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THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PATTERNS OF IMMIGRANT AREAS

by

P. Davies and K. Newton

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Dr. Paul Davies is a Lecturer in the Department of Mathematical Statistics. Dr. K. Newton is a Senior Research Associate in the Department of Political Science.

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The traditional research techniques of the social sciences have not been employed with much success in the study of immigrant social patterns. Interviewing a random sample of immigrants is exceedingly difficult because the normal sampling frames, such as electoral registers, are not of much use, given that the immigrant population probably combines a high rate of geographical mobility with a low rate of electoral registration. Even if it were possible to find an adequate sampling frame it would still be impossible to pick out immigrants from the list by their names, and even if this were possible it would still be difficult to overcome suspicion and language difficulties in some cases. Such compound difficulties oblige the social scientist to look elsewhere for his data, and to use more indirect methods of data collection than the relatively straightforward random sample and interview technique. This paper attempts to show how one such method can be used to explore the social and political patterns of immigrant areas. The paper is based primarily on a secondary statistical analysis of the 1961 and 1966 census reports, both of which contain a great deal of useful data about immigrant areas. By subjecting census data to certain statistical manipulations it is possible to make some fairly firm statements about the characteristics of immigrant areas and the ways in which these characteristics seem to be changing over time.

The data analysed refer to the percentage of the population made up by immigrants in each of the thirty nine local government wards of the county borough of Birmingham in the two census years. Local government wards were chosen as the unit of analysis because they allow an examination of some of the political patterns of immigrant areas, a subject which has been largely ignored until now. Wards are also small enough to be fairly homogeneous in social composition so that the relationship between sets of variables is more clearly discernible. At the same time wards are large enough in number to produce statistically reliable figures and large enough in size to be meaningful units for the analysis of immigrant areas in terms of census data. Census figures are not without their difficulties, but since many writers have discussed them at length already, they will only briefly be elaborated here. In the first place, an immigrant must be a resident of the country and not merely a visitor. But the respondent himself is left to decide whether he is resident or visitor

so that an overseas student in the country for a year or less might describe himself as a resident while someone who has lived in the country for some years and who intends to return to his country of origin in the distant future, might not. (Collison, 1967:277). Secondly, an immigrant is defined as any resident born outside Great Britain and, therefore, the category includes people of all kinds of colour, ethnic origin, and parentage. One source puts the "possible white proportion of immigrants born in India, Ceylon and Pakistan as high as one quarter." (Jones, 1970:201)

The most significant problem of all is that of under-enumeration of some immigrant groups by quite a large margin of error. (cf. Rose, 1969: 95-95, 769-75). It has been suggested that the 1961 census under-enumerates West Indians by as much as twenty per cent, (Peach, 1966. See also Rex and Moore, 1967: 49-50) although the 1966 census may have been more reliable in this respect (Eversley and Sukdeo, 1969). Census data about immigrants must, therefore, be treated with great caution particularly when one is dealing with raw numbers. When, as in this paper, the overall relationships between sets of aggregated data are being analysed the problems of under-enumeration become somewhat less acute although it is still true to say that some of the relationships may be distorted by census deficiencies. Another problem concerns the categories used in census reports. The 1961 classification was more elaborate and satisfactory than the later one, but in order to analyse changes over time one is obliged to use the 1961 categories. For present purposes immigrants are divided into three broad groupings - Irish immigrants (persons born in Northern Ireland or the Irish Republic), white immigrants (persons born in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and in what the census terms "Foreign Countries and at Sea"), and coloured immigrants (a residual category consisting of those born "elsewhere in the Commonwealth and Colonies.") It has already been pointed out that some of those who are included in the 'coloured immigrant' category are not coloured and in addition it has also been estimated that about six per cent of this category are from Africa, Cyprus and Malta (Jones, 1970: 202). Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that by far the largest part of those included in the coloured immigrant category come from the West Indies,

1. This problem is explained in detail by Jones, 1970: 202

Ceylon, India and Pakistan and are, in fact coloured. Yet the fact remains that the statistics refer to the immigrant population and not to the coloured population of the city. Moreover, the classification used in the census obliges us to talk in terms of coloured immigrant areas whereas it is well known that there is no single, socially homogeneous coloured immigrant community but different ones with different characteristics. The classification of white, Irish and coloured immigrants is by no means ideal but it can nevertheless be put to some good and dependable purposes.

One last methodological point remains, Ward boundaries were changed for the 1962 and subsequent elections so that it is impossible to compare in any direct way the 1961 and 1966 figures. Fortunately, the City of Birmingham Central Statistical Office has reorganised the 1961 census data to fit 1962 ward boundaries, so adjusted figures for 1962 are used in preference to the original figures. (Neale and Haine, 1964: ii) The total number of observations is thirty nine for each year. The figures calculated and the conclusions they are used to support refer not to immigrants either as individuals or collections of individuals but to the areas in which immigrants live. Since it is aggregate data for wards which is being used and not data collected from a sample of individuals, care must be taken to avoid all the traps of the ecological fallacy. In no case do immigrants form so much as the majority of the population in any single ward (although they and their children born in this country may), so that it must be clear that what are referred to as "immigrant areas" are, strictly speaking, the areas in which immigrants are concentrated, even though these areas always contain a large proportion of non-immigrants. However, it is not immigrants as such who are being discussed here, but the areas in which they tend to live as opposed to the areas where they do not live.

