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Migrant trajectories in London - 'spreading wings' or facing displacement?

Antoine Paccoud



"Migrants of Bangladeshi origin are the most spatially concentrated of all migrant groups, with 41% of those born in Bangladesh and 40.5% of UK born Bangladeshis living in Tower Hamlets in 2001. These percentages fell quite dramatically between 2001 and 2011."

Introduction

This chapter is based on an empirical investigation into the settlement patterns of migrant groups in Greater London. It uses an estimation procedure that draws on both country of birth and ethnicity data from the 2001 and 2011 censuses to compare the movements of those born overseas to those of second generation migrants in London. The focus is on the experiences of five particular migrant groups for which it is possible to differentiate between those born overseas and second generation migrants: migrants of Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Black Caribbean, Black African and Indian origin. Separating out and comparing the movements of those born in the UK and of those born overseas from those migrant groups allows me to test two competing explanations of migrant trajectories. The first can be called 'spreading wings' and is identifiable by the two parallel movements of consolidation of areas of first settlement by those born overseas and of local expansion by those born in the UK. The second is displacement, identifiable by the similarity of the movements of those born overseas and of second generation migrants across the London space. These two explanations present contrasting trajectories. The first suggests that a migrant group has managed to carve out a piece of its own in the city while the second signals an inability by the migrant group to stay in the areas where it first settled. The first section outlines the estimation procedure and discusses its limitations, while the following sections discuss the trajectories of these five migrants groups in terms of these two models.

Separating out those born overseas from those born in the UK

This paper uses two data sets from the 2001 and 2011 censuses: usual residents grouped by country of birth and usual residents grouped by ethnicity. The estimation procedure distinguishes between those born in the UK and those born overseas within the same migrant group. While information on country of birth clearly provides a figure for those born overseas, the difficulty is in obtaining the number of second generation migrants given that ethnicity is not linked to country of birth. The procedure used here starts with a particular ethnicity and subtracts from that figure the number of individuals born in the corresponding country of origin. For example, there were 77,715 individuals born in Bangladesh in London in 2001. In that same year, there were 141,879 individuals who selected Bangladeshi as their ethnicity. The number of those of Bangladeshi origin born in the UK was obtained by simply taking out those born in Bangladesh from those who self-selected Bangladeshi as their ethnicity. This procedure was performed at the output area (OA) level, the lowest geographical level at which census estimates are available – there are 23,406 output areas in Greater London that are comparable between 2001 and 2011 with an average population of 328 in 2011. Working at this scale allows more precise calculations of correlation coefficients between the movements of those migrant groups born in the UK and of those born in the country of origin. This will become clear when the differences between correlation coefficients at the borough and all-OA levels are discussed¹.

This procedure is most straightforward for migrants of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin because the census provides a country of birth category and an ethnicity category for each of these groups. Another group for which it is relatively straightforward is migrants of Caribbean origin. Those born overseas can be assumed to be represented by those migrants born in Jamaica and in 'other Caribbean countries', while second generation migrants can be estimated by subtracting these from the black Caribbean ethnicity category. This relies on the assumption that most migrants born in the Caribbean would select Black Caribbean as their ethnicity which seems justified as the populations of English speaking Caribbean islands are predominantly of black ethnicity (91.4% in Jamaica in 2011, a country which makes up 61% of all migrants born in the Caribbean in London). 90.2% of those who selected the mixed category 'White and Black Caribbean' as their ethnicity in London were born in the UK in 2011. It thus seems possible to add those who selected this ethnicity to the second generation migrants of Caribbean origin.

With the greater racial heterogeneity of the African continent, things are a little more complicated. The census only identifies a Black African ethnicity, which is problematic

because only 52.8% of migrants born in Africa identify as Black African. These percentages are lowest for those born in North Africa (12.2%) and South and Eastern Africa (34.1%). In contrast, 87.4% of those born in Central and Western Africa self-identify as Black African. To disaggregate between those born in Africa and second generation migrants, the focus has to be limited to migrants from Africa who are black. As a precautionary measure, migrants born in North Africa and South and Eastern Africa (with the exception of Somalia) are not considered when distinguishing between Black Africans born in the UK and those born in Africa. 61.9% of those who identified as the mixed category 'White and Black African' in London in 2011 were born in the UK and 73.1% were born in Europe. While adding this category to second generation Black Africans is slightly problematic, it was preferable to discarding this group altogether.

