

PRESS RELEASE: Further information

New study shows racial mixing, not segregation, in the UK

Embargo: 02.00am Tuesday 15 November 2005

1. Main results 1
2. Summary of presentation to be delivered 16 November: attributable to Dr Ludi Simpson 3
3. Further information about the conference and about Dr Ludi Simpson 8
4. National tabulations, also available online from 8am on 15 November at: www.ccsr.ac.uk/research/migseg.htm 9
5. Regional and city profiles in a separate document, also available online from 8am on November 15 at: www.ccsr.ac.uk/research/migseg.htm

Dr Ludi Simpson is available for interview on Monday November 14. Please contact Jon Keighren, Media Relations Manager, The University of Manchester on 0161 275 8384. jon.keighren@manchester.ac.uk

1. Main results

(a) More mixing

- The number of mixed neighbourhoods (electoral wards) increased from 864 to 1,070 in the ten years between the last two censuses of 1991 and 2001. There will be at least 1,300 mixed neighbourhoods by 2011 – one in five throughout England.
- Racial mixing of the most human type – in the same household – has increased by 20 per cent in ten years. It will increase much more. There are four times more mixed-ethnic children than adults.

(b) No retreat or White flight

- What the census counts as Non-White residents are on balance leaving inner cities rather than moving to them. There is no doubt that this represents dispersal, not retreat or self-segregation. This applies to the

Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations as well as to the Indian and Caribbean populations.

- More non-White residents leave areas where Whites are a minority than do White residents. For this reason, White flight is a misnomer.

(c) Natural population growth

- The proportion of non-White population has increased in many neighbourhoods. This is not due to migration to them, but to adults having children, just like adults do.
- Fertility has reduced rapidly from the high levels associated with immigrant families.
- It is the youthfulness of immigrant workers and therefore their low mortality which has caused population growth, not high fertility, and not further immigration.
- The natural growth of each minority ethnic group will continue until those born overseas are a small proportion of the whole. This will be at least 30 years for the Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani populations of Britain.
- There are only 14 neighbourhoods in Britain where an ethnic group other than White is half of the population. In seven of these it is the Indian group that is the majority.

(d) New policy implications

- The local 'segregation' that has been measured and headlined is only the result of natural population growth. It is wrong to suggest that policy could or should change natural growth.
- Policy can put the housing and employment markets on a more equal footing, to encourage integration and common standards among all populations.

2. Summary of presentation to be delivered 16 November: attributable to Dr Ludi Simpson

The claims

Claims of dangerous levels of racial segregation in Britain were headlined and debated at the end of this summer. Accusations of 'self-segregation' and 'parallel lives' were first made in official reports after the riots in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford in 2001. They gained the momentum of a juggernaut earlier this year. In September Trevor Phillips, head of government's Commission for Racial Equality, warned that Britain was "sleepwalking to segregation", pointing to urban Asian ghettos in Bradford and London comparing them with Black ghettos of Chicago.

Coming soon after the July 7th bombings, which was expressly the starting point for Trevor Phillips' speech, the claims re-ignited policy concerns over both immigration and multiculturalism. It was suggested that tighter control on immigration was the only way to curtail growth of ghettos, and that the assimilation process is too slow. In the discussions that followed his high profile contributions, the rights of minorities to develop their cultures within Britain were seen as unhelpful, to say the least, to integration in British society.

Trevor Phillips speech to the Manchester Council for Community Relations talked about many aspects of people's lives. When talking of residential segregation he relied on an unpublished study of sixteen cities over the period 1991 to 2001, which found that London and Bradford were the home to the most isolated ethnic communities and that the growth of Asian enclaves went against the trend of greater mixing.

It is the suggestion that mixing and growth are two opposing trends which the current review of residential segregation and analyses of all 350 Districts in England and Wales shows to be incorrect. It has led to many false claims of lack of integration. The saving grace for British media and politics is that many

other commentators did not recognise the scary story portrayed in the media, among them Tariq Modood, Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, Ceri Peach, Murad Qureshi, Bhikhu Parek and Daniel Dorling. The MORI opinion poll for the BBC in August this year found that most Britons felt that multiculturalism made Britain a better place to live.