The Social Patterns of Immigrant Areas

Table 11.1 shows that almost nine per cent of the city's population was composed of immigrants in 1961 and that the figure had risen gently to just over eleven per cent in 1966. The Irish and white immigrant percentage remained more or less constant and most of the increase was due to a two per cent increase in coloured immigrants. White immigrants were so thinly and evenly spread over the whole city that it is quite inappropriate to talk of white immigrant areas in the same way as Irish or coloured immigrant areas and, for this reason, they will not be discussed in any great detail in this paper. In

Table 11.1The Immigrant Population of Birmingham, 1961 and 1966

	Immigrants as a Percentage of the City's Population	Percentage of Coloured Immigrants	Percentage of Irish Immigrants	Percentage of White Immigrants
1961	8.9 (99,842)	2.7 (30,519)	5.2 (57,900)	1.0 (10,834)
1966	11.1 (118,370)	4.7 (49,870)	5.3 (56,280)	1.1 (12,220)

contrast, Irish and coloured immigrants were distributed in a far from random fashion, being relatively highly concentrated in a few wards in the city.

Table 11.2 presents a correlation matrix showing the statistical relationship between the three immigrant groupings and a selection of fourteen social variables in the years 1962 and 1966. For ease of notation in later tables these variables have been numbered.

1. Percentage of coloured immigrants
2. Percentage of Irish immigrants
3. Percentage of white immigrants
4. Percentage of foremen and skilled manual workers
5. Percentage of semi and unskilled manual workers
6. Percentage of non-manual workers

Table 11.2

The Social Patterns of Immigrant Areas, 1962, 1966, 1962-1966.

		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	1	2	3		
		Foremen & Skilled	Semi & Unskilled	Non-Manual	Council Rented	Owner-occupied	Privately rented	% density of more than 1½ per room	Geographical mobility	20 - 44 years	45 - 59 years	60+ years	Coloured immigrants	Irish immigrants	White immigrants	Mean	
1	Coloured	1962	-0.12	0.31	-0.16	-0.50	-0.14	0.81	0.45	0.34	0.37	-0.60	0.02	1.0	0.72	0.56	2.4
	Immigrants	1966	-0.23	0.60	-0.39	-0.37	-0.12	0.75	0.73	0.62	0.62	-0.62	-0.25	1.0	0.69	0.27	4.8
		1962-66	-0.35	0.58	-0.43	0.52	0.20	-0.57	0.08	0.42	0.40	-0.04	-0.43	1.0	-0.62	-0.41	-2.4
2	Irish	1962	-0.18	0.64	-0.36	-0.37	-0.34	0.81	0.66	0.24	0.49	-0.66	-0.08	0.72	1.0	0.59	5.2
	Immigrants	1966	-0.25	0.70	-0.48	-0.15	-0.39	0.70	0.74	0.76	0.71	-0.77	-0.23	0.69	1.0	0.20	5.2
		1962-66	0.12	-0.44	0.45	-0.33	-0.09	0.36	0.12	-0.30	-0.08	-0.03	0.15	-0.62	1.0	-0.05	0.0
3	White	1962	-0.64	0.04	0.34	-0.56	0.11	0.65	0.21	0.52	0.33	-0.50	0.00	0.56	0.59	1.0	1.4
	Immigrants	1966	-0.55	-0.06	0.34	-0.47	0.18	0.59	0.00	0.39	0.21	-0.31	-0.03	0.27	0.20	1.0	1.1
		1962-66	0.09	-0.11	0.12	-0.28	-0.02	0.20	-0.01	-0.40	-0.33	-0.01	0.43	-0.41	-0.05	1.0	0.3
Mean		1962	45.4	30.1	24.4	36.1	34.5	26.2	10.8	23.4	48.6	29.5	21.9	2.4	5.2	1.4	
		1966	44.8	29.6	24.8	40.1	36.4	21.2	5.9	24.9	46.7	29.3	23.9	4.8	5.2	1.1	
		1962-66	0.6	0.6	-0.5	-4.0	-1.8	5.0	4.9	-1.5	1.9	0.2	-2.0	-2.4	0.0	0.3	

7. Percentage of council rented dwellings
8. Percentage of owner occupied dwellings
9. Percentage of privately rented dwellings
10. Percentage of persons at a density of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per room
11. Geographical mobility - number of additions to and deletions from the electoral register as percentage of total number on electoral register.
12. Percentage aged between 20 and 44 years
13. Percentage aged between 45 and 59 years
14. Percentage aged 60 or over.