This estimation procedure is possible for migrants of Irish and Chinese origin but for reasons of space this analysis was restricted to the five largest migrant groups in London. A limitation of this methodology is the existence of a number of ethnicity categories that cannot be specifically linked to one of the five migrant groups discussed here but which may include significant numbers of their second generation migrants. For example, the 2011 Census showed that in London, 70.2% of those who selected Black Other as their ethnicity were born in the UK but it is not possible to distinguish those who may be second generation migrants from the Caribbean from those who may be second generation migrants from Africa. Likewise, 71.9% of the Mixed White and Asian category were born in the UK but this cannot be attached to a particular Asian community. Another ethnicity category in this situation is that of Other Mixed, with 64% of those who chose this ethnicity born in the UK.² This analysis thus assumes that the percentage of second generation migrants from the five migrants groups discussed here that have selected either Black Other, Mixed White and Asian or Other Mixed as their ethnicity is relatively constant across London OAs.

This analysis is also unable to differentiate between those born in the country of origin on the basis of their date of arrival in the UK. The only information available here is the comparison of the numbers of those born in a particular country in 2001 and 2011. Most of the increase in those born in a particular country at the OA level in this period can be assumed to have recently arrived in the UK. The remainder of the paper will look at the changes in the settlement patterns of individuals of the five largest migrant groups to test the usefulness of the notions of 'spreading wings' and displacement in conceptualising migrant trajectories.

An evaluation of five migrant trajectories

The empirical discussion that follows focuses on assessing the extent to which the 'spreading wings' or displacement models offer cogent explanations of the trajectories of migrant communities in London. The first model would, for a given migrant group, be corroborated by lower correlations between the movements of those born in the UK and overseas and the existence of boroughs in which these two groups are moving in opposite directions. This would signal that different sections of this migrant group are moving to different areas of the city. In contrast, in the displacement model, higher correlations between the movements of those born in the UK and overseas and boroughs in which these are moving in the same direction would signal a common response by both groups to wider processes of change. This displacement model is thus predicated on the inability of particular migrant groups to maintain their hold over the areas of the city in which they first settled. Continuity of settlement in these areas is broken and migrants of different generations tend to gravitate to similar spaces in the city. The next five short sections will test these ideas on the experiences of the Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Caribbean, African and Indian migrant groups.

