Net Migration in London: Evidence of Ethnic Deconcentration

John Stillwell

There is ongoing concern as to whether ethnic communities in Great Britain are becoming increasingly spatially segregated. This paper uses data from the 2001 Census of Population to explore the relationship between ethnic net migration and ethnic population concentration in London, the capital city and main location of ethnic minority populations in the United Kingdom. The findings suggest that migration is acting as an agent of dispersal of non-White populations from areas of high ethnic concentration to areas of low ethnic concentration, whereas White migrants are leaving areas where they are underrepresented and moving to areas of over-representation.

Introduction

Whilst a number of studies have captured various characteristics of ethnic migration within Britain in the late twentieth century (for example, Owen and Green, 1992; Robinson, 1992; 1993; Rees and Duke-Williams, 1995; Rees and Phillips, 1996; Champion, 1996; Owen, 1997), there has been an explosion of interest in recent years in ethnic migration propensities and patterns at the beginning of the twenty-first century, based largely on the results of the 2001 Census (such as Simpson, 2004; Champion, 2005; Stillwell and Duke-Williams, 2005; Stillwell and Phillips, 2006; Finney and Simpson, 2008, 2009; Stillwell and Hussain, 2008; Stillwell *et al.,* 2008, Simpson and Finney, 2008, 2009; Stillwell and Hussain, 2009). Ethnic variations in migration propensities have been confirmed using both micro (e.g. Samples of Anonymised Records, SAR) and aggregate data (e.g. Special Migration Statistics, SMS) and analyses have been undertaken to investigate the flows of ethnic migrants at different spatial scales, given the relatively concentrated settlement locations of most non-White populations.

In this paper, attention is focused on London and, more specifically, on migration between wards within the capital city and between London wards and the rest of Great Britain. London contains a major share of most ethnic minority populations, particularly Black groups, and is the region that drives the internal migration system of the country, attracting young students and workers as in-migrants and generating many older working or post-labour force age out-migrants. This paper aims primarily to address the question of whether the role of migration for London wards has been to accentuate or to diminish ethnic spatial concentration. In order to do this, ward location quotients are computed for ethnic populations and patterns of net migration within London are summarised for quintile groups of wards based on mean location quotients. This analysis is preceded by the illustration of net migration balances for wards within and beyond London for different groups and is complemented by an investigation of the relationship between net migration and deprivation. Before the results of the research are presented, a brief outline is given of the data used together with a short summary of the ethnic complexion of London.

2001 Census data

Migration data is extracted from the question in the 2001 Census about place of usual residence 12 months prior to census date (29 April). Since the data refer only to those in existence at both the start and end of the pre-census period, they are referred to as transi-

John Stillwell, Professor, School of Geography, University of Leeds, UK.

Table 1. Population and migration counts by ethnic group, Britain and London. *Churn = Flows within London, into London and out of London. *Source: 2001 Census Special Migration Statistics*

	Great Britain		London		London's
	Number	Share	Churn	Share	Share of GB
	Population				
White	52,481,200	91.9	5,103,203	71.2	9.7
Black	1,147,597	2.0	782,849	10.9	68.2
Indian	1,051,844	1.8	436,993	6.1	41.5
POSA	1,276,892	2.2	429,700	6.0	33.6
Mixed	673,796	1.2	226,111	3.2	33.6
Other	229,324	0.4	113,034	1.6	49.3
Chinese	243,258	0.4	80,201	1.1	33.0
Total	57,103,911	100	7,172,091	100	12.6
	Migrants				
White	5,510,662	91.0	750,092	74.7	13.6
Black	139,811	2.3	94,380	9.4	67.5
Indian	103,457	1.7	44,219	4.4	42.7
POSA	131,618	2.2	50,857	5.1	38.6
Mixed	97,449	1.6	33,543	3.3	34.4
Other	35,878	0.6	17,640	1.8	49.2
Chinese	35,793	0.6	12,931	1.3	36.1
Total	6,054,668	100.0	1,003,662	100.0	16.6

