

counter discrimination, we must also recognize the wider causes of changing ethnic geographies in the development of policy responses, rather than singling out specific groups. Urban policy is already moving in this direction (ODPM, 2003). A greater focus on the need to make urban neighbourhoods more “liveable” would reinforce the wider environmental need to reduce opportunities for outward “sprawl” building in response to demand for better quality homes and neighbourhoods outside existing built up areas. This pattern has fuelled urban decline over decades (Power and Mumford, 1999; Rogers and Power, 2000). While minority communities attempt to disperse outside the core city areas where they are currently concentrated, those who are still there would then be less cut off from wider opportunities, whatever their ethnic origin (Oldham, Burnley, Bradford reports to Home Office, 2001; Burgess and Wilson, 2004).

The changing composition and settlement patterns of minority ethnic groups that this Census Brief highlights should inform the way we seek to understand our society, our cities and neighbourhoods. It should encourage more localised work on the detailed patterns of migration of all communities, white and minority, and it should reinforce the arguments for a strong urban policy in favour of avoiding the risks of segregation and inner city collapse that have characterised patterns of high minority concentration in America. In Britain and other parts of Europe, our cities are older and more valued; our much stronger welfare systems limit inequalities; a different if troubled history of inter-ethnic contact shapes migration; and much greater pressure on land outside the cities makes solutions inevitably different. These differences could pave the way towards the much more mixed societies that we are inevitably becoming. The issues we raise are significant, not just for urban and social policy but also for the wider debate about the nature of our multi- ethnic society and the inclusion of many diverse groups within it.

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change. In numerical terms, increases have been greatest in areas where minorities were already concentrated, as would be expected because of natural growth as well as continued immigration into established communities. This has led to the greatest percentage point increases in minority ethnic groups as a share of population in the areas where they were already well established. In inner urban areas, this trend has been accompanied by a continuing decline in white population, leading to significant changes in overall ethnic composition. In Newham for example, the minority population rose from 44% in 1991 to 61% in 2001. While this change was the most extreme and only two local authorities, both in London, became "majority minority" areas, most areas of high minority settlement saw significant increases. Birmingham became 30% minority by 2001. At the neighbourhood level, increasing concentrations of minority ethnic groups were also pronounced. For example, one ward in Bradford increased its minority ethnic population from 54% to 73%.

Academic analysis of the growth and distribution of minority groups has been the subject of intense debate, both in this country and the USA, over the interpretations of segregation and whether measurements of this phenomenon are accurate, valid or useful (Simpson, 2003, Dorling, 2004; Peach, Jargowsky, 1996; Massey and Denton, 1993). More widely, discussion of these trends can spark off heated debates about the nature of the problem of ethnic group segregation and how it comes about. Here we discuss the implications of our findings as neutrally as possible, without attempting to engage in these ongoing debates, and being careful not to draw strong conclusions from limited data. The Census data itself does not provide direct evidence about the implications of ethnic change for the opportunities and outcomes of people from different groups, or for social cohesion and community relations. We might expect that the emergent dual pattern of settlement that we have described would have mixed effects, and our wider work on tracking change in deprived urban areas supports that interpretation. Growing concentrations of minority groups in specific disadvantaged inner urban areas can cause strains both on service provision and on community relations, and particularly the risk of greater separation along ethnic lines, thereby reducing social contact and the potential for social cohesion (Cantle, 2001). On the other hand, there is also evidence of greater tolerance and acceptance between different ethnic groups where contact does develop, with many positive signs and benefits (Mumford and Power, 2003). However, this is only possible where ethnic separation is reduced and inter-ethnic contact increased.

The need for a more detailed understanding of the processes of change is evident from our work. The findings are consistent both with patterns of natural growth and continued immigration into existing minority communities, increasing the proportion of minorities in areas where they were already concentrated, and a pattern of gradual dispersal away from areas of first settlement, leading to small increases in minority population in areas that were formerly predominantly white. We do not, however, provide evidence of how much of the growth of minority populations in formerly white

areas is caused by migration from other neighbouring areas, by new immigration, or by natural growth of small existing populations. We are not in a position to ascribe settlement patterns to choice or constraint of different groups. For example, there is now a body of evidence showing that many minority groups, including groups that have previously been assumed to chose "self-segregation" such as Pakistani and Bangladeshi, actively seek dispersal to better areas and to mix more with the majority white population (Radcliffe et al, 2000; Simpson, 2003), but this is not a point we can prove or disprove with the data presented here. Nor can we say how much of the loss of white populations from inner urban areas is 'white flight' from areas that are becoming dominated by minority groups, or a product of the natural ageing of white communities, or a product of out-movement for other reasons. Such issues demand the careful exploration of migration and birth and deaths data as well as data from local surveys of preferences and choices.

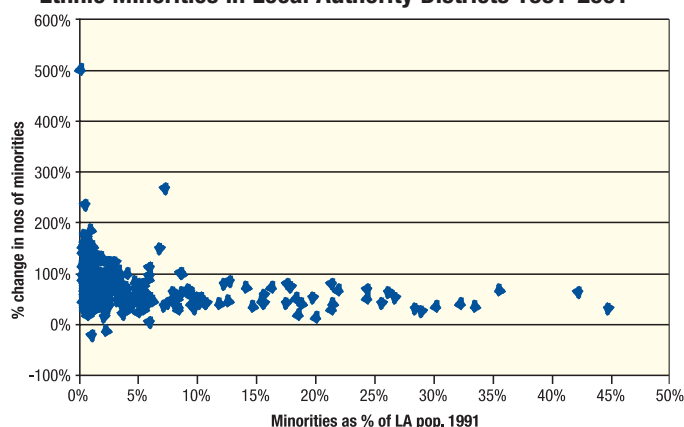
Moreover, we also need to understand how changes in the geographical distribution of ethnic groups are linked to wider socio-economic changes. Ethnic change is in part driven by the powerful globalisation of national economies, with its impact on migration into developed countries from poorer regions of the world. This pattern is common across the EU, North America and Australia (Marcuse and van Kempen 2000, 2001, Katz, 2002). It is not a local phenomenon but it has local implications. Wider urban trends are also important. The same processes of economic and technological change, combined with anti-urban planning, transportation and housing policies, have played a part in the long-run outward movement of urban populations from older high density inner urban areas, a movement begun after the first world war and continued throughout the twentieth century (Swenarton, 1981; Power, 1987; Rogers and Power, 2000). Outward movement of existing populations leaves residual social and economic problems for those who are left, as well as vacuums of space and housing that can be readily filled by newcomers who have difficulty accessing more favoured locations and higher cost housing. We described this continuing trend towards de-urbanisation in the first of our Census briefs (Lupton and Power 2004). It may well be one of the most important explanations of the findings we present here: an economic and residential trend having powerful implications for the location and interaction of minority ethnic groups, and for the disadvantages that they face. Understanding what is happening to city populations and economies, and the implications of these changes for the concentration of the disadvantaged in particular neighbourhoods is a vital element in understanding changing ethnic geographies. Our next paper will look more closely at poverty concentrations and how they have changed over the 1990s. It will include measures of worklessness and other measures of deprivation, including ethnic identity, which has historically been connected with many forms of both discrimination and disadvantage, often linked to area concentrations (SEU, 2000).

This wider context suggests that while there is a need to target specific ethnic groups for specific needs or to

Percentage increases in the numbers of people from ethnic minorities tended to be greatest in local authority districts with very small proportions of minority residents in 1991, as would be expected given the very low bases upon which percentage increases would be calculated (Figure 4). Often, large percentage increases made almost no impact on the proportion of minority ethnic residents in the district. The most extreme example was the Isles of Scilly, which had a 500% increase, from one minority individual in 1991 to six in 2001, increasing the proportion of minority residents in the district only from 0% to 0.3%.