Numbers one, two and three refer to coloured, Irish and white immigrants respectively. Variables four, five and six deal with class. It is scarcely surprising that Table 11.2 shows that coloured and Irish areas are predominantly semi-skilled and unskilled, or that white immigrant areas are more likely to be non-manual in composition. Variables seven, eight, and nine refer to type of household tenure. Here again the classification is simpler than it should be since all three housing categories cover a wide range of quality in housing from a modern council house to a patched house due for demolition, from a splendid owner-occupied mansion to a miserable owner-occupied back-to-back, and from a luxury, rented flat to a rented room in a multi-occupied house in the twilight zone. One fact which emerges with unmistakable clarity from the Table is that none of the three immigrant groupings are concentrated in areas with a high density of council rented property and that they are not concentrated in owner occupied areas either. The next column shows that all three immigrant groupings tend to be concentrated in wards with a high population density, as measured by the percentage of persons at a density of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per room. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Irish and coloured immigrants, but it is also true of white immigrants. Variable 11 is a figure for geographical mobility which is calculated by adding the number of additions to and deletions from the electoral register of each ward and expressing the sum as a percentage of the total number on the electoral register. This figure is not, therefore, calculated from census returns but from separate statistics supplied by the city's Election Office. Although an extremely high proportion of the city's adult population was registered, it is probable that the figure for geographical mobility underestimates that of immigrants who, more than the native population, are unlikely to be registered at all

and whose movements from one ward to another are not recorded. However, the figures in Table 11.2 still show a strong relationship between immigrant areas and high rates of geographical mobility; although this is less true of white as compared to Irish and coloured immigrant areas. Variables 12, 13 and 14 refer to the age structure of the adult population of the wards, the figures showing that immigrant areas tend to be very young, with only a small proportion of middle aged people and a relatively small proportion of old. The areas of Irish settlement tend to have the youngest population and white immigrant areas the oldest. The last three columns show the correlations between the three immigrant groupings themselves, and indicate that there is a strong tendency for coloured and Irish to live in the same areas and only a slight tendency for coloured and Irish areas to overlap with white immigrant areas.¹

However, there are indications that this pattern is beginning to change and break up. Table 11.2 also shows the correlations for the difference between the 1962 and 1966 figures, and since these figures show the changing relationship between variables over time, they are a much more reliable and precise indication of the relationships than a set of correlations showing the relationships at a given point of time. Table 11.2 can be used to produce firmer conclusions about the social patterns of immigrant areas and ways in which they are changing. The most striking figure in the table is that of -0.62 between Irish and coloured immigrant areas. In other words an increase in Irish immigrants in a ward is strongly associated with a decrease in coloured immigrants and vice versa. This is a clear pointer to the tendency of Irish and coloured immigrants to separate out. This trend appears to be allied to other changes. There has also been a strong tendency for coloured areas to become more unskilled and semi-skilled in composition, while in the Irish areas there has been an opposite tendency towards a more skilled and non-manual population. This change is, in its turn, underlined by movements in housing patterns. While coloured immigrant areas were increasingly associated with a higher percentage of council rented dwellings and a decreasing percentage of privately rented property, the changes in the Irish percentages were correlated with less council rented but more privately rented accommodation. There was no statistically significant change in the population density of either coloured or Irish immigrant areas but there was a firm trend towards a higher rate of geographical mobility and a younger population in coloured areas.

1. No figure of less than 0.4 can be treated as statistically significant.

All the figures combine to produce an overall impression - that the Irish and coloured immigrant populations are beginning to separate out. However, it is not clear from the figures what form this process is taking. It may be that Irish and coloured immigrants are beginning to form their own separate ghettos, or it may be that one or other of the groups are becoming more diffused into white, non-immigrant areas and that as they move out they are being replaced by the other group. An examination of the standard deviations in the percentages of coloured and Irish immigrants will throw light on this question. A high standard deviation implies an unequal distribution with a concentration in some wards, and a small number in others. Alternatively, a low standard deviation will suggest a more equal distribution throughout all wards.

Standard Deviation of Irish and Coloured Immigrant Percentages

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1966</u>
Coloured	3.12	5.74
Irish	3.24	2.63

While the coloured immigrant standard deviation has increased implying a greater concentration, the Irish standard deviation has gone down implying a more diffuse distribution. These figures, combined with those already presented, suggest very strongly that some Irish immigrants have moved out of the mixed Irish and coloured areas leaving room for more coloured immigrants to move in. This conclusion confirms the results of other studies which have found that Irish immigrants tend to be dispersed throughout the population by comparison with coloured immigrants who are relatively highly concentrated (Jones, 1970; Collison, 1967; Lambert, 1970:103; Davison, 1963; Smith, undated; 31-33). It is now possible to add a dynamic element of change over time to this well established generalisation and say that the two immigrant groupings are separating out, the Irish becoming slowly more dispersed while coloured immigrants are becoming increasingly concentrated in a few areas. This conclusion will also help to explain the fact that the social characteristics of the two immigrant areas have changed somewhat in the 1962-1966 period.

The difficulty arises, however, when one tries to state exactly what these characteristics are. The task is complicated by the fact that class, age, density, geographical mobility, and type of housing tenure are all closely inter-related themselves as well as being closely related to ethnic characteristics. Table 11.3 shows that many characteristics tend to cluster together so that it is difficult to tell whether one is independently related to another, or whether the relationship is caused by a third factor which is closely related to the other two. For example, the relationship between a high rate of geographical mobility and a large immigrant population may not be due to the fact that immigrants as such are mobile, but to the fact that immigrants are young and that the young, irrespective of their ethnic origin, tend to be mobile.

