LATIN AMERICANS IN SOUTHWARK: A QUANTITATIVE (CENSUS) LOOK

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Executive summary

- Through an analysis of 2011 census data, this report charts the nature of the Latin American population in Southwark. This highlights some of the common characteristics of Latin Americans in this borough, but also evidences the heterogeneity of this population.

- There were an estimated 8,006 residents born in Central America, South America, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. This Latin American population is dominated by residents born in Colombia and Brazil.

- Although the Latin American population in Southwark has a fairly equal gender split, different country-specific migrant groups exhibit a range of gender splits. At the same time, the Latin American population in Southwark has a younger age profile than the local population on average.

- While there were over eight thousand residents born in Latin American countries, there were only 3,753 residents with passports from those countries.

- Residents born in South and Central America were somewhat less likely to have a UK passport (34%), compared to non-UK born residents overall (41%). Colombia and Ecuador had the highest UK citizenship rate, while this was lowest for Bolivian- and Brazilian-born residents.

- Of the 7,558 residents born in Latin American countries aged 16 and over in 2011, 30% held some type of secondary school or similar qualification, 32% were educated to degree level or higher, 30% held other types of qualifications and the rest (14%) held no qualifications.

- There were also 3,229 households in Southwark with the household reference person born in Latin America, amounting to 3% of households in the borough.

- Latin American-headed households were more likely to be larger and have more dependent children living in them than Southwark households on average. While this was particularly the case for Bolivian- and Ecuadorean-headed households, while Chilean and Mexican households tended to be smaller.

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1 Introduction

This report charts the nature of the Latin American (LA) population in Southwark in London, using the 2011 England and Wales Census data. The Southwark borough is a highly diverse part of London; according to the 2011 census, 39% of its residents (estimated 113,667 people) were born outside of the UK. Moreover, this part of London is known for its Latin American population; this population is however often missed or undercounted in statistical sources, since individual Latin American countries are often not included in outputs.

As such, this report seeks to contribute to the understanding of the characteristics of Latin Americans in Southwark. To do so, it mainly uses census tables commissioned specifically for the purposed of this analysis.[1] It does so by first examining the ways of counting Latin American migrants, specifically by looking at the *country of birth* and *passports held* measures. Secondly, it looks at characteristics of the Latin American population in Southwark, in particular in relation to educations attainment on the one hand and household characteristics on the other.

1.1 Methodology

The latest UK censuses were conducted on 27th March, with separate census data collection and analysis carried out for England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. As such, when situating the Elephant and Castle area within the wider London and national picture, comparison is made with England and Wales as a whole. Census data provide the most complete snapshot of the population and are particularly detailed for small geographical areas. This makes it an invaluable tool for the analysis of characteristics of the population. Other sources of data on the UK population and its characteristics, which rely on survey such as the Labour Force Survey (LFS) or the International Passenger Survey (IPS) have large margins of error at the local level.

The purpose of the census is to provide a count of people and households along with their characteristics. However, the census does not have 100% coverage as some people and households are inevitably missed, and the extent of undercounting is likely to be concentrated among certain groups based on their characteristics; those without a fixed address or migrants without status are likely to be under-counted. As such, the data collected on census day on 27th March 2011 were supplemented by the Census Coverage Survey to estimate the level of undercounting; this concluded that the coverage of the census in 2011 was 94% (ONS, 2012a). The borough of Southwark specifically had below average response rate of 87%. Moreover, the census data was subjected to various quality checks, including checking for inconsistencies and imputing missing answers (ONS, 2012b).

Moreover, due to data protection constraints imposed by the ONS, a precise look at countries which are traditionally considered to be Latin American is not possible. In most cases, when talking about 'Latin America' in this report, this includes all South and Central American countries, plus Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Moreover, different definitions of 'Latin American' countries are used throughout the report, due to census data availability for different measures and geographic levels.

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[1] There are commissioned tables CT0399, CT0400 and CT0401, available online.

2 Countries of birth and passports held

2.1 Countries of birth

The best measure from the 2011 census in order to examine the population of Latin American origin is the country of birth variable. In this case, other measures such as passport held can obscure a migration trajectory from Latin America, since many migrants might also have or later acquire Spanish (or other non-LA) citizenships before moving to the UK (this is further illustrated below). Figure 1 shows the South American, Central American and Caribbean countries for which individual data are available, according to the number of residents in Southwark born in each country. The majority (76%) of the Latin American population in Southwark comes from just those four South American countries, and indeed over half (54%) from just Colombia and Brazil. As such, the majority of 'Latin Americans' in Southwark are from South America (95%), while about 4% were born in Central America and only 1% in Latin Caribbean (Cuba and the Dominican Republic).

### 2.2 Age and gender profile of Latin Americans

For this analysis, the focus is solely on residents born in Central and South America; due to disclosure control, census data at more detailed levels are not available for Cuba and the Dominican Republic, only for the Caribbean as a whole. Considering that the vast majority of Latin Americans in Southwark were born in South America, this should not significantly skew the picture of their characteristics. Both age and gender characteristics of Latin Americans in Southwark are explored in Figure 2.