However, as Annex 1 and Figure 4 show, substantial percentage increases in the numbers of people from minority groups were recorded also in local authority areas with large minority populations in 1991. Newham and Tower Hamlets, for example both saw increases of two-thirds, Southwark 70%, Redbridge 80%, Croydon 79% and Camden 75%. Outside London, Slough's minority ethnic population increased by 53%, Birmingham's by 40%, Bradford's by 42% and Blackburn-with-Darwen's by 44%. These were significant increases in areas where minority groups already made up a significant proportion of the population.<sup>6</sup>

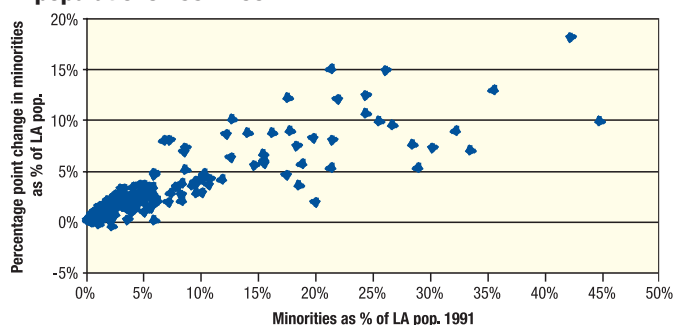
**FIGURE 4: Percentage Change in the Numbers of People from Ethnic Minorities in Local Authority Districts 1991-2001**



Source: 1991 Census SAS Table 6. 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

The biggest increases in actual numbers of people from minority groups were in districts where minority populations were already established. In these districts, increases in the numbers of people from minority groups were big enough to make a significant impact on the percentage of minorities in the district population. Percentage point increases in the proportion of minorities in local authority district populations were bigger in districts which had bigger minority populations in 1991 (Figure 5). For example, the proportion of Newham's population that came from an ethnic minority increased by 19 percentage points from 1991 to 2001, from 42% to 61%.

**FIGURE 5: Percentage Point Changes in Ethnic Minority Populations as a Proportion of total Local Authority district populations 1991-2001**



Source: 1991 Census SAS Table 6. 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

The effect of this overall growth in minority populations was that fewer local authority areas had very small proportions of minorities in 2001 than in 1991, and more had large minority populations. 87% of authorities in 1991 had 7% or fewer from minority ethnic groups, falling to 81% in 2001. In 1991, 7% of all districts had more than 15% of their population from ethnic minority populations, rising to 9% in 2001. 3% had more than a quarter from minority groups, rising to 5% in 2001. For the first time in 2001, there were two 'majority minority' districts, Newham and Brent.

White people were therefore more likely to live in ethnically mixed areas in 2001 than in 1991. However, as the proportion of people from minority ethnic groups increased in areas of established settlement, so did the proportion of individuals from minority ethnic groups who lived in areas where minority groups were relatively highly concentrated. In 1991, 55% of ethnic minority individuals lived in districts with 15% or more minorities. 61% did so in 2001. The proportion living in districts with a quarter or more minorities rose from 25% to 44%. By 2001, all of the minority individuals in Newham and Brent were living in a local authority where whites were in the minority, whereas no person from an ethnic minority was in this position in 1991.

These increases in minority populations were significant changes in a short period. However, the increases in minority populations in local authority areas which had had very small minority populations in 1991 were not large enough to significantly alter the overall pattern of distribution. And the increases in areas of existing settlement only reinforced the existing distribution. There were important localized changes, such as the increases in minority populations in Outer London boroughs like Harrow, Croydon and Redbridge, but broadly speaking, minority groups remained concentrated in the areas they were in 1991.

<sup>5</sup> The 'other' category probably includes many people of mixed race.

<sup>6</sup> All these data are based on Census comparisons. Increases may be inflated due to undercounting of students and affected by the counting of students at their vacation addresses in 1991 and term addresses in 2001.

Tables 5 and 6 compare the local authority level distribution of minorities overall and of the five largest minority ethnic groups in 1991 and 2001. They show that overall, minority groups became slightly more concentrated in a small number of local authorities with large minority populations, possibly due to the impact of mixed race re-classification. Most groups retained their 1991 distribution, with the same proportions of their overall number in the five, ten, twenty and fifty authorities where they were most numerous. The Indian group became slightly less concentrated, while the Bangladeshi group became slightly more concentrated in certain local authorities (Table 5). With a small number of exceptions, especially in relation to the Black African population in London, specific authorities retained almost exactly the same share of minority populations that they had had in 1991 (Table 6), even though the numbers grew. The London Borough of Newham gained a greater share of both Bangladeshi and Pakistani populations. Croydon gained share of Black Caribbean population. Lewisham, Southwark and Newham both gained a greater share of Black African population while Lambeth and Hackney lost share.

The data presented here are consistent with a pattern of natural growth of existing minority communities, increasing the proportion of minorities in areas where they were already concentrated. They are also consistent with a pattern of gradual dispersal away from areas of first settlement, leading to increases in minority population in areas that previously had only small proportions of minorities. It must be emphasised, however, that neither natural growth nor dispersal are directly measured in

these data, which compare two Census periods and do not indicate the scale of in- or out-migration, births or deaths. What is evident is a continuing and significant increase in Britain's ethnic diversity.

## Changes within Conurbations and Cities

In the remainder of this paper, we take a closer look at patterns of change by examining changes within cities. We look at Greater London and the three largest conurbations outside London: the West Midlands, West Yorkshire and Greater Manchester. The West Midlands includes Birmingham and the districts of Coventry, Dudley, Sandwell, Solihull, Walsall and Wolverhampton. West Yorkshire includes the cities of Leeds and Bradford as well as Kirklees, Wakefield and Calderdale districts. Greater Manchester includes the city of Manchester and the surrounding districts of Salford, Oldham, Rochdale, Tameside, Trafford, Stockport, Bolton, Bury and Wigan. These were not only Britain's largest urban areas in 2001, they were also the areas of largest minority ethnic settlement. Between them, these four areas include 32 of the 37 districts with more than 15% ethnic minority population.<sup>7</sup>

Within these conurbations, we look first at changes at the district level, and then at the electoral ward level. We use electoral ward as the best available proxy for 'neighbourhood'. As explained in the introduction, we use 2001 Census data in this section but for 1991 use the SOCPOP ward population estimates which take into account estimates of undercounting of ethnic minorities and offer the most accurate picture of small area change.

**TABLE 5: Percentage of Each Ethnic Group in Local Authorities with Largest Population from that Ethnic Group, 1991 to 2001**

Groups of authorities in rank order of ethnic group population, highest first	Indian		Pakistani		Bangladeshi		Black Caribbean		Black African		All minority groups	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
<b>Top 5 LAs (where group is most numerous)</b>												
	27	26	33	32	42	46	29	29	32	31	19	19
<b>Top 10 LAs</b>	43	41	44	43	54	56	45	46	49	48	30	31
<b>Top 20 LAs</b>	60	58	61	60	66	67	65	64	70	68	47	50
<b>Top 50 LAs</b>	80	77	83	82	84	84	87	87	87	88	74	78

Source: 1991 Census SAS Table 6. 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

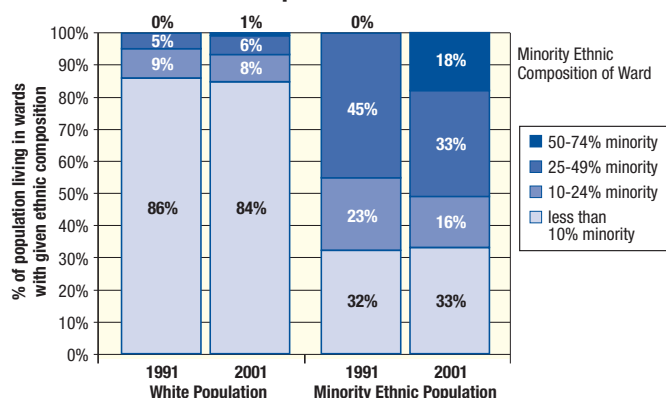
**TABLE 6: Concentration of Minority Ethnic Groups in Certain Authorities**

Top 5 LAs (where group is most numerous)	% of each ethnic group found in each grouping of authorities											
	Indian		Pakistani		Bangladeshi		Black Caribbean		Black African		All minority groups	
<b>In 1991</b>	Leicester	7	Birmingham	14	Tower Hamlets	23	Birmingham	8	Lambeth	8	Birmingham	7
	Birmingham	6	Bradford	10	Birmingham	8	Lambeth	6	Southwark	7	Brent	4
	Ealing	5	Kirklees	4	Newham	5	Lewisham	5	Hackney	6	Newham	3
	Brent	5	Manchester	3	Camden	4	Brent	5	Newham	6	Ealing	3
	Harrow	4	Walt'm F'st	3	Oldham	3	Hackney	4	Haringey	5	Leicester	3
<b>In 2001</b>	Leicester	7	Birmingham	14	Tower Hamlets	23	Birmingham	8	Southwark	8	Birmingham	7
	Birmingham	5	Bradford	9	Newham	8	Lambeth	6	Newham	7	Newham	4
	Ealing	5	Kirklees	4	Birmingham	7	Lewisham	5	Lambeth	6	Brent	3
	Brent	5	Manchester	3	Camden	4	Brent	5	Hackney	5	Ealing	3
	Harrow	4	Newham	3	Oldham	3	Croydon	5	Lewisham	5	Bradford	2