tion data and exclude return or multiple moves over the period as well as migrants who were born and/or died during the course of the year. Despite exclusions such as these, the census is virtually the only source providing reliable and comprehensive data on migration by ethnic group. The data that have been used in this paper are for seven ethnic groups that have been defined by the Office of National Statistics (ONS) and used to categorise migration flows at level 1 (district) in the Special Migration Statistics (SMS Table 3). The groups are defined as aggregations of the 16 groups used in the 2001 Census Key Statistics and are as follows: White (including White British, White Irish and Other White); Indian; Pakistani and Other South Asian (POSA, including Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Other Asian); Chinese; Black (including Caribbean, African, Black British and Black Other); Mixed (including White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian, Other Mixed); and Other. The commissioned tables include flows between and within 408 local authority districts in Great Britain and well as flows to and from each ward and the Government Office Region (GOR) in which it is located. Unfortunately, the ethnic classification aggregates all White and Black people into single groups, and categorises Other South Asians with Pakistanis. This is far from ideal when there are likely to be significant differences between the component groups but is a condition imposed by the restrictions of disclosure control (Stillwell and Duke-Williams, 2006).

London's share of national ethnic population and internal migration

Britain's capital city is the place of usual residence for a large number of the nation's non-White ethnic groups. Over two thirds of Britain's Black population, two fifths of the Indian population, a third of the POSA, Mixed and Chinese populations and almost half of the Other non-White population lived in London in 2001, representing 29% of the capital's 7.1 million residents. Table 1 shows the migration churn, defined as migrations in and out of the Greater London region as well as migrations taking place within the region; three quarters of the one million London migrants were White, compared with 91% nationally, and migrants of all ethnicities in London represented 12.6% of all migrations taking place within Great Britain during the 12-month period. In absolute terms, the major non-White ethnic groups are the Blacks and Asians, comprising three quarters of London's non-White migrants.

There are distinct geographical distributions associated with London's ethnic minority populations as captured in Figure 2 which shows pie charts proportional in size to the non-White population of each borough overlaid on a choropleth map of the White percentage of each borough population. The latter shows how boroughs with relatively high proportions of Whites are found in outer London whereas ethnic minorities are much more prevalent in inner boroughs and in two of these, Newham and Brent, Whites represent less than 50% of the population.

Ward-based location quotients (LQs) can be used to give a clearer picture of the relative concentration of ethnic group populations across the capital. An LQ is computed for each of 628 wards in London

