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**Elephant and Castle: Mapping (Super-)Diversity in the
2011 UK Census**

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Abstract

This paper charts the nature of ‘diversity’ in an inner London neighbourhood, Elephant and Castle, as part of a research project aiming to capture the new urban realities of super-diverse neighbourhoods. It does so by evidencing and mapping the multiple axes of difference—along variables related to ethnicity, migration and socio-economic status—through examining the characteristics of the area’s population based on the 2011 England and Wales Census. Such a multi-faceted approach is essential if we are to try and better understand both the structure of diversity and the lived experience of difference. The ongoing academic interest in diversity and the recent preoccupation with super-diversity highlight the need for continued attention to the multiple and intersecting facets of difference. The census data offer an unparalleled opportunity to do so and in particular to obtain a snapshot of the population in small geographical areas. The analysis shows the Elephant and Castle area to be a super-diverse area within an already highly diverse part of London. Moreover, the Elephant and Castle is not homogenous, as shown by a spatial analysis based on the characteristics of individual census output areas (OAs). As such, this report shows the usefulness of using census data in order to explore small geographical areas, but also highlights its drawbacks, paving the way for further qualitative explorations of the nature of super-diversity in urban areas.

Keywords

Census data, diversity, super-diversity, spatial analysis, Elephant and Castle, London, quantitative analysis

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Introduction

This paper seeks to evidence diversity in Elephant and Castle, as part of a research project aiming to capture the new urban realities of super-diverse neighbourhoods. It does so specifically by charting the multiple axes of difference—along variables related to ethnicity, migration and socio-economic status—through examining the characteristics of the area’s population based on the 2011 England and Wales Census. The ongoing academic interest in diversity and the recent preoccupation with super-diversity highlight the need for continued attention to the multiple and interesting facets of difference. This is particularly true of urban areas—and certainly relevant for an inner-London neighbourhood—where differences resulting from recent waves of more differentiated migration have interacted with already-established patterns of diversity. Although collected in 2011, the census data¹ offer an unparalleled opportunity to obtain a snapshot of the population in small geographical areas, based on detailed statistical data, in a way that other sources do not allow. It also makes it possible to move analyses of diversity beyond simply looking at ethnicity. While the census data provide a considerable amount of detail at this geographical level in terms of ethnic groups and their characteristics, they also allow for an analysis of other axes of identity, such as religion, language and national identity. Moreover, migration-related variables such as country of birth and passports held can also be examined, along with other socio-economic characteristics such as economic activity, levels of deprivation, education and health. Although an inevitably partial look, this allows us to examine diversity in its various aspects, including often overlooked socio-economic elements.

The analysis suggests that Elephant and Castle is a super-diverse area within an already highly diverse part of London, the Lambeth and Southwark boroughs of the UK’s multicultural, cosmopolitan, but also increasingly unequal, capital. This is manifest across a wide range of measures: 42% of the area’s residents were born outside of the UK, 63% self-identified as other than White British and 22% mainly spoke a language other than English. This corresponds to the fact that residents of the area reported 94 different ethnic groups, 50 different countries of birth and 44 different religions. If anything, the census data likely underestimates the true extent of this ‘diversity of diversities’. Moreover, the Elephant and Castle is not homogenous, as shown by a spatial analysis based on the characteristics of individual census output areas (OAs). Still, even as super-diversity can be seen as a fact of inner-city London neighbourhoods, the concept is also static and does not capture the dynamic complexity of local level interactions, especially as they are also structured by inequality and poverty. The most deprived areas are not always the most diverse ones, as shown below. This is crucial in view of the findings of the qualitative part of this project that “inequality, deprivation and poverty constitute more of a challenge to service delivery than

‘diversity’ understood as ‘ethnic diversity’” (Gidley, 2015). This is not to say that specific groups cannot face greater barriers to service provision, including ‘new’ types of migrant groups, such as the growing numbers of Latin Americans in London (Berg, 2018). As such, the quantitative examinations below show the interactions between different measures of diversity on the one hand and inequality and deprivation on the other, as far as possible with the 2011 Census data.

