

ETHNIC GROUP POPULATION CHANGE AND INTEGRATION: A DEMOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO SMALL AREA ETHNIC GEOGRAPHIES

Nissa Finney, School of Social Sciences, University of Manchester

Background and aims

The first decade of the twenty first century has witnessed a return to political concerns about the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods. The debates have emerged in the context of international terrorist attacks (in the USA in 2001, Spain in 2004, England in 2005), urban disturbances in England and a period of new migration and super-diversity (Finney and Simpson, 2009; Kalra and Kapoor, 2009). They represent a swing from an era of concern about discrimination and racism to an era of concern about extremism and separateness.

This project aimed to rethink methods and concepts of ethnic integration research by examining the processes and consequences of local ethnic group population change using a demographic approach that focused on small areas and change over time. The project was underpinned by the notion that ethnic integration, spatially and socially, is best understood in term of dynamic rather than static measures of ethnic composition.

The research addressed the following questions:

- What is driving local ethnic group population change? To what extent is population change for each ethnic group a result of natural change and to what extent a result of migration?
- How can neighbourhoods be categorised according to their ethnic group population dynamics?
- How is migration within Britain shaping the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods?
- How can ethnic differences in residential mobility be understood?
- What relationships are there between population dynamics and ethnic relations?

Data sources

To address these questions several data sources were used: estimates of components of population change for wards and ethnic groups; 1991 and 2001 Censuses; and the 2005 Citizenship Survey.

A demographic estimation approach was used to calculate net migration as a residual of population change once births and deaths have been accounted for (Finney, 2010). The estimates give births, deaths and net migration for males and females for each of eight ethnic groups by single year of age for the period 1991 to 2001. The estimates were produced for electoral wards which are administrative areas of which there are 8,797 in England and Wales with an average population of 6,500. The populations that are the basis of these estimates are census-based but have been adjusted to be consistent over time (Sabater and Simpson, 2009).

This research used a number of census datasets: published tables; commissioned tables; the Samples of Anonymised Records (SAR); the Controlled Access Microdata Sample (CAMS); and Special Migration Statistics (SMS).

The 2005 Citizenship Survey (CS) provided data on neighbourhood belonging, attitudes to ethnic relations and community cohesion. A version of the CS with additional anonymised ward identifier and population dynamics variables was commissioned to assess the relation between population change and community cohesion.

The importance of natural growth

The independent review of the urban disturbances in England in 2001 concluded that communities living 'parallel lives' was at the heart of the issue (Cantle, 2001). Segregation was identified as the problem and policies of multiculturalism were seen as contributing to a state of separation between ethnic and religious



communities (Modood, 2007). The message was reinforced by prominent actors, not least the then Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality, Trevor Phillips, who claimed that Britain was 'sleepwalking to segregation' (Phillips, 2005). Segregation was said to be a combination of self-segregation by minority ethnic groups and 'White flight' from areas of large minority ethnic populations.

A focus on processes of population change — on migration and natural change — challenges the emphasis on segregation as problematic and reveals the dynamics of *in situ* natural growth with dispersal and immigration. Figure 1 shows that, nationally, natural growth (births minus deaths) contributed more to population growth than migration in the 1990s for the Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Other ethnic groups. Migration was the largest component for the Chinese and African groups who have relatively large proportions of recent immigrants.

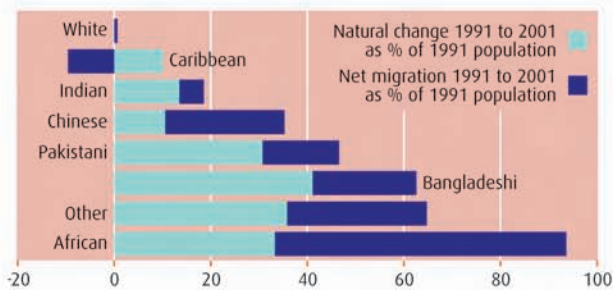


FIGURE 1. NATURAL CHANGE AND NET MIGRATION 1991-2001 FOR ETHNIC GROUPS IN BRITAIN, PERCENT OF 1991 POPULATION
Source: CCSR Components of population change estimates (1991-2001)