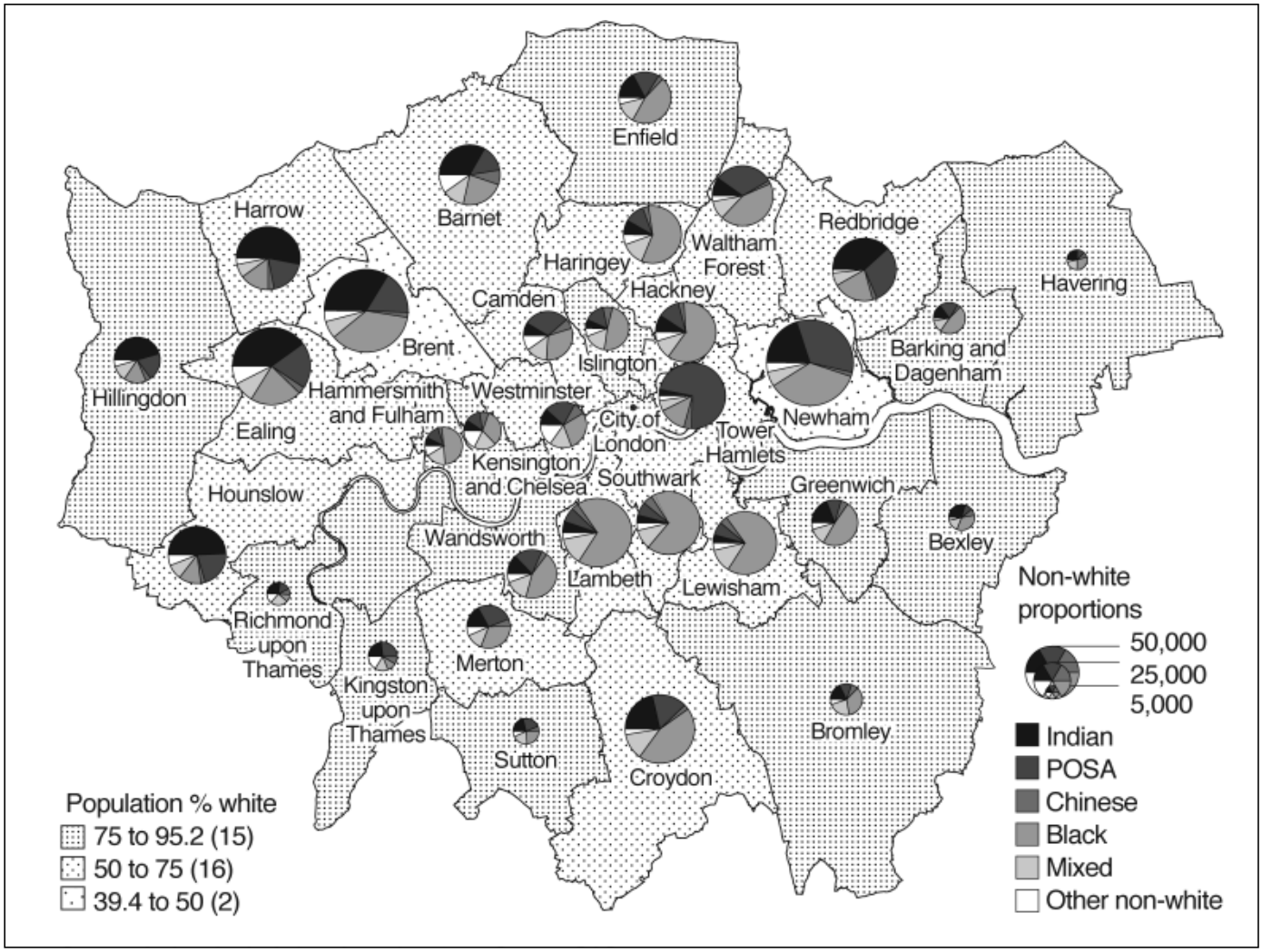


Figure 2. Distributions of London's ethnic populations by borough, 2001. *Source: Author's calculations based on 2001 Census CAS*

for each ethnic group; this measures the proportion of each ward population that is of a particular ethnicity, standardised by the overall proportion of the population of London that is in that ethnic group. Figure 3 demonstrates the distribution of ward location quotients for Whites and the three major non-White groups, illustrating the geographies of over-representation (LQ>1) and under-representation (LQ<1) for each group. The five shading categories represent the quintiles into which the wards have been divided based on their LQ values. Indians are spatially concentrated in the western boroughs of Harrow, Brent, Ealing and Hounslow, whereas the POSA group are also over-represented in Brent and Ealing but also in Tower Hamlets and Newham as well as south of the river Thames in parts of Merton and Croydon. The Black population, on the other hand, has a more concentrated distribution in central boroughs south of the river including Lambeth, Southwark and Lewisham as well as in Newham, Hackney, Islington and out to Haringey, Waltham Forest and Enfield in the north and in Brent in the west.

The mean LQs for boroughs in each quintile have been plotted for each ethnic group in Figure 4 and provide evidence of the relative degree of spatial concentration of ethnic groups. The chart indicates that differences between quintiles in mean LQ for Whites are relatively small: the White population is relatively evenly distributed across London wards. In contrast, the Indians and POSA groups have the highest mean LQs in the top quintile (Q1) with LQ values falling sharply between Q1 and Q2. The Black and Other non-White