Diversity and super-diversity

Diversity—both as a concept and as a lived experience—continues to capture the academic imagination. In particular, the increasing complexities of diversity as a reality, in the UK and globally, continue to be in need of further academic attention. Given the increasingly varied experiences of diversity in a context of mass-migration and globalisation, especially in urban areas, Vertovec introduced the term super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) to denote a new kind of complexity of diversity. It could be understood as the compounding effect of diversity, where difference manifests itself along multiple and flexible axes, such as those pertaining to ethnicity, origin, language or religion, and crucially, in their interactions. Indeed, it appears that the reality of neoliberal urban areas is often super-diverse, and conceptually we “cannot return to a pre-super-diverse era” (Phillimore, 2014). While the extent of ‘super-diversity’ as an entirely new phenomenon, especially in London, should not be overstated, it is nevertheless useful in that it points us to consider the increasingly multiple and often compounding effects of diversity.

It challenges the vision of a multiplicity of internally homogenous and static cultures; while the danger of group reification is well established in the political theories of multiculturalism and difference (e.g. Cowan, Dembour, & Wilson, 2001; Fraser, 2003; Phillips, 2003), its recognition is often lacking in official data collection and political discourse. This makes the concept of super-diversity in particular useful as it suggests that diversity cannot be understood simply in terms of ethnicity anymore, but should be studied more in terms of “significant new conjunctions and interactions of variables” (Vertovec, 2007: 1025). In particular since the 1990s, ‘new migration’ into the UK can be characterised by “multiple dimensions of differentiation” (Vertovec, 2007: 1028), in what could be described as a ‘diversification of diversity’ (Hollinger, 1995). It is in this context that the notion of super-diversity was developed, arguing for the need for a “greater recognition of multi-variable migration configurations” and the impact of “multidimensional patterns on outcomes of socio-economic inequality” (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015: 545-6). This challenges many assumptions about diversity in the UK, especially the focus on ethnicity as its main measure. It also points us to think about different ways of measuring diversity; beyond looking at

whether the population is other than White British or born outside of the UK, we can also look at the number of ethnic groups or countries of birth, both separately and in their interaction.

Moreover, this highlights the importance of paying attention to “different structures of diversity” (Laurence, 2011: 70) when considering diversity’s social impact. Correspondingly, the concept of super-diversity can be taken even further; it should not just signal the fact that specific populations can be diverse along many different axes, but that many of the differences influence and potentially compound each other. Yet, “it is not enough however merely to enumerate quantitatively the proliferation of difference”; rather, attention needs to be paid to which differences make a difference (Berg & Sigona, 2013: 356). This then allows us to further examine the processes through which differences are transformed into inequality (Brubaker, 2014). This is particularly relevant when considering socio-economic inequalities. In fact, diversity and especially super-diversity have been seen and studied as both a problem to tackle and a positive lived experience; the former often concerned with inequality and disadvantage, with the latter paying attention to ‘commonplace diversity’ or ‘everyday multiculturalism’ (Wessendorf, 2014). As such, the extent of diversity and super-diversity cannot be fully evaluated by looking at the ethnic or migrant groups; this must be supplemented by looking at the relationship between difference and disadvantage to attempt to gauge the full complexity of super-diversity.

It is not possible to do all of the above using the census data alone. There is a danger in the super-diversity lens of potentially ‘flattening’ difference and losing sight of structures of inequality (Berg & Sigona, 2013). This could be particularly the case when using census data, since it provides evidence on the multiplicity of differences, but cannot effectively capture the intersections between the various differences and inequalities. Moreover, the census data show the continued persistence of reified categories of difference, especially in relation to ethnicity. However, its continued usefulness is allowing for quantitative analyses and comparisons over time. As such, the census data provide a detailed, but partial look at the extent of (super-)diversity in the Elephant and Castle area. This analysis thus sets the stage for the qualitative analyses that follow as part of this research project.