Categorising ethnic group population dynamics

Ethnic group components of population change can be used to classify areas according to the relative contributions of natural change and net migration. The typology devised is based on the approach taken by Webb (1963) and the categories are shown in Figure 2 together with the percentage of wards in each category for each ethnic group (Table 1). The importance of natural change for local population change for minority ethnic groups is clear: in more than three quarters of wards in Britain the minority

ethnic population grew in the 1990s as a result of family building (natural growth) combined with net migration gain. This was the case for the White population in 20% of wards.

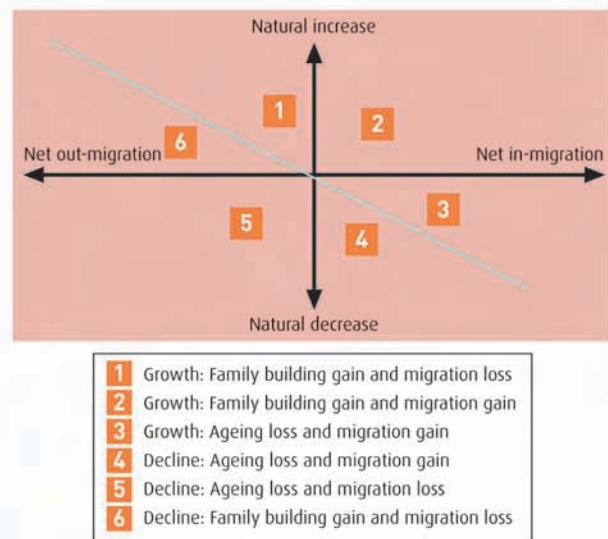


FIGURE 2. TYPOLOGY OF LOCAL POPULATION DYNAMICS (ADAPTED FROM WEBB, 1963)

Source: CCSR Components of population change estimates (1991-2001), wards of England and Wales

Figure 3 maps population dynamics in the 1990s for districts of Britain for the White and minority populations. The widespread experience of minority ethnic family building accompanied by growth due to migration is clear. The migration growth shown here is a combination of immigration and in-migration from elsewhere in Britain. Districts that lost minority population (due to migration) tend to be in peripheral or rural locations. For the White population, rural and fringe areas experienced natural loss due to an ageing population. In the majority of these districts, White natural decline was accompanied by net migration gain, and in three quarters of cases the migration gain outweighed the natural loss to give population growth overall. White family building characterised population dynamics in urban and suburban districts and was usually accompanied by net population gain due to migration.

Population dynamics category	Percent of wards									
	White	Minority	Caribbean	African	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Other	
1	6.8	13.3	4.8	4.6	8.3	7.7	6.2	5.7	13.8	
2	20.5	77.3	37.8	65.2	62.4	70.0	74.7	66.6	80.2	
3	26.1	0.1	21.6	11.0	6.0	9.9	4.0	3.8	0.1	
4	9.0	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	
5	15.0	0.0	7.9	2.6	1.1	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.0	
6	22.6	9.2	27.4	16.4	22.1	11.4	14.1	23.2	5.8	

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF WARDS IN EACH CATEGORY OF LOCAL POPULATION DYNAMICS BY ETHNIC GROUP POPULATION

Source: CCSR Components of population change estimates (1991-2001), wards of England and Wales