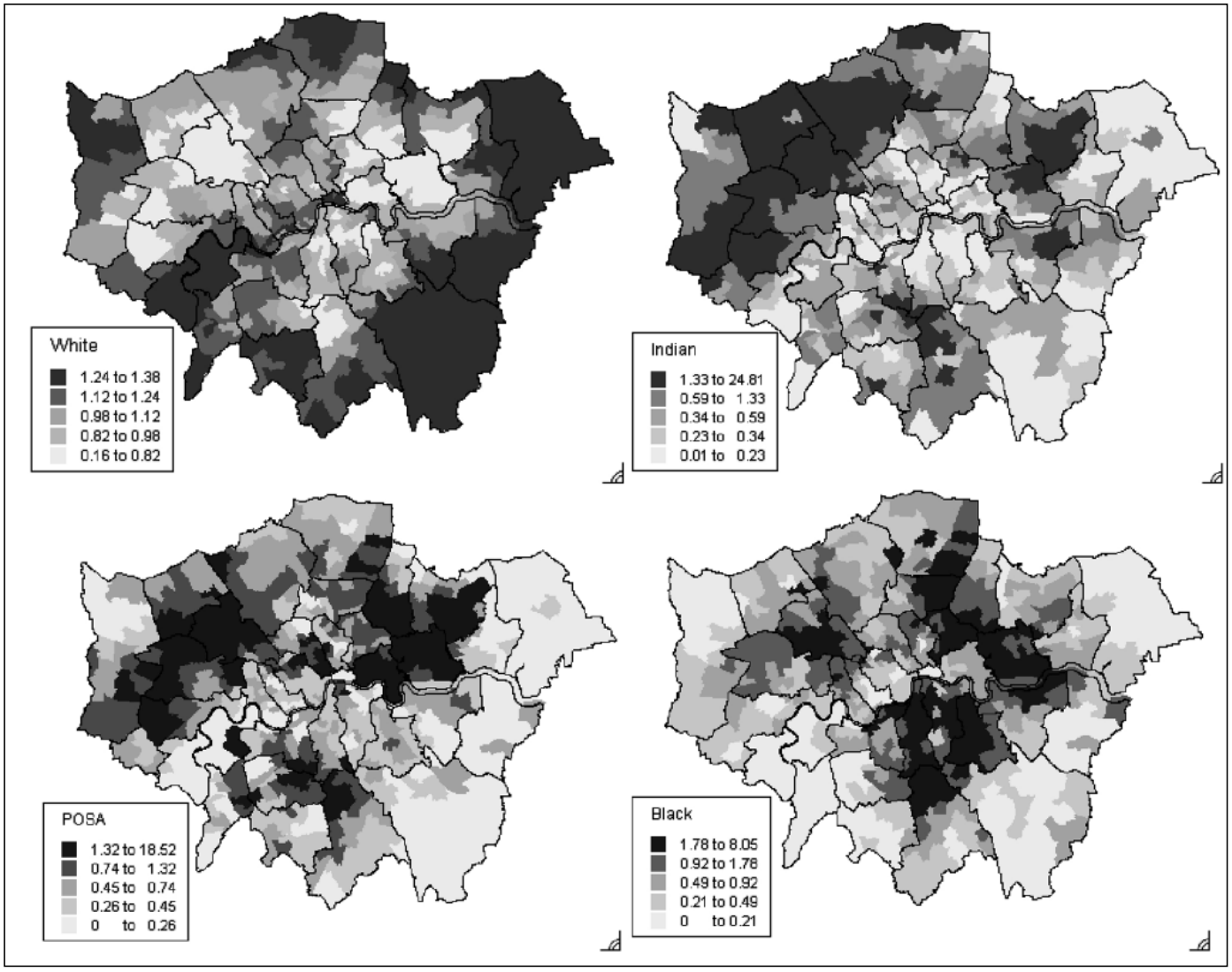


Figure 3. Ward location quotients, four main ethnic groups in London, 2001. *Source: Author's calculations based on 2001 Census CAS*

groups have similar distributions of LQ values across the quintile range whereas the Chinese and Mixed groups are closer to the distribution for Whites.

Patterns of ethnic net migration in London

Data from 2001 Census commissioned tables provided by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) enable the computation of net migration balances for different ethnic groups. Here, however, we have chosen to disaggregate the balances in an attempt to identify different patterns of net migration that are associated with migrants between wards *within* London and migrants arriving in London or leaving London for destinations elsewhere in Britain. We can refer to these as London's *internal* and *external* net migrants and Figure 5 compares the distribution of balances for Whites in comparison with Blacks.