Source: 1991 Census SAS Table 6. 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

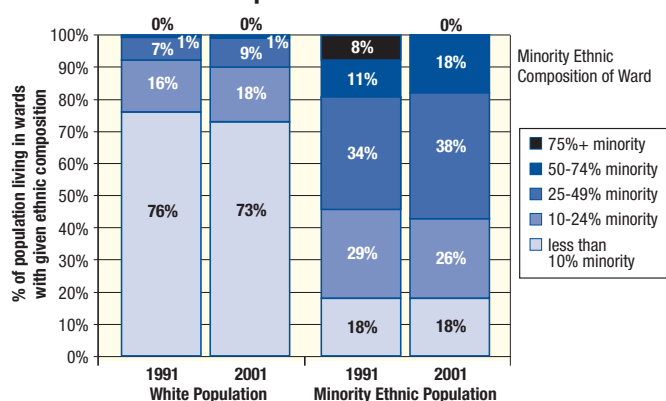


**FIGURE 8: Greater Manchester Conurbation: Proportion of White and Minority Ethnic Residents Living in Wards of Different Ethnic Composition**



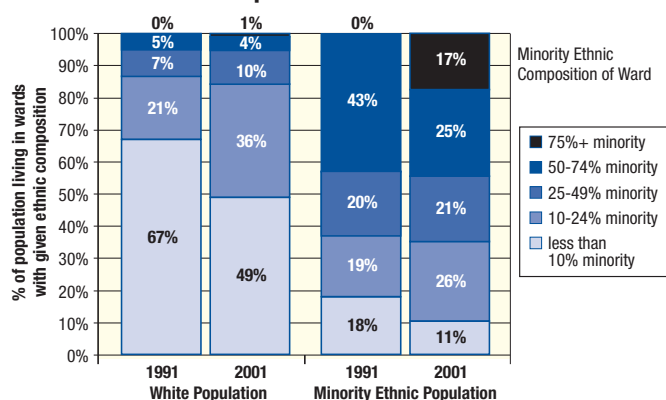
Source: 1991 SOCPOP estimates. 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

**FIGURE 9: West Yorkshire Conurbation: Proportion of White and Minority Ethnic Residents Living in Wards of Different Ethnic Composition**



Source: 1991 SOCPOP estimates. 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

**FIGURE 10: West Midlands Conurbation: Proportion of White and Minority Ethnic Residents Living in Wards of Different Ethnic Composition**



Source: 1991 SOCPOP estimates. 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

A further important point to make in this section is that, while we have looked at ward-level changes across the each conurbation as a whole, the experiences within the different districts making up these conurbations were very different. In Leeds in West Yorkshire, for example, some of the lowest increases in minority population were in inner wards with already moderately high levels of minorities. There was a general pattern of ethnic minority population growth with no particularly concentrated growth in areas of established minority population. In adjacent Bradford, there were increases in minority population throughout the city, but also high rates of minority increase, and very high rates of white population decrease (over one third) in a small number of inner city wards which had high ethnic minority populations in 1991. One ward increased from 55% to 69% minorities in a decade; another from 54% to 73%. These were rapid and localized changes not evident in nearby Leeds. Similarly, in Greater Manchester, Oldham saw a more rapid increase in minority population than other Greater Manchester districts with similar ethnic populations in 1991. There was high growth and high white population decline in wards with already high levels of ethnic minority population, leading to significant increases in the extent to which minority ethnic groups were residentially isolated from the white majority. The reasons for these different patterns in different towns and cities can only really be understood with detailed local knowledge, going beyond statistical analysis. On the basis of statistics alone, we need to be cautious about generalising from one urban area to another.

## CONCLUSIONS

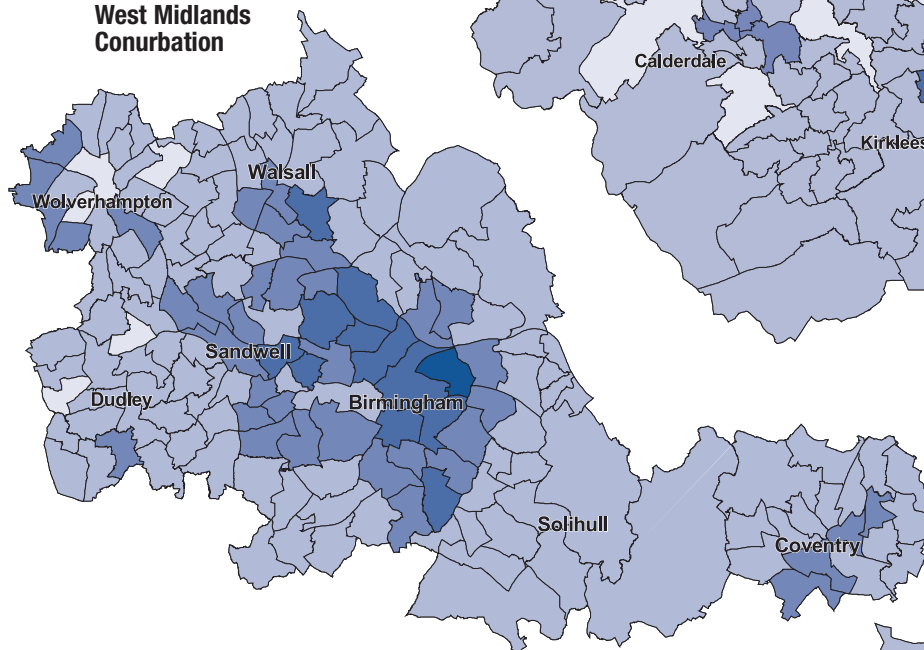
This paper has highlighted significant changes in the overall size of the ethnic minority population - a 1.6 million increase in a decade, in contrast with an increase of 600,000 in the white population. Ethnic minority groups still only comprise a small minority of the population, 8.1% overall but this has risen from 5.5% in 1991, a big increase. The fastest growing group comes from Africa, but black Africans still only comprise 1% of the total population. Indian and Pakistani populations have also grown rapidly with Indians forming much the largest minority group- over a million. Yet this is still only 2% of the population. Compared with the USA, these percentages are small, and several other European countries have similar proportions (Marcuse and van Kempen 2000).

The overall figures disguise the concentrations of particular minority groups in particular areas and the overall concentration of minorities more generally in a limited number of mainly older urban areas. The 37 local authorities (9% of local authorities) with the highest concentrations of all minorities (above 15%) house 61% of the total minority ethnic population. 5% of local authorities house 38% of minorities.

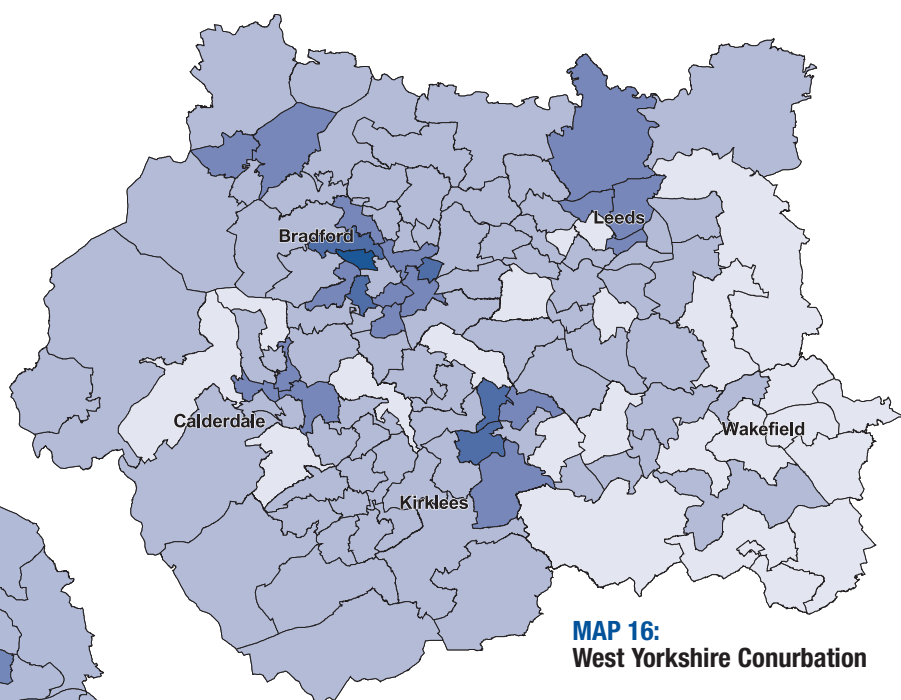
Over the 1990s, minority ethnic populations have increased in most areas. In percentage terms, the increases have been greatest in areas with small minority populations in 1991, i.e with a low base from which to calculate

