

Cities In Transition: **Britain's Increasing Plurality**

An 18-page briefing document prepared by the Barrow Cadbury Trust, based on statistical and graphical research produced by Danny Dorling and Bethan Thomas, SASI group, Department of Geography, University of Sheffield

- **This research draws together, for the first time, different population predictions made for individual British cities.**
- **The research shows that Leicester is predicted to become Britain's first 'plural' city – where no one ethnic group comprises a majority of the city's overall population.**
- **The research also highlights that Britain's diversity is becoming more diverse**
- **Furthermore, different cities are experiencing different levels and types of diversity – making it difficult to generalise about Britain's plurality.**
- **The Barrow Cadbury Trust believes there are four key challenges to successfully managing Britain's increasingly diverse cities:**
 - 1) Reframe the debate over immigration***
 - 2) Improve the 'bread and butter' issues of poverty and deprivation***
 - 3) Foster 'habits of solidarity' between Britain's plural populous***
 - 4) Ensure a diverse shop floor, boardroom and council chamber***

Britain is becoming ever more plural; our diversity ever more diverse.

In the 1930s, the proportion of people living in Britain who were born in foreign countries stood at around 2.5%. By 2006, that figure rose to over 10%.

In the 1930s, people living in Britain who were born overseas typically emigrated from one of 15 countries. The vast majority of foreign-born people came from Ireland or the Indian Empire. By 2006, however, no one ethnic group dominates: people born abroad come from a plethora of different countries and continents.

(See graph 1 in annex)

Britain is becoming, in the words of academic Steven Vertovec, 'super-diverse.' The country's immigrant and ethnic population can no longer be characterized by large, well organized African-Caribbean and South Asian communities. Rather, immigrants increasingly come from countries scattered all over the world: from Germany to Ghana; from Sri Lanka to Singapore.

Maps 1, 2 and 3 (see annex) show how Britain's diversity is changing over time. The pale blue hexagons represent parts of the country where the population is overwhelmingly white. The darker hexagons show parts of the country where the population is more diverse. Between 1991 (map 1) and 2001 (map 2), it is clear that parts of Britain, particularly its cities, are becoming significantly more diverse. Map 3 shows a rough prediction of the country's future diversity in 2021-2030.

Britain's increasing plurality is most evident in its cities.

Plural cities – where no one ethnic group makes up more than 50% of the population – are set to become common across Western Europe and North America.

Cities with a history of large scale immigration, such as Marseille, are being transformed by demographic change. But other cities not normally associated with high levels of diversity, such as Malmo, Sweden, are also becoming *cities in transition*.¹

Britain is not exempt from the trend towards plurality.

Leicester could become Britain's first plural city within a decade. Birmingham is due to follow a few years later. Some London boroughs have already reached plurality. More urban areas are predicted to follow.²

¹ Barrow Cadbury will publish a report on Europe's Cities In Transition in early 2008.

² Different definitions of diversity, coupled with people's differing perceptions of their identities, means it is difficult to accurately predict future diversity. This research has used four separate population forecasts to predict the future diversity of Britain's cities: 1. population forecasts for Birmingham, produced by Ludi Simpson in February 2007; ethnic population forecasts for Leicester using POPGROUP by Jame Danielis, September 2007; The GLA 2006 Round Ethnic Group Projections, produced by the GLA in July 2007; and Yorkshire and Humber population predictions produced by the University of Leeds, Schools of Geography in September 2006.

Leicester

In 1991, Leicester's population was 70.1% white³. In 2006, the proportion of whites fell to 59.5%. By 2016, the white population is predicted to make up 52.2% of the population. By 2026, Leicester's population is expected to be just 44.5% white.

Projected ethnic proportions for Leicester - Percentage								
Year	White	Caribbean	African	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Other
1991	70.1	1.7	0.4	22.9	1.1	0.4	0.4	3.0
1996	65.8	1.9	0.6	25.0	1.3	0.5	0.4	4.5
2001	63.8	1.7	1.3	25.6	1.5	0.7	0.5	4.8
2006	59.5	1.6	2.7	26.5	1.9	0.8	0.6	6.3
2011	55.9	1.5	4.2	26.7	2.3	0.9	0.7	7.8
2016	52.2	1.4	6.0	26.8	2.6	1.1	0.8	9.1
2021	48.4	1.3	8.4	26.5	3.0	1.2	0.9	10.4
2026	44.5	1.2	11.2	26.0	3.3	1.3	0.9	11.7

Between 1991 and 2026, Leicester's second largest ethnic group, Indian, is due to rise from 22.9% of the population to 26%.

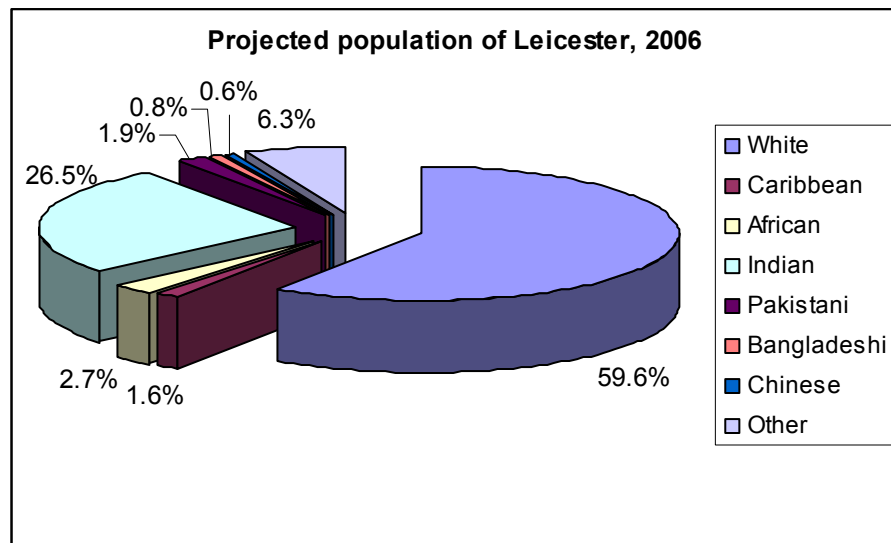
Over the same time period, the city's Pakistani population is predicted to increase from 1.1% of the total population to 3.3%.

The largest ethnic minority population changes occur amongst Africans and the 'other' category.

Africans made up 0.4% of Leicester's population in 1991.