The significance of disaggregating the net migration balances is immediately obvious for the White group. The internal net migration of Whites within London shows the process of decentralisation from inner London wards to outer London whereas the external net balances show how White people are leaving the outer areas of London for the rest of the country but there are other streams moving into the inner areas. The two patterns are almost direct opposites; wards in inner London are experiencing Whites leaving for the outer suburbs whilst at the same time re-

ceiving net inflows from the rest of the country (and, incidentally, from overseas through net immigration). The patterns for Blacks are less symmetric and harder to detect because of the concentration of the Black population in particular wards as shown in Figure 3. Nevertheless, there is visual evidence of movement within London away from areas of Black concentration to more suburban locations whilst the net external migration of Black migrants with the rest of the country is negative for most wards indicating net losses which are relatively small in magnitude. Other ethnic groups show different patterns, most noticeably the Chinese, whose distribution of internal net migration balances are much more haphazard but whose external net migration exchanges indicate some substantial gains in wards in central London. Patterns of migration effectiveness at the borough scale are reported in Stillwell and Hussain (2009).

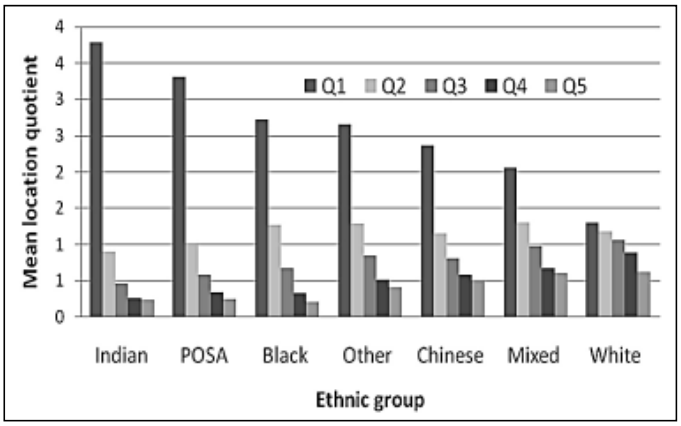


Figure 4. Mean location quotients by quintile, ethnic groups in London, 2001. *Source: Author's calculations based on 2001 Census CAS*

Ethnic net migration, concentration and deprivation

London's ethnic minority populations have increased in size in recent decades due to natural change propelled by higher fertility rates as well as continued immigration and there has also been a dramatic increase in ethnic diversity in the capital city (Rees and Butt, 2003). In fact, Britain can now be described as being "super-diverse" (Vertovec, 2006) a notion intended to underline a level and type of complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced. One of the key questions has been whether the internal migration component of population change has been reinforcing the concentration of ethnic minorities or whether it has been acting as a mechanism of ethnic dispersal or deconcentration. One view, espoused by Trevor Phillips in September 2005, was that Britain is moving towards increased ethnic segregation and this trend adds considerable urgency to the need to drive forward the process of integration. Speaking at Manchester Town Hall, the Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), warned that Britain was "sleep-walking" its way towards segregation on a scale already seen in the USA, reiterating the concerns of Ted Cantle in his report (Home Office, 2001) following the riots of 2001 in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham, that those living in ethnic communities were increasingly living "parallel lives" (see Phillips, 2006).

In the remainder of this paper, we attempt to add further evidence to that presented in the previous section indicating that internal migration is taking place in London that supports an alternative trend of ethnic dispersal and mixing. In order to do this, we have used the location quotients defined earlier to produce quintile groups of wards and computed the mean net migration rates for each quintile based on net movements within London to and from each ward. These rates are plotted in Figure 6 for Whites and the three major non-White groups. Quintile 1 (Q1) contains the wards with the highest proportions of populations in the respective ethnic groups whilst Q5 contains those wards with the lowest representations of each ethnic population. The results show that, in aggregate terms, Whites are gaining in areas where they are already well represented (Q1 and Q2 wards) but are leaving wards of relative underrepresentation (Q3-Q5).