The demography of immigration

The growth of initial clusters of immigrant workers through chain migration is well-documented on every continent and through the centuries, and once established their subsequent migration to other areas. In Britain Jewish, Irish and other settlements of migrants developed in that way long before Britain's other colonies were linked to the post-war labour market here to produce Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese and African clusters and the census classification we have now.

What is happening is what we expect to happen from all that history: immigrant workers are young so their children are having children before the original immigrant workers are elderly. That means population growth; so every year there are more areas of Black and Asian population greater than any per cent you choose to think of. That is why, of the 14 wards in Britain with more than 50% of one census ethnic group, seven are Indian: it is the biggest group. In England during 1991-2001 this natural growth was more than the impact of immigration for each of the Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups.

After a time, housing is insufficient in the original settlement areas: there is simply not enough space. Some families move to areas nearby, or if they can afford it to better housing which is often further away. The rate of movement depends on all sorts of things - the importance of close-by cultural and faith facilities, suitability of school facilities, resources for the housing market and commuting, the attitudes of estate agents and of residents in other areas.

The census very clearly shows this movement away from areas of immigration. As a proportion of their population, Asian and White people are

both moving out of the original Asian settlement areas, and at a similar rate of 1-2% net a year. This dual dynamic of migration out at the same time as a growing population, has been documented and published both for the national picture, for each district in Britain, and has also been published in more detail in Bradford, Oldham and Rochdale by our own research programme. White flight is a myth; and much of White net out migration may be more about White people not going to Asian settlement areas rather than an unusual proportion leaving them. If there is no surplus housing, it is not surprising that new families are moving to those areas.

Measuring segregation

What then happens to segregation? Sociologists of the Chicago School first coined the segregation indices which are in general use these days, to measure the separation of Black and White populations. It is very relevant that those populations were not recent immigrant populations and were relatively settled in their residential patterns. The simplest index (of 'dissimilarity') measures whether one group is spread through areas in the same proportions as other groups. Given the demography of immigration, one would expect this to increase for a while, as in the early years of immigration children and new immigrants live only in the clusters around religious and other cultural facilities. When families begin to move elsewhere, the index of dissimilarity would then decrease, as it is now doing for all census groups in Britain except White. We're mixing more, that's the good news message.

The other main index (of 'isolation') measures the probability of meeting someone of your own group. The White group is the most isolated. In the places that most White people live there are very few people who are not White. Their index of isolation is about 93%, compared to 10% or under for every minority ethnic group. However, this index is bound to go up when the population of an minority ethnic group grows, because even if no-one moves, each person in that group is more likely to meet another of the same group. In the terms of the index of isolation, having babies increases isolation. Indices of isolation are indeed growing, and I am sure they will continue to do so for

many years, but they measure the growth of a population more than anything useful for policy in Britain.

Measuring dispersal and mixing

'Segregation' as measured isn't amenable to policy change at all. We don't tell people not to have children. It is of much more use to understand how and why people are moving. There are three research results that are very clear here.

First, the migration patterns of White and other groups are very similar, involving families and middle aged people moving out of inner cities, and moving further when they can afford the housing and commuting costs. There are 118 electoral wards in England with a minority White population. In the year before the census there were more non-White people who left those areas than White people who left them.

In each major city, there is dispersal of the minority ethnic populations, not retreat: more minority ethnic residents left their inner areas than came to them.

Second, there is much more mixing in Britain and that will continue. The number of mixed neighbourhoods (electoral wards) of England increased from 864 to 1,070 in the ten years between the last two censuses of 1991 and 2001. It will continue as dispersal continues.