## Change in Minority Ethnic Population as % of Ward Population 1991-2001...

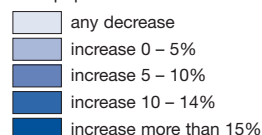
**MAP 15:**  
West Midlands  
Conurbation



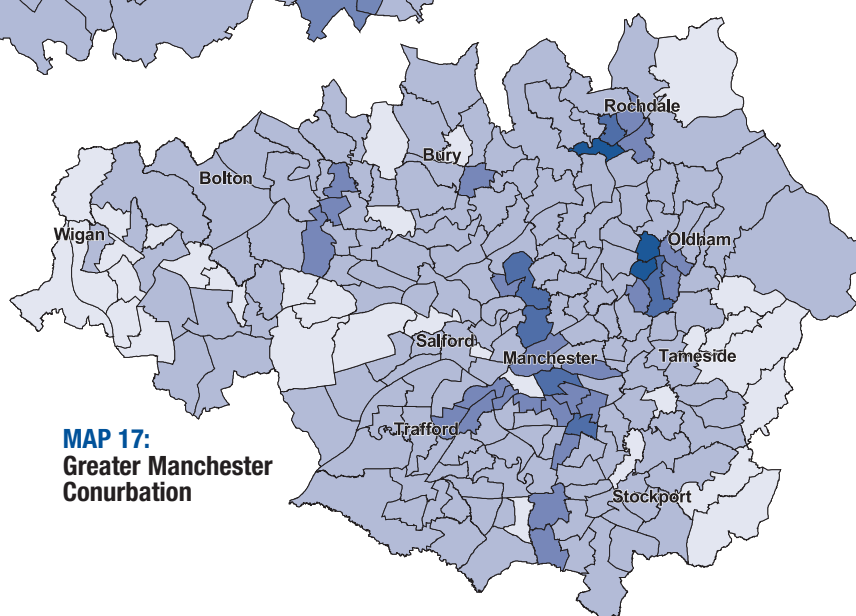
**MAP 16:**  
West Yorkshire Conurbation



Change in Minority Ethnic  
Population as a proportion of  
ward population 1991-2001



**MAP 17:**  
Greater Manchester  
Conurbation



Increases in the proportions of minorities did not tend to be sufficient to lift wards into a new grouping (Table 11). In fact, there was actually a reduction in the proportion of people living in wards with 75% or more minorities, because University ward in Bradford, with an increase in white students, saw a slight decrease in its proportion of minorities from 75% in 1991 to 74% in 2001 (Figure 9)

In the West Midlands, where there were more wards with relatively high minority populations in 1991, there were more significant changes for both white and minority groups. As all wards gained minority ethnic population, there was a reduction in the number of wards with less

than 10% ethnic minorities, from 100 wards to 73 wards. The proportion of white people living in such wards reduced substantially, from 67% to 49%, and there was a corresponding increase in the proportion living in wards with 10-24% of their population from ethnic minorities (Figure 10). At the same time, the loss of white population from wards with large minority ethnic populations meant that, for the first time in 2001 in the West Midlands, there were wards with 75% or more ethnic minorities. In 2001, 18% of people from ethnic minorities (1 in 6) lived in such a ward, compared with none in 1991.

## INTRODUCTION TO LONDON AND THE CONURBATIONS AND THEIR MINORITY POPULATIONS IN 2001

We start by making some initial comments on the nature of these four areas, to set data on minority ethnic populations in context. First, London stands out from the other areas. The area we look at here is Greater London, including Inner London and Outer London. It is much larger in terms of population than any of the three other conurbations, with about 7.3 million people in 2001, compared with about 2 to 2.5 million in the other areas.<sup>8</sup> It has 33 Boroughs (or districts) compared with 10 in Greater Manchester, 7 in the West Midlands and 5 in West Yorkshire. Moreover, all of these boroughs are highly urbanized and form part of the same contiguous urban area. By contrast, the three other areas all contain more than one officially classified city (Manchester and Salford in Greater Manchester; Birmingham and Coventry in the West Midlands; and Leeds and Bradford in West Yorkshire) and also include within their boundaries smaller market and industrial towns and rural areas as well as inner urban areas and built-up suburbs. Looking at a comparable area for London would entail looking well beyond the London boundary to include areas in Surrey, Kent, Berkshire, Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Essex and Buckinghamshire or even beyond. The Greater London area that we describe here is more solidly and consistently urban than the areas that we describe in the other conurbations.

It is also important to note differences in the level and make-up of minority ethnic population, not just in London compared with the others, but contrasting the other three conurbations with each other. In London, the minority ethnic population in 2001 made up just under one-third of the overall population, compared with one-fifth in Birmingham and one-tenth in West Yorkshire and Greater Manchester (Table 7). London had a diverse population, with Indians the largest minority group (6%), but Black Caribbeans and Black Africans also each making up 5%, as well as smaller Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese populations. The West Midlands was also diverse, but without a significant Black African population, while the other two conurbations had one major minority group each (Pakistani) and much smaller representation from the other groups.

Maps 8-11 show the distribution of minorities in the conurbations. They also show each local authority district's percentage share of the overall minority ethnic population of the conurbation, compared with their share of the overall population. The much larger number of districts in London obviously makes the comparisons somewhat difficult to pick out. However, we can see that many London boroughs had approximately the share of minority ethnic populations that would be expected given their population share. Tower Hamlets, Brent and Newham had considerably more; Bexley, Bromley, Sutton and Havering considerably less. The other conurbations all had pronounced concentrations in one district. In the West Midlands, over half of the ethnic minority population of the conurbation lived in Birmingham, compared with 38% of all people. Coventry, Sandwell, Walsall and Wolverhampton had about the expected proportion of ethnic minorities, and Dudley and Solihull considerably less. The geographical pattern was a little more marked in West Yorkshire and Greater Manchester, where the ethnic minority population as a whole was smaller. In both conurbations, one district (Manchester in Greater Manchester and Bradford in West Yorkshire) had an ethnic minority population twice as high as would be expected if the minority population were evenly distributed, and other districts (Wigan and Wakefield) had very much lower levels of minorities. Thus even within conurbations with relatively high levels of ethnic minority population, we find very different levels of concentration.

**TABLE 7: Details of the Four Conurbations 2001**

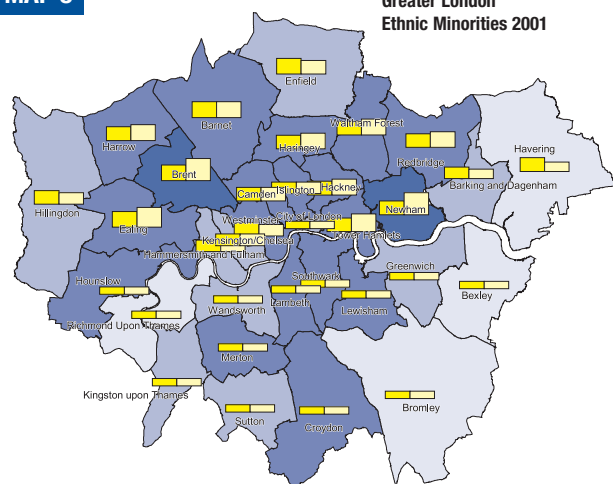
	Populations (000s)	% Minority	% Indian	% Pakistani	% Bangladeshi	% Black Caribbean	% Black African	Chinese	Other Categories
London	7172	29	6	2	2	5	5	1	7
West Midlands	2556	20	6	5	1	3	0	0	4
West Yorkshire	2079	11	2	6	0	1	0	0	2
Greater Manchester	2482	9	1	3	1	1	0	0	2

Source: 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

Numbers in individual groups may not sum to total for all minorities due to rounding.