On the other hand, all three non-White groups show rates of net loss in wards where they are overrepresented (Q1) and rates of net gain in the other four quintiles. The average rates of net gain are highest in those wards which have the lowest levels of representation of members of the Black, Indian and POSA populations. This evidence suggests that whilst White migrants are leaving areas where the White proportion of the population is relatively low – some refer to this as 'White flight' – non-White migrants are leaving areas where there are concentrations of their

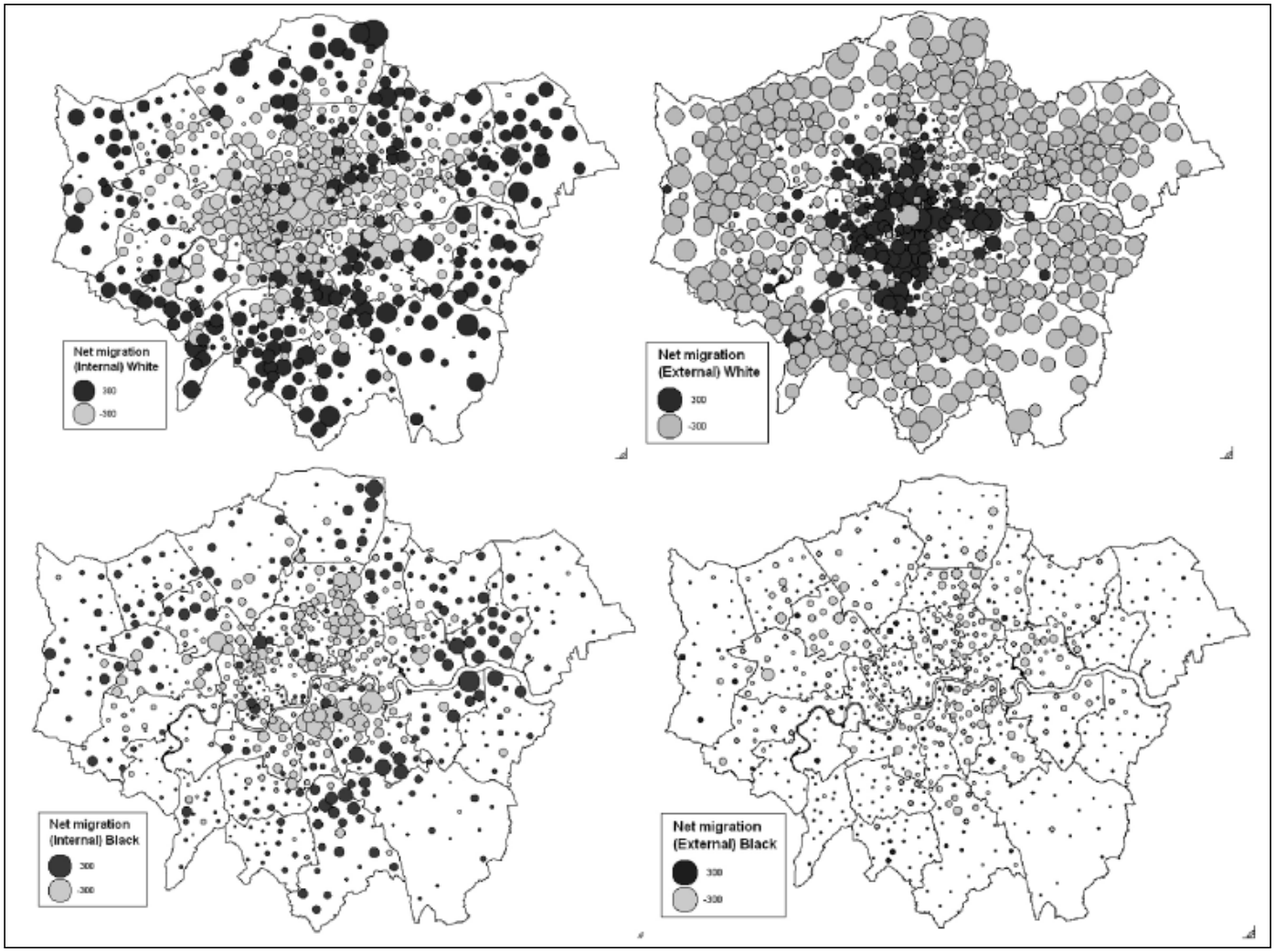


Figure 5. Internal and external net migration balances by ward, London, 2000–01.
Source: Author's calculations based on 2001 Census commissioned data

own population. Migration amongst the Black, Indian and POSA populations within London is therefore an agent of non-White population dispersal rather than an agent of further concentration. As a consequence, non-White migration is contributing to the process of ethnic mixing in London whereas White migration has the opposite effect of accentuating the concentration of the White population in areas where the White population is predominant.

