to claims that it is possible to have a non-racial debate about migration, and to new configurations in relations between citizenship and race.

Finally, important questions need to be asked around the impacts of immigration controls on citizens. These are exposed in regulations around family reunion, in requirements to enforce and to subject oneself to surveillance. What does this mean for the nature of liberal citizenship, particularly in the increasing recourse to the policy language of government accountability to taxpayers, rather than citizens, and in the rise of national security concerns? Increasingly the border is becoming a critical site for the creation of categories that have implications way beyond immigration: what is ‘work’, or a ‘genuine marriage’, or ‘political activity’? The answers to these questions are not only important for migrants but also for citizens. ■

INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

Connecting immigration, citizenship and welfare

COMPAS has generated important insights by looking at welfare and immigration together, using a variety of disciplinary lenses. Immigration restrictions disproportionately affect the mobility of the global poor and are less concerned with the movement of the affluent and highly skilled. This bears comparison with the ways in which early modern Europe, vagrancy statutes were about controlling the mobility of poor labourers.

Contemporaneously, British citizens who try to claim benefits have the duty to work, and are often depicted as not mobile enough, famously needing to ‘get on their bikes’. In contrast, the mobile global poor are refused the right to work in the UK and are regarded as too mobile. They should be staying put. Borders and the national labour market shape the politics of both internal and international labour mobility, requiring us to go beyond an analysis that pits migrants against the low waged or unemployed.

In her new book *Us and Them? The dangerous politics of immigration control*, Bridget Anderson examines the construction of differences between the foreigner and the citizen. She argues that modern states portray themselves not as arbitrary collections of people tied together by a common legal status but as communities of value. The community of value is national in that it is defined from the outside by the Non-Citizen (the Migrant), but it is also defined from the inside by the Failed Citizen (the Criminal, the Benefit Scrounger, the Prostitute, etc.). Strong efforts are made to keep the Non-Citizen and the Failed Citizen apart, but analysing them together sheds new light on the Good Citizen and the politics of (Good) citizenship.



Irregular Migration

IRREGULAR MIGRATION IS A KEY AREA FOR COMPAS BECAUSE IT CUTS ACROSS THE CLUSTERS OF WORK AT THE CENTRE. IT REMAINS ONE OF THE MOST CONTENTIOUS PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES IN THE UK, EUROPE, AND GLOBALLY. IT IS A COMPLEX ISSUE, FRAUGHT WITH MORAL, LEGAL, PRACTICAL AND POLITICAL DILEMMAS AT THE LOCAL, NATIONAL AND GLOBAL LEVEL. IRREGULAR MIGRATION CANNOT BE STUDIED IN ISOLATION. INSTEAD, IT HAS TO BE TREATED IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIO-POLITICAL PROBLEMS THAT POSE CHALLENGES BOTH TO IRREGULAR MIGRANTS THEMSELVES AND TO IMMIGRATION SYSTEMS.

KEY AREAS OF WORK

COMPAS over the past ten years has done a lot of work on this fascinating and contentious issue. In this section we particularly pick up the projects that we have conducted in the second phase of COMPAS' work.

Düvell and Vollmer's *CLANDESTINO* project, and their follow-up work on 'the fundamental rights situation of irregular immigrants in the EU (*FRIM*)', generated data and insights into the scale of irregular migration and assessed the impacts of restricted rights. Düvell expanded the scope of irregular migration studies with his research and publications on the external borders of the EU and on transit migration through Ukraine and Turkey. He is currently working with Cherti investigating UK immigration enforcement, its impact and limitations.

Spencer and Hughes are mapping entitlements to health and education and the rationale for that continuing provision as part of a project on service provision to irregular migrants across the EU. Spencer and Price's projects on housing and welfare provision given to family migrants without recourse to public funds in the UK, Spain and Germany explores the basis of variations in municipal practices towards meeting their basic needs.

WHAT HAS THIS TOLD US?

The *CLANDESTINO* project made four key contributions to our understanding of irregular migration. First, it critically explored sources of data and estimates of irregular migration and, in particular, the validity and reliability of the data and methods used in their production. It found that numbers are usually based on low quality data and are often exaggerated. Second, it

analysed pathways into irregularity, such as the reasons for, and ways in which, migrants become irregular, finding that the main pathway is visa overstaying followed by absconding asylum seekers and legal and administrative failure generating irregularity. Clandestine entry is the least numerically significant pathway. Third, it analysed policies and discourses (e.g. 'number games') on irregular migration and found plenty of misconceptions. Finally, it has developed ethical guidelines for the research of irregular migration.

The *FRIM* research identified a number of areas that require action, including, among other things, the need to: address the fundamental rights of migrants in an irregular situation who have been given a return decision but who have not been removed; have mechanisms in place that put an end to situations of legal limbo deriving from protracted circumstances of non-removability; avoid non-action as well as disproportionate measures which undermine access by irregular migrants to basic rights when detecting and apprehending irregular migrants (such as apprehensions near schools or hospitals and reporting requirements by social service providers); and remove legal and practical obstacles that make it difficult or impossible for migrants in an irregular situation to seek justice (for instance, when they are exploited or abused by employers).

Emerging findings from Spencer and Price's research indicate that a small but nevertheless significant number of families to whom such statutory duties are owed are irregular migrants – whose basic needs, where children are involved, need to be met. Delays at national government level in resolving their cases imposes responsibilities at the municipal level. It is a complex,

legalistic area of social work practice, with considerable tension between the various actors involved – local and central government, and voluntary sector advocates – with outcomes for service users varying from one local authority to the next. Spencer and Hughes' study has revealed sharply differing levels of entitlements to services across the EU, differing rationales and priorities reflected in national and local level decision making, and highlighted the contrast between Guiraudon's 'sunshine politics' of immigration control and the less public 'shadow politics' of granting migrant entitlements to meet their basic needs.