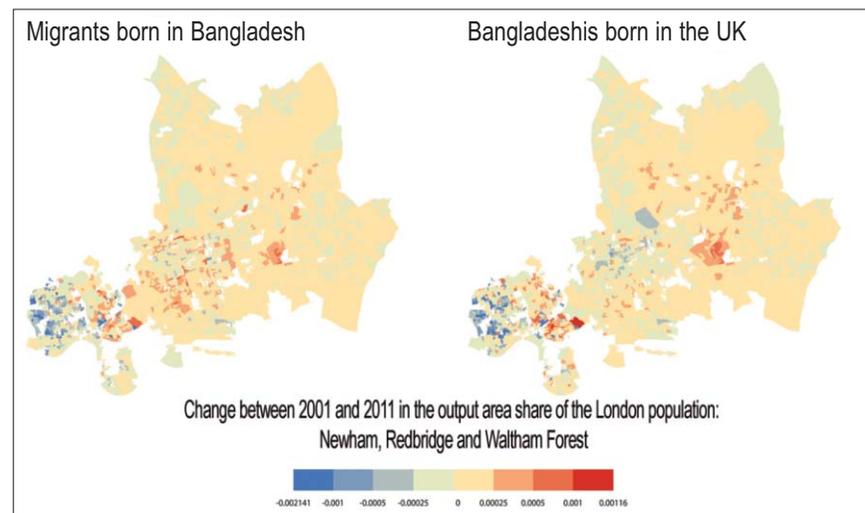
Bangladesh

Between 2001 and 2011, the population category Born in Bangladesh (BIB) increased from 77,715 to 98,671 while the population of UK Born Bangladeshis (UKBB) went from 65,946 to 100,791. The addition of close to 21,000 individuals BIB indicates a continued migration flow to London, though most of the increase in the Bangladeshi migrant population has come among those born in Britain. The movements of individuals BIB and UKBB in London over 2001 to 2011 period exhibit the highest level of correlation among the five groups looked at here, at both the all-OA level (0.725) and the borough level (0.889). Part of the reason for this is the fact that migrants of Bangladeshi origin are the most spatially concentrated of all migrant groups, with 41% of those BIB and 40.5% of the UKBB living in Tower Hamlets in 2001. These percentages fell quite dramatically between 2001 and 2011: down to 33.2% for those BIB and 35.2% for UKBB. This fall has been biggest in the 100 OAs where both of these groups were most concentrated in 2001. These 100 Tower Hamlets OAs housed 19.3% of all those BIB and 19.4% of all UKBB in 2001, but the corresponding percentages for 2011 were 12.2% and 12.8%. There was almost no change in the proportion of these groups in the remaining 459 Tower Hamlets OAs.

After Tower Hamlets, Newham has the second highest concentration of this migrant group and this borough's share of their total population has increased between 2001

and 2011: from 13.9% to 19.4% for those BIB and from 13.7% to 14.8% for UKBB. The settlement pattern of both those groups in Newham is more diffuse, with lower correlation coefficients, both between groups (0.869 in 2001 and 0.739 in 2011) and within groups (0.673 in 2001 and 0.686 in 2011). This could indicate a more ad hoc movement into Newham from those, mostly BIB, who left (or had to leave) Tower Hamlets. But the movement out of Tower Hamlets is also having repercussions further east, with increases of both those BIB and UKBB in Redbridge and Barking and Dagenham. In Redbridge, the proportion of the BIB population increased from 2.9% to 6.9% and that of UKBB from 2.9% to 8.2%. In Barking and Dagenham, the corresponding figures are from 0.4% to 3% for those BIB and from 0.5% to 4% for UKBB.

Overall, the high correlation coefficient between the changes in settlement of those BIB and UKBB both at the borough and all-OA level can be explained by their similar movements out of Tower Hamlets and into the boroughs further eastwards, even though Newham seems to be preferred by BIB migrants (see maps below). There is also a strong similarity in the movements within these boroughs, as shown by the high intra-borough correlation coefficients between the movements of those BIB and UKBB: the highest correlations are in Barking and Dagenham (0.847), Tower Hamlets (0.825) and Redbridge (0.686) with a lower figure for Newham (0.489). The data also shows a higher vulnerability of those BIB to processes of change, with greater falls in the proportion of their population in central London boroughs and especially in Camden, the borough with the third highest concentration of both groups in 2001 (-3% for those BIB and -1.8% for UKBB). It seems quite clear that the large fall in the