Finally, we consider the relationship between net migration rates and the level of deprivation for wards across the city. In this instance we make use of the Townsend index as a measure of deprivation. This index was devised by Townsend *et al.* (1988) to provide a material measure of deprivation and disadvantage and is based on four different variables (unemployment, overcrowding, non-car ownership, non-home ownership) that can be taken from census data. Four variables combine to form an overall score. The higher the Townsend index, the more deprived and disadvantaged an area is thought to be. Across the wards of London, using data from the 2001 Census, the Townsend index varies from 9.6 to -5.5. There are 115 wards with scores greater than +5 and only three with scores less than -5; two thirds of the wards have Townsend scores above zero as indicated in Figure 7a whilst the quintile distributions of wards based on Townsend scores are shown in Figure 7b.

Using the same approach that was adopted for the analysis of population concentration, Figure 8 plots

the mean net migration rates for the four main ethnic groups for each of the quintiles. The results are almost consistent across each ethnic group; net migration rates are negative in areas with the highest levels of deprivation (Q1 and Q2) and positive in areas of least deprivation (Q4 and Q5). In this case, we note that all migrants are showing tendency to upward social mobility in terms of the differences between the mean deprivation scores in the areas of origin and destination. White and non-White migrants show the same pattern with Black migrants being those for which the rates of loss and gain are highest.

Conclusion

Migration has a significant impact on the structure of London's population. It is the key to the continued position of London as an economic and cultural powerhouse (Data Management and Analysis Group, 2005). Every year thousands of people of different ethnic groups move into, out of or within the capital city. Of course, the populations of some ethnic groups are growing from international migration and natural change whilst other groups are changing due to migration between London and the rest of England and Wales. For the most part, this paper has focused on those moving between wards within London in the pre-2001 Census period. Many Londoners who changed usual residence did so within London and this movement will have changed the demographic structure and the ethnic complexion of different communities.

The disaggregation of net migration into net flows within London and between London and the rest of the country is valuable in exposing some of the different processes of spatial decentralisation from the inner to the outer boroughs, further dispersal from the outer boroughs as well as inward movement to the inner boroughs from other parts of the UK (and overseas). The paper has investigated whether the migra-

