

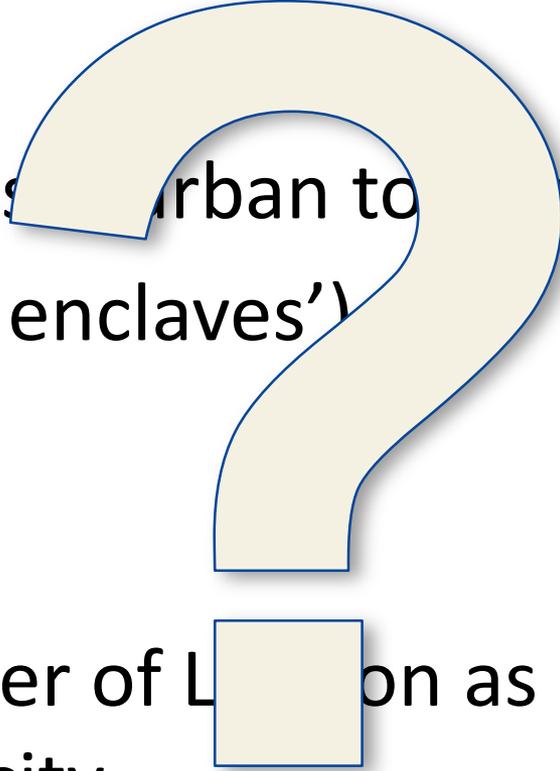
# Urban-rural migration, social segregation and ethnic enclaves in a world city: London

Richard Harris, School of Geographical Sciences,  
University of Bristol

## Some Themes

- Migration (urban to suburban to rural)
  - Segregation ('ethnic enclaves')
  - Immigration
- 
- Defining the character of London as a multicultural world city

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## Recent immigrants to UK 'make net contribution'

COMMENTS (1822)

Immigrants to the UK since 2000 have made a "substantial" contribution to public finances, a report says.

The study by University College London said recent immigrants were less likely to claim benefits and live in social housing than people born in Britain.

The authors said rather than being a "drain", their contribution had been "remarkably strong".

The government said it was right to have strict rules in place to help protect the benefits system.

Immigrants who arrived after 1999 were 45% less likely to receive state benefits or tax credits than UK natives in the period 2000-2011, according to the report by Prof Christian Dustmann and Dr Tommaso Frattini from UCL's Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration.

They were also 3% less likely to live in social housing.



Prof Christian Dustmann: Immigrants 'contribute to public finances'

### Related Stories

[Visitor bond scheme to be scrapped](#)

[EU study doubts 'benefit tourism'](#)

[UK 'must show benefit tourism proof'](#)

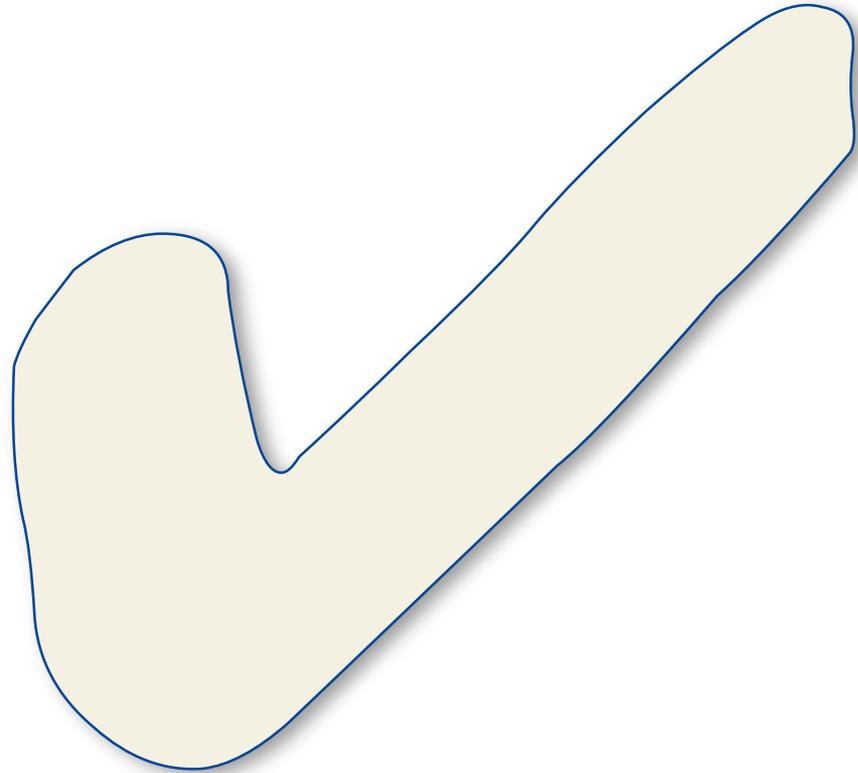
- Robbie: This report does not take into account the big picture. Mass immigration is not just measured in how much tax an immigrant pays compared to the benefits claimed. The big picture needs to account for the affect that the immigrants have on accommodation where prices are forced up due to huge demand. The cost on schools, hospitals, etc. all services that have to expand to meet the growing population.

## Some themes

- Quantification
- Computation
- Visualization

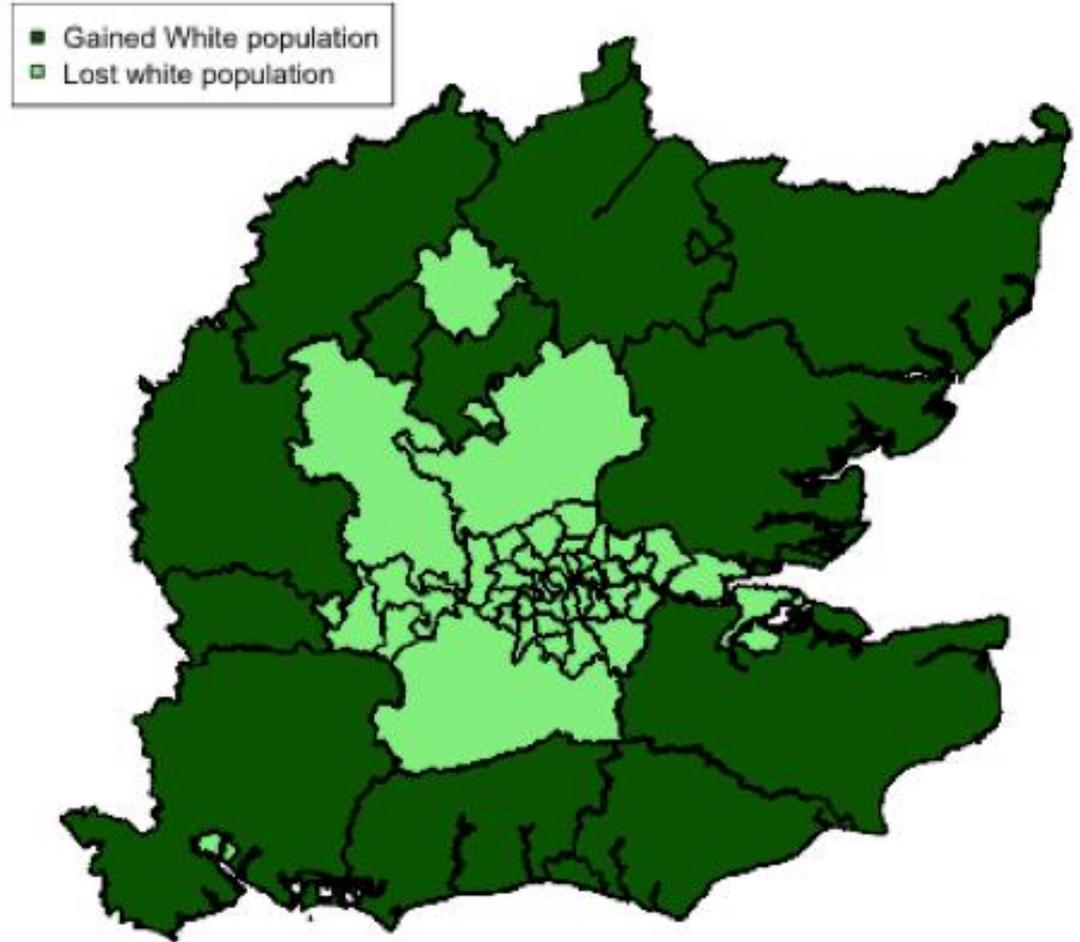
## Some themes

- Quantification
- Computation
- Visualization



- 
- “I keep saying that the sexy job in the next 10 years will be statisticians, and I’m not kidding.” – Hal Varian, chief economist at Google
  - “In God we trust. All others must bring data.” – W. Edwards Deming, statistician
  - “The goal is to turn data into information, and information into insight.” – Carly Fiorina, former executive, president, and chair of Hewlett-Packard Co.
    - <http://spinnakr.com/blog/data-2/2012/08/25-greatest-data-quotes/>

Everything  
begins  
with a map...