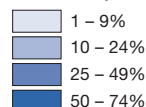
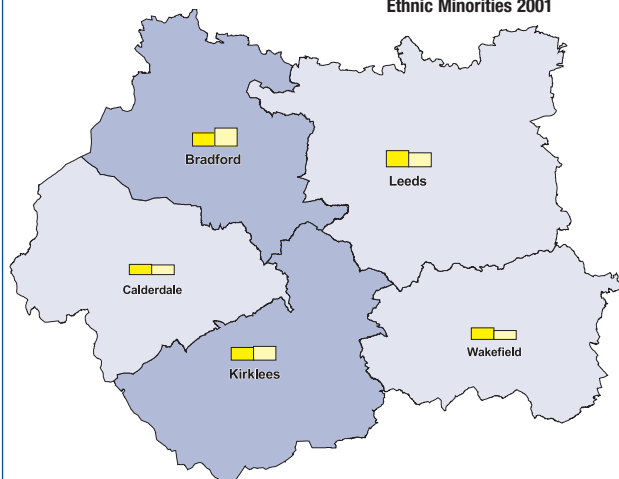
<sup>7</sup> The remaining five districts were Leicester, Oadby and Wigston, Slough, Luton and Blackburn-with-Darwen. All of these have had significant ward boundary changes since 1991 which make it difficult to analyse change within them over this period.

<sup>8</sup> Population totals using Mid-Year Estimates (MYEs). These are the most widely used estimates of population and are used here for consistency with other publications. The Census counts presented in the tables that follow vary slightly from the MYEs.

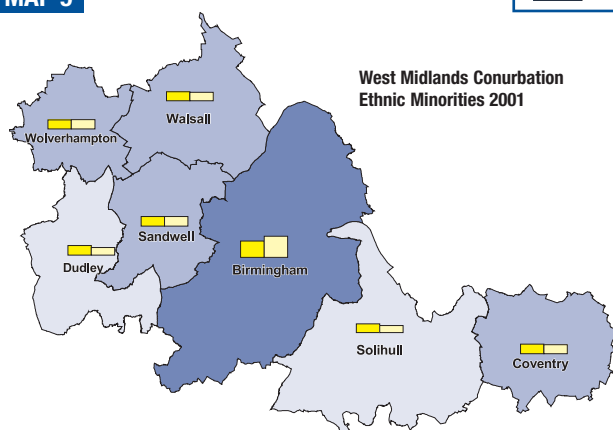
**MAP 8**
**Greater London  
Ethnic Minorities 2001**


District Share of London's Total and Minority Populations  
 [Yellow bar] Share of Population [Light yellow bar] Share of Minorities

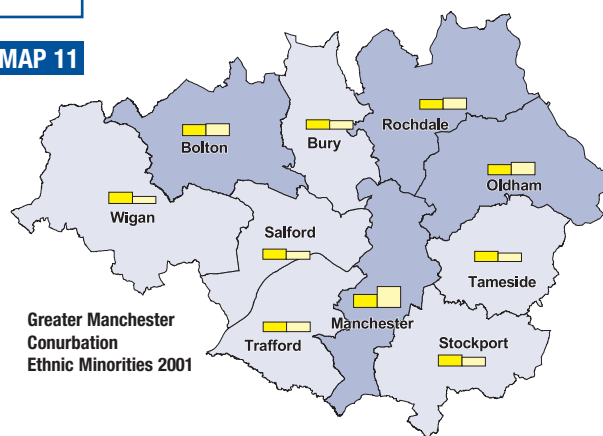
% of District's Population from Minority Ethnic Groups


**MAP 10**
**West Yorkshire Conurbation  
Ethnic Minorities 2001**


District Share of West Yorkshire's Total and Minority Populations  
 [Yellow bar] Share of Population [Light yellow bar] Share of Minorities

**MAP 9**
**West Midlands Conurbation  
Ethnic Minorities 2001**


District Share of West Midlands Total and Minority Populations  
 [Yellow bar] Share of Population [Light yellow bar] Share of Minorities

**MAP 11**
**Greater Manchester  
Conurbation  
Ethnic Minorities 2001**


District Share of Greater Manchester's Total and Minority Populations  
 [Yellow bar] Share of Population [Light yellow bar] Share of Minorities

## CHANGES DURING THE 1990S AT DISTRICT LEVEL

During the 1990s, the differences in levels of ethnic minority population became slightly more pronounced. Two main processes were at work.

Firstly, minority ethnic populations increased. These increases occurred in all districts except one (Wandsworth in London) across the four conurbations (Table 8).<sup>9</sup> As we observed earlier when analyzing change across the country as a whole, percentage increases on 1991 populations were greatest in the districts which had the lowest ethnic minority populations to start with. Among the districts with fewer than 10% ethnic

minorities in 1991, the ethnic minority growth rate was 45%, compared with 35% in the districts with 10-24% in 1991 and 36% in the districts with more than 25% (Table 10). All of the districts with minority populations greater than 25% in 1991 were in London.

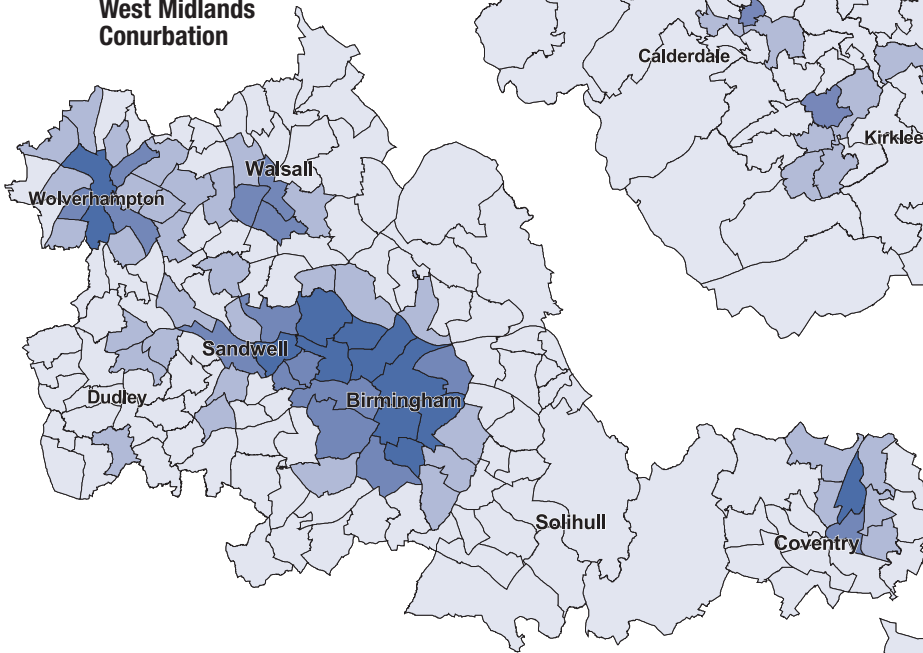
However in numerical terms, the greatest increases were in districts with high ethnic minority populations to start with (Table 10). The districts with the lowest concentrations of minorities (less than 10%) gained on average, about 5500 ethnic minority people in the 10-year period, compared with 18,000 in the districts with 10-24% minority ethnic population in 1991 and about 26,500 in the districts with the highest original concentrations (more than 25%).

<sup>9</sup> These data differ from those presented in Table 5 because they are based on comparisons of SOCPop and Census data, not on raw Census comparisons.