One way of measuring the degree of association between two variables independently of the effect of a third or other variables is the technique of partial correlation analysis. The partial correlation between two variables adjusted for a third is the correlation between the variables when their values have been standardised, or held constant, according to their dependence on the value of the third variable. A first order partial correlation standardises for one variable, a second order partial standardises for two variables and so on. The notation for the partial correlation between, for example, coloured immigrants (variable 1) and geographical mobility (variable 11) standardising for the young age group (variable 12), is

$$r_{1,11.12}$$

Another useful interpretation of the correlations is that they may be used to calculate the fraction of the total variation in any set of data caused by variations in other social characteristics. Thus, in the problem referred to earlier, it might be shown by partial correlation analysis that age may explain forty per cent of the variation in rates of geographical mobility in immigrant wards, whereas the immigrant factor may explain, let us say, only twenty per cent. If this were the case, the geographical mobility of immigrant areas would be mainly attributable to the age structure of immigrant areas, although the characteristics of immigrants, quite apart from their age, would also account for some of their geographical mobility. This technique is closely related to multiple regression analysis which has been extensively tried on this data. The full details of this analysis cannot be presented here, for reasons of space, but the main statistics and the conclusions they suggest can be shown.

Table 11.3

Inter-relationships Between Social Characteristics of Birmingham Wards, 1962 and 1966.

			14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4
			60+ years	45-59 years	20-44 years	Geographical Mobility	Density of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per room	Privately rented	Owner occupied	Council rented	Non Manual	Semi & Unskilled	Foremen & Skilled
4	Foremen & Skilled	1962	-0.32	0.21	0.10	-0.22	-0.02	-0.19	-0.24	0.32	-0.71	0.21	1.0
		1966	-0.07	0.37	-0.13	-0.49	-0.14	-0.47	-0.08	0.33	-0.52	0.03	1.0
5	Semi & Unskilled	1962	-0.07	-0.52	0.40	-0.03	0.79	0.33	-0.82	0.32	-0.83	1.0	
		1966	-0.22	-0.52	0.54	0.50	0.76	0.37	-0.70	0.30	-0.87	1.0	
6	Non Manual	1962	0.24	0.25	-0.35	0.15	-0.58	-0.13	0.73	-0.41	1.0		
		1966	0.21	0.27	-0.39	-0.18	-0.58	-0.07	0.65	-0.44	1.0		
7	Council Rented	1962	-0.15	0.11	0.07	-0.15	0.31	-0.72	-0.67	1.0			
		1966	-0.06	0.14	-0.02	-0.06	0.19	-0.63	-0.79	1.0			
8	Owner Occupied	1962	0.14	0.43	-0.39	-0.10	-0.79	-0.03	1.0				
		1966	0.09	0.39	-0.35	-0.43	-0.60	0.03	1.0				
9	Privately Rented	1962	0.09	-0.53	0.25	0.28	0.30	1.0					
		1966	-0.01	-0.71	0.46	0.63	0.41	1.0					
10	Density of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per room	1962	-0.26	-0.58	0.59	0.21	1.0						
		1966	-0.34	-0.62	0.71	0.80	1.0						
11	Geographical Mobility	1962	-0.21	-0.28	0.32	1.0							
		1966	-0.25	-0.72	0.69	1.0							
12	20-44 years	1962	-0.78	-0.62	1.0								
		1966	-0.76	-0.50	1.0								
13	45-59 years	1962	0.02	1.0									
		1966	-0.17	1.0									
14	60+ years	1962	1.0										
		1966	1.0										

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Social class is perhaps the most powerful of the variables examined here so it will be considered first. Table 11.2 shows a strong relationship between the percentage of coloured and Irish immigrants in a ward and the percentage of semi and unskilled workers. However, there is also a strong relationship between a young population and a working class population, so it is possible that the working class characteristic of immigrant areas is due not so much to the fact that these areas have a high proportion of immigrants in them, but to the fact that their populations are young. To assess the class structure of immigrant areas independently of their age structures requires making allowances for the relative youth of the areas. This is done in the figures below.

Immigrants and Unskilled/Semi-Skilled Adjusted for Age.

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1962-1966</u>
$r_{1,5}$	.31	.60	.58
$r_{1,5.12}$	.19	.40	.59
$r_{2,5}$	.64	.70	-.44
$r_{2,5.12}$	.56	.54	-.43

These figures show that the class structure of immigrant areas, particularly in 1966 can be explained in part, but only in part, in terms of their age structure. But even allowing for age there is still a strong tendency for immigrant areas to be semi and unskilled working class. The last column shows that this pattern is changing, for a comparison of 1962 and 1966 indicates a strong movement towards more working class coloured immigrant areas but more middle class Irish areas, even when age is standardised. In line with the previous interpretation, these figures suggest the tendency for some Irish immigrants to move into more middle class areas, and for their places to be taken by semi and unskilled coloured immigrants.

While the partial correlations show that immigrant areas tend to be working class, even allowing for their age structure, it is still possible that the young age structure of the areas is the result of their class structure. The assumptions here are that working class families are larger than middle class families, and that people in middle class areas live longer than those in working class ones.

Immigrants and Age Structure Adjusted for Class

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1962-1966</u>
$r_{1,12}$	0.37	0.62	0.40
$r_{1,12.5}$	0.28	0.44	0.42
$r_{2,12}$	0.49	0.71	-0.08
$r_{2,12.5}$	0.33	0.55	-0.04

Partial correlation analysis suggests that class accounts for some, but by no means all, of the relatively young age structure of immigrant areas, for immigrant areas still have a relatively young population even after allowances have been made for their class structure. There is a fairly strong tendency for coloured immigrant areas to become younger.