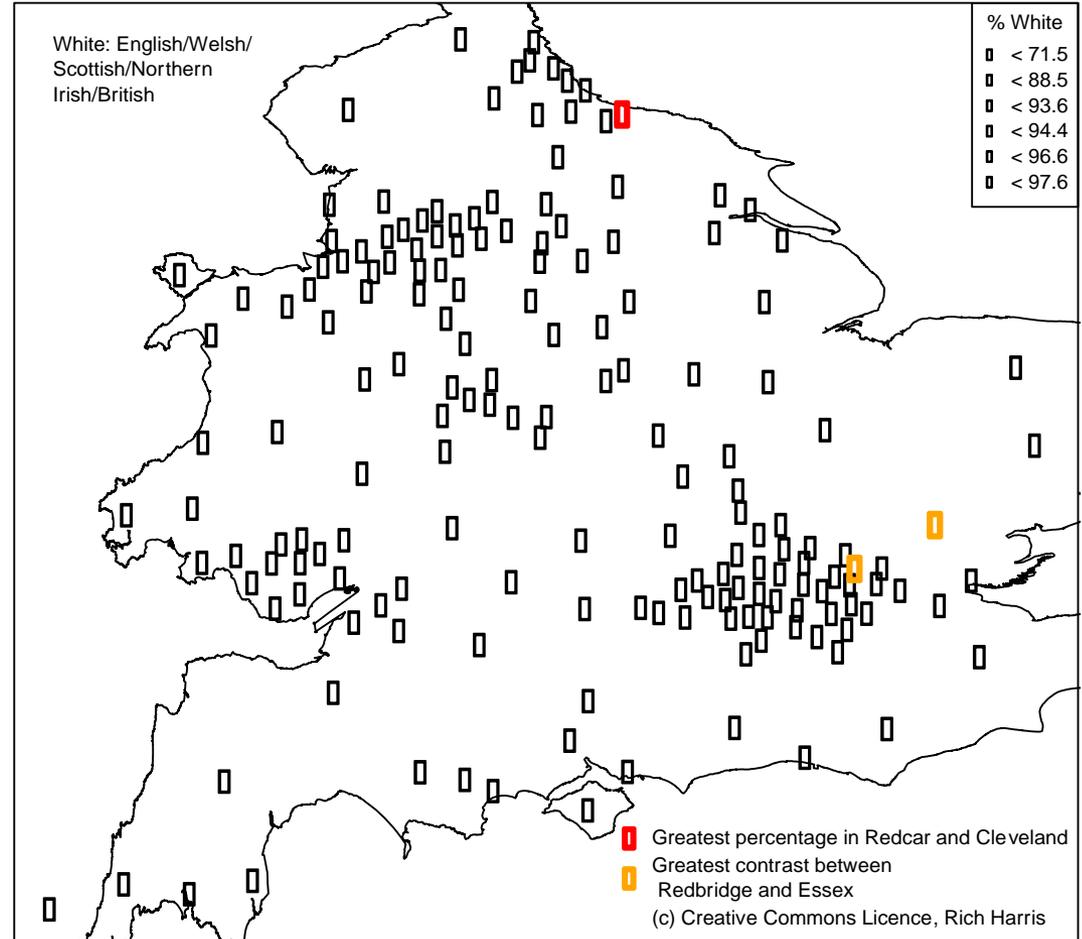
## Here's some data: number of persons White British

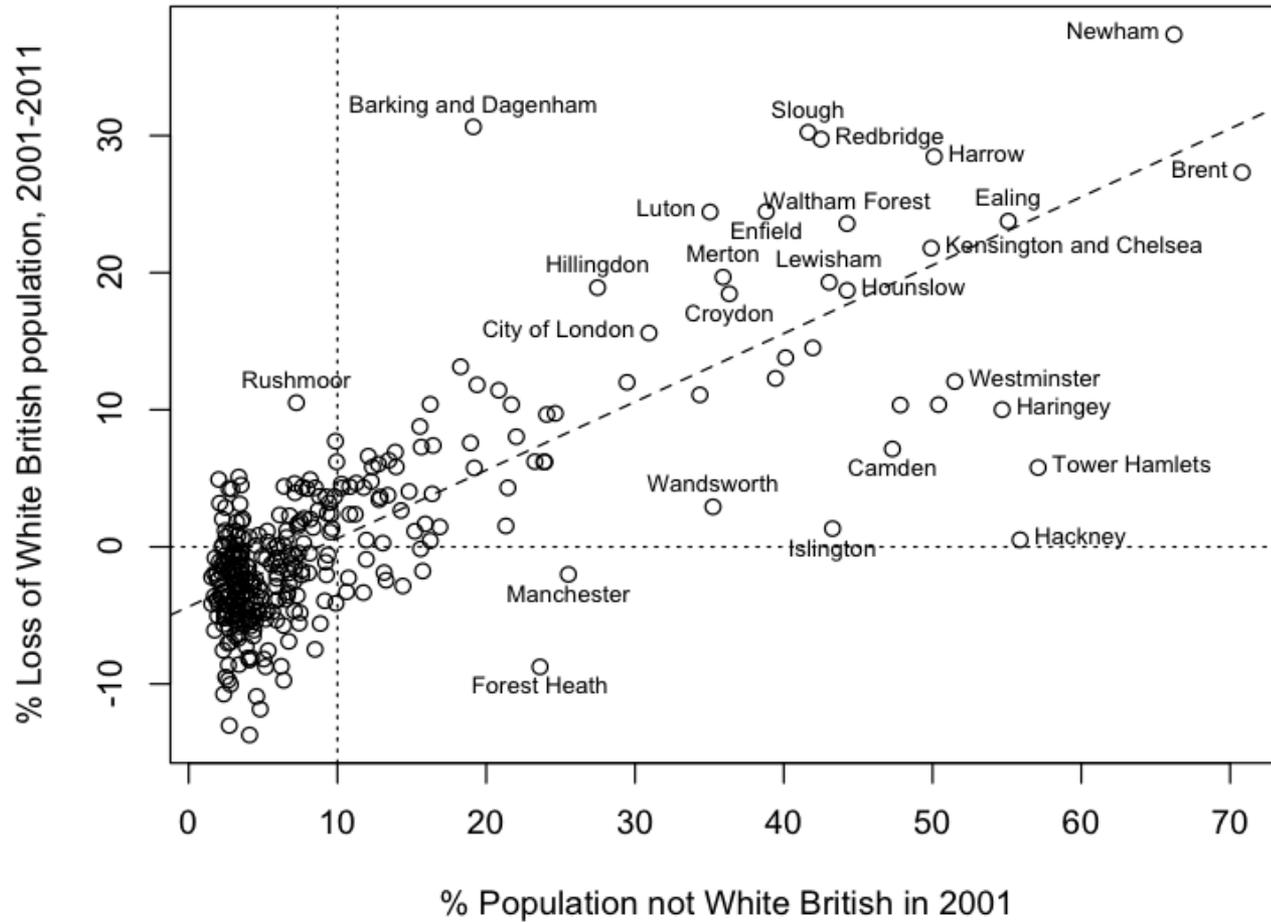
	2001	2011	Change
England	42,747,136	42,279,236	- 1.09 % points
London	4,287,861	3,669,284	- 14.4 % points
London (all)	7,172,091	8,173,941	+ 14.0 % points