Methodology

Measuring (super-)diversity

To describe the nature of diversity purely through quantitative data poses significant challenges (Stringer, 2014). Statistical data can tell us about the number of different diversity-related variables, but relatively little about how this diversity is lived. At the same time, the

census data can provide a lot of detail at the very local level, and it is also comparable across the country. So, when using the census data, how can diversity and super-diversity be approached? One way to look at diversity is to measure the percentage of the population within a given area that is, for example, born outside of the UK or self-identifies as other than White British. In most parts of the UK, the majority of the population identifies as White British and was born in the UK. As such, the lower the scores on those two measures, the more diverse the area could be considered to be. However, this tells us little about the composition of the non-majority² population. Is it dominated by a particular group—that could even represent the majority in a specific area—or made up of many different ethnic, religious, or country-of-origin groups? While the former area may be considered diverse, it is not necessarily super-diverse.

In that sense, a quantitative definition of super-diversity could be the number of distinct groups along a particular axis of diversity. Counting the number of different ethnic or religious groups would then indicate the extent of ‘diversity of diversity’. However, the census data are likely to underestimate the number of different groups along a wide range of measures. For ethnic group, for example, “census ethnicity classifications cannot capture the full ethnic diversity of Britain” (Aspinall, 2012: 357). The issue of undercounting discussed above is likely to further exacerbate this. A composite measure of super-diversity—aggregating the number of ethnic groups, countries of birth and religions—can alleviate this to an extent, especially since we are interested in looking at the potentially compounding effect of different diversities. The analysis below uses both ways to look at diversity and super-diversity, and it combines this analysis with an investigation of the socio-economic facets of difference.

Census data: quality and limitations

The data used for this examination of (super-)diversity within the Elephant and Castle area are thus the Census 2011 data for England and Wales.³ Despite their limitations, the census data provide the most complete snapshot of the population and are particularly detailed for small geographical areas. 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. The Census Coverage Survey⁴ estimated the level of undercounting was 94% (ONS, 2012a). The boroughs of Lambeth and Southwark specifically had below average response rates of 87% each. As such, the Census data does have a certain margin of error, though much smaller than would be the case for survey-based datasets. For England and Wales as a whole, the relative confidence interval at the 95% confidence level is 0.15% (83,000 people more or less than

the estimate) (ONS, 2012c). For Southwark, the 95% confidence interval was 2.12%, suggesting that there is a 95% probability that the true number of residents in Southwark was between 282,171 and 294,395 people. Specific confidence intervals are not available for geographical areas lower than local authorities.

Additionally, the privacy measures used, particularly targeted record swapping,⁵ potentially add distortion at the local level. At higher geographical levels, the effect of record swapping can be considered minimal, but even at the smaller-scale geographies used in this analysis the ONS argues that “the level of nonresponse and imputation will actually have a far greater effect on any counts seen in the tables than record swapping” (ONS, 2012d). However, it can be important in that, for example, rather than a measure of diversity simply being the share of the population that is non-White, it is interesting to look at the number of different ethnicities. However, at the low geographies employed here the number of individual ethnic identifications (beyond the standard 18 categories in the census) the numbers are very low, and thus more likely to be affected by record swapping. However, if a respondent’s ethnic group or country of birth were swapped, this would most likely not involve swapping between White British and non-White British, or between UK-born and non-UK born. The population studied in this analysis is comprised of usual residents, defined as anyone in the UK on census day who had stayed or intended to stay in the UK for 12 months or more.⁶ In most cases, the variables refer to the characteristics of individual residents. When households as a whole are discussed, this is stated explicitly; in some of those instances, the characteristics belong to the ‘household reference person’ - the person who filled in the household questions and who solely or jointly owns or rents the property and/or pays the bills. The analysis at hand is based on a large number of variables from the census data and, given the small geographical area in question, the level of detail on specific variables is often lower than it would be at the national level.

The Elephant and Castle area

As shown in Map 1 below, the ‘Elephant and Castle’ area was constructed out of all the 2011 Census Output Areas that had at least 95% of their area within a 1-mile radius from the Elephant and Castle roundabout (SE1 6TG).⁷ This yielded 318 output areas of somewhat varied geographical sizes and ranging from just over a 100 to just under 800 residents in terms of their population.⁸ The estimated total usual resident population of the Elephant and Castle area stood at 93,298 residents (in the analysis that follows, the numbers are rounded to the nearest hundred, as, despite the precision of the census, they are still estimates). Within this population, 50.9% was male and even for London, it had a relatively young age profile, with 80.5% of residents younger than 50 years of age (compared to 74.5% in London and 65% in England and Wales). Moreover, the area had higher percentages of single

residents within the local population, with nearly half of the population (48%) being single⁹ (and never married or in a civil partnership) and only 35% of residents living in a couple compared to 48% in London and 58% in England and Wales.