ACADEMIC AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THIS WORK

- The above projects have influenced research and policy on a number of levels, offering:
- Critical interrogation of assumptions about irregular migrants and a challenge to the policy discourse in the field by providing a more accurate picture of pertinent issues (for example, by establishing that there are fewer irregular migrants than previously assumed and that they are less likely to be clandestine entrants than visa overstayers).
 - Introduction of new terms and frameworks to discuss irregular migration.
 - A re-balancing of enforcement and rights protection.
 - Highlighting of new socio-legal research agendas relating to the tension between European human rights standards and actual entitlements, on the one hand, and between those entitlements and national data protection rules which undermine them.

The projects' findings have been presented to various mixed and policy academic audiences (e.g. Metropolis, Eurocities, European Commission officials and the European Migration Network) as well as a wide range of influential bodies such as the EU Council's Strategic Committee for Immigration, Frontiers and Asylum (SCIFA) and the European Neighbourhood Policy conference. Düvell and Vollmer provided expert advice based on the *CLANDESTINO*, *FRIM* and *MigFringe* projects to the UK parliament, Austrian government's Refugee Fund, Swedish and Turkish authorities, a UK-German immigration officers' seminar, the British-Turkish High Level Forum, UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM, ICMPD, OSCE, Turkey, and the Zurich and Cologne city councils but also to Human Rights Watch, Medicines sans Frontieres, Pro Asyl and many others. For instance, the results have impacted on and changed or shaped policies on EU-level: the *CLANDESTINO* results have entered EU policy documents, the *FRIM* final report represents an EU-wide guideline to national authorities and *MigFringe* resulted in several NGO interventions in Ukraine and Turkey.

THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE

The governance of international migration in general and of irregular migration in the EU is inherently a multilateral concern. It is important therefore to assess the ways in which underlying economic, social, political, demographic and environmental processes can affect irregular migration (and in turn be affected by it). Irregular migration is thus a challenge of governance and not simply to governance. This is more than a semantic issue. It means that irregular migration is related to the underlying conditions that 'produce' it. There is a need to reframe the current approach to studying irregular migration in order to understand better how politics, society and law construct and contribute to the persistence of irregular migration. This also implies thinking about non-conventional approaches to prevent, reverse and reduce irregularity as well as, for cities in particular, how to manage the presence of irregular migrants in a community while they remain.

With increasingly stratified legal channels for migration to Europe and ever stricter border controls, there is a gradual shift of migration unwanted in the EU to its neighbours to the south (Morocco, Libya, and Turkey) and east (Ukraine, Serbia) who host increasing numbers of migrants and refugees under often precarious conditions. For instance, Turkey has in 2013 introduced a new migration and refugee law and it is imminent to study implementation and outcomes. Morocco is currently undergoing its first regularisation campaign for sub-Saharan immigrants. Such measure herald a shift from south-north to south-south migration, a migration transition from sending to receiving countries that signals changes to the global migration order which will be exciting to study. ■



Welfare

IN MANY HIGH-INCOME COUNTRIES – AND CURRENTLY WITHIN EUROPE IN PARTICULAR – QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN POVERTY, WELFARE STATES AND MIGRATION ARE CENTRAL TO DEBATES BOTH WITHIN THE ACADEMY AND IN WIDER PUBLIC ARENAS. COMPAS HAS BROUGHT TOGETHER SOCIOLOGISTS, LAWYERS, SOCIAL POLICY SCHOLARS, ANTHROPOLOGISTS, DEMOGRAPHERS AND ACADEMICS SPECIALISING IN PUBLIC POLICY AND POLITICS TO CONSIDER THESE QUESTIONS AND TO ANALYSE THE RAMIFICATIONS OF MIGRATION ON WELFARE POLICIES AND WELFARE RECIPIENTS, AND OF WELFARE POLICIES ON MIGRATION. THESE ISSUES HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED IN DEPTH AT THE GLOBAL, EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL LEVELS AS WELL AS IN SPECIFIC AREAS AND COMMUNITIES.

Against the backdrop of intense public debate about the need to rearticulate the welfare state, there is a strong challenge for social science scholarship to offer rigorous and objective evidence to inform national and international debates and policy development. COMPAS' work over the last decade has sought to generate evidence and offer informed and nuanced perspectives on the relationship between migration and welfare states within the context of wider social, political and economic change. It has scrutinised the significance of migrants' rights (and restrictions of those rights) in relation to integration, exposed the unintended consequences of policy making and brought to light tensions and trade-offs in migration policy-making. Finally, it has investigated issues emerging at the city level as the concrete sites in which national welfare policies are delivered. This progress marks the beginning of a long-term research agenda and points towards new lines of research which will help in the analysis of how 21st century European welfare states can respond to migration.

CONTEXT

European welfare states are undergoing a period of flux, with implications for international migration. Broad societal changes, including increased female participation in labour markets and transformative demographics, create an increasing demand for migrant labour, driven by both a limited availability of social care workers, and greater care demands of an ageing population. Yet simultaneously, in a time of austerity, the sustainability of the current welfare state model is questioned.