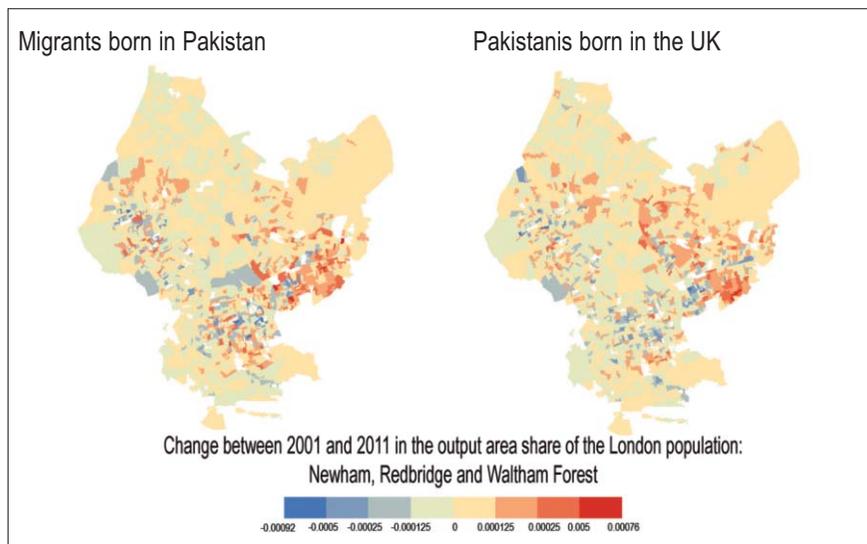


concentration of migrants of Bangladeshi origin in Tower Hamlets and their similar movements eastwards corresponds to the displacement model.

Pakistan

While migrants of Bangladeshi origin are overwhelmingly in inner London, those of Pakistani origin are predominantly in outer London. The number of those Born in Pakistan (BIP) and of UK Born Pakistanis (UKBP) has increased over the 2001 to 2011 period: from 63,944 to 105,862 for the former and from 75,932 to 105,561 for the latter. There has thus been a larger increase of those BIP (41,918) than of UKBP (30,629) which signals a continued and significant migration flow into London. After migrants of Bangladeshi origins, BIP and UKBP had the second most similar change in their patterns of settlement between 2001 and 2011, with a correlation coefficient of 0.384. This may not indicate very similar movements, but at borough level the correlation coefficient shoots up to 0.915 (the highest among all groups), an indication that whatever variation exists may be occurring at a very local level.

This can be seen by looking at the distribution of these two groups by borough: the same seven boroughs house roughly 62% of those BIP and of UKBP, and this is true for both 2001 and 2011 figures. The four boroughs with the larger proportion are: Newham (14% of those BIP and 12.9% of UKBP), Waltham Forest (11.6% and 12.2%), Redbridge (9.6% and 11%) and Ealing (8.2% and 7.9%). Pakistanis born in



the UK and in Pakistan thus share the same broad spaces within the city. But they are also moving in a very similar manner. When seen from the borough level, both groups are showing a slight movement towards the edges of outer London, with the largest increases in borough share of total population in Redbridge (+3.6% for those BIP and +3.3% for UKBP), Barking and Dagenham (+1.6% and +1.3%) and Hillingdon (+1.9% and +1.1%) and the largest decreases in the more central boroughs of Ealing (-1.5% and -1.1%) and Brent (-1.2% and -0.6%). In Newham, however, the number of UKBP decreased by 1.2% while those BIP remained stable. But the map above reveals similar movements by these two groups of Pakistani migrants in Newham and its two neighbouring boroughs – Waltham Forest and Redbridge. It seems as though both groups are responding to similar processes of change, with no group clearly more or less vulnerable than the other.

The relatively lower correlation in the movement of the two types of Pakistani migrants when all OAs are taken into consideration hides significant variations in borough by borough correlations at the OA level. While the correlation for all 23,406 London OAs is at 0.384, this figure climbs to 0.572 for Barking and Dagenham and to 0.557 for Merton. There are eight boroughs in which the borough level OA correlation coefficient between the movements of those BIP and for UKBP is higher than the coefficient for all London OAs. Two of these are Barking and Dagenham and Redbridge, the two boroughs which have seen the largest increase in their shares of both those BIP and of UKBP, and the neighbouring Waltham Forest. It thus seems that there is a strong similarity in the way in which those born overseas and those born in the UK move in this population cluster at the north eastern edge of London. There also seems to be a similarity in the movements of these two groups in Merton and Wandsworth. It is not clear why the three remaining boroughs show such similarity in the movements of the two groups, but it is significant that all three (Brent, Haringey and Greenwich) show departures of both groups between 2001 and 2011. Perhaps both groups are facing similar processes of displacement in these three relatively central boroughs. Overall it is clear displacement is a cogent explanation of the movement of Pakistani migrants in London.