Map I: The Elephant and Castle Area



The Elephant and Castle area was constructed out of all the 2011 Census Output Areas, which had at least 95% of their area within a 1-mile radius from the Elephant and Castle roundabout (SE1 6TG: Coordinates for the actual centre of the radius are X: -11200.000, Y: 5732426.000)

Analysis

Overview of household attributes

Although this analysis mainly focuses on the characteristics of individual residents in the area, it is illuminating to first take a look at the households that these residents occupy and their characteristics. While the vast majority of residents lived in households, 4% lived in communal establishments. The estimated 93,300 residents lived in 40,400 households, a

substantial proportion of which (37%) were single person households. The area also had an above average proportion of larger but childless households, adding up to 77% of households without dependent children. The Elephant and Castle area also exhibited higher than average rates of overcrowding. While in England and Wales, about 9% of households had one or more rooms less than the standard requirement, this was 33% in Elephant and Castle, surpassing both the rate for London (22%) and even for the Lambeth and Southwark boroughs (28%). This means that 13,200 households lived in overcrowded conditions based on the standard number of rooms required. When looking specifically at bedrooms, an estimated 6,300 households in the area were overcrowded (16%), and 1,100 had two bedrooms less than the required minimum (3%).

This was particularly acute for non-White British residents; while 24% of households where the 'household reference person' (HRP) identified as White British lived in overcrowded conditions (based on the measure of minimum number of rooms rather than bedrooms), the ratio was 40% for households with non-White British HRPs. Moreover, this was particularly pronounced for households whose heads self-identified as belonging to one of the Asian or Black ethnic groups (see Table 1 below for Census classifications). This highlights the importance of considering the multiple facets of diversity, including ethnic self-identification. It is also interesting to point out that apart from the above average level of ethnic diversity, the Elephant and Castle area also has a higher than average percentage of households with multiple ethnic groups, with 27% of households in the area having members from different ethnic groups, compared to 22% of London households altogether and 9% of all households in England and Wales.

Ethnic group

Now turning to examining to the individuals counted by the census, the characteristic perhaps most commonly associated with the notion of diversity is ethnicity. Although as discussed above, this over-reliance on ethnicity as a proxy for diversity without paying attention to the 'differences in diversity' is problematic, and the concept of ethnicity itself is complex and often controversial, the 'ethnic group' category used in the census still represents one of the angles from which diversity and super-diversity can be approached. There is also much research already on the interactions between ethnicity and other differences, especially socio-economic inequalities. For example, we know that all ethnic minority groups in England have a greater likelihood of living in deprived neighbourhoods than the White British majority¹⁰ (CoDE, 2013a). Moreover, it is the one variable related to identity and migration currently most used by the ONS to produce cross-tabulated datasets.