Source: <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/>

Distribution of ethnic group by boroughs, counties and unitary authorities

# The geography of the White British

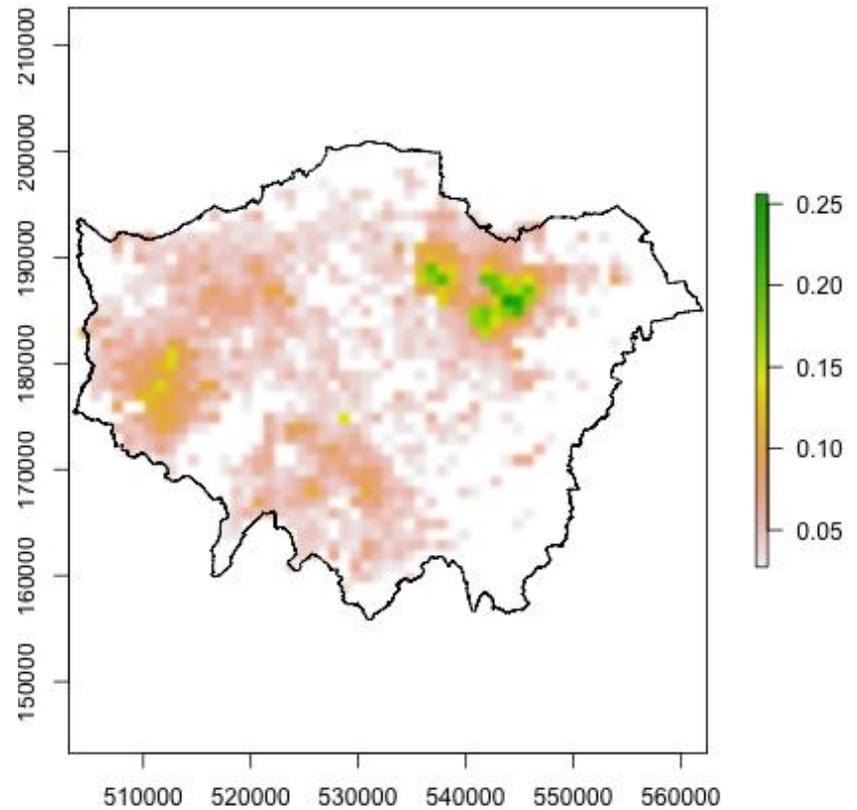
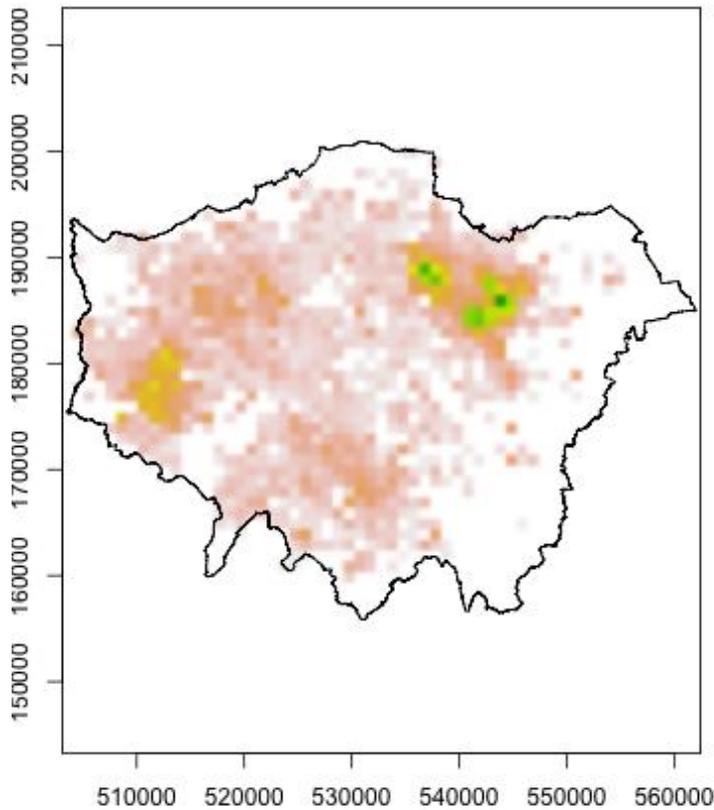




## Ethnic enclaves in London?

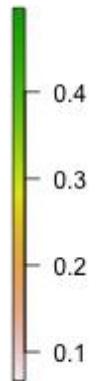
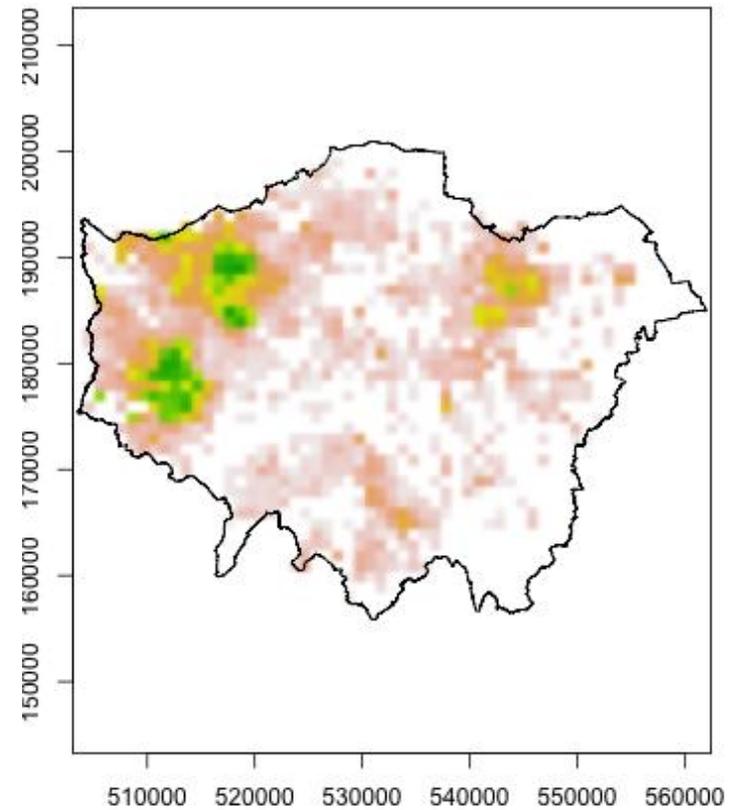
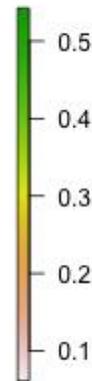
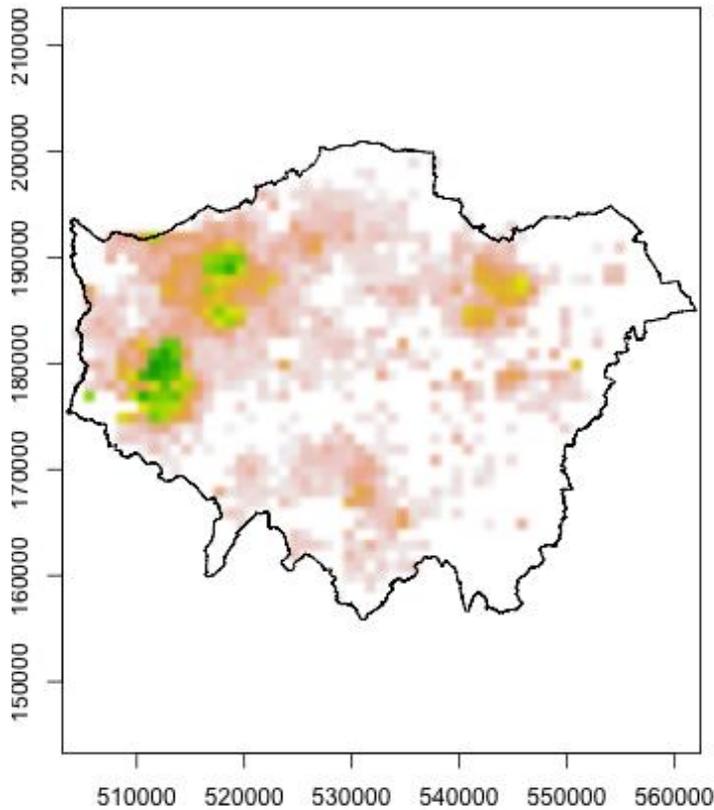
- There is a geography to where different ethnic groups live in London
  - Reflects historical patterns of immigration, current employment opportunities and general preference to live with one's own kin (at least, initially)
- Are these 'enclaves'?
  - Finney and Simpson (2009) say it is a myth that minority groups want to live in segregated neighbourhoods.