Overall, the Latin American population in Southwark has a fairly equal gender split, with 50.3% male and 49.7% female residents. However, different country-specific migrant groups exhibit a range of gender splits that differ often significantly from this overall trend. Colombian-born residents—the largest Latin American migrant group—are fairly equally distributed with 49% male and 51% female. In fact, this gender distribution is representative of the total population of Southwark, which is (as of 2011) 49.5% male and 50.5% female. The second largest LA migrant group, by contrast, is much more skewed in favour of male residents; 54% of Brazilian-born residents in Southwark were male in 2011. This means that while there were an estimated 1,103 Brazilian-born men in Southwark, there were only 933 Brazilian-born women living in the borough. The only other Latin American countries (of those for which data are available) which have more unequal gender splits are Chile (56% male) and Peru (57% female).

The Latin American population in Southwark has a younger age profile than the local population on average, and even younger than the non-UK born population in total. Overall, 71% of Southwark's residents are of working age (defined here as 16-59 years of age). However, this differs significantly by country of birth; 62% of UK-born residents were of working age while this was 84% for residents born abroad. This is due to the fact that non-UK born residents were less likely to be both aged under 16 and over 59, evidencing the fact that many non-UK born residents in Southwark are recent migrants, who are more likely to be of working age. This is even more pronounced for Latin Americans in Southwark; 87% of residents born in South and Central America living in Southwark in 2011 were aged between 16 and 59 years of age. It is also interesting to point out that female Latin American migrants are somewhat more likely to be older than their male counterparts; slightly more LA-born women are aged 59 and over (8% versus 6% of men).

Figure 1

Latin Americans* in Southwark 2011:
Country of birth by age and sex
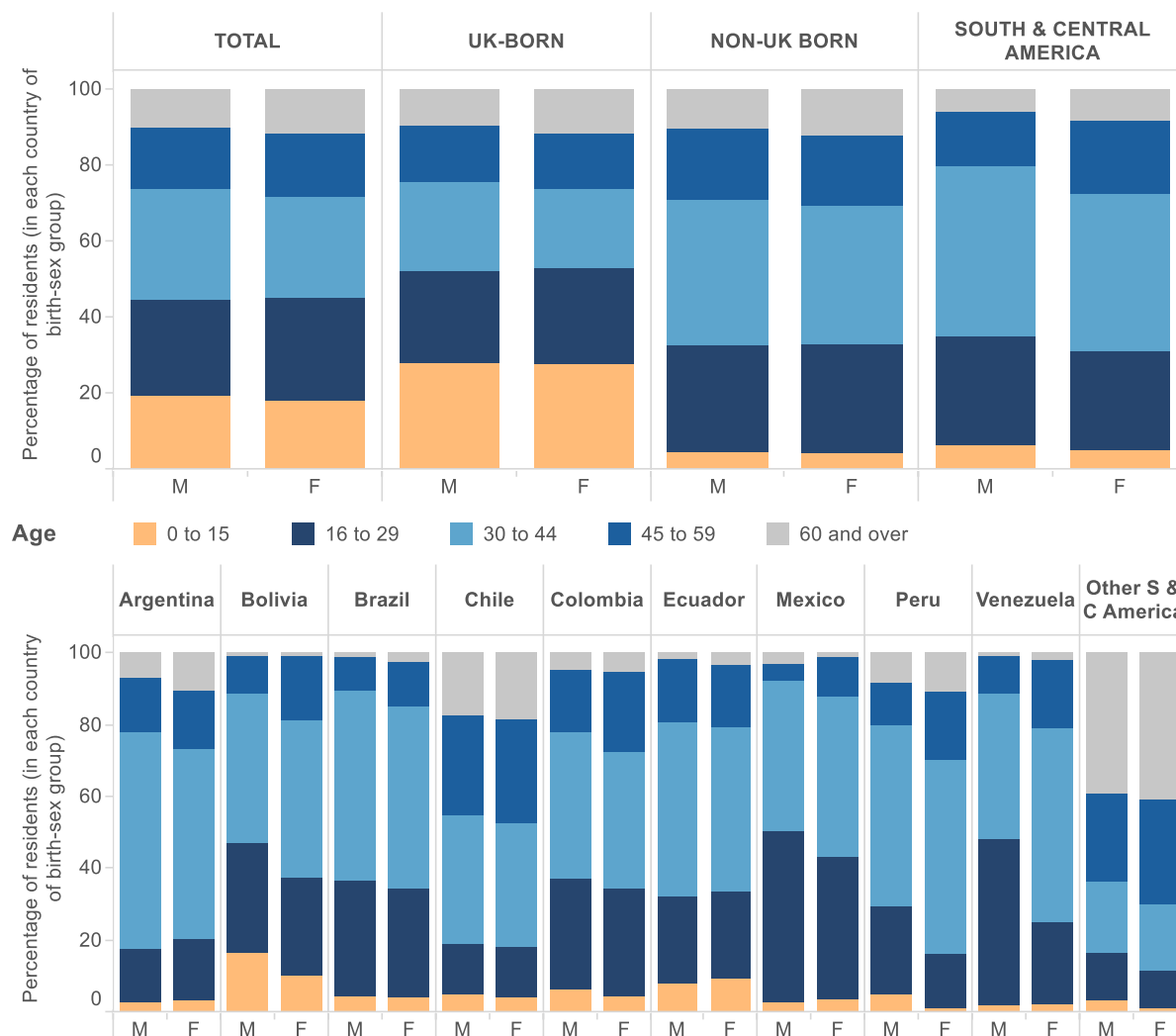
Source: England and Wales 2011 Census, ONS. Usual residents aged 16 and over. *In this instance, only South and Central American countries are included, with Dominican Republic and Cuba excluded due to data availability.