Within such contexts there is heightened popular and political scrutiny of immigration, and the place of migrants within the welfare state is contested. Some academics posit that migration structurally challenges the very idea of the welfare state: the increased diversity of the population undermines the solidarity and political consensus necessary for its successful functioning. This argument supports the demand that migrants' rights be revisited and even contracted. On the other hand, the national interest rationale has to fit within the macro economic reality of a globalising world with increasingly integrated markets and migration flows to accommodate differential labour market needs. Research examining the complex relationship between migration and welfare is in its infancy; existing research on social policy and comparative welfare states fails to deal adequately with immigration as a key driver.

KEY AREAS OF WORK

Provision of care

COMPAS research on *Migrant Careworkers in Ageing Societies* helped to advance nuanced understandings of the relationship between migrants and the welfare state. This collaborative project, funded by Atlantic Philanthropies and the Nuffield Foundation, investigated the contribution that migrant care workers make in the UK, Ireland, the US and Canada, focusing on migrants working as carers for older people in residential and nursing homes and private households.

The research was novel for a number of reasons. First, it challenged the overriding focus of labour migration research on highly skilled workers. Second, it explored the social welfare determinants of migration, outlining the demand for low-skilled care labour as driven by the needs of underfunded social care systems in Northern welfare states. In line with COMPAS' agenda to develop new ways of studying migration, this research exposed factors such as low pay and anti-social hours within the health and social care sector as driving the in-migration of care workers. The labour migration of care workers was thus a symptom of larger structural factors within the care sector of older people. Third, it drew attention to the ways in which such workers entered through other channels (for instance, as international students) demonstrating the interdependency of migration channels. And finally, it demonstrated the need for collaboration with researchers in ageing, healthcare and demography in an inter-disciplinary analysis far richer and more nuanced than possible within migration studies alone.

INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

Cities: delivering and governing welfare services

COMPAS research over the past ten years has been unique in highlighting the important role of cities as the sites in which welfare provision is delivered. Our research in this field has made a major contribution to exposing the tensions that exist between cities and national governments which are driven by differing imperatives; national governments according greater priority to border enforcement in contrast to local government's greater concern for the welfare and cohesion of all its residents regardless of immigration status.

To advance understanding of the role of cities in welfare state delivery, COMPAS has developed relationships with academics and policy experts within many European cities. It was one of five European research centres working with 25 European cities in the EU funded *Cities for Local Integration Policies (CLIP)*. This unique collaboration enabled cities to explore, record and share learning from their experiences in relation to integration, COMPAS (Spencer) leading its work on equality and diversity in city employment and service provision. Exposing the very differing approaches taken by cities which, as major employers and service providers, had considerable capacity to have a direct impact on integration, the project engendered new thinking among city participants while publishing for a wider audience. The research also demonstrated, however, that there are certain areas of key import for integration - in particular, housing - in which cities have limited control.



Rearticulating the relationship between migrants and the welfare state

An early contribution of COMPAS research was to investigate linear narratives depicting migrants solely as a burden and instead provide evidence of their contribution to national and local economies. The *Changing Status, Changing Lives?* project demonstrated that the group of new migrants from accession states, had higher employment rates than British people and very low dependency on benefits. The fact that they were generally younger meant also that their use of healthcare services was minimal so the demands on the welfare state were few but contribution to it significant, not least in the care sector.

The research exposed other unanticipated consequences of intra-EU mobility. When accession rights were granted, there was no strategy for migrants' social integration within the UK. The (marginal) policy focus of the time was on refugee integration, with no anticipation that white, working migrants would have integration needs of their own. The research demonstrated that workers exercising free movement rights with the EU faced similar integration challenges to other migrants. They had a limited understanding of how basic services such as healthcare and education worked, and although they wished to learn English, they were not able to attend ESOL courses and, much to their regret, experienced very little social contact and opportunities for developing relationships with British people.

A second stream of work relating to welfare concerned those migrants subject to tight controls on accessing welfare support, whether because of their irregular migration status or because their status requires them to have *'No recourse to public funds'*. We have referred to this in the section on irregular migration.

Other research at COMPAS shows the importance of going beyond the ethnicity focus of much mainstream research and policy on welfare, in order to identify the migration factors that influence the health status, health behaviour and access to healthcare of migrants. Secondary analysis of migrant mothers in the *UK Millennium Cohort Study* contributes new insights on the relationship between migration, ethnicity and length of residence impacting on the health of migrants.

Do migrants rights affect integration?

Another key question in contemporary debates about migration and welfare relates to the extent to which migrants' social and economic rights are fundamental or marginal to their integration. COMPAS research has substantially increased understanding of how policy regimes in EU countries affect the integration of individuals and families, having investigated the impact of entitlements and restrictions on migrants in relation to accessing education, welfare benefits, social housing, healthcare and, work.

The IMPACIM project (Impact of Admission Criteria on the Integration of Migrants) funded by the European Integration Fund, highlighted a range of unintended consequences of housing, education and welfare restrictions in four European states (Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and the UK). It demonstrated for example that restrictions on accessing support can disproportionately affect women and expose them to risks of "legalised" exploitation within spousal relationships on which their immigration status depends. The project first explored the European legal framework and differing welfare regimes in its four countries of study as the backdrop to which the rights of migrants from outside Europe must be understood. That approach exemplifies the COMPAS perspective that analysing the impact of migrant rights regimes on integration cannot be divorced from an understanding of wider factors, including the cultural logics of the welfare state and legal frameworks within which rights regimes are embedded.

Where international and national laws place great emphasis on the principle of equality of opportunity, the very existence of restrictions on migrants' rights requires explanation. On what grounds can these restrictions be deemed lawful, not discriminating on grounds of nationality or immigration status? COMPAS work has begun to explore this question, finding that in law any restrictions must be for a legitimate aim and, crucially, proportional to that aim. Yet European governments have rarely felt the need to state their reasons nor the evidence on which the laws are based.