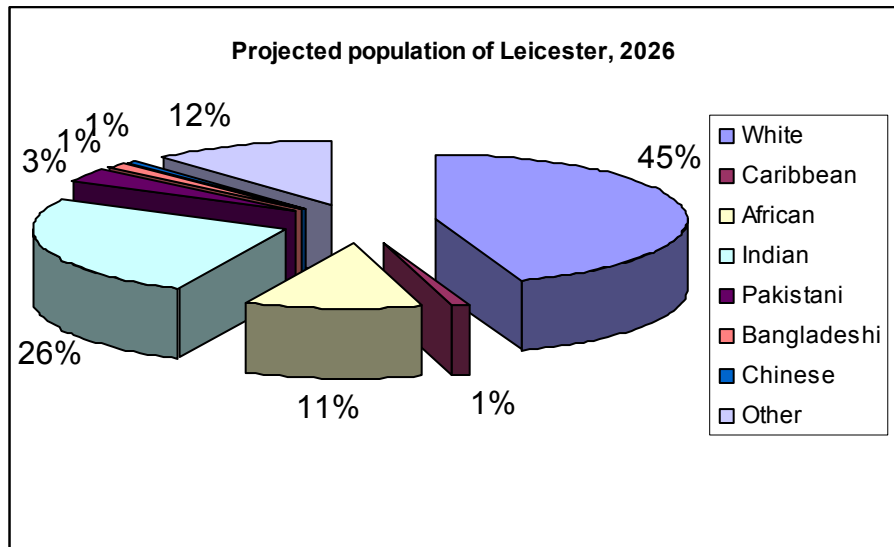
That figure is predicted to rise to 11.2% of the population by 2026.

The 'other' category, comprising numerous minority and 'mixed' groups,⁴ is due to increase from 3% of the population in 1991 to 11.7% of the population by 2026.



³ The 'White' category is based on the 1991 and 2001 Census definitions of 'white'. The 1991 definition comprises of: 'white'. The 2001 definition comprises of: White British; White Irish; Other White.

⁴ The 'Other' category is based on the 1991 and 2001 Census definitions of 'other'. The 1991 definition comprises of: Black other; other groups: Asian; other groups: other. The 2001 definition comprises of: other Asian; other Black; Chinese or other ethnic group; mixed white and Black Caribbean; mixed White and Black African; mixed White and Asian; other mixed.

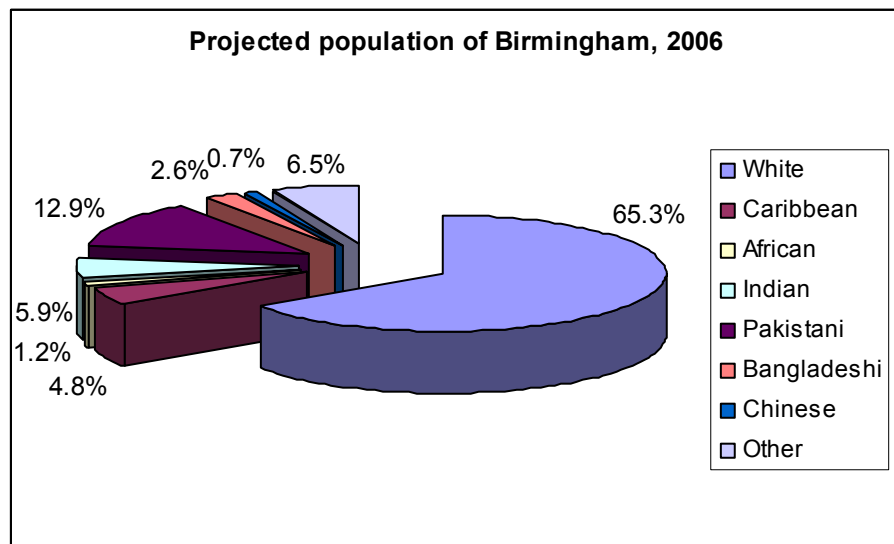


Birmingham

Year	Percentage							
	White	Caribbean	African	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Other
1991	77.0	5.4	0.4	5.5	7.1	1.4	0.4	3.0
1996	73.6	5.3	0.4	5.6	8.8	1.8	0.4	4.1
2001	70.0	4.9	0.7	5.7	10.8	2.2	0.5	5.1
2006	65.3	4.8	1.2	5.9	12.9	2.6	0.7	6.5
2011	60.6	4.6	1.8	5.9	15.1	3.1	0.9	8.0
2016	56.1	4.3	2.5	5.9	17.1	3.5	1.0	9.5
2021	51.8	4.0	3.3	5.8	19.1	3.9	1.1	10.9
2026	47.7	3.7	4.1	5.7	21.0	4.3	1.2	12.1

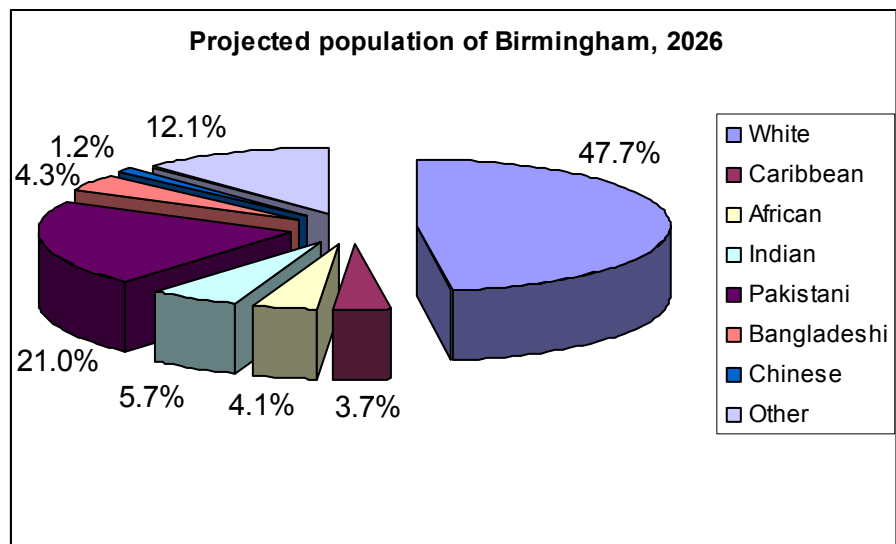
Birmingham's transition to plural city status will be different to Leicester's.

In 1991, 77% of Birmingham's population was white. By 2006, this figure dropped to 65.3%. By 2021, Birmingham's population is predicted to be 51.8% white. In 2026, whites are estimated to become the largest minority, representing 47.7% of the population.



In Leicester, much of the growth in the ethnic minority population was driven by African and 'other' growth.

In Birmingham, the biggest increases are likely to be among those of Pakistani descent. This highlights how difficult it is to generalise about diversity in modern Britain.