When looking at individual countries of birth, it is clear that the age profile of LA migrants also differs by country of birth. Migrants born in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela are overwhelmingly of working age (ranging from 90% to 97%). This is also true for Bolivian- and Ecuadorean-born residents, but such residents have an above-average share of under-16 year olds, 13% and 9% respectively. This points to either families being more likely to migrate together, or Bolivian and Ecuadorean children undertaking migration on their own. Conversely, Southwark residents born in Argentina, Chile, Peru and the rest of South and Central America (see Figure 1) are more likely to be over the age of 59. This is likely to migrants from these countries having been settled in the UK for longer.[2] This is particularly staggering for residents born in the South and Central American countries for which census data are not available at this level; this unfortunately also precludes exploring why this might be the case.

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[2] Data for year of arrival, which would allow for this to be explored further, are not available for individual countries of birth.

2.3 Passports held

While there were over eight thousand residents born in Latin American countries (South & Central America plus Cuba and the Dominican Republic), there were only 3,753 residents with passports from those countries. It is important to note that this excludes residents who had both a UK and a Latin American passport; only for residents who did not have a UK or Irish passport was another passport counted. For residents with multiple non-UK/non-Irish passports, it is not entirely clear how they would be classed. Possibly, Latin American migrants with, for example, passports from both Europe and Latin American would put down a European passport in the census questionnaire. What is clear is that simply looking at passports would miss out many migrants of Latin American origin; this is highlighted in Figure 3 which explores the relationship between the country of birth measure and the passports held measure for the Latin American population in Southwark.

Overall, of the total resident population in Southwark, 68% had a UK passport, 24% had (only) a non-UK passport and the remaining 8% held no passport. Specifically, 3,754 residents held a passport from one of the South and Central American countries, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. This accounts for just over 1% of the local population, and 4% of the population with a non-UK passport only. Due to statistical disclosure control, the passports held measure is actually available for more individual countries than the country of birth measure in this instance, providing extra useful detail shown in Figure 3. The top two countries are again Brazil and Colombia, with 1,097 and 968 residents respectively. This was followed by Bolivia (729 residents), Ecuador (338 residents), Mexico (143 residents) and Chile (110 residents).

What is particularly interesting is the intersection between countries of birth and passports held, highlighting specifically the rates of UK citizenship among non-UK born residents. Residents born in South and Central America were somewhat less likely to have a UK passport (34%), compared to non-UK born residents overall (41%). Only 1% of Latin American-born residents held no passports, in contrast to 2% of non-UK born residents overall and 12% of UK-born residents. It is also possible to look at the relationship between country of birth and citizenship by some individual countries. Of those, Colombia and Ecuador had the highest UK citizenship rate, with 47% of Colombian-born residents and 46% of Ecuadorean-born residents in Southwark holding a UK passport in 2011. Conversely, this was only 9% for Southwark residents born in Bolivia and only 12% for those born in Brazil.[3]

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[3] An interesting case appears to be Venezuela. Although there were about 205 Venezuelan-born residents in Southwark, none of them had a Venezuelan passport; the majority had a passport from one of the remaining Central and South American countries not shown in Figure 3.
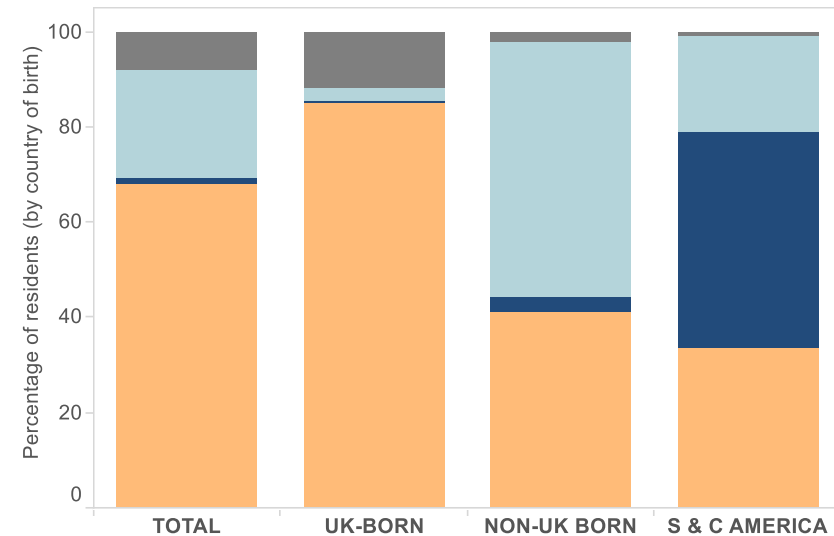
Figure 2