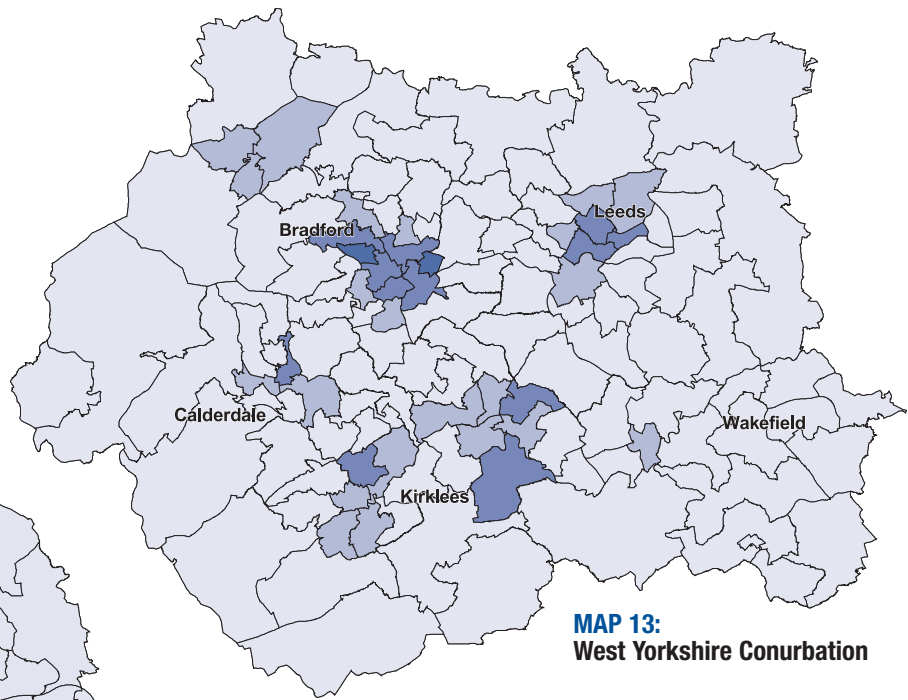


## Minority Ethnic Population as % of Ward Population 1991...

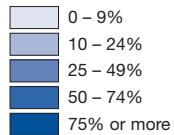
**MAP 12:**  
West Midlands  
Conurbation



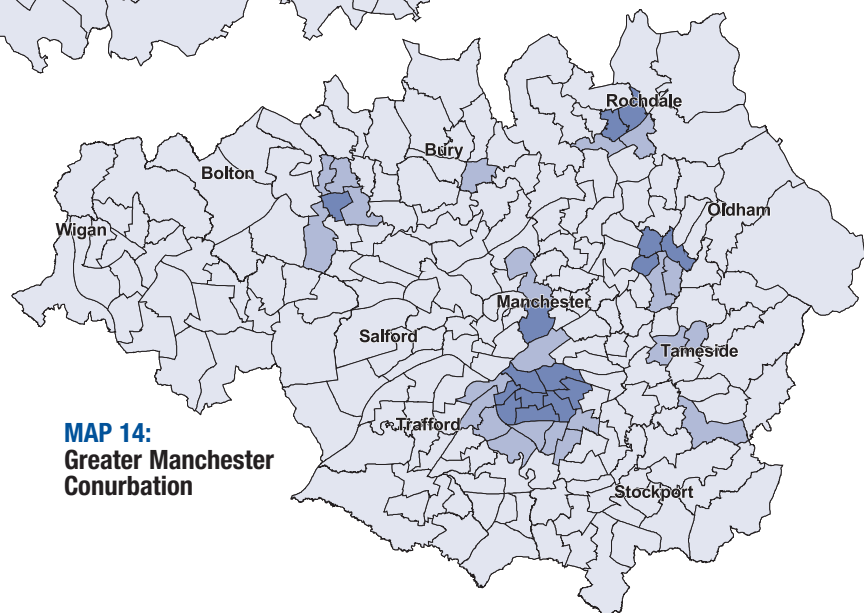
**MAP 13:**  
West Yorkshire Conurbation



Minority Ethnic Population as a  
proportion of ward population 1991



**MAP 14:**  
Greater Manchester  
Conurbation



2001 as in 1991, and as a result, there was little change in the proportions of white or minority individuals living in such wards. Changes in ethnic composition of wards, using these cut-off points, mainly affected wards which had relatively high ethnic minority populations (25-49%) in 1991. Six of the sixteen wards in this category in 1991 gained sufficient minority population and had sufficient losses of white population to move into the 'majority minority' category by 2001, with more than 50% of their population from a minority group. For example, Werneth and Coldhurst wards in Oldham saw increases in

minority population from 39% to 58% and 37% to 57% respectively. This meant that there was an increase in the number of minority individuals living in areas of high minority population between 1991 and 2001. And because these wards also had white populations, more whites were also living in areas with high ethnic minority populations in 2001 than in 1991 (Fig 8).

In West Yorkshire, there was little change in the overall distribution of either white or ethnic minority people across wards with different percentages of minorities.

minority. West Yorkshire and the West Midlands both had a small number of 'majority minority' wards (i.e wards with 50% or more from an ethnic minority) while Greater Manchester had none. Maps 12-14 show the distribution of these high minority wards in 1991. They show the concentration of ethnic minorities in inner areas of large cities and in some of the smaller textile towns of Lancashire and West Yorkshire; the inner areas of Birmingham, Sandwell, Wolverhampton and Coventry in the West Midlands; Bradford, Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield, Batley and Dewsbury in West Yorkshire; and Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale and Bolton in Greater Manchester.

**TABLE 11: Ethnic minority populations at ward level in 1991**

	Number of wards	% of wards with population from ethnic minorities in these groups:				
		Less than 10%	10-24%	25-49%	50-74%	75%+
West Midlands	162	62	21	9	7	0
West Yorkshire	126	71	17	9	2	1
Grtr. Manchester	214	82	10	7	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>502</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>

Source: 1991 SOCPOP estimates. 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

During the 1990s, ethnic minority populations increased numerically in 95% of the 502 wards. This was the case in all of the three conurbations individually. As we found with our district level analysis, minority ethnic populations increased most as a percentage of their starting point in the wards where there were few minorities in 1991.

At the same time, white populations decreased numerically in 78% of the wards, tending only to increase in inner city wards close to universities or in more affluent suburbs or areas of new building on the edge of the

conurbations. The decline in white population affected the highest proportion of wards in the West Midlands (89% of wards); fewer in Greater Manchester (76%) and West Yorkshire (67%), as might be expected given that the overall loss of white population was greater in the West Midlands (-7.5%) than in Greater Manchester (-5.7%) and West Yorkshire (-2.5%).

White populations decreased most in wards with relatively high proportions of ethnic minorities. The combination of white population loss in these wards and minority population growth changed the balance of population. White populations declined as a percentage of total population and minority ethnic populations grew. Thus while the wards with small numbers of ethnic minorities in 1991 saw the biggest increases in relation to their starting point, the wards with the highest proportions of ethnic minorities in 1991 saw the biggest increases in minority ethnic population, expressed as a percentage of the total ward population. Table 12 demonstrates that this pattern held in all three conurbations. In West Yorkshire and the West Midlands, which had a small number of 'majority minority' wards in 1991, these wards had the most significant losses in white population during the decade. Evidence of these changes is provided in Maps 15-17 as well as in Table 12.

Using our simplified grouping of wards into categories with defined percentages of ethnic minority population, we can see that the impact of these changes on the isolation of white and ethnic groups varied across the three conurbations.

In Greater Manchester, where most wards had low levels of minority population in 1991, few gained sufficient extra minority population to push them into a higher category. The numbers of wards with relatively low concentrations of minorities remained much the same in

**TABLE 12: Changes in Ethnic Minority and White Populations at Ward Level**

Categories of Wards, grouped by % of ward population from minority ethnic group in 1991	Number of wards in category 1991	Data on Change in Ethnic Composition of Wards in Each Category 1991-2001					Number of wards in category 2001
		% change in minority ethnic pop.	% change in white pop.	% pop. in minority ethnic groups 1991	% Pop. in minority ethnic groups 2001	% point change in population in ethnic minority groups 1991-2001	
<b>West Midlands</b>							
<10% minority	100	59	-6	5	8	3	73
10-24%	35	32	-7	15	20	5	55
25-49%	15	13	-14	35	42	7	20
50-74%	12	13	-25	61	70	9	10
75% or more	0						4
<b>West Yorkshire</b>							
<10% minority	90	61	-1	2	4	1	85
10-24%	22	34	-3	15	20	5	23
25-49%	11	9	-12	32	37	5	15
50-74%	2	32	-37	55	71	17	3
75% or more	1	11	18	75	74	-1	0
<b>Greater Manchester</b>							
<10% minority	177	54	-5	3	4	1	171
10-24%	21	37	-8	15	21	6	19
25-49%	16	18	-15	38	46	8	18
50-74%	0						6
75% or more	0						