Trade-offs

COMPAS' welfare research is also distinctive in drawing attention, as in its work on labour migration, to the trade-offs emerging in migration policy development. It is evident that emerging migration and integration policies are the outcome of contested, conflicting policy imperatives played out in debates between government departments and between government at the local, devolved and national level.

Such trade-offs have been exposed in COMPAS research on the provisions granted to irregular migrants, exploring the tensions apparent in managing their presence within European communities. A project funded by the Nuffield Foundation explores local authorities' response to migrants with *'No Recourse to Public Funds'*. The work has interrogated the reasons why states at national and local levels find it necessary to provide some support and access to services, going beyond the requirements of European human rights standards. And why sometimes, economic and social imperatives, such as public health and crime prevention, can trump those of immigration control. Outcomes of the research will impact on debates on the place of migration in welfare states, a process already begun at EU and city level.

EMERGING FUTURE AGENDAS

New philosophies driving social policy development have significant implications for migrants. There is increasing focus on social investment and neo-liberal 'responsibilisation' within new welfare states, departing from notions of dependency in favour of people 'activating' and being supported to help themselves. Such notions are already apparent in immigration entry policies which restrict access to those who can demonstrate economic self-sufficiency. Yet these developments provoke unanswered questions about how far these new values (e.g. which might assume dual-worker households) and policies affect migrants and their families. Such questions can only be answered with careful, considerate research focussing on the specific interplay between immigrant rights regimes and family policies (such as childcare support and housing and tax benefits). For some low-skilled workers moving within the global south to higher income countries social protection is poor. A new project on the impact of not having health insurance on the health of Sri Lankan women domestic workers migrating to Gulf countries aims to explore such issues. It is our aim at COMPAS to chart the unknown territory of these intersections and measure their impacts.

Furthermore, the new imperative to restructure the welfare state implies cutting costs and justifies shrinking the 'safety net'. Such developments will require further attention on the actual provision offered within various sectors (such as health services, housing and welfare support) to irregular migrants. It calls for attention to the differing welfare delivery priorities of local state/cities, the tension between restrictions on entitlements and the international human rights legal framework, and the trade-offs between the range of socio-economic imperatives which shape migration and integration policymaking.

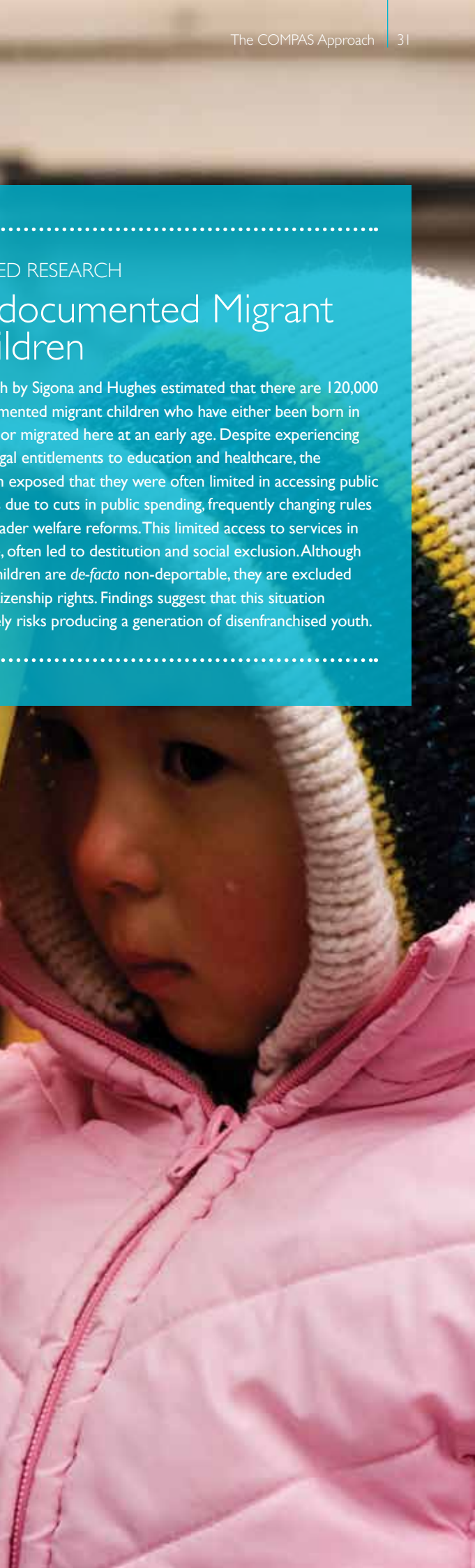
Finally, in interrogating the implications of the transforming welfare state, COMPAS will develop research into the role of migrants within a changing 'horizontal' mix of welfare provision that comprises different actors (markets, state, voluntary sector and families) in contexts of care service revision. Within the UK, such shifts have precipitated an evident crisis in social care, with concerns about the quality and affordability of care across multiple sectors of childcare, adult social care, disability care and care for older people.