Pakistanis are predicted to increase rapidly from 7.1% of the population in 1991 to 21% of the population by 2026. This increase is likely to be driven by existing demographics of Birmingham's youthful Pakistani population, rather than migration.

Bangladeshis are due to increase from 1.4% of the city's population in 1991 to 4.3% in 2026. The 'other'⁵ category is predicted to increase from 3% in 1991 to 12.1% in 2026 – highlighting the increasing fragmentation of the city's diversity.

Birmingham's Indian population is predicted to remain largely flat between 1991 and 2026, increasing slightly from 5.5% of the population to 5.7%. Caribbeans are predicted to fall from 5.4% of the population in 1991 to 3.7 in 2026.

In Birmingham, the chief driver of plurality is an increase in size of the city's long-standing ethnic minority communities.

⁵ See footnote 3

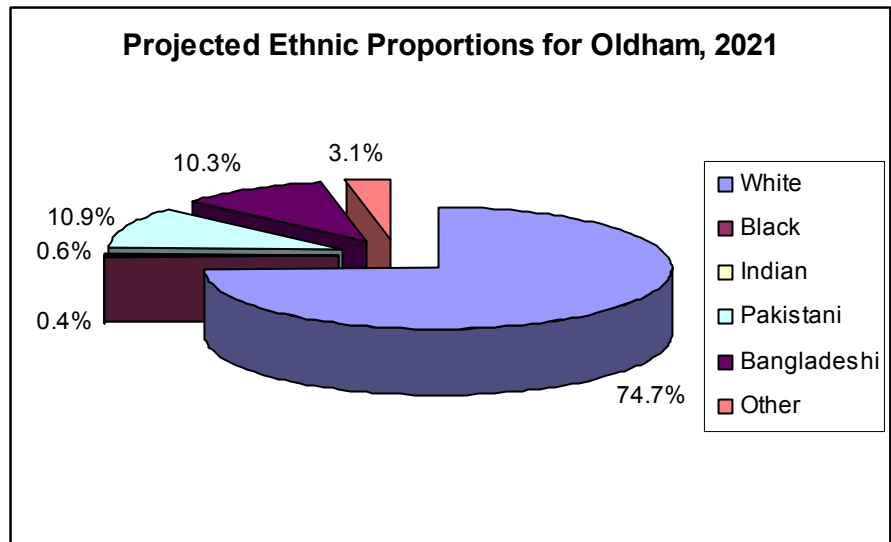
Oldham

Year	Percentage					
	White	Black	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Other
1991	90.9	0.9	0.7	4.3	2.4	0.7
1996	89.0	1.0	0.7	5.2	3.2	0.8
2001	86.1	0.6	0.7	6.4	4.6	1.7
2006	83.1	0.6	0.7	7.6	6.1	2.0
2011	80.3	0.5	0.6	8.7	7.6	2.3
2016	77.5	0.5	0.6	9.8	8.9	2.7
2021	74.7	0.4	0.6	10.9	10.3	3.1

Oldham is not predicted to become a plural town in the foreseeable future and its population is likely to remain overwhelmingly white. Oldham is, nevertheless, witnessing significant demographic change. In 1991, the town's population was over 90% white; by 2021, that figure is expected to drop to 74.4%.

Contrary to popular opinion, Oldham's ethnic minority population is not homogenous.

The town's second largest ethnic group after whites is Pakistani.



By 2021, however, there is likely to be as many Bangladeshis in Oldham as there are Pakistanis.

Pakistanis made up 4.3% of the population in 1991; this figure is predicted to rise to 10.9% in 2021. For Bangladeshis, the figures are 2.4% and 10.3% respectively. Oldham's minority population is also witnessing a degree of splintering: the 'other' category is predicted to increase from 0.7% in 1991 to 3.1% in 2021.⁶

⁶ Statistics for Oldham only allow predictions up to 2021

Greater London

Year	Percentages									
	White	Black Caribbean	Black African	Black Other	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Other Asian	Chinese	Other
2006	67.5	4.8	6.0	2.6	6.6	2.3	2.4	3.1	1.3	3.5
2016	62.8	4.8	6.9	2.9	7.3	2.7	2.7	3.6	1.6	4.7
2026	60.7	4.7	7.3	3.0	7.7	2.8	3.0	3.8	1.8	5.3

Headline statistics for Greater London show that the city is becoming significantly more diverse. However, Greater London is not predicted to become plural in the near future. Nevertheless, a number of boroughs in the city are already plural. (Also see maps 4,5,6 in appendix).

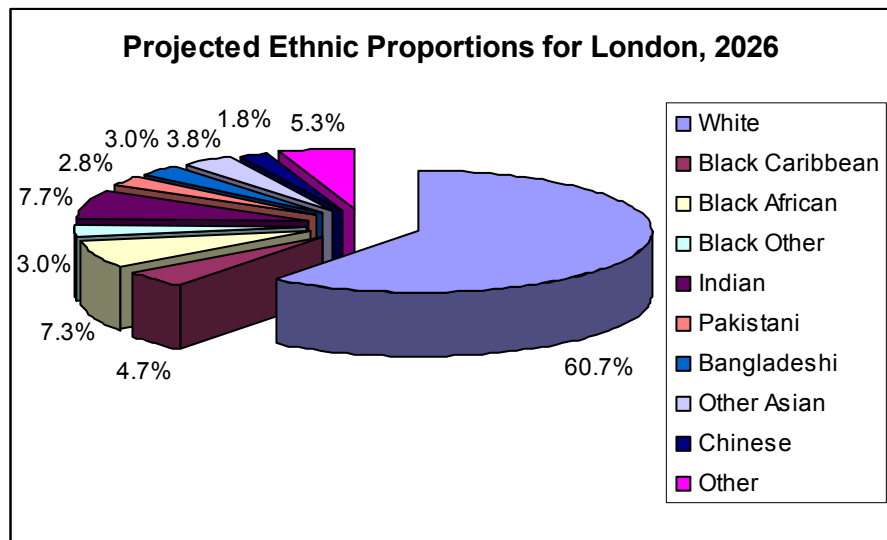
In 2006, London's population was 67.5% white. This figure is due to fall to 60.7% white by 2026.

Over the same time period, the proportion of people categorised as Black Caribbean are predicted to decrease marginally from 4.8% to 4.7% of the total population.

The proportion of people from the categories

Black Africans, Black other, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, other Asian and Chinese are all set to increase, although no one category is likely to comprise more than 8% of the population by 2026. The 'other' category is expected to increase from 3.5% to 5.3% respectively.

London's diversity is not uniform. There is an overall shift towards greater plurality, as demonstrated by the city-wide projections. However, the micro picture is much more complex. Some local authority areas have already reached plurality. Other areas are largely white and are destined to remain so. Other areas are highly diverse but not predicted to change significantly.