Latin Americans* in Southwark 2011:
Country of birth and passports held

Passports held

UK passport	S & C America + Cuba & D.R.	Other Non-UK	No passport
196,006	3,754	88,623	23,205
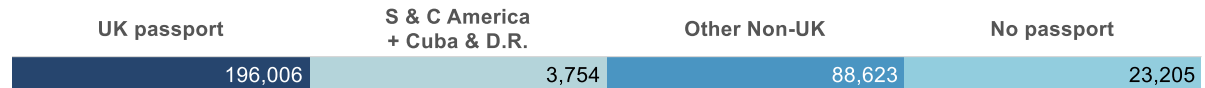
Passports held by country of birth 1

UK passport S & C America Other Non-UK No passport

Passports held	Residents
Argentina	67
Belize	3
Bolivia	729
Brazil	1,097
Chile	110
Colombia	968
Costa Rica	17
Cuba	23
Dominican Rep.	4
Ecuador	338
El Salvador	2
Guatemala	5
Mexico	143
Nicaragua	5
Panama	9
Paraguay	6
Peru	75
Uruguay	5
Venezuela	72
Other S America	75

Passports held by country of birth 2

UK passport Same country Other S & C A Other Non-UK No passport
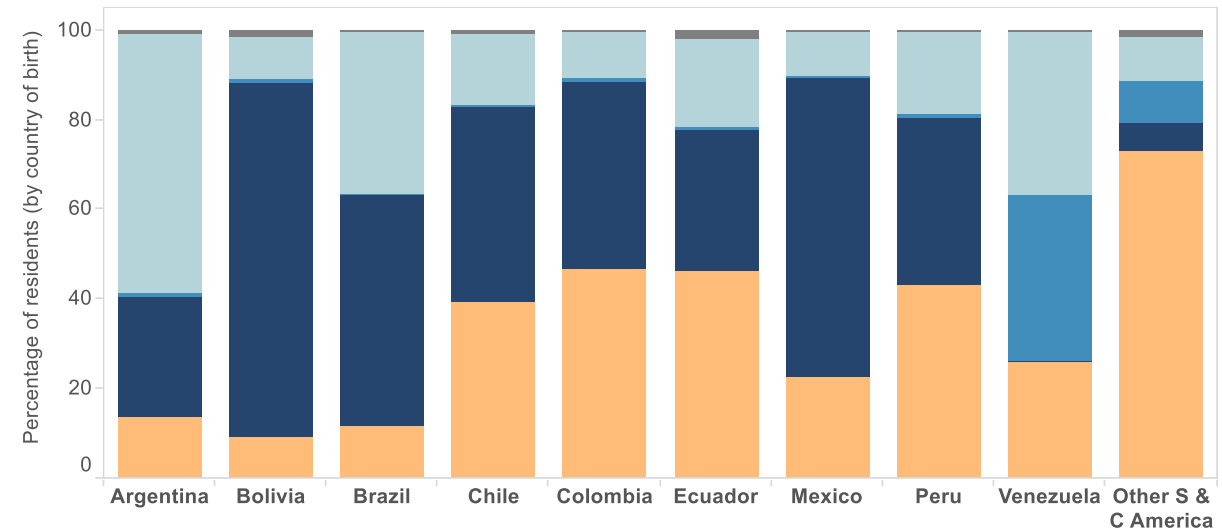
Source: England and Wales 2011 Census, ONS. Usual residents aged 16 and over. *Varying definitions of 'Latin America' are employed due to data availability issues; please refer to each individual chart.

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3 Education

3.1 Highest qualifications

Overall, there were an estimated 234,901 residents aged 16 and over in Southwark, according to the 2011 census data. In line with wider London trends, this population had a higher than average educational attainment; specifically, 43% held a university degree or similar qualification (Level 4), 31% held some secondary school level qualification (Levels 1, 2, 3 (including GCSEs, A-levels) or apprenticeships), 9% held 'other' qualifications (including overseas qualifications of unknown level), while the remaining 16% held no qualifications. This is shown in Figure 4, which also further explores educational attainment by country of birth.

Look at Latin Americans in Southwark specifically, there were 7,558 residents born in Latin American countries aged 16 and over in 2011. Of those, 30% held some type of secondary school or similar qualification, 32% were educated to degree level or higher, 30% held other types of qualifications and the rest (14%) held no qualifications (Figure 4). Although see this shows that the educational attainment of Latin Americans in Southwark is also high, it would seem to suggest that the Latin American population is less likely to have university or other higher qualifications. However, this could be encompassed in the 'other qualifications' category; it is unclear whether these are more likely to be secondary or university level. Moreover, Latin Americans born in South American countries were more likely to be unqualified and in particular less likely to have a higher education qualification than those born in Central American or the Caribbean. Most starkly, while 31% of residents born in South America living in Southwark had a university degree or similar qualification, this stood at 62% for residents born in Central America. This implies that there are important differences between the reasons for and experiences of migration within the Latin American community in Southwark.