This transforming playing field requires novel approaches to rethink the role of migrants within care services. COMPAS research has led the way in exploring the role of migrants as careworkers for older people, but knowledge gaps remain in other areas, including attention to migrants' role in adult social care (for disability and mental health care etc.) Future COMPAS research will need to look at migrant roles in the changing landscape of care services, with a renewed attention to migrants on both sides of the care equation. This entails attention to them as both providers and users of services, who are restricted or enabled by multiple influences (including labour market policies, rights regimes and cultural knowledge) to illuminate their place within European and global welfare states in the 21st century. ■

APPLIED RESEARCH

Undocumented Migrant Children

Research by Sigona and Hughes estimated that there are 120,000 undocumented migrant children who have either been born in the UK or migrated here at an early age. Despite experiencing some legal entitlements to education and healthcare, the research exposed that they were often limited in accessing public services due to cuts in public spending, frequently changing rules and broader welfare reforms. This limited access to services in practice, often led to destitution and social exclusion. Although these children are *de-facto* non-deportable, they are excluded from citizenship rights. Findings suggest that this situation ultimately risks producing a generation of disenfranchised youth.



Migrant Integration

COMPAS UNDERSTANDS INTEGRATION AS A SET OF PROCESSES THAT OCCUR FROM THE MOMENT A MIGRANT ARRIVES, THAT HAPPEN IN A SERIES OF DIFFERENT DOMAINS, INCLUDING SOCIO-ECONOMIC INCLUSION, SOCIAL INTERACTION, CIVIC PARTICIPATION, CULTURAL INTEGRATION, AND LOCAL AND NATIONAL BELONGING (SPENCER 2011), ENGAGING MIGRANTS AS WELL AS THE INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE ESTABLISHED COMMUNITY. PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY CUT ACROSS A RANGE OF SPHERES OF LIFE, ITS ANALYSIS HAS CROSS-CUT OUR CLUSTERS OF WORK, AND SHOWN THE VALUE OF OUR INTER-DISCIPLINARY AND COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH MODEL. SUCCESSIVE UK GOVERNMENTS HAVE TURNED TO COMPAS FOR SUPPORT IN DEVELOPING A ROBUST FRAMEWORK FOR NEW POLICY, SINCE 2001 WHEN COMPAS WON A TENDER FROM THE HOME OFFICE TO MAP THE FIELD. SURVEYING 3,200 BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES, THIS WAS ONE OF COMPAS' FIRST SIGNIFICANT PROJECTS, AND THE SUBSEQUENT REPORT BY STEPHEN CASTLES, MAJA KORAC, ELLIE VASTA AND STEVEN VERTOVEC HAS BEEN HEAVILY CITED IN INTEGRATION RESEARCH AND POLICY EVER SINCE.

PROJECTS

COMPAS has led or participated in several research projects funded by the UK Home Office, European Union and OECD to investigate and contribute to policy-making across the domains of integration. COMPAS has completed a major survey for the Home Office on the integration of Britain's new citizens. Projects described elsewhere in this report – *AMICALL*, *CLIP*, *IMPACIM*, *UpStream*, *MIPEX*, *Concordia Discors* and *EUMIA* – have explored the local and regional dimensions of integration, including what constitutes good practice, how migrants and settled populations interact on a day-to-day basis, and what role local leadership can play in meeting the integration challenge. These projects have been innovative in drawing together different disciplinary approaches – from policy science to ethnography – as well in actively engaging policy-makers, city leaders and migration communities in the research process, and in developing a 'whole community' approach to integration, focussing on the role of receiving society and its institutions.

WHAT HAS THIS TOLD US?

Our work on integration has revealed the multi-dimensional nature of the phenomenon, showing that no dimension can adequately be grasped in isolation. It has demonstrated the importance of the rights and responsibilities – the legal frameworks – underpinning the very possibility of integration. It has shown the need for qualitative research on the everyday life of migrants and non-migrants as they interact over time in real places, a frequently missing element of integration studies. It has recognised the growing significance of religious faith in diasporic migrant association and transnational links in processes of integration.

THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE

Key challenges remain for the field, building on our insights from the last decade. Problems of comparison and translation challenge our ability to develop cross-European integration policy. The relationships between integration's domains remains little understood and under-conceptualised, as do the role of its legal

foundations. A further shift in focus is required, from migrants' duties (and on particular ethnic groups) to the whole of society. Place matters, and we need to go further beyond the nation state in conceptualising integration. And methodological innovation continues in understanding the everyday, longitudinal, spatial and comparative dynamics and dimensions of integration.

ACADEMIC AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

COMPAS has been at the forefront of UK and European debates about integration over the last decade. Michael Keith sat on the government's Commission on Integration and Cohesion in the wake of the 7/7 bombings. Sarah Spencer has advised UK governments and EU officials. A team led by

Ben Gidley provided an evidence base and policy framework for the Mayor of London's strategy on migrant integration. Sarah Spencer's book *The Migration Debate* opened up a public conversation that has dominated commentary in recent years. And in 2013, COMPAS co-organised the All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism's symposium and subsequent book on 'Integration, Disadvantage & Extremism', organised jointly by COMPAS and the Pears Institute, with speakers including Baroness Sayeeda Warsi, John Mann MP, Ben Gidley, Anthony Heath and Vidhya Ramalingam. ■



Urban Change and Settlement

MORE THAN 50% OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION NOW LIVE IN CITIES AND THIS IS GROWING BY THE DECADE. CITIES IN BOTH THE GLOBAL NORTH AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH ARE EXPERIENCING NEW PATTERNS OF CULTURAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC SUPER-DIVERSITY. THE GROWTH OF THE CITIES OF THE WORLD REFRAMES OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOCIAL, THE ECONOMIC AND THE POLITICAL. GLOBAL MIGRATION-DRIVEN DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSFORMATIONS HAVE REMADE OUR SOCIETY AND CREATE NEW CHALLENGES FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: IT IS TIME TO CHALLENGE ASSUMPTIONS AROUND MOVEMENT AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS, AND TO DEVELOP AN UNDERSTANDING OF EMERGENT URBANISMS AND EVERYDAY SOCIAL INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE MOBILE AND THE SETTLED, AS WELL AS OF HOW SOCIAL RELATIONS ARE NEGOTIATED, MODIFIED, CHALLENGED AND REPRODUCED IN CHANGING CITY CONTEXTS.