Housing is another crucial variable in the analysis of immigrant areas. Rex (1965:13) has summarised the prevailing view when he writes, "The first point that has to be made is that any talk about integration which does not concern itself with the housing of immigrants is almost worthless." The figures presented earlier show that immigrant areas are primarily areas of privately rented accommodation, rather than council tenant or owner occupied areas. It is also true that there is a strong tendency for working class areas to be either privately rented or council rented which raises the possibility that the housing tenure of immigrant areas may be due to their class structure. In addition, the young (who, as we have seen, tend to be working class anyway) also tend to live in privately rented accommodation, so that living in an immigrant area, being working class, being young, and living in privately rented housing are all related in a complex way.

Immigrants and Privately Rented Housing Adjusted for Age and Class

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1962-1966</u>
$r_{1,9}$	.81	.75	-.57
$r_{1,9.5,12}$	.79	.66	-.32
$r_{2,9}$	.81	.70	.36
$r_{2,9.5,12}$	.83	.61	.18

The partial correlations show very clearly indeed that both Irish and coloured immigrant areas are also areas of predominantly privately rented accommodation independently of the class and age composition of their population. There also seems a slight tendency for coloured immigrant areas to become less privately rented as time passes, but the figure is not sufficiently significant to support any firm conclusions.

Table 11.2 makes it clear that neither coloured nor Irish immigrant areas overlap to any great extent with areas of council rented accommodation. Insofar as council housing is intended to meet the needs of young families who cannot afford to house themselves adequately, class and age should be critical in the distribution of council accommodation. In fact, standardising for class and age produces an even stronger inverse correlation between both Irish and coloured immigrants and council housing.

Immigrants and Council Houses Adjusted for Age and Class

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1962-1966</u>
$r_{1,7}$	-.50	-.37	.52
$r_{1,7.5,12}$	-.68	-.72	-.59
$r_{2,7}$	-.37	-.15	-.33
$r_{2,7.5,12}$	-.81	-.50	-.66

Of course, most immigrants are recent arrivals in Birmingham and the minimum waiting period of five years could explain why immigrant areas are not council house areas. However, if this were the whole explanation for the figures one would expect an increasing relationship between immigrant areas and council housing. Yet after standardising for age and class the relationship is as strongly negative as ever. Which ever way one looks at the figures there is still no sign that immigrant areas are penetrated to any extent by council rented property. This is so with one single and significant exception. The correlation between coloured immigrants and council rented accommodation for the 1962-1966 period is strongly positive rather than strongly negative. The most likely explanation for this lone figure seems to be that the council has bought a large amount of sub-standard and slum housing in coloured immigrant areas. By and large the areas in which most new council houses have been built are areas with only very small increases in coloured immigrants. Conversely, the areas of great increase in council controlled property are also areas of very poor housing with a large increase in coloured immigrants. (cf. Neal and Haine, 1967:19,113,121). Insofar as there is any overlap between coloured immigrant areas and council housing it is primarily of the patched type and not the newly built council estate type.

Immigrant areas are also likely to be overcrowded although this is not surprising since immigrants have many of the social characteristics which are strongly associated with overcrowding, such as youth and working class occupations.¹ When class and age are held constant the overcrowding of immigrant areas is very considerably reduced in the case of both immigrant groups. However, it is not removed entirely which shows that immigrant areas do tend to be overcrowded to some extent irrespective of their age and class structures. Yet it is still true to say that the overcrowding of immigrant areas is due to a great extent to the age and class structure of the population of the areas.

1. It is probable that the census under-estimates this degree of over-crowding so that relationships in the table are likely to be rather stronger than the figures suggest.

Immigrants and Population Density Adjusted for Age and Class

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1962-1966</u>
$r_{1,10}$	.45	.73	.08
$r_{1,10,5,12}$	.25	.37	-.31
$r_{2,10}$	.66	.74	.12
$r_{2,10,5,12}$	.21	.19	.34

After standardising for age and class there is a tendency for coloured immigrant areas to become less overcrowded and for Irish areas to become more so, but the partial correlations in both cases are not large enough to attach any weight to them.

Immigrant areas are also areas with a high rate of geographical mobility. On the other hand they most generally have a young population living in privately rented accommodation, and both these characteristics are closely related to high rates of geographical mobility. The partial correlations show that a great deal of geographical mobility of immigrant areas can be attributed not to their ethnic characteristics but to their type of housing and their age structure.

Immigrants and Mobility Adjusted for Age and Housing Tenure

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1962-1966</u>
$r_{1,11}$	.34	.62	.42
$r_{1,11,9,12}$	.13	.03	.25
$r_{2,11}$	.24	.76	-.30
$r_{2,11,9,12}$	.13	.35	-.20

This is particularly true of coloured areas but it is also true to a lesser extent of Irish areas. Changes over time, suggest that coloured areas may be increasing in mobility while Irish areas may be getting less mobile. It should be born in mind that the measure of geographical mobility used for these purposes is based on the

turnover of names on the electoral register. Insofar as there is good reason to believe that many immigrants are not registered as electors, it is probable that this measure underestimates their geographical mobility.