It is true that there are more areas with a minority White population, but they are also mixed areas. As I have already mentioned, only 14 of the 118 minority White areas wards have a majority of a single group. In none of those areas does that single group reach as much as 75% of the population (compare the five thousands wards with over 98% White). And the mixing extends to the most intimate of indicators: there are twice as many children of mixed ethnic group aged 0-4 as aged 20-24. And lest you respond with stereotypes that this will be almost all Caribbean children, the census records

over 100 thousand children of Mixed Asian and White origin, and 158 thousand children of Mixed Caribbean and White origin.

Third, when one compares the minority White areas with mixed areas and with areas that are almost all White, one finds inequality is very similar in each type of area. Although those who have moved out of inner city immigrant settlement areas are generally those who are better off, in comparison to their White neighbours they have poor housing and employment outcomes. For example, male Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Caribbean unemployment is double the White rate in wards with mainly White residents, just as it is in inner city areas. This suggests that geography and ethnic mix is not the key to inequalities that commentators agree are the root of disquiet among young people.

Policy implications

This review of research and measurement of segregation shows that claims of dangerously increasing segregation are unfounded. Commentators have been misled by a numbers game which sees large numbers of Black and Asian people as a threat to integration. Those large populations are instead a result of Black and Asian communities in Britain 'coming of age', having families and making up a sizeable and settled proportion of many British cities. Policy based on a negative view of these populations will fail, because they are here to stay and are a means to integration rather than a retreat from it.

This is not to suggest that a focus on improving relations between communities in school and work is misplaced. But emphasising the geography of local populations is quite wrong. The way to social inclusion is through equal access to the housing market and jobs market. We need more families to be able to move to other areas safely and confidently when they wish to. We should applaud the local authorities, community groups and housing schemes that promote the social solidarity that people need to feel wherever they live.

3. Further information about the conference and about Dr Ludi Simpson

The conference:

- The UK conference 'Census: present and future' will offer presentations from around 30 invited speakers from the UK and overseas in plenary and two parallel sessions spread over two days.
- The conference aims to help inform the National Data Strategy - a collaboration across government departments and the Research Councils designed to reflect data needs for the future research agenda.
- The conference has been jointly called by Professor David Martin (Director of the Economic and Social Research Council /JISC census programme) and Professor Peter Elias (ESRC's Strategic Advisor for Data Resources).

Dr Ludi Simpson:

- Photo on webpage: <http://www.ccsr.ac.uk/staff/ss.htm>
- Dr Simpson is Reader in Social Statistics at the Cathie Marsh Centre for Census and Survey Research, University of Manchester. For two decades he was statistician for Bradford City Council, 1981-2003. He was ESRC research fellow for 'Race and local demography', a project graded outstanding by other academics in the field.
- His publications include 'Statistics in Society: the politics of arithmetic' (with Danny Dorling, published by Arnold) and 'Statistics of racial segregation: measures, evidence and policy' (published in Urban Studies).
- Publication on mixing in Bradford:
http://www.ccsr.ac.uk/staff/Ludi/documents/UrbS_41_3_2004.pdf
- Publication on mixing in Rochdale and Oldham:
<http://www.ccsr.ac.uk/research/documents/PopulationDynamicsOldhamRochdaleFinalReport20May05.pdf>

4. National tabulations, also available online from 8am on 15 November at:
www.ccsr.ac.uk/research/migseq.htm

Mixing through migration

The table shows that both White and minority populations move from areas with most minority ethnic populations, in similar numbers.

The net impact of migration with rest of UK	Not	
	White	White
Fewest minority ethnic population (2%)	+9,700	+40,189
Low (13%)	+12,841	-9,503
Medium (27%)	-615	-9,382
High (43%)	-8,238	-11,570
Highest minority ethnic population (66%)	-13,033	-9,463

Each category contains one fifth of England and Wales' minority populations.
Source: Census for electoral wards, migration in one year 2000-2001

This movement from inner urban areas is repeated for each city in England: see Regional and city profiles

More mixed neighbourhoods

The number of mixed wards increased from 864 to 1,070 between 1991 and 2001. These are all wards with at least one tenth of both White and minority ethnic group residents.