Migrants of Caribbean origin

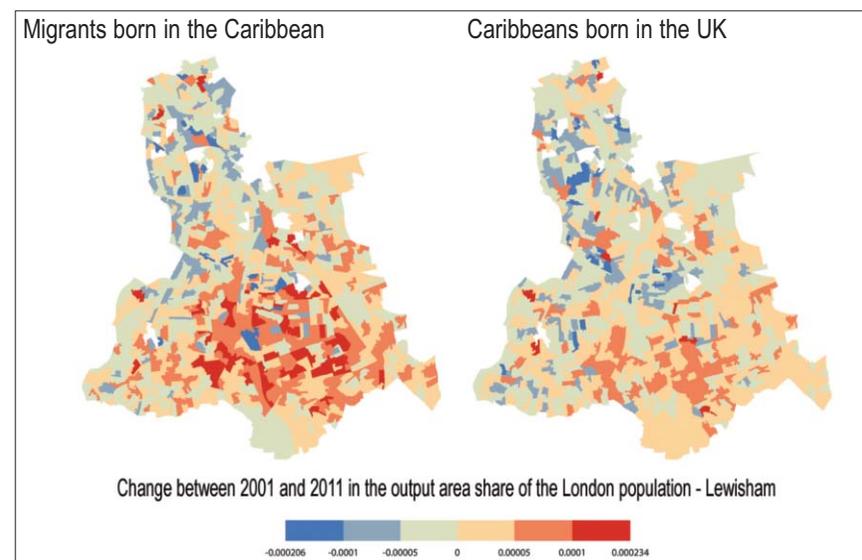
There does not seem to be an increase in migrants who were Born in the Caribbean (BIC) between 2001 and 2011: there were 136,477 such individuals in 2001 and 136,851 in 2011. This could be due to some moving out of London during that period, or it may also be a sign that migration from the Caribbean has come almost to a halt. In contrast, there are 35,572 more UK Born Caribbeans (UKBC) in 2011 than in 2001

- which includes those who selected White and Black Caribbean as their ethnicity. There were 264,817 of them in 2001 and 301,389 in 2011. It is thus possible to assume that the individuals BIC mostly arrived in the UK during the periods of strongest flow of migrants from the Caribbean in the 1950s and 1960s. Similarly to migrants of Pakistani origin, migrants of Caribbean origin have a high correlation in the change in settlement pattern between 2001 and 2011 at borough level (0.758). When all London OAs are considered the correlation between the changes in these two groups is the lowest of the five migrant groups looked at in detail (0.221). Again, this highlights a similar broad movement with important local differences in emphasis.

This group is more spread out than either the Bangladeshi or Pakistani migrants: there are eleven London boroughs with more than 4% shares of migrants of Caribbean origin, with the largest concentrations in 2011 in Croydon (8.4% of those BIC and 9.3% of UKBC), Lewisham (9% and 8.6%) and Lambeth (8.8% and 8.1%). There has been a notable shift from inner to outer London between 2001 and 2011, and this can be seen in the largest departures from Brent (-1% and -1.2% of the share of the total populations of those BIC and UKBC between 2001 and 2011), Lambeth (-0.5% and -1.1%) and Newham (-0.5% and -1.1%). In fact, the proportion of migrants of Caribbean origin has been falling in most inner London boroughs (13 out of 15 for those BIC and 11 out of 15 for UKBC). The largest increase was in Croydon (+2% for those BIC and +1.2% for UKBC), with smaller increases in Barking and Dagenham, Bromley and Enfield.

At the individual OA level, any strong correlation between the settlement patterns of those BIC and of UKBC disappears (correlation coefficient of 0.221). But again, this hides a variety of experiences within boroughs. There are 7 boroughs in which the correlation coefficient is higher than the all-OA figure, with the highest correlations in Lewisham (0.338), Redbridge (0.314) and Brent (0.302). The case of Brent (where both groups saw similar population losses) seems to point towards a common process of displacement which can be linked to similar configurations of relatively high correlations at the OA level within boroughs and common loss of population in three more of these 7 boroughs: Lambeth, Southwark and Hackney. There also seems to be a similar shift from Redbridge to Barking and Dagenham for these groups.