# Pakistani 'hot spots' (2001 & 2011)

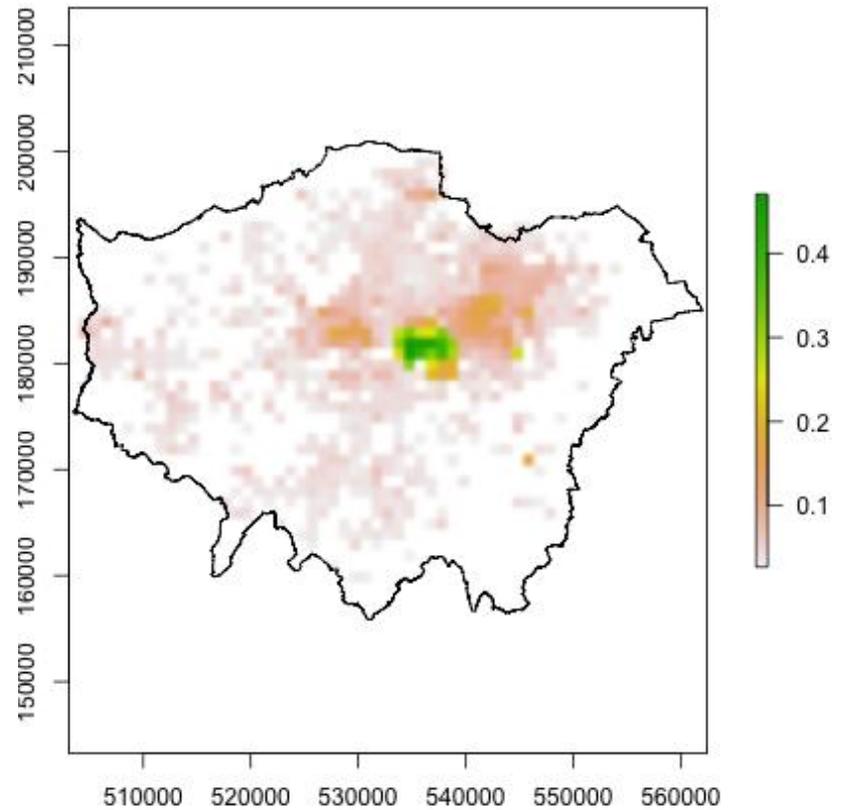
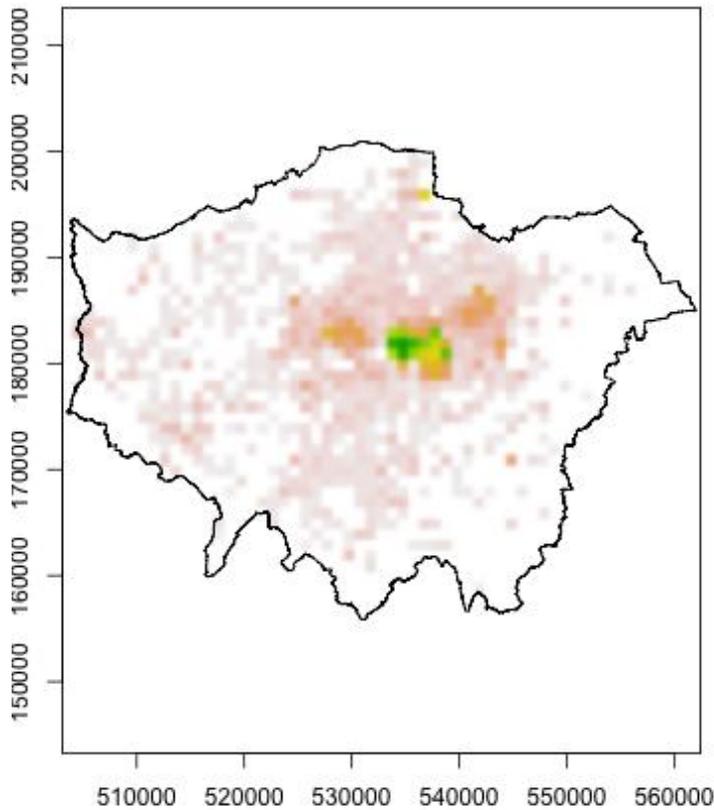