Great London Local Authority Areas

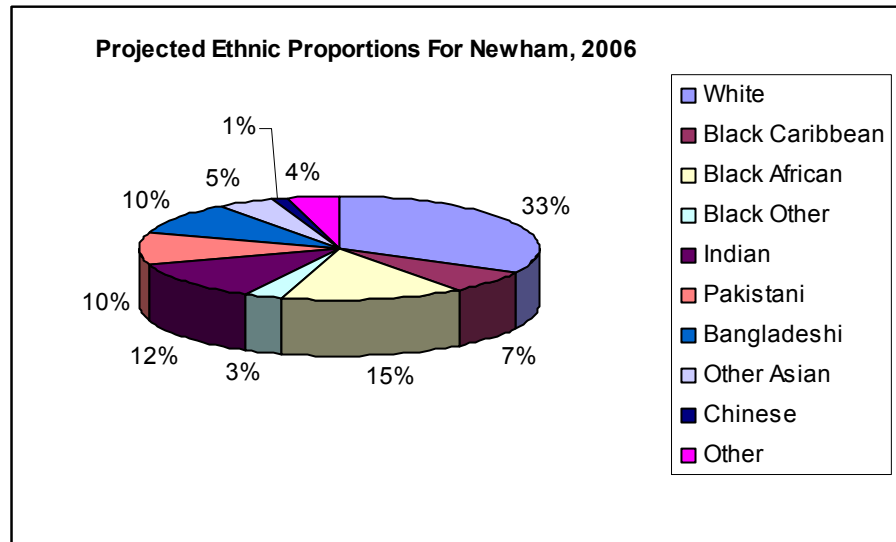
(See tables 20-22 in Danny Dorling and Bethan Thomas' original report).

Newham, in east London, represents one of the most plural parts of London. Just 32.7% of Newham's population was white in 2006. By 2026, the area's white population is predicted to fall to 24.9%.

Newham's ethnic minority populations are also highly diverse. In 2006, 15% of the area's population was Black African; 12.1% Indian; 10% Pakistani; 10% Bangladeshi; 7% Black Caribbean; 4.5% 'Asian other'; and 1.3% Chinese.

The area's demographics are predicted to remain similarly fragmented in 2026. Statistics for

Brent, in North London, mirror Newham's, showing a high level of existing plurality set to increase over time.



Tower Hamlets is often perceived as a highly diverse area – a perception largely supported by the statistics. In 2006, the area's white population stood at just over half: 50.8%. Bangladeshis comprised, by far, the largest ethnic minority, accounting for 33.2% of the population. The next largest minority was Black Africans, comprising 3% of the population.

While Tower Hamlets is clearly a plural area, its diversity is not nearly as diverse as Newham's or Brent's. Furthermore, Tower Hamlets is not set to become significantly more plural by 2026. The area's white population is predicted to fall by less than one percent, to 50% of the population. Tower Hamlets' Bangladeshi population is projected to flatline, shrinking marginally to 32.3% in 2026. The rest of the area's minority population splinters across different categories. The biggest 'gain' is likely to be East Asian: Tower Hamlets' Chinese population is predicted to increase from 2.7% in 2006 to 4.3% in 2026. **Hackney** is also relatively plural: the area's white population was just 59.1% in 2006. Similar to Tower Hamlets, though, the area is not predicted to become significantly more plural in 2026.

There are areas of London that are overwhelmingly white and set to remain so in 2026. **Havering**, close to the M25 in east London, was 93.5% white in 2006. The area is set to remain 89.7% white by 2026. **Bexley**, also in East London, close to the Dartford Tunnel, is also predicted to show little change. The area was 88.6% white in 2006 and is predicted to be 82.3% white in 2026.

By 2026, 8 out of London's 33 local authority areas – some 24% - are predicted to become plural. At the same time, 6 local authority areas will remain over 75% white.

Britain's increasing plurality – Four Key Challenges

Increasing plurality and diversity undoubtedly poses challenges for policy makers and communities alike. However, too much of the debate around these issues is currently polarised in abstract arguments. This report highlights that diversity is here and now. It is therefore imperative that we concentrate on successfully managing diversity at the local level. The Barrow Cadbury Trust believes there are four key challenges to successfully managing Britain's increasingly plurality:

1) Reframe the immigration debate

Plurality in modern Britain is a largely unstoppable process. Key drivers of migration, such as increased globalisation, are inexorable.

Furthermore, even if increasingly plural cities, such as Birmingham, were to attempt to isolate themselves from the rest of the world – raise the draw bridge and prohibit another single soul from entering the city walls – the demographic trends have already laid root. Regardless of future immigration patterns, it is just a matter of time until cities such as Birmingham become plural.

For Britain's major urban centres, ethnic diversity is now the reality. Yet political debate remains stuck in time – fixed on the rights and wrongs of immigration in principle.

We need to reframe the debate. It is time to move away from discussing whether we can or should halt increasing diversity, to focus the practical consequences of our changing communities and finding positive solutions to the challenges they present.

Quote from Barrow Cadbury – supported voluntary and community group in Sparkbrook, Birmingham:

“The local shop next door is owned by a Pakistani family. It is rented to an Iranian-Christian who is married to a Polish lady. The shop is staffed by an Afghan refugee.”

“The butcher shop on our high street displays a sign that reads: ‘Buy your halal Christmas turkey here.’”

To achieve this, we also need to move beyond theoretical debates about symbolism, identity politics and 'Britishness'. And turn our attention to the public policy questions around achieving a genuinely integrated society.

2) Focus on the 'bread and butter' issues of poverty and deprivation

We know that diversity is increasing most rapidly in neighbourhoods already affected by intense competition for resources.

Black and minority ethnic communities in Britain continue to face chronic deprivation - huddled in parts of the country characterized by poor housing, low educational attainment and a high prevalence of crime and drugs.

Therefore we need a renewed emphasis on bread and butter issues – on the disadvantage, poverty and squeezed public services that drive conflict and dissatisfaction among marginalised communities.

The human security model⁷ suggests that healthy, stable societies are only achieved when seven conditions are met: economic; food; health; environmental; personal; community; and political security.

All are prerequisites to individuals feeling confident enough to be able participate fully in society.

Barrow Cadbury believes that you cannot achieve strong community cohesion while some groups remain highly marginalised.

Therefore Barrow Cadbury Trust supports a number of voluntary and community groups working to support poor communities and improve people's material wellbeing. These groups help people who have fallen on hard times find a route out of poverty.

3) Foster 'habits of solidarity' between Britain's plural populous

When the conditions of human security are not met, people feel vulnerable and are more likely to turn inwards to their immediate ethnic or religious community, in search of support.