Figures may not add up exactly due to rounding

Source: 1991 SOCPOP estimates. 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

**TABLE 8: Changes in Minority Ethnic Populations in the Four Conurbations 1991-2001**

	Minority ethnic population 1991	Minority ethnic population 2001	Change in minority ethnic population	Change in minority ethnic population as % of 1991 figure	% minority 1991	% minority 2001	Percentage point change in share of total population from ethnic minorities
<b>London</b>	<b>1465021</b>	<b>2068888</b>	<b>603867</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>8%</b>
Barking	10768	24277	13509	125%	7%	15%	7%
Barnet	57978	81696	23718	41%	19%	26%	7%
Bexley	13621	18797	5176	38%	6%	9%	2%
Brent	114214	144186	29972	26%	46%	55%	9%
Bromley	15200	24866	9666	64%	5%	8%	3%
Camden	34664	53124	18460	53%	19%	27%	7%
City of London	351	1110	759	216%	8%	15%	7%
Croydon	59402	98642	39240	66%	19%	30%	11%
Ealing	93714	124207	30493	33%	33%	41%	8%
Enfield	39333	62610	23277	59%	15%	23%	8%
Greenwich	29059	49068	20009	69%	14%	23%	9%
Hackney	66112	82356	16244	25%	35%	41%	5%
Hammersmith/Fulham	29971	36640	6669	22%	19%	22%	3%
Haringey	65233	74425	9192	14%	31%	34%	3%
Harrow	55341	85271	29930	54%	27%	41%	14%
Havering	8038	10827	2789	35%	3%	5%	1%
Hillingdon	30721	50886	20165	66%	13%	21%	8%
Hounslow	52667	74587	21920	42%	25%	35%	10%
Islington	35322	43333	8011	23%	21%	25%	4%
Kensington/Chelsea	24829	33995	9166	37%	17%	21%	4%
Kingston	12574	22881	10307	82%	9%	16%	6%
Lambeth	81798	100111	18313	22%	32%	38%	6%
Lewisham	57192	84824	27632	48%	24%	34%	10%
Merton	29599	47025	17426	59%	17%	25%	8%
Newham	96443	147761	51318	53%	44%	61%	17%
Redbridge	51478	87048	35570	69%	22%	36%	14%
Richmond	9761	15550	5789	59%	6%	9%	3%
Southwark	59029	90550	31521	53%	26%	37%	11%
Sutton	10946	19417	8471	77%	6%	11%	4%
Tower Hamlets	61371	95307	33936	55%	37%	49%	12%
Waltham Forest	57732	77538	19806	34%	27%	36%	9%
Wandsworth	57758	57402	-356	-1%	22%	22%	0%
Westminster	42804	48571	5767	13%	23%	27%	4%
<b>West Midlands</b>	<b>409644</b>	<b>512356</b>	<b>102712</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>4%</b>
Birmingham	230833	289681	58848	25%	23%	30%	7%
Covertry	37483	48203	10720	29%	12%	16%	4%
Dudley	15042	19292	4250	28%	5%	6%	1%
Sandwell	45396	57429	12033	27%	15%	20%	5%
Solihull	6470	10787	4317	67%	3%	5%	2%
Walsall	26554	34430	7876	30%	10%	14%	4%
Wolverhampton	47866	52534	4668	10%	19%	22%	3%
<b>West Yorkshire</b>	<b>184958</b>	<b>236386</b>	<b>51428</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>3%</b>
Bradford	79296	101617	22321	28%	17%	22%	5%
Calderdale	9450	13427	3977	42%	5%	7%	2%
Kirklees	42645	55905	13260	31%	11%	14%	3%
Leeds	48529	58323	9794	20%	7%	8%	1%
Wakefield	5038	7114	2076	41%	2%	2%	1%
<b>Greater Manchester</b>	<b>165951</b>	<b>221834</b>	<b>55883</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>2%</b>
Bolton	23137	28664	5527	24%	9%	11%	2%
Bury	7088	11056	3968	56%	4%	6%	2%
Manchester	60036	74806	14770	25%	14%	19%	5%
Oldham	20031	30112	10081	50%	9%	14%	5%
Rochdale	16908	23473	6565	39%	8%	11%	3%
Salford	6137	8357	2220	36%	3%	4%	1%
Stockport	7485	12296	4811	64%	3%	4%	2%
Tameside	9660	11575	1915	20%	4%	5%	1%
Trafford	12802	17573	4771	37%	6%	8%	2%
Wigan	2667	3922	1255	47%	1%	1%	0%

Source: 1991 SOCPop estimates. 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

Note: Because of the use of the SOCPop estimates, these figures vary slightly from those in Table 3 and Annex 1, which are based on Census data.

Secondly, white populations declined. Across the four conurbations, white population only grew in six districts, all of them London Boroughs: Kingston, Camden, Hammersmith and Fulham, Kensington and Chelsea, Richmond and the City of London. The loss of white population in the other London Boroughs is striking, given that the conurbation's population as a whole grew by 4% over the decade.<sup>10</sup> West Yorkshire also had a slightly growing population (+0.2%) during the decade but a declining white population (-2.5%). Greater Manchester and the West Midlands had declining populations overall and declining white populations. Their white populations declined more than their overall populations.

**TABLE 9: Changes in White Populations in the Four Conurbations 1991-2001**

	Total Population 1991	Total Population 2001	Change in Total Population	% change in Total Population	White 1991	White 2001	Change in white population	% change in white population
<b>London</b>	<b>6878051</b>	<b>7172091</b>	<b>294040</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>5413030</b>	<b>5103203</b>	<b>-309827</b>	<b>-5.7%</b>
Barking	146463	163944	17481	11.9%	135695	139667	3972	2.9%
Barnet	300550	314564	14014	4.7%	242572	232868	-9704	-4.0%
Bexley	219822	218307	-1515	-0.7%	206201	199510	-6691	-3.2%
Brent	249502	263464	13962	5.6%	135289	119278	-16011	-11.8%
Bromley	296558	295532	-1026	-0.3%	281358	270666	-10692	-3.8%
Camden	177857	198020	20163	11.3%	143193	144896	1703	1.2%
City of London	4230	7185	2955	69.9%	3879	6075	2196	56.6%
Croydon	320763	330587	9824	3.1%	261361	231945	-29416	-11.3%
Ealing	282345	300948	18603	6.6%	188631	176741	-11890	-6.3%
Enfield	262979	273559	10580	4.0%	223646	210949	-12697	-5.7%
Greenwich	212604	214403	1799	0.8%	183545	165335	-18210	-9.9%
Hackney	187896	202824	14928	7.9%	121784	120468	-1316	-1.1%
Hammersmith/Fulham	155529	165242	9713	6.2%	125558	128602	3044	2.4%
Haringey	210854	216507	5653	2.7%	145621	142082	-3539	-2.4%
Harrow	204635	206814	2179	1.1%	149294	121543	-27751	-18.6%
Havering	233562	224248	-9314	-4.0%	225524	213421	-12103	-5.4%
Hillingdon	236978	243006	6028	2.5%	206257	192120	-14137	-6.9%
Hounslow	209029	212341	3312	1.6%	156362	137754	-18608	-11.9%
Islington	171604	175797	4193	2.4%	136282	132464	-3818	-2.8%
Kensington/Chelsea	144675	158919	14244	9.8%	119846	124924	5078	4.2%
Kingston	136313	147273	10960	8.0%	123739	124392	653	0.5%
Lambeth	254895	266169	11274	4.4%	173097	166058	-7039	-4.1%
Lewisham	239881	248922	9041	3.8%	182689	164098	-18591	-10.2%
Merton	172409	187908	15499	9.0%	142810	140883	-1927	-1.3%
Newham	220141	243891	23750	10.8%	123698	96130	-27568	-22.3%
Redbridge	231376	238635	7259	3.1%	179898	151587	-28311	-15.7%
Richmond	164472	172335	7863	4.8%	154711	156785	2074	1.3%
Southwark	226219	244866	18647	8.2%	167190	154316	-12874	-7.7%
Sutton	172409	179768	7359	4.3%	161463	160351	-1112	-0.7%
Tower Hamlets	166616	196106	29490	17.7%	105244	100799	-4445	-4.2%
Waltham Forest	216984	218341	1357	0.6%	159252	140803	-18449	-11.6%
Wandsworth	264075	260380	-3695	-1.4%	206317	202978	-3339	-1.6%
Westminster	183828	181286	-2542	-1.4%	141024	132715	-8309	-5.9%
<b>West Midlands</b>	<b>2619673</b>	<b>2555587</b>	<b>-64086</b>	<b>-2.4%</b>	<b>2210029</b>	<b>2043231</b>	<b>-166798</b>	<b>-7.5%</b>
Birmingham	999646	977087	-22559	-2.3%	768812	687406	-81406	-10.6%
Covertry	300016	300846	830	0.3%	262533	252643	-9890	-3.8%
Dudley	310343	305162	-5181	-1.7%	295302	285870	-9432	-3.2%
Sandwell	295350	282907	-12443	-4.2%	249955	225478	-24477	-9.8%
Solihull	202973	199512	-3461	-1.7%	196503	188725	-7778	-4.0%
Walsall	264253	253495	-10758	-4.1%	237699	219065	-18634	-7.8%
Wolverhampton	247092	236578	-10514	-4.3%	199226	184044	-15182	-7.6%
<b>West Yorkshire</b>	<b>2074998</b>	<b>2079199</b>	<b>4201</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>1890040</b>	<b>1842813</b>	<b>-47227</b>	<b>-2.5%</b>
Bradford	474634	467658	-6976	-1.5%	395338	366041	-29297	-7.4%
Calderdale	195187	192408	-2779	-1.4%	185737	178981	-6756	-3.6%
Kirklees	380659	388564	7905	2.1%	338014	332659	-5355	-1.6%
Leeds	707735	715405	7670	1.1%	659206	657082	-2124	-0.3%
Wakefield	316783	315164	-1619	-0.5%	311745	308050	-3695	-1.2%
<b>Greater Manchester</b>	<b>2562289</b>	<b>2482341</b>	<b>-79948</b>	<b>-3.1%</b>	<b>2396338</b>	<b>2260507</b>	<b>-135831</b>	<b>-5.7%</b>
Bolton	263612	261030	-2582	-1.0%	240475	232366	-8109	-3.4%
Bury	180049	180606	557	0.3%	172961	169550	-3411	-2.0%
Manchester	424243	392819	-31424	-7.4%	364207	318013	-46194	-12.7%
Oldham	220465	217274	-3191	-1.4%	200434	187162	-13272	-6.6%
Rochdale	205586	205364	-222	-0.1%	188678	181891	-6787	-3.6%
Salford	228749	216103	-12646	-5.5%	222613	207746	-14867	-6.7%
Stockport	289952	284526	-5426	-1.9%	282467	272230	-10237	-3.6%
Tameside	220217	213043	-7174	-3.3%	210557	201468	-9089	-4.3%
Trafford	217113	210148	-6965	-3.2%	204311	192575	-11736	-5.7%
Wigan	312302	301428	-10874	-3.5%	309634	297506	-12128	-3.9%

