Has neighbourhood ethnic segregation decreased?

Summary

- Neighbourhood residential integration is increasing: segregation, the extent to which an ethnic group is evenly spread across neighbourhoods, has decreased within most local authority districts of England and Wales, for all ethnic minority groups.
- In over two-thirds of districts, neighbourhood segregation decreased for the Caribbean, Indian, Mixed and African ethnic groups.
- There is increased residential mixing between the White British and ethnic minority groups and, while White British segregation has increased slightly in many districts, segregation remains low for this group.
- There are very few districts that have seen a large increase in segregation and this has occurred in areas where there are small numbers of people in a particular ethnic group, and not in the areas where ethnic minority groups are largest.
- Increasing residential mixing in inner and outer London and major urban centres is the dominant pattern of change in segregation. In outer London, for example, segregation decreased by 12% for the Bangladeshi ethnic group and 11% for the Chinese ethnic group.
- Large cities such as Leicester, Birmingham, Manchester and Bradford have seen a decrease in segregation for most ethnic groups.
- The most diverse local areas (electoral wards) are in districts which have seen a decrease in segregation for the majority of ethnic minority groups. Dollis Hill in Brent and Plaistow North in Newham are the most diverse electoral wards in England and Wales, and they are located in districts which have seen a decrease in segregation for nearly all ethnic groups.

**Figure 1.** Histograms of change in segregation, 2001-2011

Notes: Purple bars show the proportion of districts with decreased segregation, and orange bars show the proportion of districts with increased segregation. The percentage of districts which have increased or decreased is shown in brackets. Click here for Figure 1 data in Excel
Has neighbourhood residential mixing increased?

When people imagine residential ethnic segregation they often think about localised neighbourhoods. Figure 1 (page 1) shows change in residential segregation of neighbourhoods (output areas, see box) summarised within their local authority district, from 2001 to 2011. In the majority of districts, segregation has decreased for all ethnic minority groups. Decrease in neighbourhood segregation has been greatest for the Caribbean ethnic group, which, along with the Indian, Mixed and African groups, has seen a decrease in more than two-thirds of districts.

There are very few districts that have seen a large increase in segregation, and where this has occurred it is in areas where there are small numbers of people in a particular ethnic group, and not in the areas where minority groups are most populous. The only exception to the pattern of decreasing segregation for the majority of districts is the White British group, for which many districts have seen a slight increase (less than 5% in the majority of districts). However, segregation remains low for this group; the White British group is large and evenly spread throughout most districts. This increase in segregation for the White British group is simply a function of the decreasing segregation of ethnic minority groups, which have considerably smaller populations in most districts in England and Wales – as more groups share the residential space in an area, the smaller groups will become more evenly spread out, while the larger group will appear more unevenly spread. In reality, what is happening is increased residential mixing between the White British population and other ethnic groups.

Figure 2a shows the approximately two-thirds of districts which have experienced a decrease in segregation by the Chinese group. Districts with the largest decreases include Bolton, Bury, Croydon and Slough. Increases in segregation of the Chinese population are mainly in rural areas where their population is very small.

The Indian group (Figure 2b) shows decreasing segregation in urban centres such as Liverpool and Manchester, and some marginal increase in rural areas, suggesting, as with the Chinese group, a deconcentration from cities over time. Consequently, rural areas are becoming more ethnically diverse.

For many of the ethnic groups shown in Figure 1, segregation has decreased by over 5% in large cities such as Leicester and Birmingham, which have seen a decrease in segregation for all ethnic groups except Other White, which had a very small increase. Manchester experienced a decrease in segregation for all ethnic groups, including by 13% for the Indian ethnic group. Segregation has decreased in Bradford for all ethnic groups, except a marginal (under 2%) increase for the White British and Other White groups. Reduced segregation here included 16% for the African and 13% for the Chinese ethnic groups.

The 2011 Census revealed a growth of ethnic diversity in England and Wales. This increased diversity has been accompanied by greater residential integration in neighbourhoods.

What do we mean by neighbourhood ‘segregation’?

The most frequently used measure of ‘segregation’, or separation, is the Index of Dissimilarity, which indicates to what extent a group’s population is evenly spread across a local authority district. The calculation for the Index is explained in More segregation or more mixing? The Index ranges from 0% to 100%, with 0% indicating a completely even spread of the population, and 100% meaning complete separation. Thus, the more the population has spread out, the greater the decrease in segregation.