COMPAS has developed innovative work in a number of key areas. Steven Vertovec introduced a new grammar of 'super-diversity' to understand contemporary urban demography; Sarah Spencer has led a network of scholars in developing vital evidence-based interventions in the governance of diversity in European cities; and Oxford social scientists have been at the forefront of efforts to map and understand the changing contours of diversity in the UK's neighbourhoods, towns and regions.

CONTEXT

It is not states in which migrants arrive: it is places, and most often metropolitan spaces, characterised by the most brutal forms of exclusion and hostility and the most intense forms of conviviality and cultural creativity. Thus our era's mass uprooting and urbanisation of the world's population calls us to conceptualise core political categories, such as citizenship, belonging, integration and cohesion. The liberal philosophical heritage of national citizenship and more recent vocabularies of multiculturalism have proved inadequate as guides to the politics of the city. Methodological nationalism has created a literature constrained by its emphasis on national "models" of integration. New languages of interculturalism and cohesion are emerging but remain untested. The challenge to which

COMPAS work has responded is to interrogate the field of integration and cohesion from an urbanist perspective (drawing on a range of disciplines including geography, anthropology, planning and architecture) to adequately reflect the multiple frames and scales at which these changes occur.

KEY AREAS OF WORK

From transnationalism to superdiversity: rethinking diversity and multicultural

Our era's complex new geography of diversity exceeds the orthodox understandings that social science has built up. Within the first years of ESRC funding COMPAS scholars developed the conception of 'super-diversity', to refer to the multiplication of axes of difference which render old demographic categories obsolete. This concept has profoundly changed social science thinking in the UK and increasingly globally, and facilitated dialogue across the disciplinary boundaries between migration studies and the sociology of race and ethnicity. Building on the insights of the earlier *Transnational Communities* programme, research highlighting the pluralisation of everyday diversities of migration status, ethnicity and religious affiliation, introduced a new conceptual vocabulary to social science. The research argued that in contrast to models



of 'race relations' between a limited number of clearly defined ethnic minorities, British cities were characterised by multiple forms of migrant identity, association and belonging that developed dense, highly localised networks while sustaining transnational links to sending societies.

Further research on recent Muslim migrants in local areas of large-scale Muslim residence in England contributed to this strand by showing the inter-connection between race, ethnicity and religion in perceptions of discrimination, the multiplicity of everyday interactions across religion and ethnicity, and a sense of belonging to the UK co-existing with strong attachment to countries of origin structured according to gender and length of residence.

In the same period, COMPAS has addressed at first hand policy dilemmas of migrant integration. By recognising the city was increasingly a privileged site of regimes of citizenship and registers of affective belonging, ethnographic work in London has showed that diasporic religious faith restructures associations between migrants, and that policies of migrant integration need to be redesigned in the light of these emergent patterns. Faith-based social movements in London and new religious identifications reflected 'new' faith-based transnational geopolitical identifications more than 'old' ethnic identities and needed to be understood in terms of their 'glocalised' links between globalised networks and local associations.

A collaborative transnational project, *Concordia Discors*, that COMPAS has been involved in with has explored quotidian inter-group relations in eleven neighbourhoods in five European cities, augmenting ethnography with other methods. Various members of COMPAS staff have been

APPLIED RESEARCH

Integration, super-diversity and the politics of residence

Research by Vertovec, Spencer, Keith, Gidley and Jayaweera based at COMPAS directly influenced the formulation of UK (central and local government) and European policy frameworks on migration and integration.

In the 1980s and 1990s the social consequences of post war migration to the United Kingdom were managed through a framework of 'race relations' institutions nationally and locally. The Commission for Racial Equality and local community relations councils funded by the Home Office were supported by the race equality powers devolved to local government. This dominant policy framework was challenged by COMPAS' work.

Vertovec's formulation of super-diversity was central to the thinking of the *Commission on Integration and Cohesion*, which was constituted in response to the bombings in London in July 2005. The Commission (on which Keith was the senior academic member) highlighted the interplay of global flows (of culture and people) and localised diversities and the need to reform policy on the integration of migrant minorities, focusing on structures of local governance and an understanding of new diasporic identities, particularly those shaped by religious faith.

Recommendations made by the Commission were subsequently adopted by the Brown government when UK migrant integration policy was reformed in 2008. In addition, the new principles of integration were adopted by the Housing Corporation (the principal funder of social housing subsidy in the UK 1964-2008) when they were drafting policies for new build housing estates.

working on a collaborative visual ethnography in a South London neighbourhood, and have started to ask what the implications of this kind of work are for state and non-state local welfare providers.

This focus was echoed in the policy-oriented research examining the developing practices of municipal response to super-diversity. The pluralisation of migrant and minority identities and circumstances highlights the localised specificities of integration processes. It found that flexible structures of local governance are often best placed both to understand the complexity of global networks and local processes structuring the outcomes of migration and the responses to receiving societies.

The new European city

The face of Europe’s cities has changed beyond recognition in the last decade, with previous emigration states becoming immigration states. COMPAS work, informed by the super-diversity framework, has played a major role in the development of integration in Europe, especially at a municipal level. COMPAS has contributed to the CLIP project, a European consortium of cities and researchers considering the role of local government in migrant integration, with the results cited both by the European Commission and by cities across the continent as vital in clarifying and reshaping municipal approaches.