# Indian 'hot spots' (2001 & 2011)

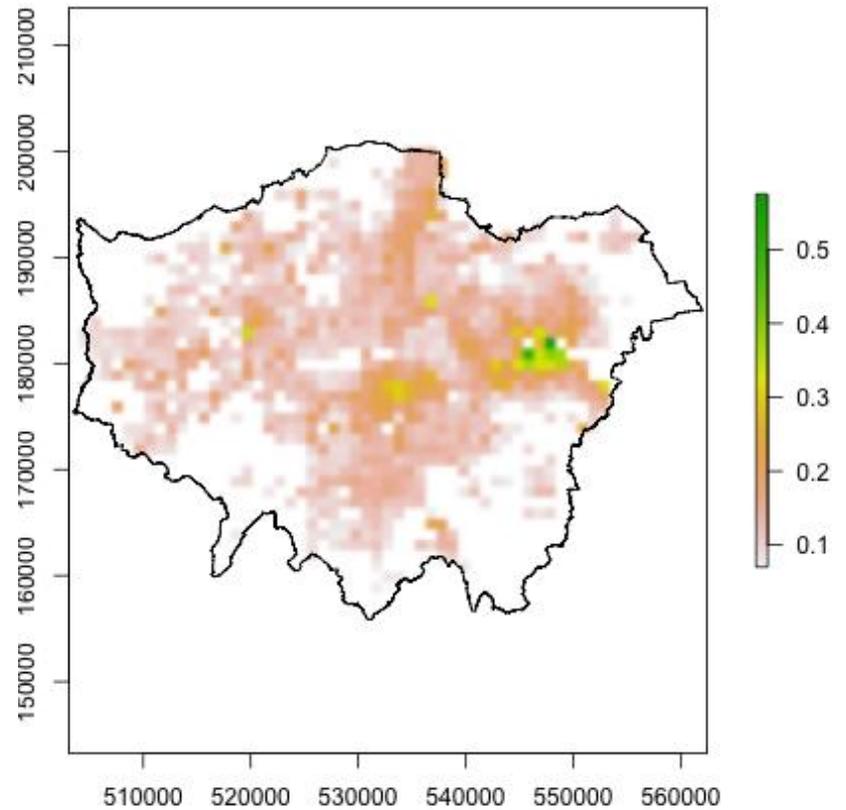
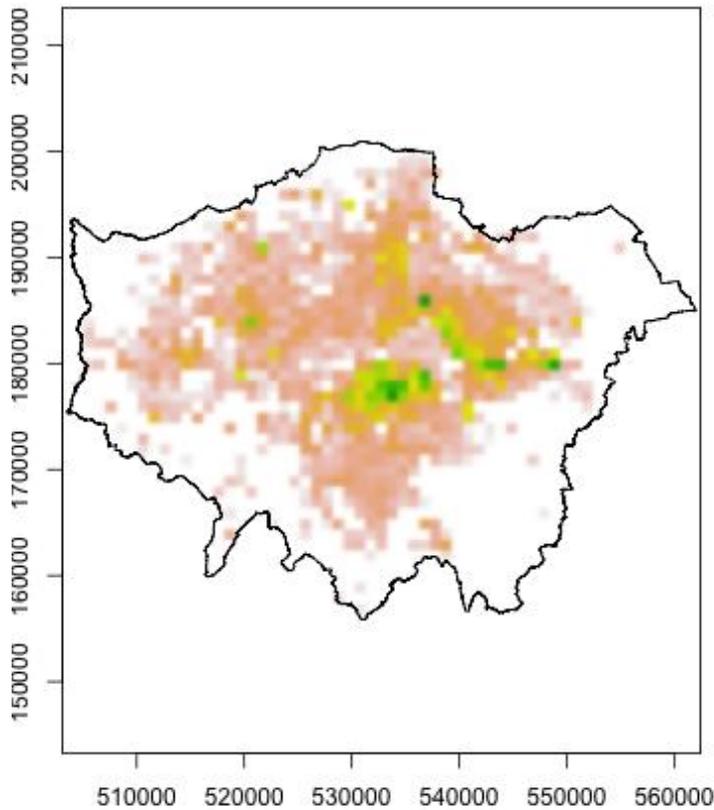
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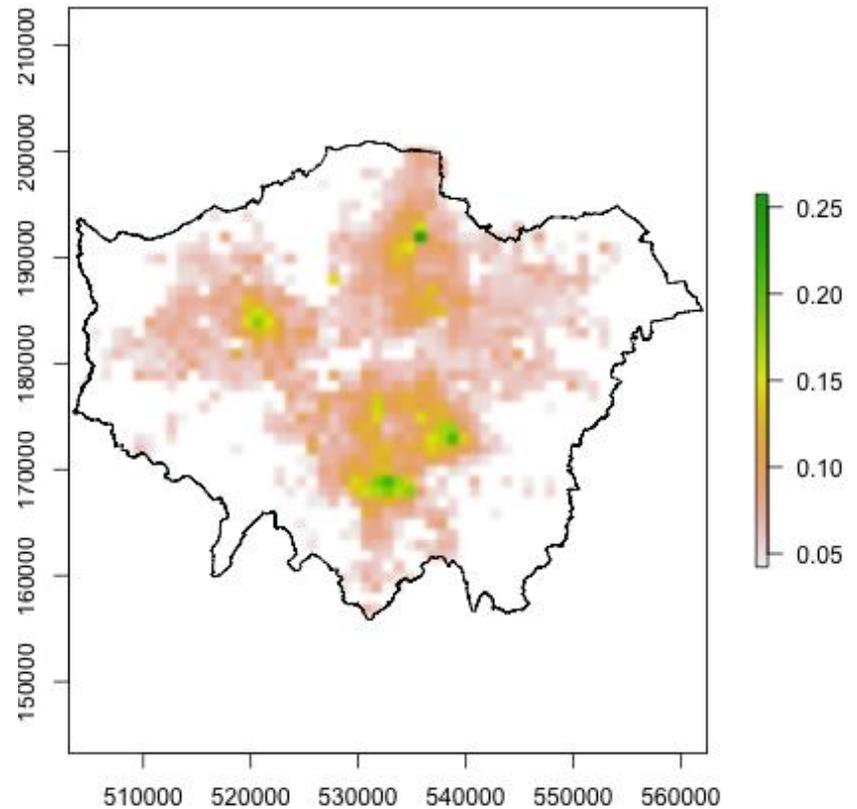
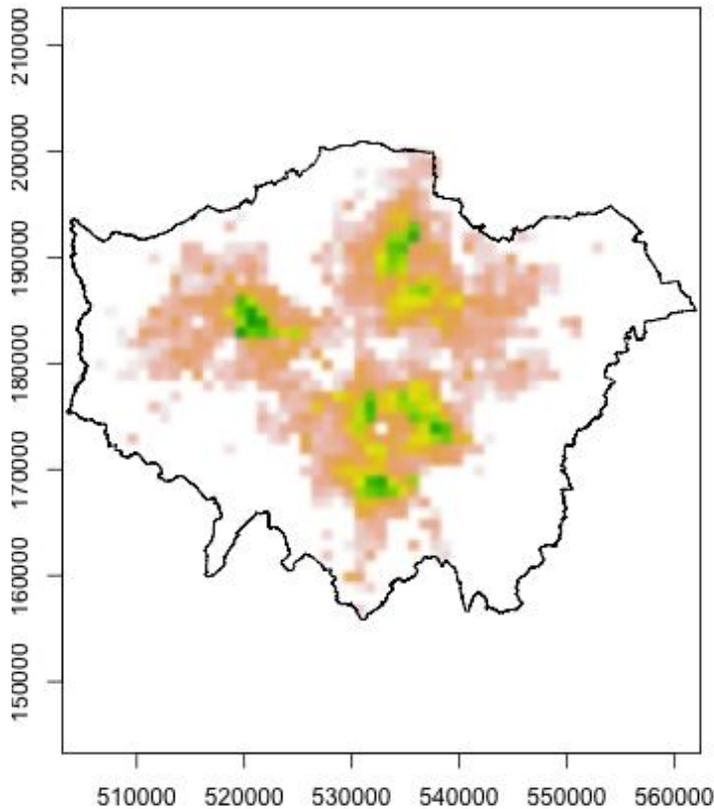
# Bangladeshi 'hot spots' (2001 & 2011)



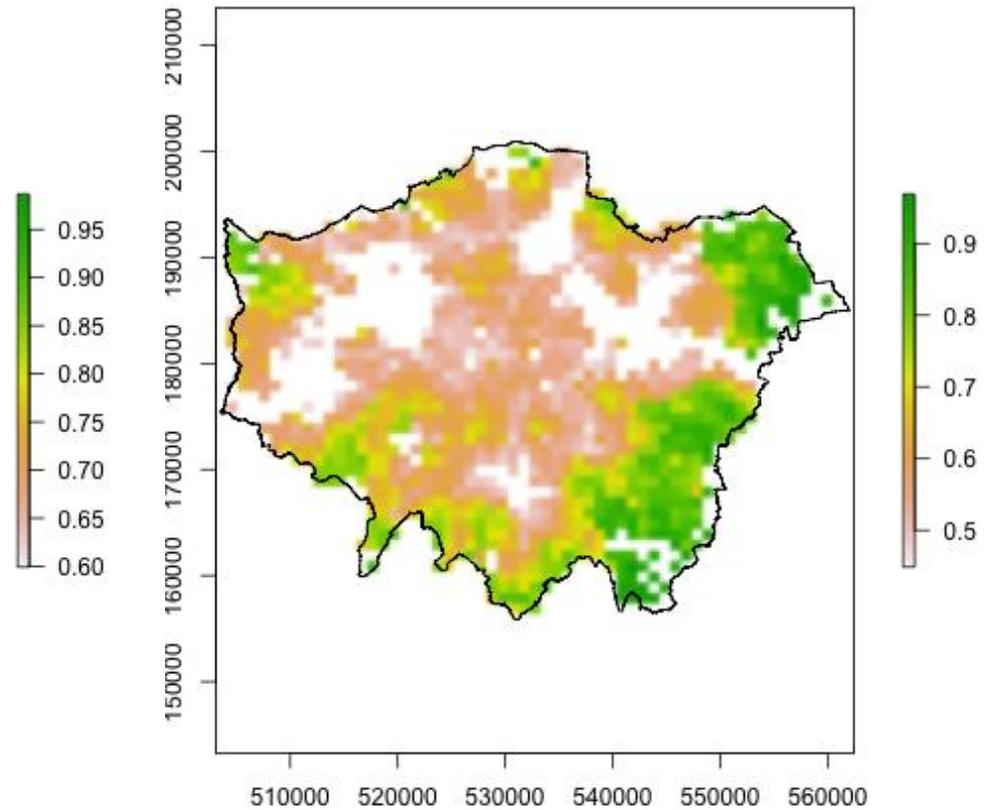
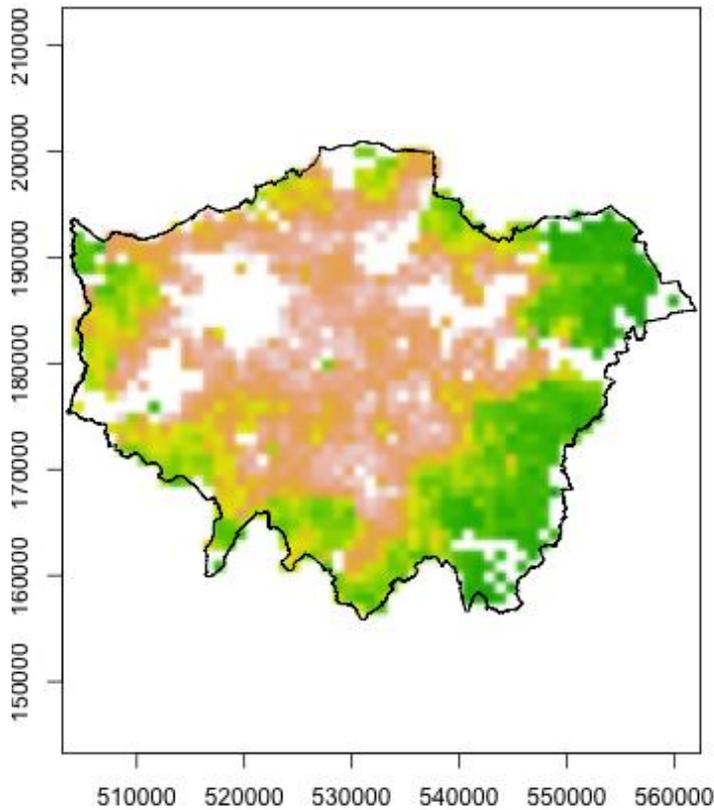
# Black African 'hot spots' (2001 & 2011)