The case of Lewisham is intriguing because of divergent patterns at borough level: those BIC had an increase in their share in this borough (+0.9%) while UKBC saw a decrease (-0.3%). However, a more detailed look (see maps) indicates that both groups have felt displacement pressures from the north and the west of the borough but that the population of those BIC has increased in the south and east of the



borough to a much greater extent than that of UKBC. Could it be that UKBC have chosen to leave the borough altogether? In general, it is clear that both first wave migrants from the Caribbean and their children have felt displacement pressures in a number of the central London boroughs where they concentrate and that they seem to have responded in roughly similar ways – evidence which points towards a displacement type explanation even though the all-OA correlation coefficient was relatively low. If any hypothesis is to be made it is that the data indicates that UKBC are facing stronger displacement pressures than those BIC, with higher departures from the inner London boroughs of Lambeth, Newham, Haringey, Southwark and Lewisham.

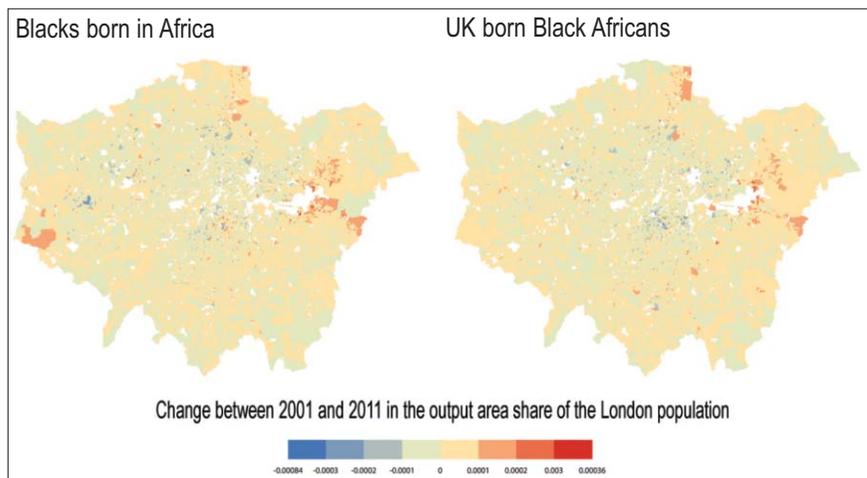
Migrants of African origin

In contrast to migrants from the Caribbean, migrants of African origin are the group with the strongest increase in those born overseas: the number of African Born Blacks (ABB) has almost doubled between 2001 and 2011, from 157,783 to 300,520. They are also the only group whose born overseas outnumber those born in the UK. UK Born Black Africans (UKBBA – including those who selected White and Black African as their ethnicity) did still increase significantly between the censuses: from 234,552 in 2001 to 292,253. These figures indicate a vibrant flow of migrants into London. Migrants of African origin present a very similar pattern to those of Pakistani and

Caribbean origin: a strong correlation in the movements of ABB and UKBBA at borough level (0.867) but a weaker correlation when all OAs are considered (0.372).

In contrast to migrants of Pakistani origin, but like those of Caribbean origin, these two groups tended to concentrate in inner London boroughs in 2001. The boroughs with the highest share of these populations were Southwark (10.1% of ABB and 9.2% of UKBBA), Lambeth (8.1% and 8.3%) and Newham (8.1% and 7.6%). However, between 2001 and 2011 many of the inner London boroughs where they were concentrated have seen falls in their share, including Lambeth (-1.7% of both ABB and UKBBA), Newham (-1.4% of ABB and -2% of UKBBA) and Southwark (-0.5% and -3% respectively). This has led to a fall in the overall proportion of these groups living in inner London: inner London boroughs had 55.4% of ABB in 2011 compared to 62.7% in 2001 and 51.3% of UKBBA in 2011 compared to 63.1% in 2001.