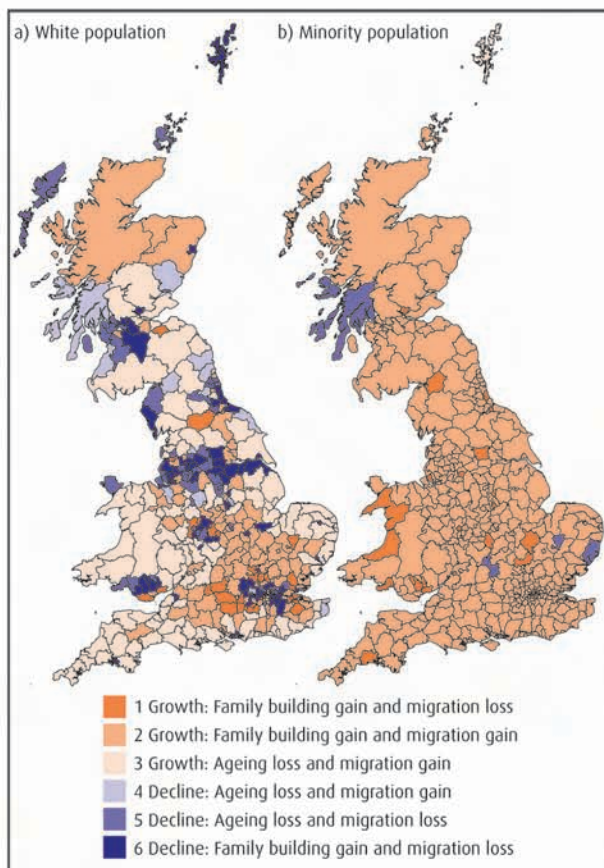


FIGURE 3. POPULATION DYNAMICS FOR DISTRICTS OF BRITAIN FOR THE WHITE AND MINORITY POPULATIONS, 1991-2001

Source: CCSR Components of population change estimates (1991-2001), districts of GB

Internal migration: Common patterns for ethnic groups, not 'White flight'

A body of work has recently examined patterns of internal migration within Britain for ethnic groups. The findings of this project support those of UPTAP research by Stillwell and Hussain (2010) and Simon (2010) in concluding that there is little evidence that migration patterns are predominantly shaped by 'White flight' and 'minority self-segregation'.

This research found that those who migrate in each ethnic group have similar characteristics. Differences in levels of mobility are largely accounted for by the differing socio-economic and age compositions of ethnic groups.

All ethnic groups, with the exception of Chinese, exhibit counterurbanisation (Figure 4). Both White and minority groups have, on balance, moved from the most non-White areas in similar proportions, with some exceptions including White movement into the most concentrated Black areas, and Chinese movement towards its own urban concentrations (Table 2).

Understanding ethnic differences in migration from a lifecourse perspective: Young adults moving towards diversity

In the 1990s, the trend was towards ethnic residential de-segregation. This was the case across age cohorts and ethnic groups but was particularly marked for young adults. The dynamics of this de-segregation is age differentiated

Ethnic group for which concentrations are defined	Ethnic groups for which migration is given	Net in-migration 2000-01, per cent of 2001 population				
		Lowest concentration	Low concentration	Medium concentration	High concentration	Highest concentration
Minority ethnic groups	Minority	0.69	0.57	-0.10	-0.11	-0.96
	White	0.18	-0.10	-0.68	-0.88	-0.82
White	Minority	-0.24	0.89	0.91	0.17	-0.61
	White	-0.53	-0.07	0.20	0.30	0.22
Indian	Minority	0.18	-0.18	0.24	-0.04	-0.42
	White	0.15	-0.27	-0.59	-1.13	-1.23
	Indian	0.96	0.18	-0.29	-0.38	-0.40
Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Other South Asian	Minority	0.43	0.03	-0.32	-0.19	-0.47
	White	0.16	-0.20	-0.67	-0.80	-0.79
	P, B & OSA	0.68	0.07	-0.45	0.06	-0.34
Chinese	Minority	0.41	1.15	-0.02	-0.13	-0.26
	White	0.28	-0.01	-0.01	-0.28	-0.75
	Chinese	-1.71	0.49	0.06	0.40	0.93
Black	Minority	0.48	0.25	-0.26	-0.84	-1.45
	White	0.13	-0.62	-1.03	-1.30	0.13
	Black	1.77	0.79	-0.09	-0.76	-1.65

TABLE 2. MIGRATION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUP CONCENTRATIONS AND OTHER AREAS, 2000-01

Source: 2001 Census Special Migration Statistics, districts of Britain.