Source: 1991 SOCPop estimates, 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.



Across the four conurbations, white population losses were greatest in the districts with the highest ethnic minority populations in 1991 (Table 10).

**TABLE 10: Changes in White and Minority Populations in the Four Conurbations**

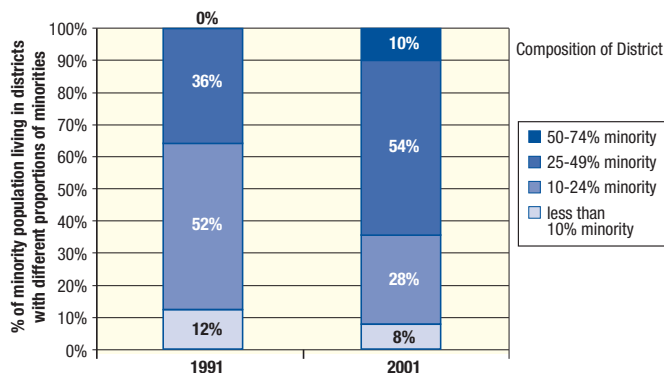
	Change in ethnic group population as a % of its 1991 size, in districts with:					
	Less than 10% ethnic minority population (1991)		10-24% ethnic minority population (1991)		25-49% ethnic minority population (1991)	
	White	Minority	White	Minority	White	Minority
London	-2%	+69%	-6%	+44%	-9%	+36%
West Midlands	-3%	+40%	-9%	+24%		
West Yorkshire	-1%	+25%	-5%	+29%		
Grtr. Manchester	-4%	+39%	-13%	+25%		
All	-3%	+45%	-7%	+35%	-9%	+36%

Source: 1991 SOCPop estimates, 2001 Census: Key Statistics Table 6.

The result of this combination of changes in the white and minority ethnic populations was that, as a proportion of total population, minority ethnic populations increased most in districts where they were most numerous to begin with. This meant that the contrast in ethnic composition between districts increased during the decade. For example, within Greater Manchester, the minority ethnic population of Manchester increased from a 14% to a 19% share of the city's overall population, while the population of Wigan remained almost entirely white. Similarly, the minority ethnic population in Bradford increased from a 17% to a 22% share of the city's population, while there was no increase in Wakefield, which remained mainly white.

In these conurbations, more people from ethnic minorities were living in districts with relatively high minority ethnic populations in 2001 than they were in 1991. Figure 6 shows the percentage share of all minority ethnic individuals across these four conurbations living in districts with fewer than 10% minorities, 10-24%, 25-49% and 50-74% minorities. It demonstrates that more people from ethnic minorities were living in districts with 25% or more minority populations in 2001 than in 1991, and fewer in districts with lower proportions from ethnic minorities.

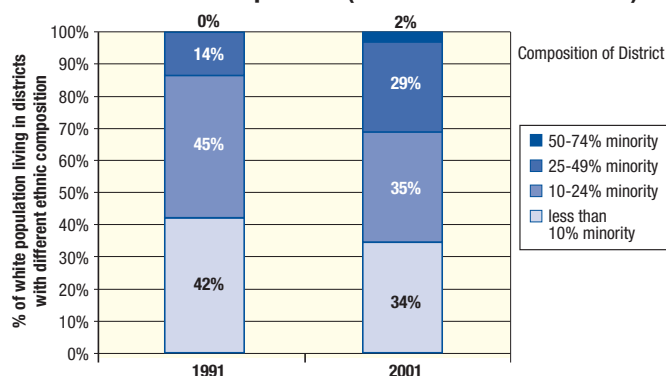
**FIGURE 6: Proportion of People from Ethnic Minorities Living in Districts of Different Ethnic Composition (across the 4 conurbations)**



On the other hand, the growth of minority populations in most districts meant that more white people were living in areas of ethnic diversity in 2001 than in 1991 (Figure 7).

Thus while white people were becoming less isolated from people of a minority ethnic background, and there was an increasing number of people from ethnic minorities in formerly all-white areas, people from ethnic minorities were also becoming more likely to live in areas with much higher proportions of minorities than the national average. These trends are consistent with trends of dispersal and of continued growth in areas of existing minority settlement.

**FIGURE 7: Proportion of White People Living in Districts of Different Ethnic Composition (across the 4 conurbations)**



## CHANGES AT THE ELECTORAL WARD LEVEL

The trends observed at district level were also evident at ward level. Widespread ward boundary changes do not permit us to carry out a ward-level analysis for London, but we can look at the other three conurbations at this level. In summary, we found that, as for districts, percentage increases were highest in wards with low concentrations of minorities in 1991. However, these were increases from a low base and the numbers were small. Numerical increases were highest in areas of existing settlement, where there were relatively high proportions of minorities in the population in 1991. White populations also decreased more in wards of relatively high ethnic minority population in 1991, such that these wards had a greater increase in ethnic minorities as a proportion of the total population than wards with low ethnic minority population, and by implication a greater fall in white population as a share of total population. We present this analysis below.

Altogether, there were 502 wards in the three conurbations, of which nearly three quarters had minority ethnic populations of less than 10% in 1991. In keeping with the relative size of the minority populations in the conurbations (W.Mids 16%, W.Yorks 9%, G.Manch. 6%), the West Midlands had the lowest proportion of predominantly white wards and Greater Manchester the highest (Table 11). West Yorkshire was the only one of the conurbations to have any wards (just one) with 75% or more of its population from an ethnic

10 London's population growth according to Census/SOCPop comparisons was 4% but 7% according to MYEs.