# Black Caribbean 'hot spots' (2001 & 2011)

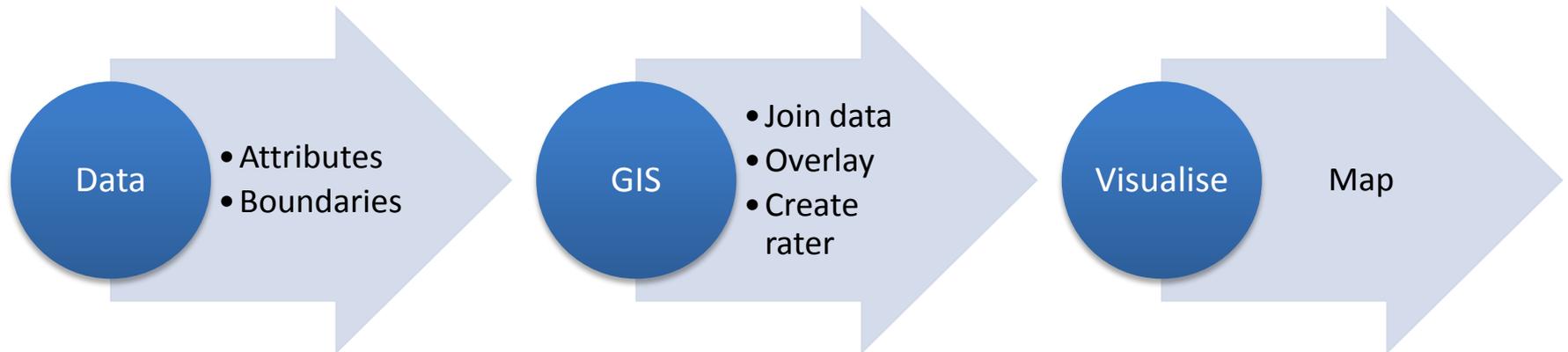


# White British 'hot spots' (2001 & 2011)



## An aside...

- How do we create a map like those just shown?



## Looking at the changes

- <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/ccc?key=0Asv32MJ5YGxydEtpYXFs0pLclJtTIZQYIJWNjVxb3c&usp=sharing>
- <http://glimmer.rstudio.com/drrichharris/segregation/>

## Some questions

- What is (ethnic) segregation?
- How can we measure it?
- If it exists, does it matter?
- Does England have 'ghettos' in the same way as the United States, for example?

## Commentaries on the 2011 Census data

- Two strands
- Those that observe the decline of the White British population in cities
- Leads to language of ‘which flight’, ‘white avoidance’, etc.
- Those that talk about decreased segregation and more mixed neighbourhoods

## Some headlines

- ‘White flight’ in UK as **mass immigration** leads to segregation (RT, May 6)
- “600,000 move out in decade of 'white flight' from London” (Mail Online, Feb 20)
- “Let's talk about the exodus of 600,000 whites from London - It is not wrong to discuss the cultural changes that **large-scale immigration** can cause, such as 'white flight' from certain areas in London” (The Telegraph, Feb 22)

## London as a multicultural city

- Post-war immigration from the Commonwealth
- More recent immigration from the UK
- Immigration is an emotive and contested subject

## London as evidence of a ‘tipping point’?

- “The invasion of charter group territory generally precipitates an outflow of charter group residents which continues steadily until the critical point is reached when the proportion of households from the invading minority group is large enough to precipitate a much faster exodus.”
  - Know & Pinch (2000: 231)

## London as evidence of a 'tipping point'?

- “The invasion of a charter group into territory generally precipitates an outflow of charter group residents which continues readily until the critical point is reached when the proportion of households from the invading minority group is large enough to precipitate a much faster exodus.”

- Know & Pinch (2000: 231)

# The Sunday Times (Jan 27, 2013)

## Britons 'self-segregate' as white flight soars

**Nicholas Hellen**  
Social Affairs Editor

A FLIGHT of white people to the countryside and outer suburbs is creating an 'ethnic cliff' dividing them from communities in cities.

The latest census data shows that Luton, Bedfordshire, and the London boroughs of Waltham Forest, Enfield and Redbridge are among urban areas that have lost about a quarter of their white British population in the past decade.

At the same time, the number of white British have risen in neighbouring districts. The 'white flight' phenomenon is even beginning to affect the market town of Wokingham in Berkshire, which was recently named the best place to bring up a family. It lost 4.3% of its white British population during the past decade.

David Goodhart, director of Demos, a think tank, said: "All the evidence shows that Britain is becoming less racist

but this data indicates that white Britons are self-segregating by moving into areas in which they are the overwhelming majority."

He said the trend could pose a threat because divided societies were less willing to share resources with their weaker members.

According to a national analysis of the census by Richard Harris, reader in quantitative geography at Bristol University, the number of people of white British origin in Reading fell 13,638 to 101,725 between 2001 and 2011 although the total population rose by 12,602.

By contrast, the white British population of the neighbouring West Berkshire area rose by 4,033 to 139,044, out of a total population of 153,822.

Lucy Beakhouse, 28, a nurse, and her husband Mike, also 28, who works as a council children's commissioner, moved from a block of flats in central Reading to the suburb of Calcot, West Berkshire, last summer,

largely because of the fear of crime. "Mike wouldn't go out at night, he was scared of walking at night by himself... There always seemed to be a lot of people hanging around on the streets," Beakhouse said.

Fariba Kabir, 28, who moved with her Afghan family into the white couple's former neighbourhood in central Reading 2½ years ago, said: "In that time we've noticed some white British people leave the area and foreigners move in. When we moved here there were two or three Asian halal shops. Now there's five or six close by."

The most dramatic exodus of white Britons took place in the northeast London borough of Redbridge. Their number fell by 40,844 to 96,253 in a decade when the total population rose by 40,335 to 279,970. The white population of Essex, nearby, rose 2.1% in the same period.

Goodhart said the phenomenon had gone largely unnoticed because the centre of Britain's cities had a wide racial mix in shops, on public transport and often in the workplace. But he said Britain was experiencing what Americans describe as "sundown segregation": if you followed people home you would see them returning to areas that are heavily segregated. According to a Commons answer obtained by David Davis, the former shadow home secretary, more than 1m pupils do not have English as a first language.

Eric Kaufmann, professor of politics at Birkbeck, University of London, who is working on a Demos research project on Britain's changing population, said: "If your country doesn't have hard borders, you may get people creating their own boundaries below the level of the state."

**Getting out**  
How 'white flight' from urban to rural areas has created 'ethnic cliffs'

	2001 White British as a % of total population	2011 White British as a % of total population	Down ↓
Reading	81%	65%	-16
West Berkshire	93%	90%	-3
Redbridge	57%	35%	-22
Essex	95%	91%	-4
Bexley	88%	77%	-11
Kent	94%	89%	-5

Source: ONS

### Getting out

How 'white flight' from urban to rural areas has created 'ethnic cliffs'

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Source: ONS

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## The Daily Mail online (Jan 27, 2013)

<b>MOVING OUT</b> How 'white flight' from urban to rural areas has created 'ethnic cliffs'	<b>2001</b> Number of white British people	<b>2011</b> Number of white British people	<b>fall/rise</b>  
<b>READING</b>	115,363	101,725	<b>-11.8%</b>
<b>WEST BERKSHIRE</b>	135,911	139,044	<b>+2.3%</b>
<b>REDBRIDGE</b>	137,097	96,253	<b>-29.8%</b>
<b>BASILDON ESSEX</b>	147,753	157,983	<b>+6.5%</b>
<b>CROYDON</b>	210,573	171,740	<b>-18.4%</b>
<b>MID SUSSEX</b>	119,218	126,341	<b>+5.6%</b>

How it works: The white population in urban areas declines, while dramatically increasing in neighbouring rural ones

## ‘Ethnic cliffs’

- Refers to the phenomenon of places with contrasting ethnic profiles existing side-by-side
- Happens at the small area scale too

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## For example...