This 'turning inwards' can lead to polarized community relations, where people from different ethnic backgrounds fail to integrate with each other.

In 2001 riots between the white and Asian communities rocked many of England's northern towns. Researcher Ted Cattle, who led an enquiry into the cause of the riots, concluded that the two communities were leading 'parallel lives' – living side by side but experiencing almost no meaningful interaction across cultures.

So while Barrow Cadbury stresses that the 'bread and butter' issues – housing, employment, education – are vital for community cohesion, we also recognize that an extra effort is required, to help communities under stress participate more fully in society.

Tackling inequality and discrimination, while a crucial component part, is not a magic potion that can bring about social cohesion.

Habits of Solidarity Case Studies

The East London Citizens, a citizens' organising group, brought together trade unions, different religious denominations, local schools and refugees in a campaign for a London-weighted 'living' minimum wage. The process of working closely together broke down the barriers of separation between people from different backgrounds. At the same time, mutual concerns – in this case low wages – were addressed.

The Ashiana Community Project in Birmingham is another voluntary and community group helping to foster habits of solidarity between people of different ethnicities and religions. Ashiana uses 'community mentors' to help highly marginalised local women, from a variety of ethnicities and backgrounds, participate in one of Ashiana's courses and training programmes. Women, who normally would never have met, forge close bonds as they overcome their mutual problems together.

⁷ For more information see: <http://www.coventry.ac.uk/researchnet/d/176>

A historical legacy, in which different communities have been pitched against each other over access to scarce resources, has fuelled hostility between people of different ethnicities, religions and colours. This resentment has certainly been exacerbated by scare stories about 'others.'

The Barrow Cadbury Trust supports voluntary groups that help foster 'habits of solidarity' between people of different ethnic, religious and social backgrounds. Habits of solidarity are about the needs, concerns and aspirations that people share. They are about people from different communities coming together to confront the key issues affecting their communities: schools, housing, jobs and violence on the streets. They are about getting different people behind a common cause (see case study box).

4) Ensure a diverse shop floor, boardroom and council chamber

Minority communities also face barriers such as racism, which make it comparatively more difficult for them to obtain a decent education or a good job.

They continue to be grossly under-represented in politics and the upper echelons of business.

In a country with dozens of different communities, it doesn't make sense to view representation in the old fashioned way: a parliamentary or council seat for every minority.

But it is important that minority communities see clear pathways to success; that children's aspirations are lifted by successful black and minority ethnic role models.

It is shameful that there is such a low prevalence of black and minority ethnic MPs and local councillors.

As demographic change continues apace, there is a danger that Britain's increasingly plural cities will be run by an ever-shrinking white political and business elite.

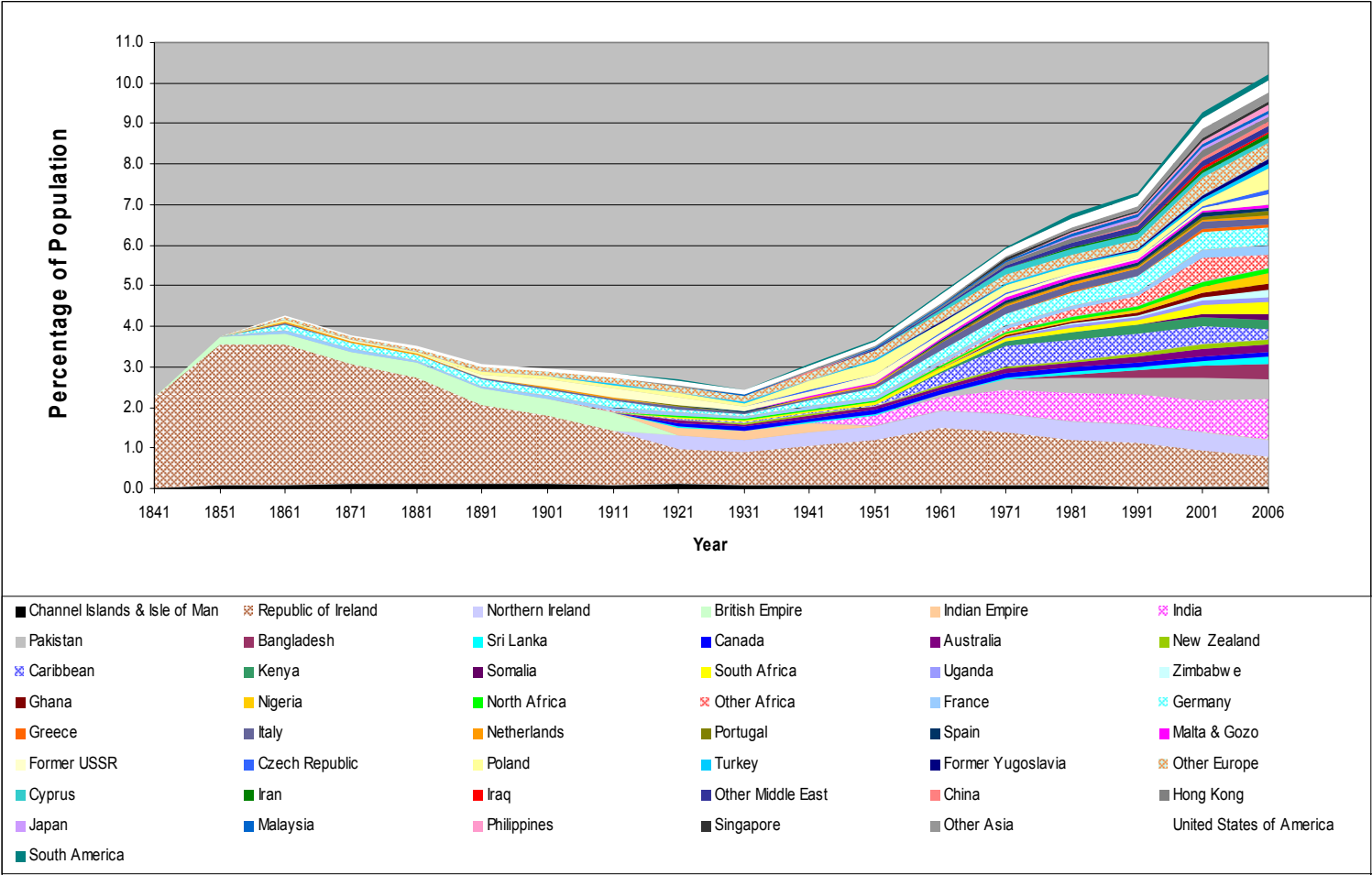
- About the Barrow Cadbury Trust -

The Barrow Cadbury Trust is an independent, charitable foundation committed to funding and encouraging the promotion of social justice. Established in 1920, The Barrow Cadbury Trust aims to close the gaps in current policy and practice by supporting work in local communities and acting as a bridge to national and international policymakers.