As we have already noted there is a great deal of overlap between immigrant groupings in the sense that areas of Irish settlement are most generally areas of coloured immigrant settlement as well. This is only to be expected given that the age and class of immigrants most generally restricts the kind of housing available to them. Discrimination against Irish and especially coloured immigrants no doubt limits still further the type of housing and area they can live in. In fact age and type of housing are so powerful as variables that when they are held constant the very strong association between Irish and coloured immigrants disappears almost entirely.

Coloured and Irish Immigrants Adjusted for Age and Privately Rented Housing

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1962-1966</u>
$r_{1,2}$	.72	.69	-.62
$r_{1,2,9,12}$	.05	.10	-.57

However, it is not clear how meaningful it is to standardise for privately rented accommodation in this context, given the nature of the relationship between this kind of housing and immigrants. If the large majority of Irish and coloured immigrants live in privately rented accommodation, then to standardise for this variable is to neutralise the whole basis of comparison of the two groupings, thereby running foul of the principle of confounding variables. What is perfectly clear, however, is the strong trend for the two immigrant groupings to separate out and to become less and less concentrated in the same areas. This is true whether one takes age and housing tenure into account or not and serves to emphasise even more strongly the earlier finding that the groupings are becoming increasingly dissociated.

The figures presented so far point to a number of general conclusions but they show only one side of the coin. To present a convincing case it is necessary to show that the same figures viewed from a different angle suggest the same sorts of conclusions. It is necessary to go step by step through the argument, as we have done for the first part, or to show as much detail, and only the most important statistics of the multiple regression analysis of the data will be reproduced here. The analysis shows that the two variables which are most strongly associated with coloured and Irish immigrant areas are privately rented accommodation and a high population density. Irrespective of which variables are held constant there is still a strong association of immigrant areas with privately rented accommodation and with a high population density. These two factors are by far the best indicators of immigrant areas and to such a degree that to standardise for them is to reduce the significance of other variables to a minimum.

Table 11.4

Immigrant Areas, Privately Rented Accommodation, Population Density
and All Other Variables

		1962 $r_{1,j,9,10}$ and $r_{2,j,9,10}$					
	5	11	13	1	2	Percentage of variation explained by 9 and 10	
1	-0.34	0.16	-0.19	1.0	-0.13	71	
2	0.22	-0.12	-0.15	-0.13	1.0	84	
		1966 $r_{1,j,9,10}$ and $r_{2,j,9,10}$					
	5	11	13	1	2	Percentage of variation explained by 9, 10	
1	0.07	-0.49	0.27	1.0	-0.23	77	
2	0.36	0.13	-0.31	-0.23	1.0	73	

Table 11.4 shows that when privately rented housing and population density are held constant the relationship between immigrant areas and class, geographical mobility, and age are invariably reduced to insignificant proportions. The only correlation of any magnitude is that of -0.49 between coloured immigrant areas and geographical mobility in 1966. The last column in Table 11.4 shows that the percentage of the total variation in the immigrant data which can be explained jointly by variation in population density and privately rented accommodation. The percentages are high in all cases and it can be shown that the addition of other variables would not explain a statistically significant additional amount of variation. In other words, the partial correlations in Table 11.4 are not statistically different from zero. The conclusions must be that the factors which provide the best indicators of immigrant areas are a high percentage of privately rented accommodation and a high population density.

An analysis of the differences between 1962 and 1966 confirms this but, in addition, class (as measured by the percentage of non-manual workers) emerges as an important variable.

Immigrant Areas and Non-Manual Workers Adjusted for Privately Rented Housing and Density, 1962 - 1966.

$$r_{1,6} = -0.43$$

$$r_{1,6,9,10} = -0.49$$

$$r_{2,6} = 0.45$$

$$r_{2,6,9,10} = 0.57$$

It appears that Irish immigrants are becoming more strongly associated with middle class areas and less strongly associated with working class areas, while the movement for coloured immigrants is in the opposite direction towards a greater concentration of working class people and fewer middle class ones. Variables 9, 10 and 6 (that is privately rented accommodation, population density, and non-manual workers) explain 4% and 43% of the variation in changes in coloured and Irish immigrant percentages respectively. Additional variables do not account for a statistically significant variation in the data.

A high proportion of privately rented accommodation and a high population density are the two variables which combine to form the best indicators of immigrant areas in Birmingham. Class is another important variable, although knowledge of an area's class structure does not tell us anything more about immigrant areas than knowledge of the proportion of privately rented accommodation. This is particularly true of coloured immigrant areas, although there is little to choose between population density and the percentage of unskilled and semi-skilled workers as indicators of Irish areas in 1966.

Percentage of Immigrant Variation explained by Privately Rented Housing, Population Density and Unskilled and Semi-Skilled Manual Workers

		<u>Privately Rented and Unskilled & Semi-Skilled</u>	<u>Privately Rented and Population Density</u>
<u>Coloured</u>	1962	66	71
<u>Immigrants</u>	1966	69	77
<u>Irish</u>	1962	80	84
<u>Immigrants</u>	1966	72	73

The figures support the earlier conclusion that in both 1962 and 1966 population density and privately rented housing were most strongly associated with immigrant areas among all the variables examined in this paper.