- There is a small area in Hackney where 346 of the 640 population are White British (54%), 156 White other (24%), 14 Black (2%), 3 Asian Commonwealth (0.005%).
- Meanwhile, adjoining it is a small area where 30 of the 324 population are White British (9%), 49 White other (15%), 137 Black (42%), 48 Asian (15%).



Google earth

miles 90  
km 100



## White flight?

- It is important to understand that the proportion of white British Londoners fell so dramatically – from 60 per cent in 2001 to 44.9 per cent in 2011 – not only because of high levels of immigration but also thanks to a mass exodus of white Britons [...]

## White flight?

- White flight is an emotive term that suggests discomfort with the changing racial composition of a neighbourhood. Clearly there are many reasons why white British people might want to leave London [...] but merely by considering where it is happening, there appears to be prima facie evidence that white flight has played a role.
  - David Goodhart (*Financial Times*, Dec 26, 2012)

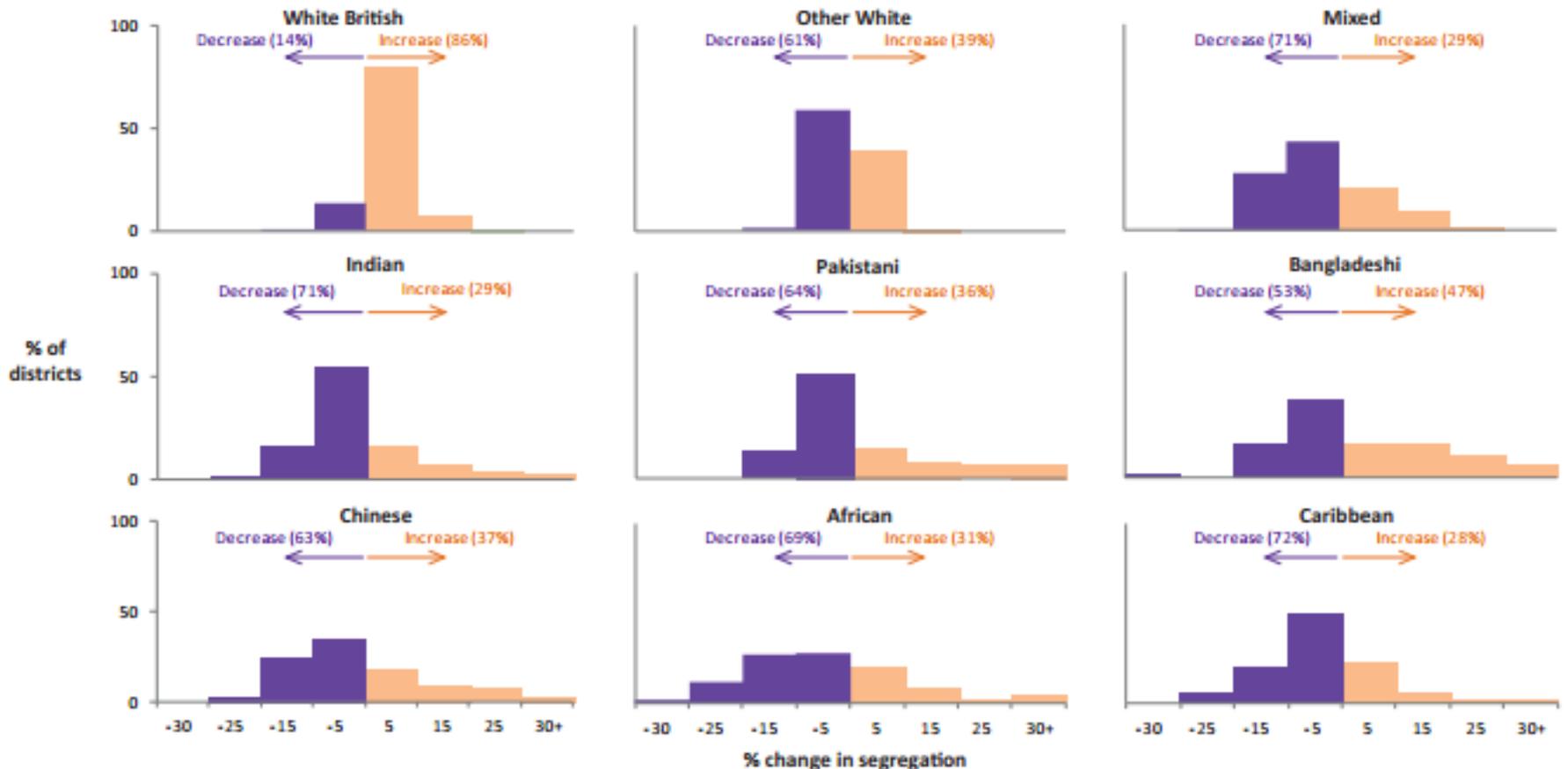
## Or white avoidance?

- Not white flight but ‘white avoidance’
  - Demos report (Kaufman, 2013)
  - White British people choosing not to live in ‘minority-dominated areas’
  - Commenting on the report, the process is described as “majority retreat” by Trevor Philips (former chair of the Equality and Human Rights Commission)

## Alternative perspectives (1)

- Segregation is decreasing?
  - Ethnic segregation is falling in England (Catney, 2013)
  - A lower proportion of the White British population are now living in majority White neighbourhoods than did in 2001 – a finding that is as true of London alone as for the whole of England (Johnston et al., 2013)

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



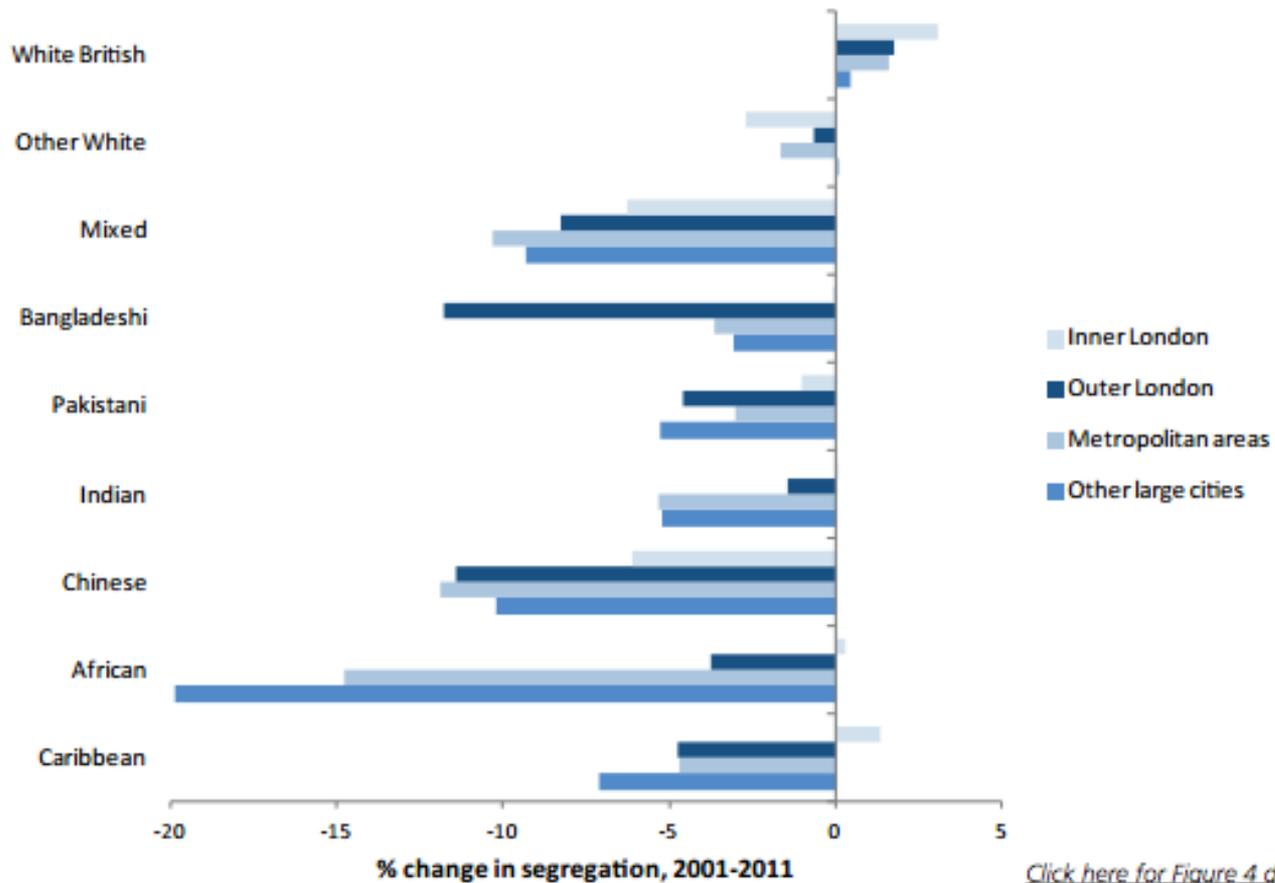
Notes: Purple bars show the proportion of districts with decreased segregation, and orange bars show the proportion of districts with increased segregation. The percentage of districts which have increased or decreased is shown in brackets.