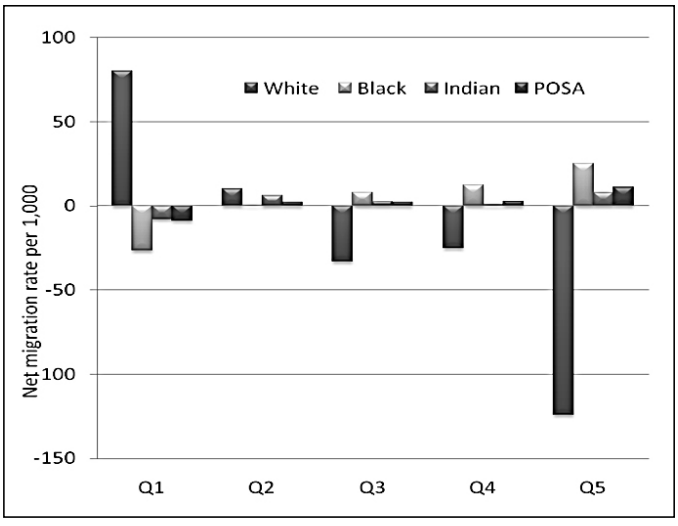
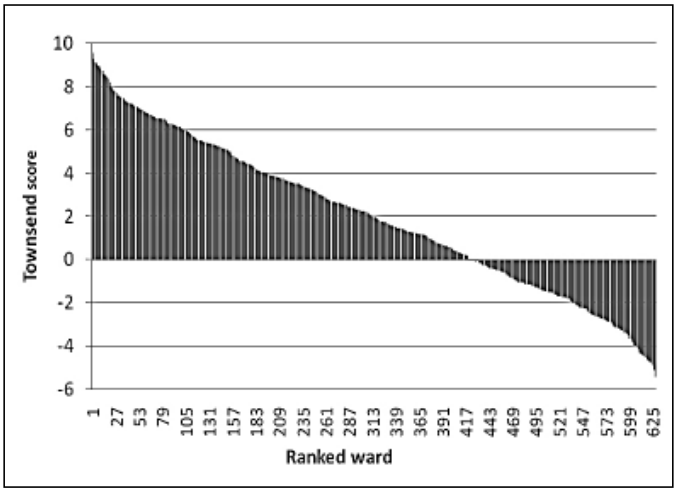
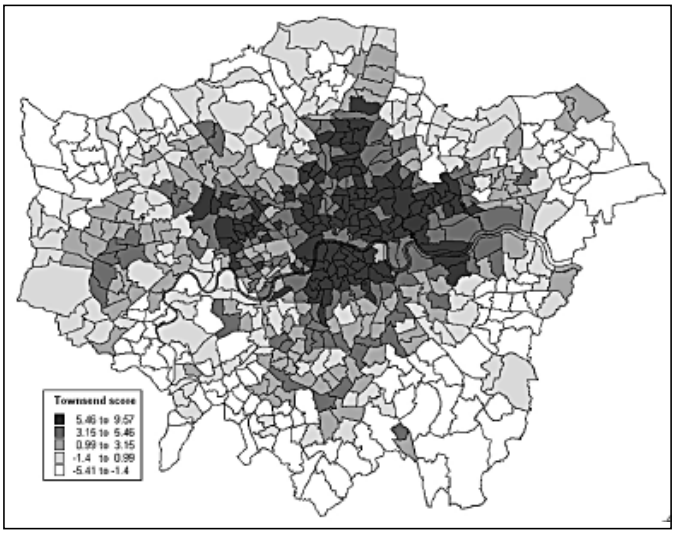


Figure 6: Net migration rates by location quotient quintile, main ethnic groups. *Source: Author's calculations based on 2001 Census commissioned data*



a. Wards ranked by Townsend score



b. Wards by quintile based on Townsend score

Figure 7 (a,b): Deprivation scores of wards in London. *Source: Author's calculations based on 2001 Census data*

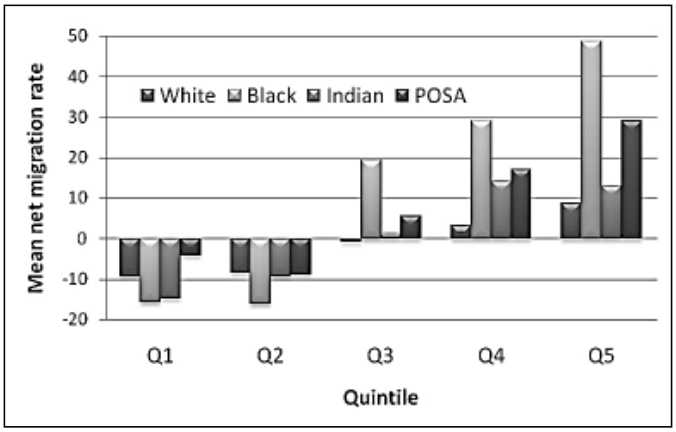


Figure 8: Net migration by deprivation quintile, main ethnic groups. *Source: Author's calculations based on 2001 Census data*

tion of ethnic groups within London is acting as an agent of concentration or dispersal and the findings suggest that for non-White populations, there is a tendency for movement to occur from areas of high ethnic concentration to areas of low ethnic concentration, whereas white migrants are leaving areas where they are underrepresented and moving to areas of over-representation. Migrants from all the main ethnic groups are leaving areas of higher deprivation for areas where the level of deprivation is lower. Further work is required to better understand the importance of internal migration relative to natural change and international migration to communities within London and across the rest of the country.

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