Class seems to be more sensitive than population density to changes in immigrant percentages over time. When adjustment is made for the proportion of privately rented accommodation, class emerges as having a stronger relationship with immigrant figures than population density.

Immigrant Areas, Unskilled and Semi-Skilled Workers and Population Density, Adjusted for Privately Rented Housing, 1962 - 1966.

$$r_{1,5.9} = 0.13$$

$$r_{1,10.9} = 0.00$$

$$r_{2,5.9} = -.32$$

$$r_{2,10.9} = 0.18$$

These figures support the tentative suggestion that in the long run class may become a more sensitive indicator, particularly of coloured immigrant areas and they also support the earlier suggestion that Irish immigrants are beginning to settle in more middle class areas.

Conclusions

Census data for the 39 wards of Birmingham in 1962 and 1966 have been subjected to treatment from two quite different statistical points of view. In addition, the calculation of changes in partial correlations over time produces more certain conclusions than correlations between variables at a given point in time. The conclusions may be summarised as follows. Both Irish and coloured immigrant areas are characterised by a high proportion of privately rented housing and by a high population density. In addition, both Irish and coloured areas have a high proportion of young, working class residents. While these characteristics remained broadly the same in 1962 and 1966 there is also clear evidence that the pattern is changing. Most striking of all is the rapid divergence of the two ethnic groups which are beginning to separate out into different areas. Allied with this dissociation are other changes. The Irish are becoming associated with areas which are less working class in composition, less densely populated, and less restricted to areas of council rented accommodation. There are also indications, although they are not statistically significant, that areas of Irish settlement are becoming less constrained by the availability of privately rented accommodation and less geographically mobile. Coloured immigrant areas in contrast, are becoming more working class and less constrained by the availability of both privately rented and council rented housing. They may have become less densely populated and more mobile as well, but the figures are not statistically significant.

The analysis so far suggests that Irish and immigrant areas have a set of 'primary' or 'core' characteristics which cannot be explained in terms of other social characteristics. For example, there is a very strong association between immigrant areas and privately rented accommodation even after age and class is taken

into account. Associated with these core characteristics are a set of 'secondary' or 'derived' characteristics which are not "indigenous" to immigrant areas but which are by-products of the core characteristics. For example, immigrant areas have a high rate of geographical mobility but, on further examination, this mobility can be attributed largely to the age and housing type of the areas so that immigrant areas are, in fact, not much more mobile than any other area with a similarly young population living in privately rented accommodation. The core characteristics of immigrant areas are a young age structure, a working class population, privately rented accommodation and an absence of council housing. The secondary characteristics are a high population density, a high rate of geographical mobility and an overlap of coloured and Irish areas. These patterns appear to be changing so that Irish and coloured areas, it seems, are beginning to diverge in their social characteristics. Irish immigrants are beginning to settle in areas where there are more middle class people, more privately rented accommodation and less council rented accommodation. There are also faint hints that these areas are less geographically mobile and rather older in age-structure. At the same time Irish immigrants are becoming less concentrated so that it seems reasonable to draw the obvious conclusion that they are moving out of immigrant areas and into other areas which are closer to the city as a whole in terms of their social characteristics. The trend with coloured immigrants is in the opposite direction. They are becoming more concentrated and the areas in which they are concentrating are becoming younger and more working class, less privately rented and more council rented and, perhaps, more mobile. The social characteristics of coloured immigrant areas had become stronger in 1966 than they were in 1962.

These conclusions point to another more general conclusion - they suggest that a coloured ghetto is beginning to form in Birmingham. Rex has suggested that the term "ghetto" is inappropriate for immigrant areas in the city because they are inhabited by people of different colours, races and ethnic groups. "In strict sociological terms what emerges is not a ghetto. For the immigrants will be of all races. And they will live alongside and above and below the flotsam and jetsam of the host society." (Rex, 1965:14. See also Leech, 1967:333). The data produced in this paper do not support this conclusion but suggest, on the contrary, that there is already in Birmingham the embryo of a

coloured ghetto, out of which Irish immigrants are moving and into which more coloured immigrants are moving. The figures do not suggest that a coloured ghetto is already in existence but they do suggest that it is in the process of formation.

Some writers, particularly American ones, have pinned their hopes on a large public housing sector which could be used as a powerful weapon to help break down some of the social forces which create coloured ghettos. (Grier and Grier, 1964). This has not happened in Birmingham. The Corporation controlled 137,120 tenancies in the city (about 40% of the total number of dwellings) of which about 25,000 were in slum clearance and redevelopment areas. (Royal Commission on Local Government, 1968, Vol.7:89) but the presence of a public housing sector of such massive proportions has not prevented the increased concentration of coloured immigrants in a few areas. Of course it might be argued that the concentration would have been more rapid but for council housing, and yet the use made by the Corporation of the 1962 Town and Country Planning Act and the 1965 Birmingham Corporation Act suggests that the Corporation has helped rather than hindered the process of ghetto formation. (cf. Burney, 1967:26-29. See also Karn, 1967 and Rex and Moore, 1967 on the possible effects of the council's policy on the housing of coloured immigrants). Whatever the council might have done in theory, in practice it did not use its powers to disperse coloured immigrants and the results of its policy are now beginning to emerge in a way which has pessimistic implications for the future.