Note: Concentrations of each group are defined by dividing the 408 local authority districts of Britain into quintiles after sorting them by increasing percentage of a group's residents. Each quintile has as close as possible to a fifth of the total of the group's population of Great Britain.



migration which is common across ethnic groups: young adult urbanisation and family/older adult suburbanisation with immigration of a similar magnitude to the least and most diverse areas (Table 3). An interesting question is whether this young adult mixing is an age effect or a cohort effect, or both.

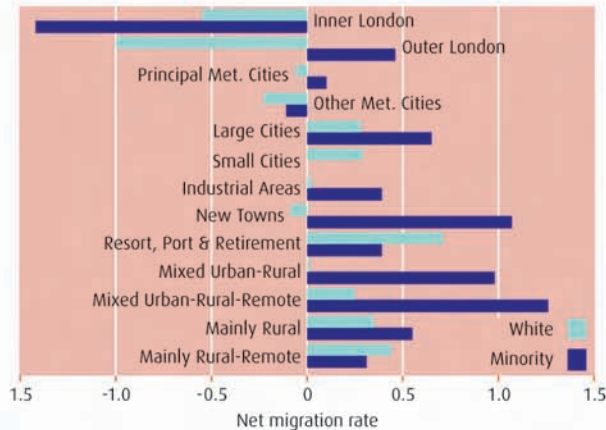


FIGURE 4. NET MIGRATION WITHIN THE UK, 2000-2001, AS PERCENTAGE OF 2001 POPULATION, FOR DISTRICTS OF GREAT BRITAIN GROUPED BY URBAN-NESS, FOR WHITES AND MINORITIES
Source: Census 2001, Special Migration Statistics and key population statistics

Levels of residential mobility are highest for all ethnic groups at young adult ages (16-29). At these ages, too, the differences in levels of residential mobility between ethnic groups are greatest. One way to understand these ethnic differences is from a lifecycle perspective that considers residential mobility norms during transition to adulthood, i.e. for population sub-groups (ethnic groups) what are the

norms of migration and housing in young adulthood in relation to life events such as partnership formation and study?

This research found partnership to be associated with increased residential mobility for White British young adults but reduced mobility for South Asian young adults, particularly Indians (Figure 5a). Females (White and South Asian) who are in a partnership are more likely to migrate than their male counterparts. These findings may reflect greater relationship and residential transience for White British young adults than their South Asian counterparts. It is possible that gender differences reflect patrilocality, the movement of females into the home of their partner (husband) or their partner's family.

Being a student increases residential mobility for White British and Chinese young adults but reduces mobility for Blacks and South Asians (especially females) (Figure 5b). If this reduced mobility for minority students represents constrained choice of higher education institution, for example for financial or cultural reasons, it raises questions about access to higher education.

Population dynamics and community cohesion

There are reasons to theorise that the ethnic group population dynamics of a neighbourhood can affect the experience of its residents, drawing on theories of social disorganisation (Raudenbush and Sampson, 2004). The basic premise here is that disorganised communities are less socially cohesive. One aspect of disorganisation is neighbourhood population stability. For example, Laurence and Heath (2008) found that in-migration of large numbers of non-White immigrants negatively affected cohesion.

Quintile of minority concentration	Total Migration		Migration within Britain		International migration (indicative estimate)	
	Whites	Minorities	Whites	Minorities	Whites	Minorities
Young adults						
Lowest	-65,914	5,883	-73,300	-2,467	7,400	8,400
Medium	25,755	6,787	21,733	833	4,000	6,000
Highest	3,258	4,119	13,533	-1,933	-10,300	6,000
Non young adults						
Lowest	121,298	12,735	76,767	6,567	44,500	6,200
Medium	-31,162	-2,465	-15,767	-1,433	-15,400	-1,000
Highest	-12,353	132	-15,167	-8,233	2,800	8,400

TABLE 3. NET MIGRATION FOR NEIGHBOURHOODS GROUPED BY MINORITY ETHNIC CONCENTRATION, BY ETHNIC GROUP AND AGE

Sources: For Total Migration: CCSR Components of population change estimates (1991-2001) divided by ten to approximate a yearly figure. Based on wards of England and Wales. White is all Census White groups; Minorities are all others.