[Click here for Figure 1 data in Excel](#)

Source:

[http://www.ethnicity.ac.uk/census/885\\_CCSR\\_Neighbourhood\\_Bulletin\\_v7.pdf](http://www.ethnicity.ac.uk/census/885_CCSR_Neighbourhood_Bulletin_v7.pdf)

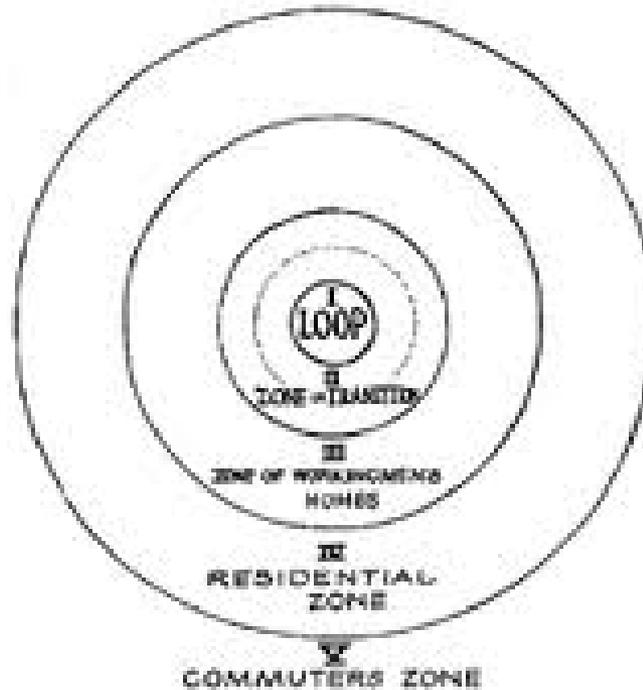
**Figure 4.** Change in segregation for London, metropolitan cities and other large cities.



## Alternative perspectives (2)

- Migration and mobility?
  - To the BBC's Home editor, Mark Easton, the decrease in the White British population in London is “a story of aspiration”, “a story of success” – a process of migration where traditionally working class (white) households have been financially able to move out from London's East End, to the outer boroughs and then further beyond the city (Easton, 2013).
    - <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-21511904>

# The Burgess model of Chicago



Burgess et al., *The City* (1925)

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## Alternative perspectives (3)

- Why the preoccupation with White British?
  - Katwala (New Statements, Feb 20): “A fall in London’s ‘white British’ population does not mean the city is now ‘majority-migrant’”.
  - 63 per cent of Londoners were born in Britain
  - The population of London is 60 per cent white
  - Three-quarters of Londoners are British citizens
  - <http://www.newstatesman.com/staggers/2013/02/truth-about-londons-white-flight>

## Alternative perspectives (4)

- Why the preoccupation with residential ‘segregation’? (cf. Cattle, 2012)?
  - What about schools?
  - Or workplaces?

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## Alternative perspectives (5)

- Assuming there is segregation, and supposing it is to some extent ‘voluntary’ does it matter?
- Indeed, might there be circumstances when it, for example, cultivates civic virtues that promote the good of one’s community
  - See *Equality, Citizenship, and Segregation: A Defense of Separation* by Michael Merry (2013)

## Alternative perspectives (6)

- Is it actually ethnic 'segregation' or social (i.e. by wealth and deprivation)
- And is it caused by the individuals themselves or by structural factors?

## Some questions

- Suppose that schools in London are more ethnically segregated than neighbourhoods (in fact, they are)
  - Should you do anything about it? Why?
  - What might you do about it?
  - Who would your actions affect most?

## Commentaries on the 2011 Census data

- The strands are not necessarily in contradiction
- They may arise due to different processes (more mixing but also the contraction of the White British from some urban locations)
- Or even the same process (urban-suburban/rural) migration but differentially realised and therefore with different geographies for different ethnic groups.

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## For example

- Consider those local authorities (nationally) where the % of the residential population classified as Pakistani in 2001 was  $> 1.04\%$  (top quintile)
- Of these, 92% have “decreased segregation” by 2011 (Of the exceptions, Burnley has the greatest increase)
- But, amongst those 92%, 88% have lost White British population

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## For example

- Consider those local authorities where the % of the residential population classified as Bangladeshi in 2001 was  $> 0.32\%$  (top quintile)
- Of these, 94% have “decreased segregation” by 2011 (Of the exceptions, Kensington & Chelsea has the greatest increase)
- But, amongst those 94%, 84% have lost White British population

- It's not just because the White British population is decreasing everywhere (it isn't)
- In the 214 (of 326) local authorities that didn't meet any of the previous criteria, 81% had a growth in their White British population

- Data are not neutral.
- They are political.
- And they are always debatable.

- 
- “We do not have segregation in any shape or form in the UK” (Peter Herbert, Society of Black Lawyers).
    - Quoted at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-24147027>
  - Sir Robin Wales [mayor of Newham] has spoken of his aim to prevent “apartheid” in Newham by pushing integration between communities.
    - [http://www.newhamrecorder.co.uk/news/newham\\_mayor\\_defends\\_community\\_integration\\_plan\\_on\\_bbc\\_newsnight\\_1\\_2\\_768586](http://www.newhamrecorder.co.uk/news/newham_mayor_defends_community_integration_plan_on_bbc_newsnight_1_2_768586)



Here, for me, is the dilemma...





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## ‘Highly rated’ comment in response to the Mark Easton article

- Why have the White British left London?
  - “Some of the Areas have become very Asian oriented with shops that cater more for Asian people Halal Butchers, Bangladeshi Bakers, Mosques and Temples, local shops that are dominated by Asian foods and spices, and that cater very little for non Asian tastes. Is it any wonder the White people move out? People feel like strangers in the town where they were born.”

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## Highest rated comment in response to the Mark Easton article

- **Why have the White British left London?**
  - “They have left because they've been pushed out by migrants. A few weeks ago we heard of some Islamic "men" castigating a man for not being Muslim, asking if he was gay, and telling him to "get out, this is a Muslim area”. Their exact words were played on the radio so there was no doubt over it. Time for the govt. to do something about such migrants”

- You can also find evidence of similar (although not perhaps as strong) sentiments in (the respondents of) e.g.
  - Dench et al. (2006) *The New East End: Kinship, Race and Conflict*. London: Profile Books Ltd.
  - Butler, T. & Hamnett, C. (2011) *Ethnicity, Class and Aspiration*. Bristol: Policy Press.

## White Flight, Ethnic Cliffs: Unhelpful hyperbole?

- Simplistic, certainly.
- Adds a rhetorical flourish of terror, panic, stark divides, etc.
- Ignore other demographic and social processes
- And yet...



## Some (final) questions

- Is it right (or responsible) to talk about ethnic segregation in London or the UK? What might be some of the problems with the term?
- What do you think about phrases like white flight or white avoidance?
- Is it right to make the connection between demographic changes and immigration?