This is also evident when looking at individual Latin American countries of birth. Only countries of birth with at least 100 residents in Southwark are shown in Figure 4, and even so the numbers for many of these countries are very low[4] (please refer to Table 1 to see how different countries of birth are represented among the Latin American population in Southwark). Of those migrant groups, Colombian-born migrants (the largest Latin American group) are the most likely to be unqualified, with 17% of Colombian-born residents reporting no qualifications in 2011. This is followed by Ecuadorean-born (14%) and Bolivian-born (14%) residents. Residents born in Bolivia and Colombia were also more likely than other groups to have 'other' qualifications; this could point to the difficulty of translating qualifications from these countries into UK educational levels. Conversely, unqualified rates were lowest among Latin Americans born in Mexico (2%) and Argentina (1%). This corresponds to the fact that Southwark residents born in Argentina and Mexico have the highest rates of higher education, with 64% and 62% respectively having a university degree or equivalent qualification.

It is also possible to look at the gender disparities in the level of qualifications, as also shown in Figure 4. Looking at all Southwark residents, women are slightly less likely to be qualified, in particular in terms of having a university degree or similar qualification. When looking specifically at Latin Americans in Southwark, this small gender gap is more pronounced; specifically, while 12% of Latin

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[4] Unfortunately, it has not been possible to compare specific educational attainment for each of these countries of birth for the same groups London- or country-wide—which would allow one to check whether these rates correspond to wider trends within these migrant groups and thus the representativeness of the groups in Southwark—as such data are not currently available from the ONS.

American men were unqualified, this stood at 15% for women. In this case, however, this seems to mainly driven by differential educational attainment at the secondary, rather than tertiary, level.

Latin Americans* in Southwark 2011:
Highest qualifications by country of birth
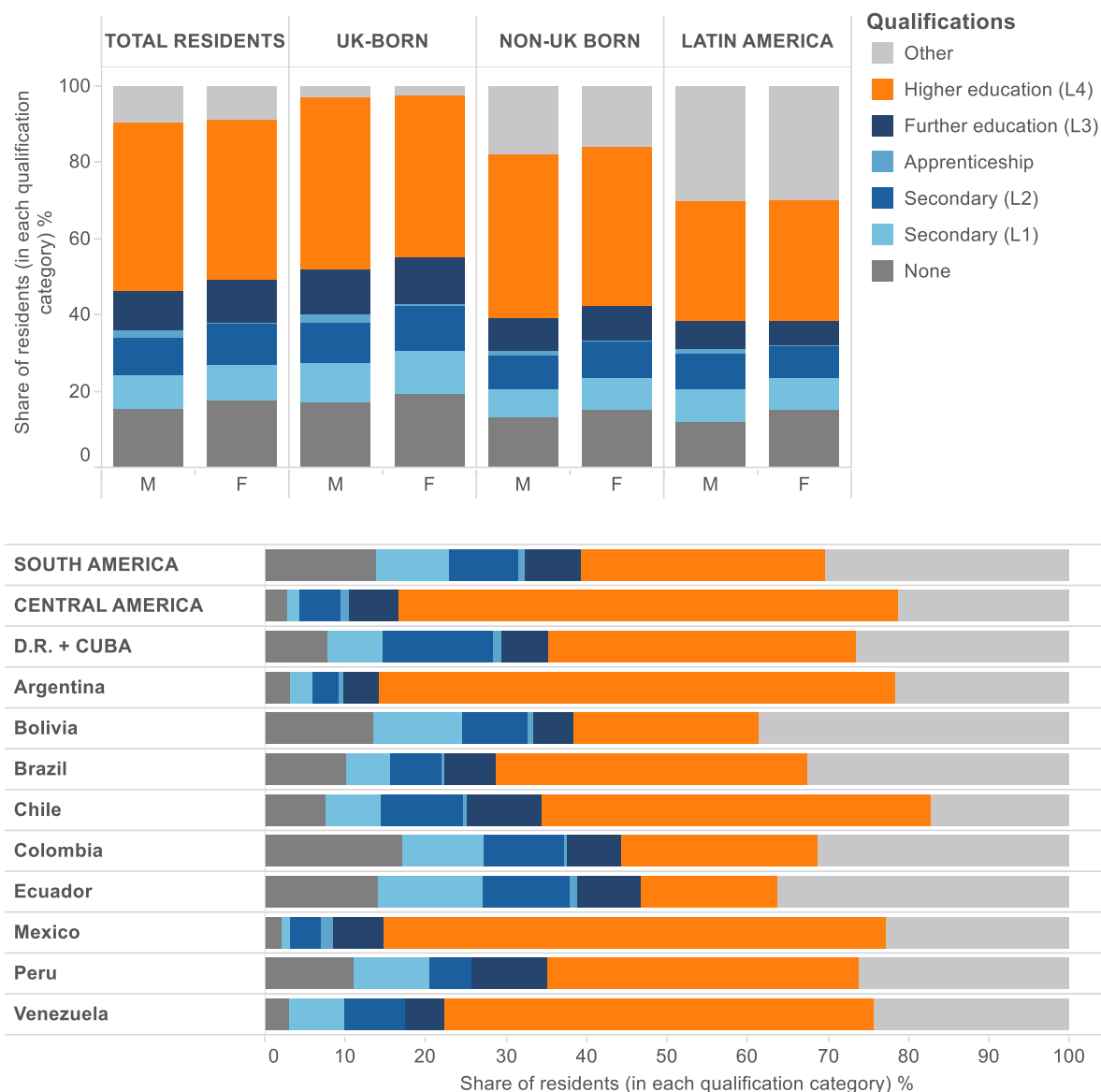
Source: England and Wales 2011 Census, ONS. Usual residents aged 16 and over.
*This includes all South and Central American countries plus Dominican Republic and Cuba.
The ONS uses the following classification of qualifications: No qualifications; Level 1: 1-4 O Levels/CSE/GCSEs (any grades), Entry Level, Foundation Diploma, NVQ Level 1, Foundation GNVQ, Basic/Essential Skills; Level 2: 5+ O Level (Passes)/CSEs (Grade 1)/GCSEs (Grades A*-C), School Certificate, 1 A Level/ 2-3 AS Levels/VCEs, Intermediate/Higher Diploma, Welsh Baccalaureate Intermediate Diploma, NVQ level 2, Intermediate GNVQ, City and Guilds Craft, BTEC First/General Diploma, RSA Diploma; Apprenticeship; Level 3: 2+ A Levels/VCEs, 4+ AS Levels, Higher School Certificate, Progression/Advanced Diploma, Welsh Baccalaureate Advanced Diploma, NVQ Level 3; Advanced GNVQ, City and Guilds Advanced Craft, ONC, OND, BTEC National, RSA Advanced Diploma; Level 4 and above: Degree (for example BA, BSc), Higher Degree (for example MA, PhD, PGCE), NVQ Level 4-5, HNC, HND, RSA Higher Diploma, BTEC Higher level, Foundation degree (NI), Professional qualifications (for example teaching, nursing, accountancy); Other qualifications: Vocational/Work-related Qualifications, Foreign Qualifications (not stated/level unknown)."