Table 1: Elephant & Castle (1-mile area) by ethnic group

Area	Elephant & Castle*	Lambeth & Southwark LAs	London	England & Wales
All usual residents	93,298	591,369	8,173,941	56,075,912
White	50,374	329,374	4,887,435	48,209,395
<i>White as share of population (%)</i>	54.0	55.7	59.8	86.0
White: English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British	35,142	232,784	3,669,284	45,134,686
<i>White British as share of population (%)</i>	37.7	39.4	44.9	80.5
White: Irish	2,327	13,678	175,974	531,087
White: Gypsy or Irish Traveller	79	458	8,196	57,680
White: Other White	12,826	82,454	1,033,981	2,485,942
<i>Other White as share of population (%)</i>	13.7	13.9	12.7	4.4
Black and Minority Ethnic (BME)	42,924	261,995	3,286,506	7,866,517
<i>BME as share of population (%)</i>	46.0	44.3	40.2	14.0
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups	5,835	40,938	405,279	1,224,400
<i>Mixed/multiple as share of population (%)</i>	6.3	6.9	5.0	2.2
Mixed/multiple: White and Black Caribbean	1,784	13,979	119,425	426,715
Mixed/multiple: White and Black African	1,140	7,988	65,479	165,974
Mixed/multiple: White and Asian	983	6,577	101,500	341,727
Mixed/multiples: Other Mixed	1,928	12,394	118,875	289,984
Asian/Asian British	10,908	48,130	1,511,546	4,213,531
<i>Asian/Asian British as share of population (%)</i>	11.7	8.1	18.5	7.5
Asian/Asian British: Indian	2,111	10,802	542,857	1,412,958
Asian/Asian British: Pakistani	530	4,695	223,797	1,124,511
Asian/Asian British: Bangladeshi	2,183	6,133	222,127	447,201
Asian/Asian British: Chinese	3,197	12,647	124,250	393,141
Asian/Asian British: Other Asian	2,887	13,853	398,515	835,720
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	22,949	156,053	1,088,640	1,864,890
<i>Black/Black British as share of population (%)</i>	24.6	26.4	13.3	3.3
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: African	14,759	82,600	573,931	989,628
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Caribbean	4,577	46,860	344,597	594,825
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Other Black	3,613	26,593	170,112	280,437
Other ethnic group	3,232	16,874	281,041	563,696
<i>Other as share of population (%)</i>	3.5	2.9	3.4	1.0
Other ethnic group: Arab	983	4,168	106,020	230,600
Other ethnic group: Any other ethnic group	2,249	12,706	175,021	333,096

Source: 2011 Census for England and Wales, ONS. *This is the larger, 1-mile radius, Elephant and Castle area.

Census respondents were first asked to tick one of the pre-defined census ethnic groups; these include the five categories of 'White', 'Mixed', 'Black', 'Asian' and 'Other', subdivided