Output Areas (OAs) are the smallest level at which census data are released by ethnic groups and contain, on average, 300 people. Here, changes in the Index of Dissimilarity are calculated for output areas within local authority districts and can be thought of as a measure of neighbourhood segregation. % change in segregation refers to percentage points.

Districts with a population of less than 200 people in a given ethnic group, in either 2001 or 2011, are not included here as the populations are so small that change in neighbourhood segregation cannot reliably be assessed. This mainly affects rural areas and results in a different number of districts being analysed for each ethnic group.

Figure 2. Change in residential spread 2001-2011 for the Chinese (a) and Indian (b) groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change in segregation, Chinese ethnic group, 2001-2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Green - Decrease ≤ -10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow - Decrease &gt; -10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange - Increase &lt; 10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red - Increase &gt; 10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Changes in the Index of Dissimilarity for output areas within local authority districts, between 2001 and 2011. These maps are population cartograms where each local authority district is shown approximately proportional in size to its resident population. The highlighted areas are intended to act as reference points: Inner London, plus other principal cities of Manchester (M), Liverpool (L), Sheffield (S), Newcastle upon Tyne (NE), Birmingham (B), Leeds (LS), and Cardiff (CF). For a more detailed key of each local authority district click here.

Click here for Figure 2 data in Excel
Has neighbourhood ethnic segregation decreased?

What is happening to segregation in the most diverse neighbourhoods?

There are few local areas (electoral wards) in England and Wales which are so diverse that they have an almost equal proportion of people in each ethnic group. On a scale ranging from 0 to 100, where 100 indicates that every group is in equal proportion in the area, the average level of diversity across England and Wales is three. Nine out of the 10 most diverse wards in England and Wales are located in Newham and Brent; the other is West Thornton ward in Croydon. The most diverse ward outside London is Soho in Birmingham, with a diversity index score of 45. The most diverse electoral wards in England and Wales are Dollis Hill in Brent and Plaistow North in Newham, with a measure of diversity of 56 and 49 respectively. Figure 3a (Dollis Hill) and Figure 3b (Plaistow North) show the diversity of these wards, where no one ethnic group accounts for more than 17% of the population.

Segregation is either decreasing or staying constant for most ethnic groups in the most diverse areas of England and Wales. Segregation levels for Brent and Newham are amongst the lowest in England and Wales. Diverse areas are not dominated by one ethnic group and should not be understood as segregated, or as becoming more so.

Area classifications

If we want to think about what types of area have experienced a change in their ethnic groups’ segregation, we need to categorise areas somehow, using the characteristics which they share to group them together. The area classification scheme used here is based on common socio-economic and demographic characteristics and administrative status. Here, major urban districts have been categorised as inner London, outer London, metropolitan areas, and other large cities (Figure 4, see page 4). Examples of metropolitan areas include Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds and Manchester. Other large cities include Cardiff and Nottingham.

More mixing in urban areas including London

Cities are attractive to young people, recent immigrants and students. New arrivals to the UK may only stay a short time in one locale, their ‘settlement area’, before leaving the UK or moving away from these areas. Other research has shown dispersal away from ethnically diverse urban areas, a process common to all ethnic groups. So what is happening to neighbourhood segregation in large cities?
Figure 4 shows the percentage change in levels of segregation for neighbourhoods within districts for each ethnic group, separated by category of large urban district (see box ‘Area classifications’). Inner London has experienced a decrease in segregation for most ethnic groups, with an increase of 3% or less for the White British, Caribbean and African groups. The White British group saw their greatest increase in segregation in inner London, although this was very small at 3%. Outer London’s decreasing segregation is particularly notable for the Bangladeshi (-12%), Chinese (-11%) and Mixed (-8%) groups. Segregation has decreased in metropolitan districts for all ethnic groups except White British. The White British and Other White groups saw marginal increases in segregation in other large cities. For all other ethnic groups, segregation decreased in these urban districts, in particular for the African group, with a decrease of 20%.

The picture is one of decreased residential segregation in urban areas. An important mechanism for this change is dispersal from major cities to suburban and rural areas, in particular by families.

Figure 4. Change in segregation for London, metropolitan cities and other large cities.

2 Further resources on local authority district area classification at www.ethnicity.ac.uk/research.

Sources: 2011 Census (Crown Copyright) and complete population estimates based on the 2001 Census (Crown Copyright).