The influence of COMPAS research has also been seen in the subsequent commissioning of a series of projects by the European Integration Fund programme that specifically translate research knowledge into policy practice. This has included projects such as *AMICALL* and *IMPACIM*, led by COMPAS researchers, on local leadership and migration and on the impact of restrictions and entitlements on the integration of migrants, respectively. And it has included transnational projects in which COMPAS has been a partner, such as *Concordia Discors* on migrant integration outcomes at the neighbourhood level, *UpStream* on mainstreaming migrant integration, *WORK>INT* on the workplace as a site of integration, and *MIPEX* on comparatively monitoring integration policies.

New cartographies of diversity

Alongside this European work, COMPAS researchers have engaged close up with the dynamics of migration-led settlement patterns within the UK, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Migration-driven demographic change has created a new UK in which our old contact zones are experiencing an intensification of diversity, while previously homogeneous areas are experiencing profound proportionate changes generating new frontiers of difference. Not only is super-diversity intensifying within the inner city – a pattern confirmed by our analysis of the 2011 Census – but other socio-spatial dynamics are in motion too. In outer London, the suburbanisation of settled migrants has led to areas formerly associated with

“white flight” becoming multi-ethnic, which generates new challenges for cohesion – as can be seen in the electoral advances of the far right in the London Borough of Barking and Dagenham or in parts of exurban West. The contrast between these dynamics, and the different policy challenges arising for them, were described in detail in an important 2010 report commissioned by the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, as an evidence base for his London Enriched strategy for migrants in the capital.

Across the UK a range of new forms of diversity are emerging in different locations. The Migration Observatory has developed an ambitious programme of regional census analyses to track these processes. COMPAS has also assisted Home Office Science in its attempts to develop a new typology for understanding local variations in migration impact, research which drew heavily on Migration Observatory analysis and our *London Enriched* study.

EMERGING FUTURE AGENDAS

Five core challenges for both science and policy arise from this work, which set our agenda in the coming period:

Developing innovative methods for researching super-diversity: Super-diversity remains under-theorised and in its dissemination is used increasingly fuzzily. Our challenge remains to think through the conceptual underpinnings, empirical evidence, epistemological challenges and policy implications of super-diversity. What is the nature of new diversity, and how is it different from the old? How can we describe emerging realities and track changes over the long term when our standard demographic categories are increasingly obsolete? What tools are needed to represent and visualise these changes? A better analysis of micro-level conviviality and conflict requires both a more sophisticated collaborative ethnographic methodology and an interdisciplinary effort that builds on the learning in the spatial sciences as well as sociology and anthropology, but will in turn transform the disciplines.

Comparative urbanism, the European city: How do we shape political community in an era where the architecture of governance needs to reflect the plural scales of neighbourhood, municipality and nation? How do the social dynamics of city life inflect national integration policies? How do cities learn integration policies from each other? How do migrant urbanisms interact with other dynamics of city change in Europe such as urban regeneration, gentrification, deindustrialisation, new forms of economic growth? What makes a resilient, cosmopolitan, cohesive neighbourhood and city?

A deeper historical and wider geographical framing of urban diversity: Social scientific languages for understanding urban diversity – including Vertovec’s

own super-diversity framing – have focused on a limited number of contemporary cities. Arguably, this creates a Western-centric and “presentist” framing of the issues. We need to attend to other urbanisms and alternative cosmopolitanisms: multiculturalism across time and space. Recovering these narratives will help overcome scholarly limitations and, in the policy field, a historically shallow anti-diversity backlash.

Servicing super-diversity, welfare provision and demographic change: Demographic change has enormous impact on governance and service provision at a micro-local level – the quotidian policy challenges faced by municipal and sub-municipal authorities as a result of an increasingly heterogeneous population. Research in this area is not usually sufficiently linked to the kind of ethnographic understanding of local realities we are suggesting. Involving service providers and users in research (including research design) can enable us to better understand the regimes of justification (by belonging, by need) that structure welfare responses to diversity – but such approaches require a radical re-thinking of current social policy methodologies.

Sustainable cities and care for the future: Finally, urban formations in the rising powers, including new patterns of urban informality, generate the challenge of how to calibrate the global governance of migration with the development of sustainable cities. We need to develop a better conceptualisation of resilience, which includes a better understanding of how we can live with difference in the cities of the future. ■

INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

Global migration and the future of the right to the city

As well as work on super-diversity and integration in UK and European cities, COMPAS has worked at a global level, as part of the Oxford Programme on the Future of Cities. This includes Keith’s work on Chinese and Indian urbanism, orienting migration studies away from South-North migration flows and to South-South flow and especially the largest movement humanity has seen – from the country to the city in modern China. Keith has advised high-level policy dialogue in this field, working with the World Bank and the Cities Alliance to generate new models of urban governance fit for purpose in the age of migration.

Keith’s 2013 book *China Constructing Capitalism* argues that not only is China constructing capitalism, but it is also constructing urbanism. This can be seen in the emergence of ‘local state capitalism’: a step change in flows of capital and labour to the cities that demands: new institutions of social control, the power of municipally-linked private entrepreneurs, complex property laws, experimental forms of autonomous sub-national governance, and the transition from (work-based) *danwei* order of rights to (residential) *xiaoqu*-based dwelling in the city and the path-dependent significance of the *hukou* (local citizenship) rights regime.