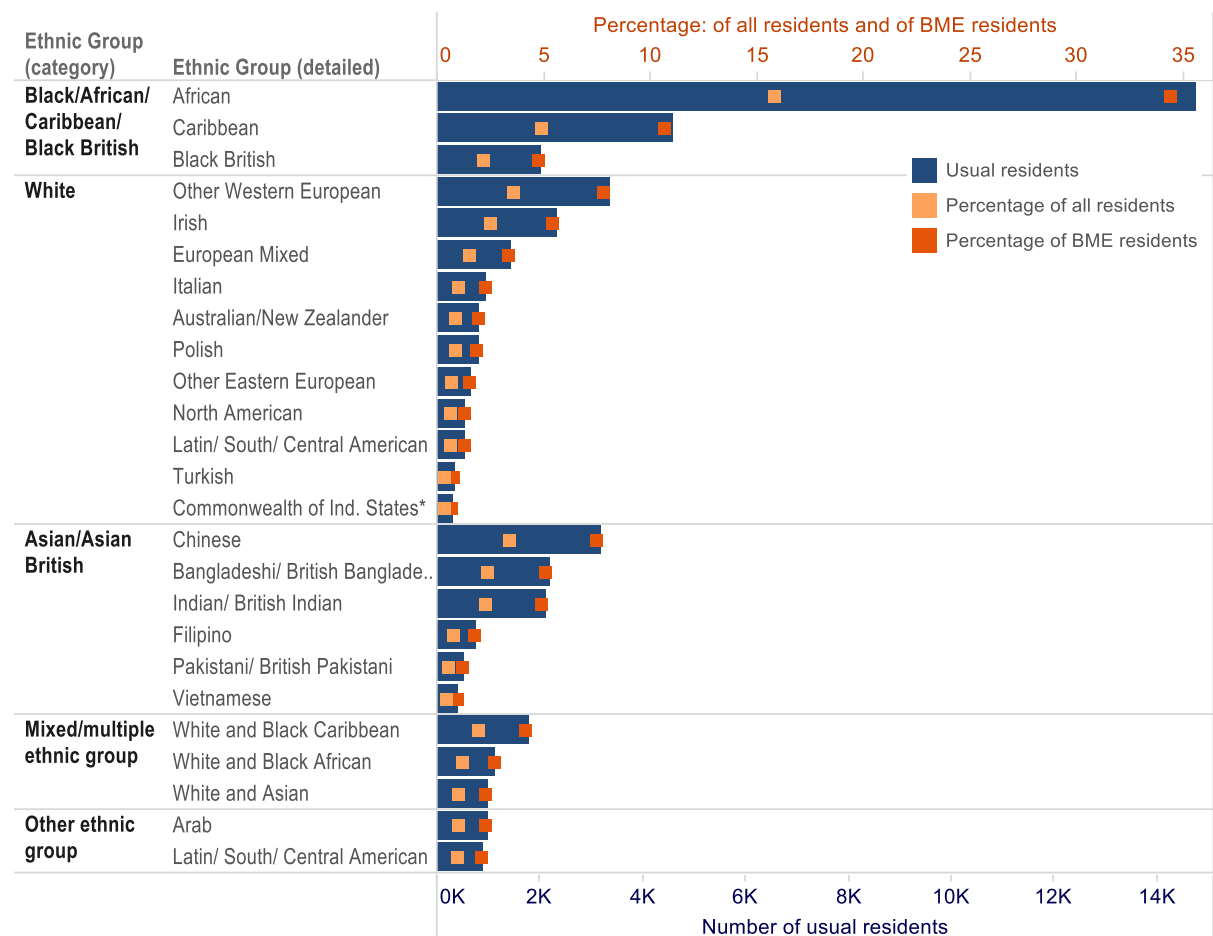
into 18 sub-categories (see Table 1 for more detail on the specific categories used). After ticking one of these categories, respondents were also given the option to write in a specific response, and most of these write-in responses tend to reference a particular region or country of origin.¹¹ As such, the classification used can be quite complex since some respondents who might select the same specific ethnic group in the latter response (such as Brazilian), might select different initial ethnic groups from the larger categories, resulting in multiple detailed ethnic groups (such as White Brazilian, Black Brazilian or Other Brazilian). In fact, comparing census results over time evidences an increasing diversity in ethnic group self-identification, with a greater share of people ticking a 'mixed' or 'other' as their ethnic group in 2011 compared to 2001 and 1991, suggesting that the "existing ethnic group categories are, perhaps, becoming increasingly less meaningful for many people" (CoDE, 2012a: 1). Moreover, ethnic minority groups can be said to have been 'spreading out', especially since 2001, in that overall their residential separating has been decreasing (CoDE, 2012b).

Table 1 details the number of residents in each of the main ethnic group categories living in the Elephant and Castle area, as well as showing the data for the two local authorities in which the area is located, and for London and England and Wales as a whole, to provide for comparison. Overall, there are at least 94 different ethnic groups represented in the Elephant and Castle area. This includes various 'other' categories, into which multiple smaller ethnic classifications were collapsed by the ONS, so the actual number of different ethnic group with which residents of Elephant and Castle identify is likely to be higher. This only measures one aspect of diversity—ethnic self-identification—but already suggests a considerable 'diversity of diversity', rather than a small number of well-defined ethnic groups. We cannot use this as a measure to compare the level of diversity to London or the country; at those geographical levels taken together, the number of different ethnic categories is likely to be even higher. What we can compare is the percentage of the population that self-identified as other than White or other than White British. This is not a perfect proxy—there can be areas where the non-White British share is relatively low, but the remainder of residents are dominated by a small number of other ethnic groups—but it is a good first indication.

What is clear is that the area has a much larger percentage of non-White and non-White British residents within its population than the national average, with 46% of local residents reporting belonging to a Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) group (that is non-White) and 62% identifying as other than White British¹² (as shown in Table 1). Of course, London overall tends to be more ethnically diverse than the rest of the country, but even compared to the London averages of 40% BME and 55% non-White British, the Elephant and Castle area can

be said to have a higher rate of ethnic diversity. By far the largest BME group in the area is the Black/African/Caribbean/Black British ethnic group, accounting for a quarter (24.6%) of all local residents and just over half (53.5%) of residents who self-identified as belonging to a BME group. Specifically, of the main 18 ethnic sub-categories, the Black African ethnic group was the second largest after the White British group, followed by the Black Caribbean group.