For Migration within Britain: 2001 Census Controlled Access Microdata Sample (CAMS), 2000-2001 scaled to 100% from figures for 3% sample. Based on districts of Britain. White is White British; Minorities are all non-White groups.

International migration has been estimated by subtracting migration within Britain from total migration and is only indicative of patterns due to the discrepancies in the total and internal migration measures as described above. Figures have therefore been rounded to the nearest 100.

Note: Concentrations of each group are defined by dividing the local areas (wards or districts) of England and Wales/Britain into quintiles after sorting them by increasing percentage of a group's residents. Each quintile has as close as possible to a fifth of the total of the group's population of Great Britain. Low and high concentrations are not shown. Young adults are aged 18-29; Non young adults are all other ages taken together.

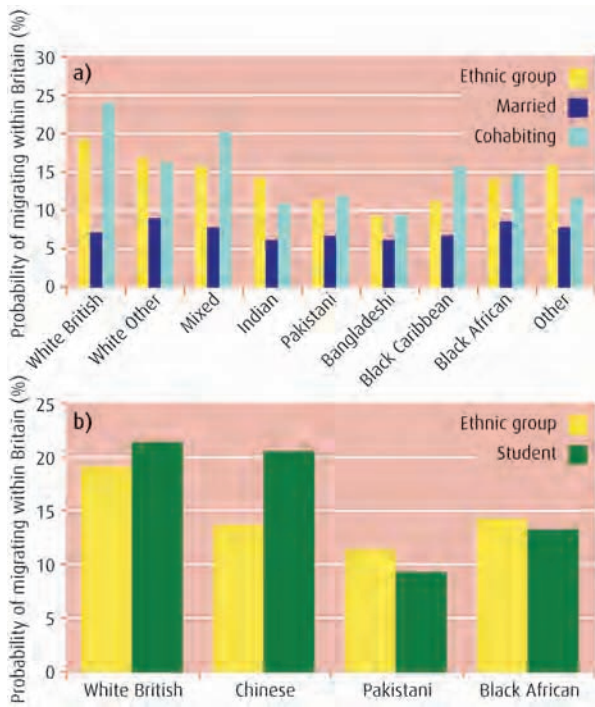


FIGURE 5. RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND LIFE EVENTS IN YOUNG ADULTHOOD: a) PARTNERSHIP, b) BEING A STUDENT Source: 2001 UK Census Individual Sample of Anonymised Records (SAR)

Notes: Reference category is White British, Manager/Professional, single, male, home owner, with qualifications up to GCSE level, not a student, born in UK, without children. Population: GB age 16-29 (excluding student=1). Internal migration is in the period 2000-2001. Probabilities significant at $p < 0.05$ are shown.

Figures 6 and 7 display responses to 2005 Citizenship Survey questions about sense of belonging to neighbourhood and belief about whether the neighbourhood is close-knit. The White and non-White immigration to the neighbourhoods (wards) of respondents is presented. The figures show that those people who very strongly feel a sense of belonging to their neighbourhood and those who strongly agree that their neighbourhood is close knit live in wards with, on average, the lowest levels of immigration, White and non-White. The relationship between immigration and neighbourhood perception is likely to be dependent on a number of factors to do with the individual residents and the character of the neighbourhoods.

Summary

The ethnic composition of neighbourhoods changes as a result of migration to and from elsewhere in Britain and overseas and as people are born and die. For a number of Britain’s minority ethnic groups, it is natural change — the excess of births over deaths — that is contributing most to population growth. A demographic approach that takes into account all components of population change helps to reveal the complex processes behind changes in ethnic composition.