When the focus shifts to the correlation between the movements of those born in the UK and overseas between 2001 and 2011 for the OAs of each borough, it becomes clear that the highest correlation coefficients are reached in boroughs into which these two groups are moving. There are five boroughs where the correlation coefficient is above the all OA average (0.372). Four of these are at the eastern border of Greater London: Bexley (with a correlation coefficient of 0.698 and an increase in the share of ABB of +1.5% and of UKBBA of +1.6%), Havering (respectively 0.503, +0.8% and +1.1%), Greenwich (0.454, +1.7% and +1.3%) and Barking and Dagenham (0.416, +3.2% and +2.9%). The fifth is Enfield, with a correlation coefficient of 0.390 and an increased share of both groups of +1.6%. Apart from Croydon, these are the five main

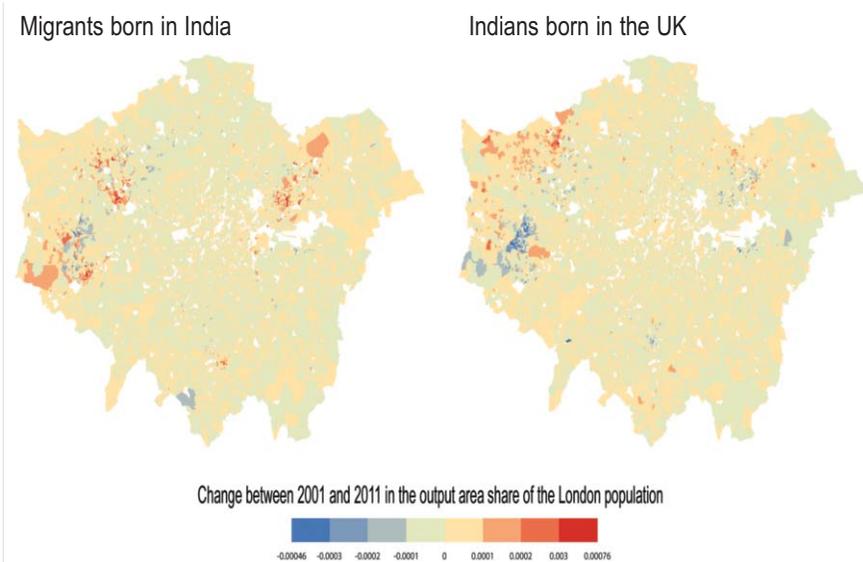


receiving boroughs for both African migrants groups. In contrast, all of the sending boroughs (some of which were highlighted above) have coefficients that range from 0.345 in Lambeth down to 0.122 in Camden. This seems to indicate a heterogeneity of departing conditions but a homogeneity of spatial solutions which involves relocating to the eastern and northern fringes of Greater London (see map above). It is striking that a group that may be composed of individuals from a large number of national contexts is responding in a similar way to displacement pressures in inner London.

Both groups of black African migrants seem to be similarly affected by these pressures, nonetheless there was a greater fall in the proportion of the UKBBA population in Southwark and Newham and a small increase in the Lewisham share of ABB. As in the case of the migrants of Caribbean origin, it is intriguing that those born in the UK are facing relatively more intense displacement pressures than those born in the originating countries. Two hypotheses are possible here. First, those born in the UK may be less attached to the areas of high concentration of their migrant group and may be more willing to move out to outer London. Second, selective migration may mean that more recent arrivals are of a higher socioeconomic class than those who arrived in the first migratory waves. In any case, the overall picture here is of a general movement (with a few exceptions) of both of these groups from very centrally located areas into very similar areas at the edge of Greater London, a movement which clearly favours the displacement explanation.

Indians

Migrants of Indian origin are the only group looked at here that have relatively low correlations coefficients at both the borough level (0.436) and at the all-OA level (0.234) in terms of the change in their settlement patterns between 2001 and 2011. Both those born in India (BII) and UK Born Indians (UKBI) are heavily concentrated in outer London and the share of their populations in outer London has increased slightly between 2001 and 2011: from 76.2% to 77.1% for those BII and from 80.4% to 81.8% for UKBI. This concentration in outer London may explain why Indian migrants are also the only group for which the number of UK born is relatively constant (260,002 in 2001 and 268,018 in 2011) while the number of those born overseas has increased significantly (167,526 in 2001 and 242,427 in 2011). Indeed, it is possible that there has been movement out of Greater London by a portion of the UK born. The majority of these two groups is concentrated in 9 boroughs but the share of those BII and UKBI in each of these borough varies. The boroughs with the largest shares of BII in 2011 were: Brent (with 10.9% of the BII population), Hounslow (10.1%) and Ealing (10.4%). For UKBI, these were: Harrow (15.1%), Brent (10.4%) and Redbridge (8.7%).