Figure 1: Top 25 ethnic groups (detailed) after White British in Elephant & Castle 2011



Source: England & Wales 2011 Census, ONS. Usual resident population.
 *The Commonwealth of Independent States includes the former republics of the Soviet Union.

This stands in contrast with both the national and the wider London picture, where non-White residents most commonly identify as Asian or Asian British, and specifically as Indian or British Indian. In Elephant and Castle, those self-identifying as Asian or Asian British form the second largest main BME group (10,900 residents) representing 11.7% of the population and a quarter (25.4%) of BME residents. For this area, however, the most common identification among the Asian ethnic group is Chinese. When looking at the more detailed write-in responses, the top five ethnic groups after White British also include, on top of the Black African, Black Caribbean and Chinese groups mentioned above, the 'White Other

Western European' and 'White Irish' ethnic groups. Figure 1 shows the top 25 detailed ethnic groups within the Elephant and Castle area as well as the percentage of local population they represent. This highlights the presence of many different ethnic self-identifications. Although the 'Black: African' group represents a large portion of the BME population (35%), it does not dominate it. This category is also lacking differentiation. Moreover, the mixed and other ethnic groups represent about 10% of the population of the area, as well as over a fifth (21%) of the BME population. This already evidences a significant 'diversity of diversity'—or super-diversity—within the Elephant and Castle area.