An alternative to classifying neighbourhoods according to their ethnic mix or segregation is to use a typology of ethnic group population dynamics. Population dynamics

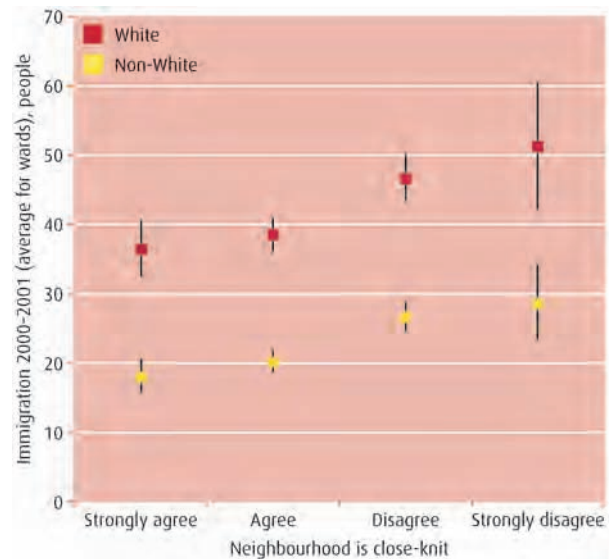


FIGURE 6. AVERAGE NEIGHBOURHOOD WHITE AND MINORITY IMMIGRATION FOR RESIDENTS WHO AGREE AND DISAGREE THAT THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD IS CLOSE-KNIT

Sources: Commissioned 2005 Citizenship Survey. Immigration variables are attached to the CS at ward level and are derived from 2001 Census SMS (immigration for 2000-2001)

Note: The points show the mean immigration to wards in which people giving each response live. The lines show the 95% confidence intervals around the means.

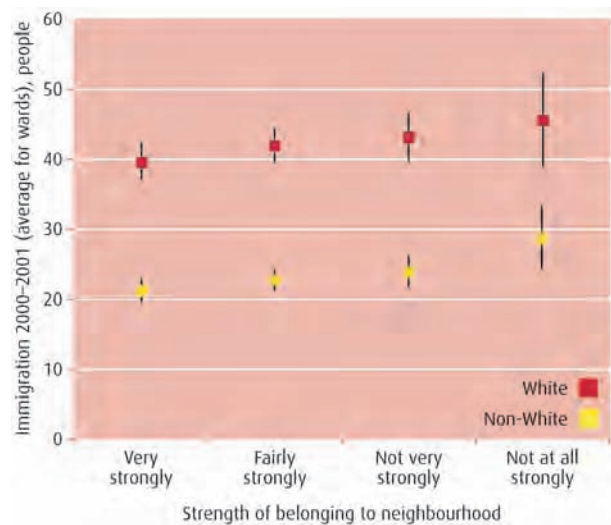


FIGURE 7. AVERAGE NEIGHBOURHOOD WHITE AND MINORITY IMMIGRATION FOR RESIDENTS WITH VERY STRONG AND LESS STRONG STRENGTH OF BELONGING TO THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD

Sources: Commissioned 2005 CS. Immigration variables are attached to the CS at ward level and are derived from 2001 Census SMS (immigration for 2000-2001)

may be related to neighbourhood perceptions. For example, feelings of neighbourhood belonging and cohesion are lower in areas of high immigration (White or non-White) than elsewhere.

Within Britain there are ethnic commonalities in the characteristics of migrants and the geographies of migration. Young adults are moving to ethnically diverse urban areas; families and older people are suburbanising. Overall there is

increased ethnic mixing residentially. However, there may be ethnic differences in norms of residential mobility for young adults which may represent differing motivations, constraints and aspirations for migration.

The ethnic composition of any neighbourhood is the result of complex processes of population change which reflect individuals' life choices and pathways. It cannot be simply read as an indicator of social integration.

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Contact details of author

Nissa Finney
CCSR, School of Social Sciences, Kantorovich Building,
Humanities Bridgeford Street, University of Manchester,
Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL
Email: Nissa.Finney@manchester.ac.uk