The proportion of the total population of Indians born in the UK and overseas in those boroughs changed in different ways between 2001 and 2011. Three of these boroughs have seen an increase in their share of those BII but a decrease in their share of UKBI: Newham (+2.6% for those BII and -0.8% for UKBI), Hounslow (+1.1% and -0.7% respectively) and Brent (+0.5% and -0.9%). When looking at UKBI alone, only three of the nine boroughs have seen increases in their share of this population, signalling a clear movement of concentration clearly visible on the right hand map above. These three boroughs are Harrow (+2.6%), Hillingdon (+2%) at the extreme western edge of Greater London and Redbridge (+0.7%) in the north east. In parallel, the map on the left above shows an increase of those BII in the boroughs which have seen a loss in their share of UKBI: Newham in inner north east London (+2.6% for BII and -0.8% for UKBI) and Hounslow and Brent in west London, with increases in the share of those BII of 1.1% and 0.5% respectively and losses in the share of UKBI of 0.7% and 0.9% respectively.

Migrants of Indian origin thus seem to be the only group looked at in detail here for which the observed spatial patterns corresponds to the 'spreading wings' model of migrant trajectories. Second generation migrants of Indian origin seem to be moving further out into outer London, leaving the more central borough of Brent to those born in India. It is striking that the large increases in the population share of those born overseas are in the same areas which those born in the UK are leaving in greatest num-

bers. This process explains the relatively lower correlation coefficients observed between the movements of these two groups, at the borough and all-OA level. The lowest correlation between OAs at borough level is in Newham (-0.112), a borough second generation migrants seem to have decided to leave for neighbouring Redbridge.

Conclusion

The 'spreading wings' model of migrant trajectories is a good explanation for the movements of the two groups of migrants of Indian origin. Each of these groups is now carving out its own space in the city: those BII in the historical cores of this migrant group and UKBI in the western and north eastern edges of Greater London.

The trajectories of the other four migrant groups looked at in detail here seem to correspond more closely to the displacement model, with significant movement by both those born in the UK and those born in the countries of origin away from the areas in which they most concentrated in 2001. The movements of these groups seem to be responses to common processes of change rather than attempts at consolidating or expanding the space they once occupied in the city. And this does not simply reflect the fact that groups which originally settled in inner London are more vulnerable. The case of migrants of Pakistani origin shows that groups in both inner and outer London are as vulnerable to displacement pressures. What this analysis also shows is that some London boroughs are serving as receptacles for a significant number of those displaced migrants, most notably are Barking and Dagenham (with significant increases in the share of every migrant group) and Redbridge (Bangladeshi and Pakistani migrants). The competition for space in these boroughs between these incoming migrant groups is certainly worthy of study. Further empirical work is needed into the links between the processes of displacement uncovered here and the extensive work carried out on the notion of gentrification in the London context.

Endnotes

¹The small geographical level at which the estimation procedure was conducted means that in some cases there was a higher number of overseas-born than of UK-born individuals of a particular group in a cell, thus yielding a negative number for those born in the UK. In these cases (ranging from 2.7% of OAs for migrants of Bangladeshi migrants to 6.5% for those of Indian origin), a value of zero was substituted for the negative values.

²The other ethnicity categories cannot be used for an estimation of the second generation migrant population in general because the percentages of those who selected these categories and who were born in the UK in 2011 are too small: 15% for White Other, 25% for Other Asian and 31% for the other ethnic groups (including the ethnicity Arab which was only introduced for the 2011 Census). This analysis can also not say anything about those who haven't completed the censuses.