4 Household characteristics

Although the above discussion has focused on the characteristics of usual residents in Southwark, the census data also allow for a look at the nature of households in the borough. The census collected data on either the characteristics of households overall or the characteristics of the household reference person (HRP). This would be the person in the household that filled out the census questionnaire on behalf of all members of the household, and had to be aged 16 or above.

Overall, there were 120,400 households in Southwark, as of the 2011 census. Of those, 55% had a household reference person born in the UK, while in the other 45% the HRP was born outside of the UK. In particular, 3% of all households had a reference person born in Latin America, specifically in one of the South and Central American countries and Cuba or the Dominican Republic. This amounts to an estimated 3,229 Latin American households in 2011. The top countries of birth for HRP closely mirror the countries of birth of total usual residents discussed above; 52% of Latin American-headed households had a HRP born in either Brazil or Colombia. It also possible to look at the characteristics of Latin American households by size and the number and ages of dependent children, as well as by individual countries of birth.

4.1 Size

Looking at the size of households by country of birth of the HRP can highlight the differences of accommodation experiences between different migrant groups. It can also point to overcrowding, although we do not have data on this specifically for Latin Americans in Southwark. Overall, the majority of residents in Southwark lived in 1-2 person households (63%), another 29% resided in 3-4 person households and only 8% lived in household with more than five members.

However, this begins to differ when looking at the country of birth of the HRP. The non-UK born population overall has a higher incidence of larger households than the UK-born population, as shown in Figure 5. This is even more pronounced when looking Latin American households in particular. Of those, only 47% lived in smaller (1-2 person) households, while 14% lived in households with five or more members. Yet this measure begins to vary even more when looking at individual Latin American countries of birth, as also shown in Figure 5. The country with the highest proportion of residents in large (5+ persons) households is Bolivia, with a third (33%) of households with a Bolivian-born reference person having five or more members, followed by Ecuador (24%). Conversely, Chilean and Mexican households were more likely to be smaller, with 64% and 63% respectively having between and one and two members.

4.2 Dependent children

It is also interesting to look at the numbers and ages of dependent children in households. In line with wider London trends, the majority of households in Southwark (72%) had no dependent children living in them. Of the 34,000 households that did, 50% had only one child and in 48% there was at least one child aged 4 and under. This is shown in Figure 6, which also explored how this varied depending on the country of birth of the household reference person. The incidence of childless households is lower among households with a non-UK born HRP (66%) than in those where the HRP was born in the UK (77%).