Innovative methods

THE RAPIDLY CHANGING DYNAMICS OF MIGRATION REQUIRE METHODOLOGICAL INNOVATION. AS THIS REPORT SHOWS, DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSFORMATION MOVES MIGRATION STUDIES FROM A SUB-DISCIPLINE TO THE CENTRE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, AS MIGRATION CHALLENGES THE CONCEPTUAL FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC THINKING. WE HAVE ARGUED IN THE REPORT FOR THE NEED TO DEVELOP AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH, RECOGNISING DISCIPLINES' EPISTEMOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES, TESTING THEIR LIMITATIONS WHILE BUILDING ON THEIR FINDINGS AND INSIGHTS. THIS IS WHAT COMPAS HAS DONE IN THE LAST DECADE, UTILISING AND SYNTHESISING THE STRENGTHS OF QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE APPROACHES.

PROJECTS

Although COMPAS projects have also used robust, tried and tested mainstream methodologies at the core of our social science traditions, we have also sought to push the boundaries of what these methodologies can do.

In some projects, unusual collaborations between different approaches have yielded new insights. For example, in the *Migrant Care Workers* project, Alessio Cangiano's finely tuned demographic research was deployed alongside policy analysis and in-depth interviews with workers to give a much richer picture of the migration-aging nexus, part of a larger ambition to track new regimes of fertility and mobility that generate new welfare challenges.

In several of our projects ('*Welfare, neighbourhood and new geographies of diversity*' and '*EUMIA*', for example), ethnographic researchers from anthropological and sociological backgrounds have worked alongside visual artists, and in particular photographers.

In other projects, we have sought to develop new tools and techniques. Scott Blinder has led projects using laboratory-based experimental work to understand prejudice and messaging, as well as on massive scale Big Data work on media discourses on migration. Several of our projects, particularly in our Dynamics and Flows cluster, mirroring larger patterns of human mobility, have developed multi-sited research strategies, working in both sending and receiving contexts. The *EUMAGINE* project, for example, worked in a series of sending countries using complex new sampling techniques to access hard to reach populations. Other projects have developed participatory research forms, as with the Neighbourhood Forum tools used in *Concordia Discors* or the peer research strategy used in the *Undocumented Migrant Children* project.

ACADEMIC AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

As well as using new methods, we have also faced the challenge of communicating about this to wider publics. The Migration Observatory has worked with a range of stakeholders, from media to schools, to make scientific analysis of migration data more accessible to non-academic users - for example, partnering with the Office for National Statistics to train stakeholders across the regions to use the new Census data, or creating web tools to allow lay communities to make their own charts and maps.

Our analysis of migration data has therefore helped bring clarity to public migration debates, on topics such as Accession migration, Scottish nationhood or the net migration cap, helping decision-makers better understand the costs and benefits of trade-offs.

THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE

All of these forms of methodological innovation open up new research agendas and generate questions to answer empirically. How can we better model population change, at all the geographical scales we work in, including in ways that are useful for those public bodies charged with providing governance and welfare to constantly shifting and rapidly changing populations? What are the best ways to map and visualise these changes? The categories used in official statistics are in many cases no longer fit for purpose for these challenges, and work remains on understanding who counts as a migrant as well as how they are counted. These are the challenges at the heart of the Migration Observatory's unfolding research agenda. ■



Selected COMPAS Publications

BELOW IS LIST OF SELECTED PUBLICATIONS PRODUCED BY COMPAS STAFF FROM 2005-2013, SORTED BY CLUSTER THEME. FOR A COMPLETE LIST PLEASE REFER TO THE COMPAS WEBSITE.

www.compas.ox.ac.uk

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Credits

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COMPAS is part of the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography at the University of Oxford. The School is renowned for its contributions to anthropological theory, its commitment to long-term ethnographic fieldwork, and its association with the Pitt Rivers Museum and the anthropology of visual and material culture.

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All photographs are from past COMPAS photo competitions

1. (front cover) Donna Tsaneva, 'Infrastructure Facilitating The Migration Flux', shortlisted, 2013

2. Yasmin Samie, 'The Shop', shortlisted, 2013

3. Suzie Prior, first place, 2009

4. Agnieszka Rydzik, 'Life in Motion', shortlisted, 2010

5. Lubaib Gazir, 'The Busy City Life', shortlisted, 2013

6. Jennifer Watts, 'Finding Your Place in the Mist', shortlisted, 2011

7. Sam Strickland, 'Khadija Bangura (6 yrs) carries a packet of water through the Kroo Bay slum in Freetown, Sierra Leone', joint second place, 2010

8. Amara Hark-Weber, 'I Walk Between the Lines', winner, 2008

9. Juliet Davies, 'The Great Divide', second place, 2009

10. Patrice Holdenback, 'Wingtip Metaphor', 2008

11. Bastian Vollmer, 2008

12. Martin Coyne, 'Jerusalem', first place, 2011

13. Bharat Patel, 'Waiting', first place, 2010

14. Themba Lewis, 'Transit', 2008

15. Dionysis Kouris, 'Transit in Columbia', 2010

16. Crina Boros, 'About the Future', shortlisted, 2012

17. Sandra McGrath, 'Hopes and Dreams', second place, 2012

18. Sarah Crake, '24/7', shortlisted, 2013

19. Besim Can Zirh, 'Hackney Boys', third place, 2009

20. Sarah Crake, 'Homeward Bound', shortlisted, 2012

21. Sam Ivin, 'Pakistan Portrait', shortlisted, 2013

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'The mission of COMPAS is to conduct high quality research in order to develop theory and knowledge, inform policy-making and public debate, and engage users of research within the field of migration.'

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