Sukhvinder Stubbs is the Chief Executive of the Barrow Cadbury Trust. She was previously Chief Executive of the Runnymede Trust. She has held the chair of the European Network Against Racism and is a columnist and commentator on issues such as regeneration, community development, race relations and cultural diversity.

ANNEX

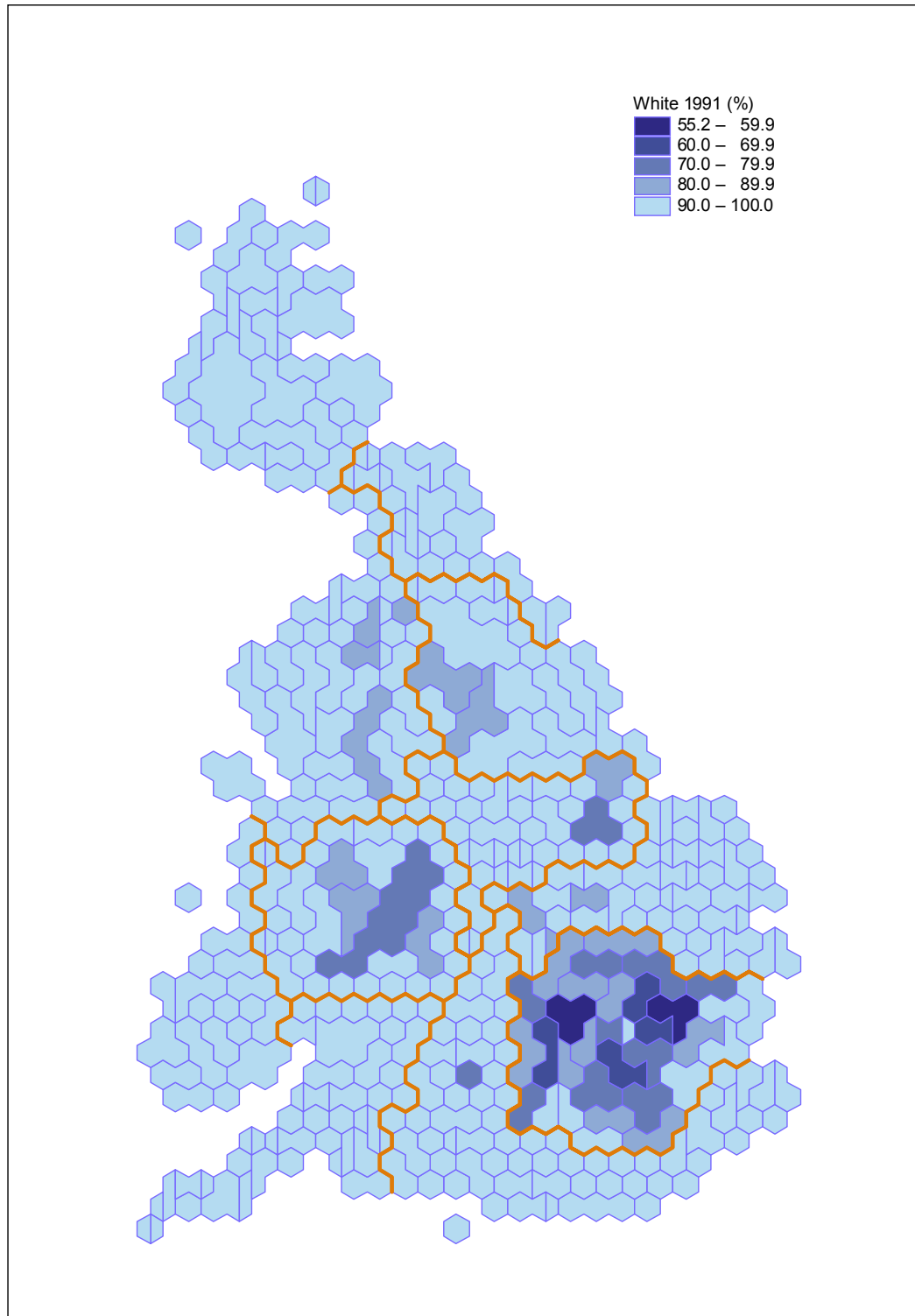
(See original report by Danny Dorling and Bethan Thomas for higher resolution graphs and maps)