Latin American* households^ in Southwark 2011: Household size by country of birth
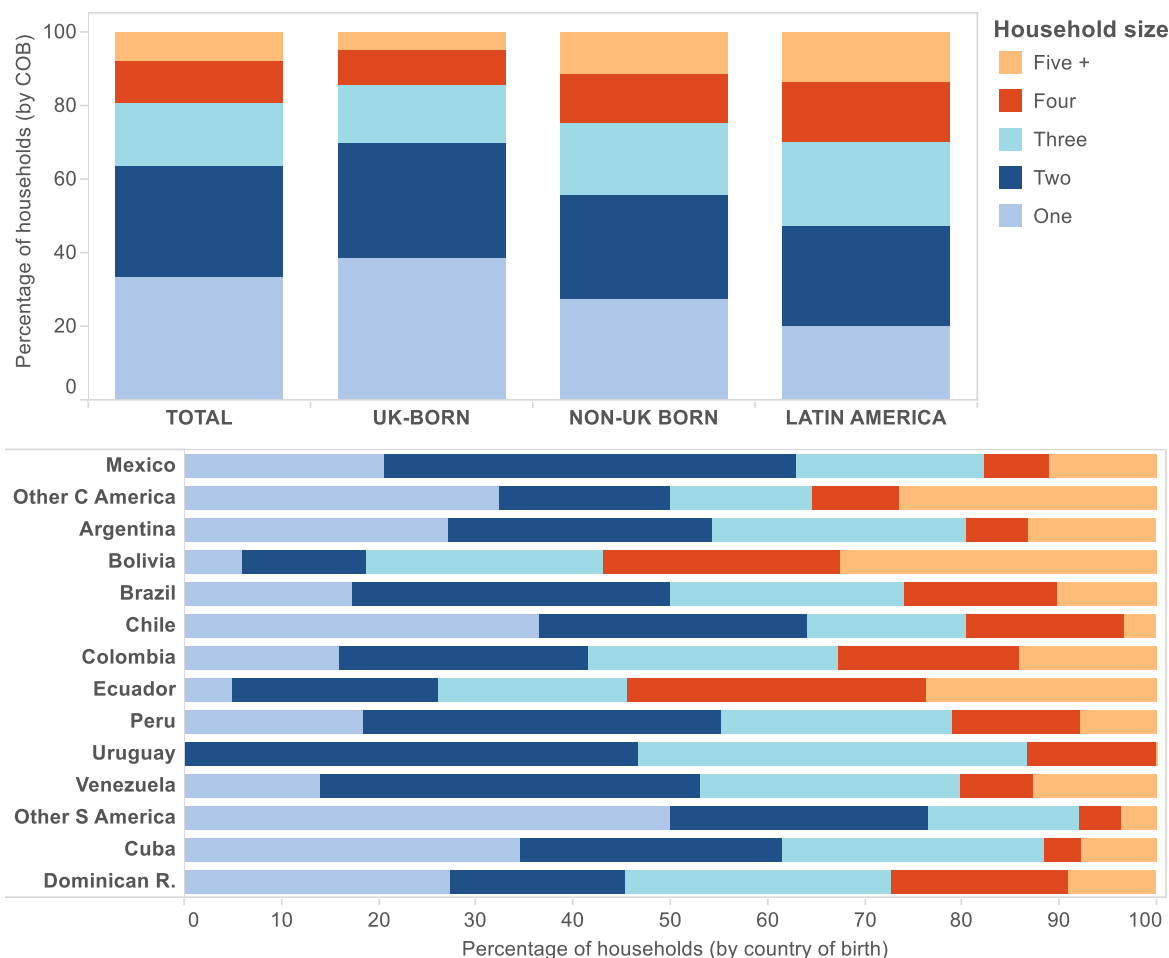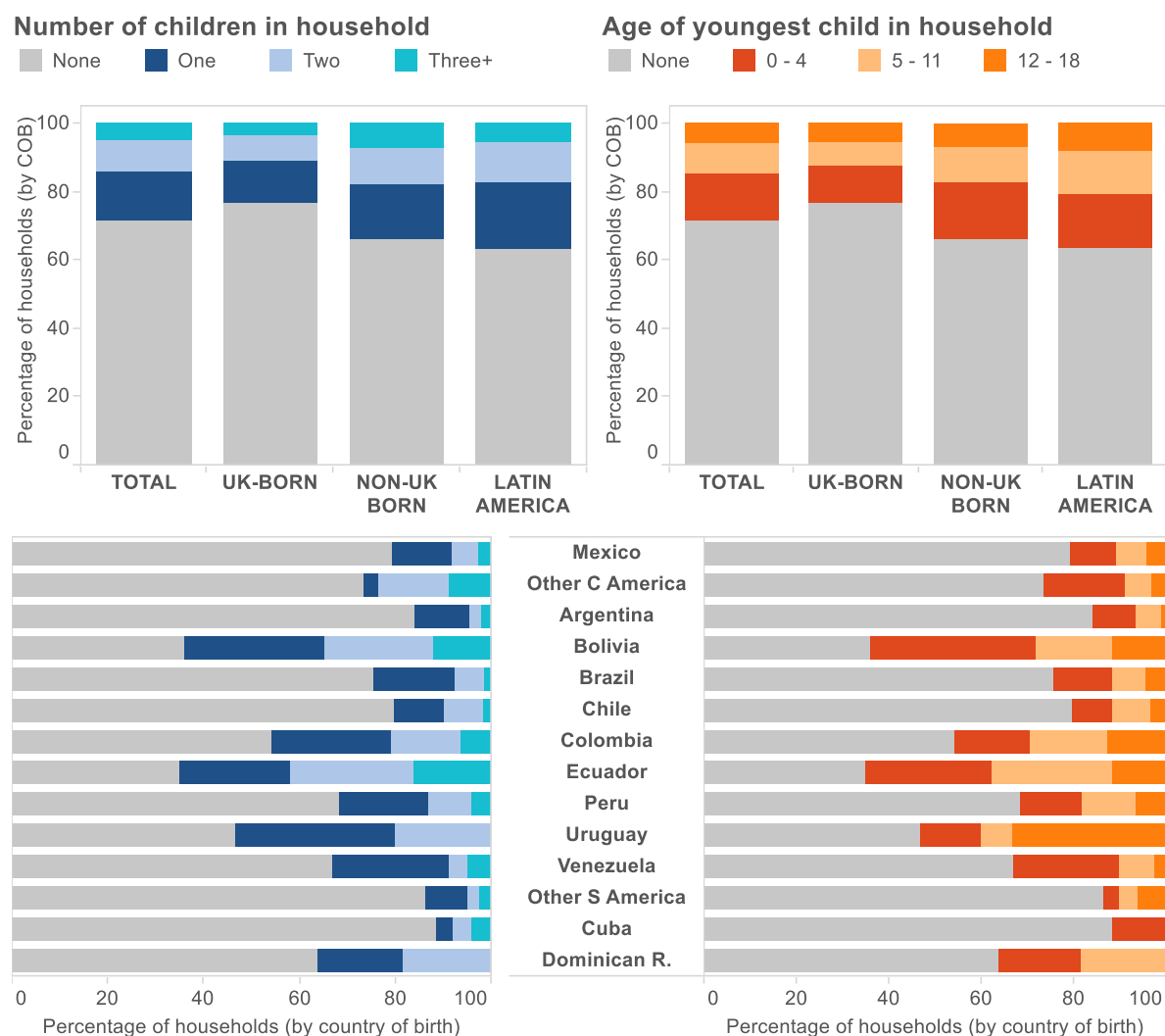