The Political Patterns of Immigrant Areas

Immigration as an issue in British politics has been widely discussed but the politics of immigrants and of immigrant areas have not been studied very closely. The generalisations that emerge from what little has been written are that immigrants in general, and coloured immigrants in particular, have a low voting turnout, that neither of the two main parties campaigned at all actively for their votes, and that insofar as coloured immigrants vote at all they are likely to vote Labour, although the immigrant community has not thrown its weight behind one particular candidate or one particular party in any area. (See Braithwaite, 1967; N.D.Deakin, et al., 1966; Jupp, 1969; Le Lohe and Goldman, 1969). This paper cannot produce any evidence about the political patterns of immigrants, as such, but it can make some statements about the voting patterns of immigrant areas. In particular, it will explore the relationship between immigrant areas and the following variables.

15. Voting turnout, defined as the number of votes cast as a percentage of the number on the electoral register.
16. Conservative majority over Labour.
17. Liberal percentage of the vote.
18. Liberal intervention.

The number of Communist and Independent candidates, and the votes cast for them, was so small in 1962 and 1966 that they have been excluded from the analysis. Neither election raised colour as an important issue and neither main party had anything to say about coloured immigration in their manifestoes or press releases. Neither of the two parties made any special efforts in their campaigns to capture the immigrant vote. (For a brief description of the two elections see Sutcliffe, 1970). Voting for the two main parties was balanced very nearly exactly at forty per cent each of the poll in 1962, but the Conservatives took seven per cent more of the poll in 1966. Overall, therefore, the two years produce slightly more Conservative than Labour votes. The later year was a fairly average one for the Liberals although they placed their largest post-war number of candidates in the 1962 election and also took their largest post-war share of the poll (15.5%). One factor which might considerably effect variable 16 (Conservative majority over Labour) is the presence or absence of a Liberal candidate. It would be possible to ignore

this factor, however, if the Liberals took roughly equal proportions of their vote from the Conservative and Labour candidates. Fortunately, it is possible to show that this is roughly what did happen in these two elections. The correlation between Conservative majority over Labour standardising for Liberal intervention was 0.30 and 0.35 in 1962 and 1966. This shows that the Liberals did gain at Labour's expense to some extent but the correlations are scarcely significant and it probably introduces only small errors to assume that the intervention of a Liberal does not affect the Conservative majority over Labour.

Table 11.5 shows a strong inverse relationship between the number of immigrants in a ward and electoral turnout, particularly in the case of Irish immigrants. This is in no way unexpected because immigrant areas are predominantly populated by young, working class people who form part of the population which is least likely to vote. The partial correlations show that age and class does, in fact, account for most of the low turnout in immigrant areas.

Immigrant Areas and Turnout Adjusted for Age and Class

<u>1962</u>	<u>1966</u>
$r_{1,15} = -0.44$	$r_{1,15} = -0.49$
$r_{1,15.12,5} = -0.24$	$r_{1,15} = -0.09$
$r_{2,15} = -0.53$	$r_{2,15} = -0.63$
$r_{2,15.12,5} = -0.03$	$r_{2,15.12,5} = -0.27$

When adjustments are made in the second order partial correlations for age and class the strong inverse relationship between both Irish and coloured immigrant areas disappears almost completely and the figures are certainly reduced to insignificant proportions. In other words, low turnout is a secondary characteristic of immigrant areas.

Table 11.5

The Political Characteristics of Immigrant Areas

		Turnout	Conservative Majority	Liberal Percentage	Liberal Intervention
<u>Coloured</u>	1962	-0.44	0.05	-0.24	-0.15
<u>Immigrants</u>	1966	-0.49	-0.05	0.25	-0.27
<u>Irish</u>	1962	-0.53	-0.02	-0.14	-0.20
<u>Immigrants</u>	1966	-0.63	-0.17	0.37	-0.02

The most striking thing about the rest of Table 11.5 is that none of the other correlations reach the point of statistical significance. The Irish and coloured immigrant areas seemed to have no particular leaning to either the Conservative or the Labour or Liberal Party in either 1962 or 1966. There was a fairly strong, but not statistically significant, tendency for the Liberal vote to be high in Irish areas in 1966, but this is most likely to be explained in class rather than ethnic terms for in that year the Liberals did rather well in the inner ring of working class wards which normally return a Labour member with a large majority. In addition it is true to say that the Liberals have made some attempt to attract the Irish voter in these wards. The figures (although they are not produced in Table 11.5) also show a tendency for white immigrant areas to return a high Conservative vote out, again, this seems to have a great deal more to do with the kinds of wards in which white immigrants settle rather than the impact of the white immigrant vote itself which, even if they all vote, would still be too small to make any difference. Overall, Table 11.5 shows with great clarity that there is no sign of the emergence of ethnic politics in the two elections. It is always

possible that the votes of different and politically divided immigrant groups might cancel themselves out leaving no party in particular with an overall majority in these wards but, on the other hand, this analysis is not supported by a first hand observation of the election campaign of 1966 nor by press reports covering the 1962 election. Whatever may be going on politically in Irish and coloured immigrant areas, it has not expressed itself at the polls in local elections.

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