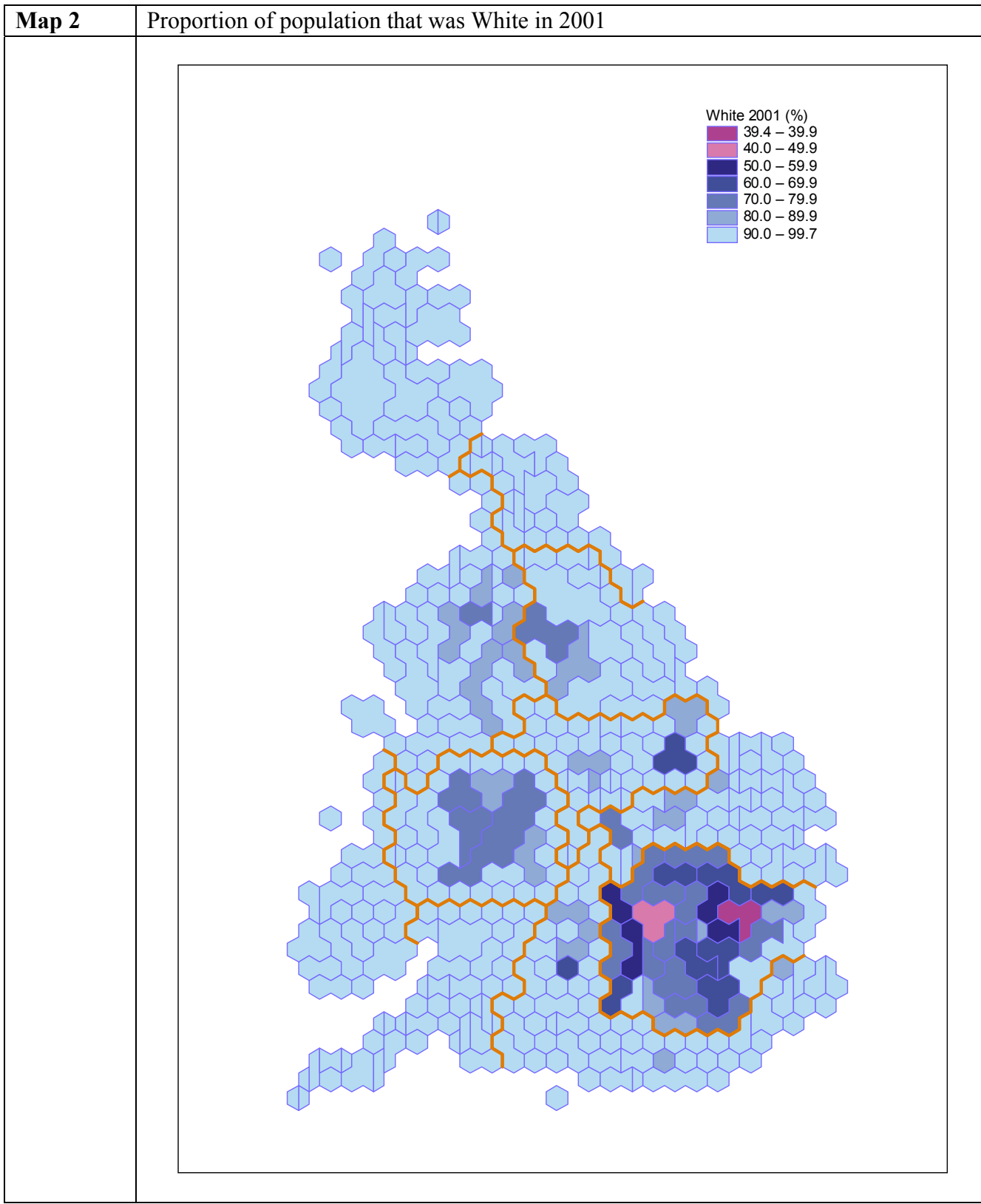


Graph 1: Timeline of countries of birth – percentages

Map 1

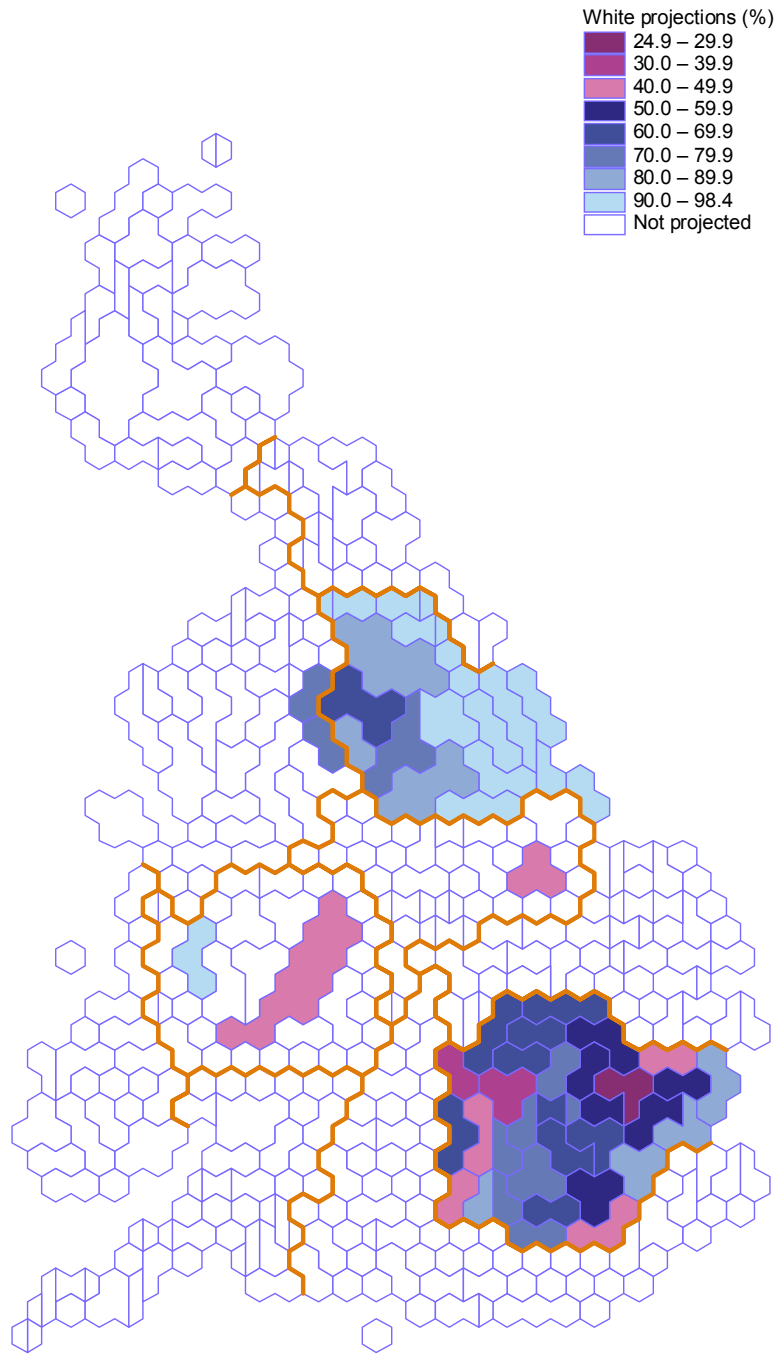
Proportion of population that was White in 1991