The number of very mixed wards increased from 319 to 440 between 1991 and 2001. These are all wards with at least one quarter of both White and minority ethnic group residents.

Between the 1991 and 2001 censuses, the number of wards in England decreased by 400, so the increase in the number of mixed wards is all the more significant.

More mixed households and individuals

The number of people with more than one ethnic group is one third of a million people in England and Wales. Over one quarter of these are mixed White and Asian origins.

Half of all those of mixed ethnic group are children aged under 16, even though there are four times as many older people. The number of Mixed ethnic group residents in England has been growing and will continue to grow.

Taken together, the Mixed group is the third largest minority group in Britain, behind the Indian and Pakistani groups. It is growing faster than any other category: there are more Mixed children than any other minority ethnic group.

	Total population	Mixed, total	Mixed: White and Black Caribbean	Mixed: White and Black African	Mixed: White and Asian	Mixed: Other Mixed
ALL PEOPLE	52041916	661034	237420	78911	189015	155688
0 to 4	3094141	116197	44985	14310	32521	24381
10 to 14	3425023	94235	40766	8993	25020	19456
20 to 24	3122212	51824	16654	6584	15116	13470
30 to 34	3983921	45266	13966	6391	13522	11387
40 to 44	3656368	26656	7526	4344	7655	7131
50 to 54	3591043	13181	2607	1715	4393	4466
All under 16	10488736	330603	136635	35885	89814	68269
All 16+	41553180	330431	100785	43026	99201	87419

Source: Census 2001, ST101

Inequalities outside inner urban clusters

The unemployment rate of Pakistani, Caribbean, African and Bangladeshi men is twice the White rate in areas that are mainly White, as well as in the inner areas.

Those who move out of inner areas are better off than those who stay, but big inequalities remain.

Male unemployment rate at age 25 and older, 2001 Census. Ethnic group and ethnic composition	England & Wales	Diverse areas: less than 50% White	Mixed areas: between 50% and 87% White	Unmixed areas: more than 87% White
White Briton	5%	8%	5%	4%
ALL PEOPLE	5%	10%	6%	4%
Chinese	5%	8%	5%	4%
Indian	5%	7%	5%	3%
Pakistani	12%	14%	12%	9%
Caribbean	13%	16%	13%	8%
African	14%	16%	14%	8%
Bangladeshi	16%	21%	13%	7%

Electoral wards of England and Wales classified according to the ethnic group composition.

The White population in the whole of England and Wales is 87%.

The groups are ordered by increasing unemployment rate in England and Wales.

Dispersal indices for each ethnic group, England and Wales

These figures are taken from Danny Dorling and Bethan Thomas, 2004, *People and Places: a 2001 Census atlas of the UK*, Bristol: Policy Press.

The table below shows two indices of dispersal by district for each group in England and Wales: the index of segregation (1), which shows that just over sixty percent of Caribbeans, Africans, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis would have to move district to be evenly spread. The other groups are less segregated. The index of isolation (2), which shows that the White group is by far the most isolated than is any other group, followed by Bangladeshis then Indians.

2001	White	Caribbean	African	Black Other	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Asian Other	Other
1	5%	62%	62%	42%	55%	61%	61%	32%	39%	39%
2	93%	5%	7%	2%	9%	6%	10%	1%	2%	2%

The table below shows the changes in the two indices of dispersal for England and Wales by ethnic group between 1991 and 2001. The only groups which have become more segregated, ever so slightly are White and Other. However the White group is the only group to have become less isolated. 'Isolation' tends to increase as groups grow in size mainly where they were before.

change	White	Caribbean	African	Black Other	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Asian Other	Other
1	1%	0%	-4%	-6%	-2%	0%	0%	-1%	-11%	1%
2	-2%	0%	3%	0%	1%	2%	3%	0%	1%	0%

These indices of Segregation and Isolation are influenced by both population growth and migration. For policy, it is more useful to examine migration separately, as above.