Source: England and Wales 2011 Census, ONS. All households with household reference person aged 16 and over. *This includes all South and Central American countries plus Dominican Republic and Cuba. ^This is based on the country of birth of the household reference person.

For Latin American households specifically, only 63% had no dependent children in 2011, and these differences become even more pronounced when looking at individual LA countries of birth of the household reference person. In particular, 65% of Ecuadorean and 64% of Bolivian households in fact had dependent children. Conversely, 89% of Cuban and 84% of Argentinian households were child free. It is also possible to look at the numbers and ages of children for those households that had dependent children. Not only were Ecuadorean-headed households more likely to have dependent children, they were also more likely to have three or more children living in them (25%). Conversely, while Argentinian households were less likely to have children, of those that did, 59% had children under the age of five living in them. Please refer to Figure 6 for a further exploration of this topic for individual Latin American countries in Southwark. What it shows is the often stark differences in housing situations within the Latin American community, which is already more likely to be living in households with dependent children than (on average) the rest of Southwark's residents.

Figure 5

Latin American* households^ in Southwark 2011:
Dependent children by country of birth

Number of children in household

None | One | Two | Three+

Age of youngest child in household

None | 0 - 4 | 5 - 11 | 12 - 18

Source: England and Wales 2011 Census, ONS. All households with household reference person aged 16 and over. *This includes all South and Central American countries plus Dominican Republic and Cuba. ^This is based on the country of birth of the household reference person.

5   Conclusion

This report's aim was to take a closer and more detailed look at the Latin American population in Southwark. It did so utilising the 2011 census data, allowing for a detailed look not only at the number of Latin American migrants in Southwark, but also their various characteristics. Although the census data provide a static picture of the population, looking at various measures allows one to a draw a picture not only of the Latin American population in 2011, but also highlights its migration trajectories and experiences of living in Southwark.

The analysis also points, though often indirectly, at the socio-economic differences between Latin American migrants. For example, it shows that Bolivian-born and Ecuadorean-born migrants tend to be younger, less qualified and living in larger households with more dependent children. The reverse is true for Latin American migrants from countries such as Argentina and Chile. This mirrors, to an extent, the varying levels of development in individual Latin American countries and the varied histories of migration to the UK from different Latin American countries. This analysis also highlights the diversity of migration trajectories, and the differential rates of UK citizenship with the Latin American population. As such, it also echoes the differences in the migration and settlement experiences of the different Latin American groups. This evidences the need to pay attention to the heterogeneity of the Latin American migrant group.

6 Appendix

Table 1

Countries of birth of residents in Southwark 2011: Latin America focus

Total	288,283
United Kingdom	174,616
Non-UK born	113,667
Central and South America	***7,897***
Central America	*288*
Mexico	195
Remainder Central America	*93*
South America	*7,609*
Argentina	223
Bolivia	831
Brazil	2,036
Chile	225
Colombia	2,268
Ecuador	982
Peru	196
Venezuela	205
Uruguay	23
Remainder South America	*620*
Remainder Central America and South America	*713*
The Caribbean	*7,750*
Cuba	74
Dominican Republic	35
Remainder of the Caribbean	*7,641*
Total Central and South America plus Cuba & D.R. (Latin America)	**8,006**
Rest of World	98,020

7 Bibliography

ONS. (2012a). 2011 Census Coverage Survey. *2011 Census Evaluation Report, July 2012*.

ONS. (2012b). 2011 Census Item Edit and Imputation Process. *2011 Census: Methods and Quality Report, December 2012*.