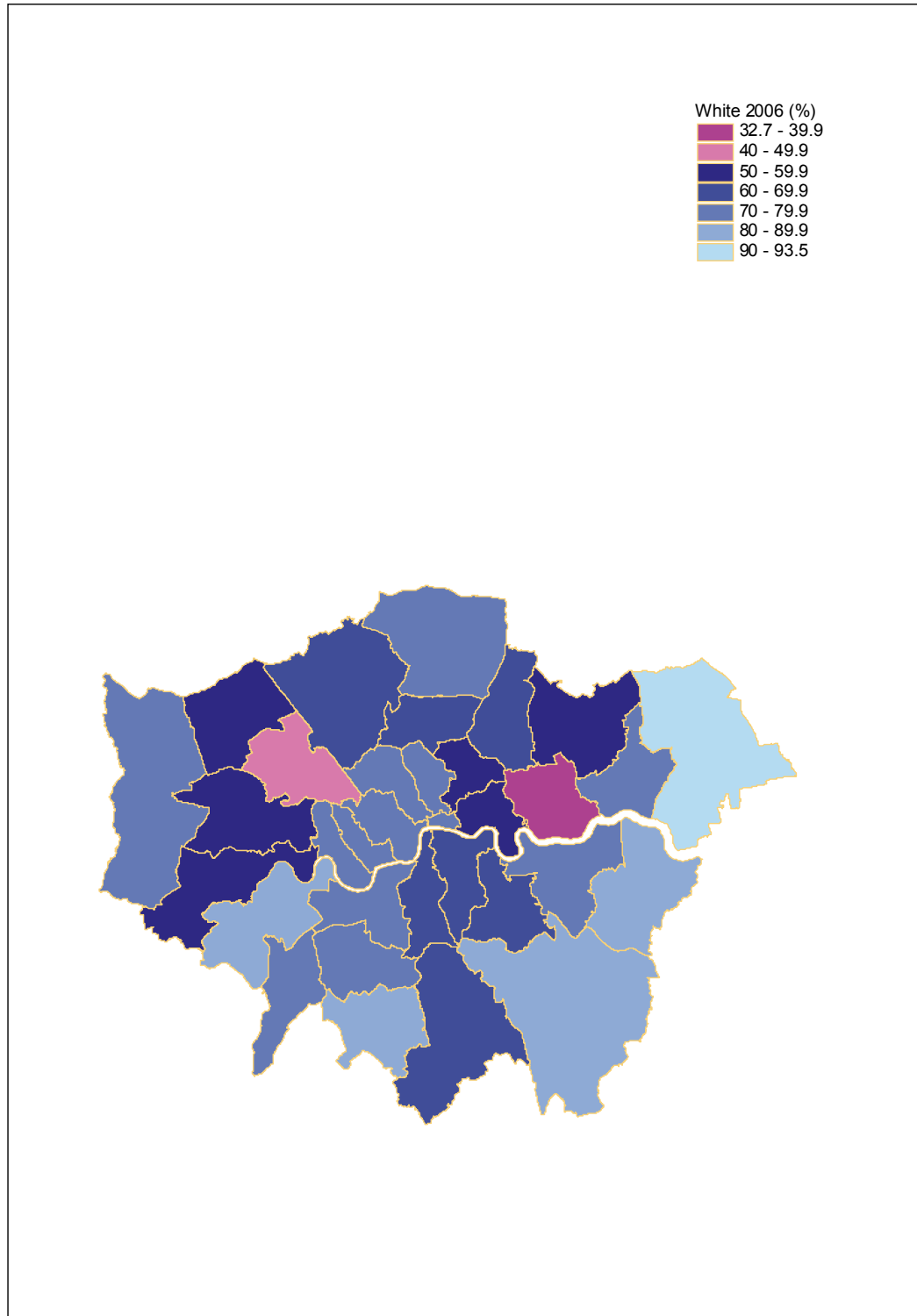
Map 3	Projected proportion of population that will be White <i>(based on projections for 2021-</i>
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2030)



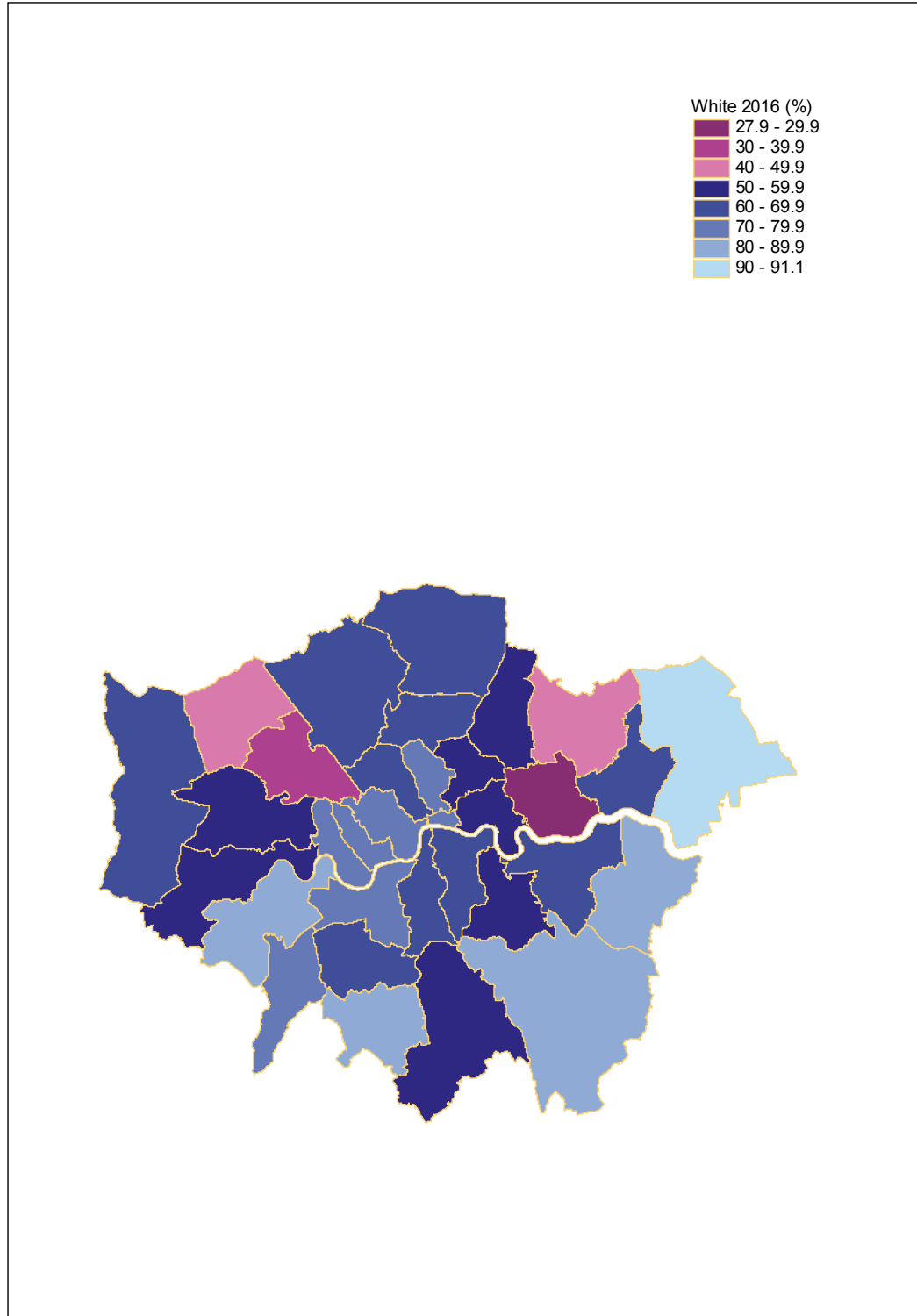
Map 4

London projected proportion of population that was White in 2006



Map 5

London projected proportion of population that will be White in 2016



Map 6

London projected proportion of population that will be White in 2026