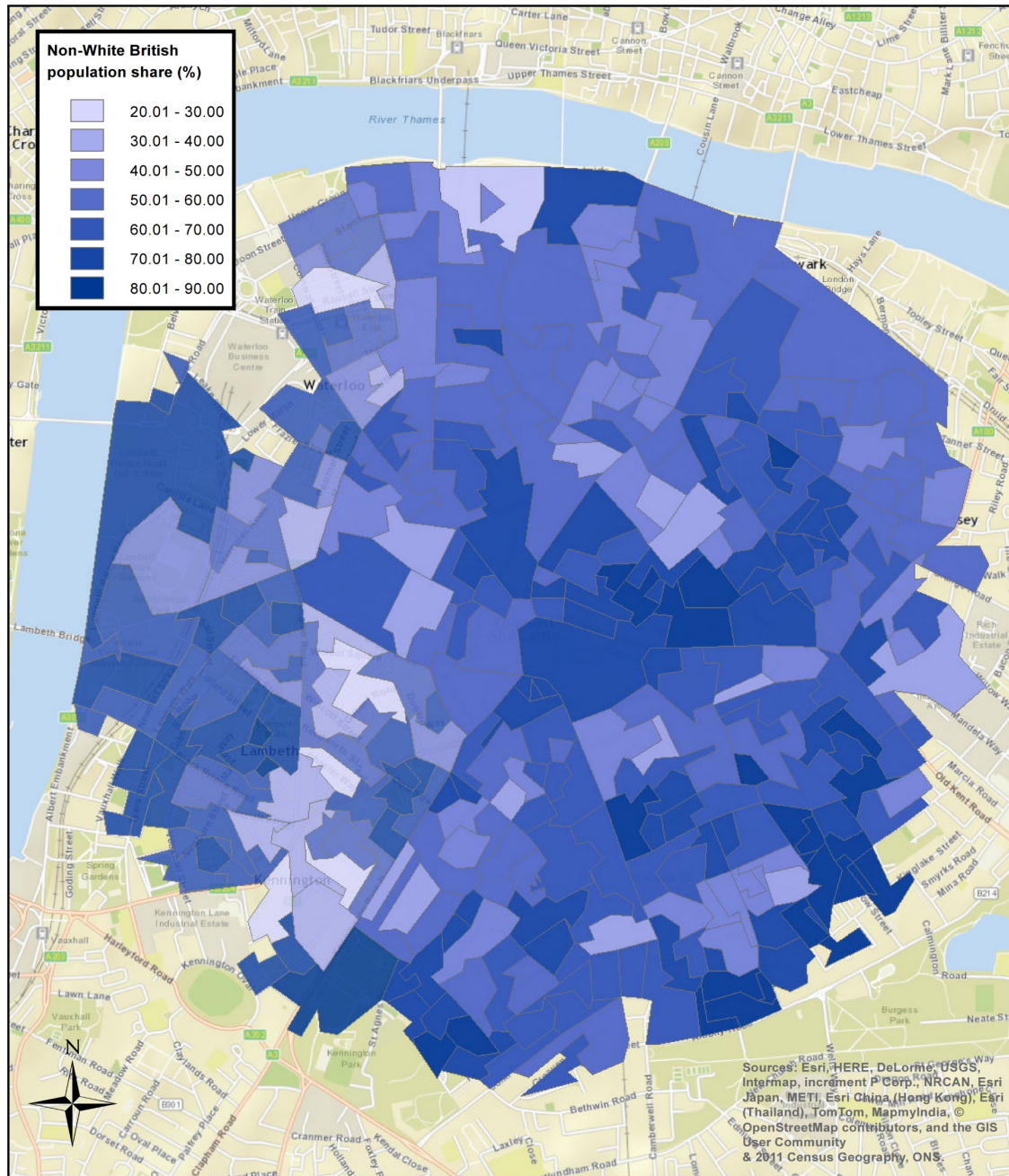
Ethnic diversity: spatial analysis

However, there were also important differences within the Elephant and Castle area when looking at the residents of the individual 2011 Census Output Areas, which further evidences its super-diversity. Though the numbers of residents in individual OAs are small, making it difficult to look at specific ethnic groups due to increasing margins of error, it is possible to compare the share of the population that identifies as other than White British. As shown in Map 2, the non-White British population share varies considerably within the Elephant and Castle area, ranging from 21% to 89%. About half (47%) of the output areas had a non-White British population share between 50% and 70%, close to the average of 60%. At the same time, 9% (28 OAs) had more than 80% of its residents reporting being other than White British, while 2% (6 OAs) reported a share lower than 30%. It is important to note, however, that this variation in the non-White British population share was largely driven by differences in the percentage of the population self-identifying as belonging to one of the 'Black' ethnic groups. The spatial analysis shows some interesting, though not particularly strong, patterns in the spatial distribution of non-White British residents. For example, there appears to be a cluster of output areas with above-average percentage of the population self-identifying as other than White British in the centre north-eastern section and the south-eastern part of Elephant and Castle area. In contrast, some of the centre-western areas show a lower concentration of non-White British residents.

Characteristics of the non-White British population

The census data also allow for the analysis of the various characteristics of the different ethnic groups. For example, there are important differences in age and gender distribution depending on ethnic self-identification. In terms of gender distribution, the Elephant and Castle area follows a largely standard split of 50.9% men and 49.1% women. However, this often differs notably when ethnic groups are disaggregated. For example, though White British residents in the area are somewhat more likely to be men (53.2%), among the Black Caribbean community a significant majority (56.9%) are women. While the area at hand is

Map 2: Non-White British residents as share of population in Elephant & Castle 2011



Note: The Elephant and Castle area was constructed out of all the 2011 Census Output Areas, which had at least 95% of their area within a 1-mile radius from the Elephant and Castle roundabout (SE1 6TG: Coordinates for the actual centre of the radius are 0°6'1.995"W and 51°29'42.736"N).

relatively small, these gender disparities are also reflected across London as a whole (though not necessarily nationally). At the same time, although the population in the area has a younger than average age profile than London and England and Wales overall (with 80.5% of the population younger than 49 years of age), the age profile varies considerably by ethnic group. The White British population is on average somewhat older, with 72% aged 49 or under. In contrast, 86% of non-White British residents were younger than 49.¹³ Yet the age

profiles also differ importantly within the non-White British population depending on more specific ethnic self-identification. For example, the Black Caribbean group had a fairly similar age distribution to the White British group, with 75% aged 49 and under. This can be partly explained, among other factors, by the different migration waves of different groups, with much of the Caribbean community having arrived in the mid-20th century, with higher rates of second and third generation British citizens. Conversely, recent migrants tend to have a much younger profile. In Elephant and Castle, this is particularly pronounced for the Chinese community, with 90% younger than 49 and 46% younger than 24 years of age. This shows that it is important to look at differences within diversity.

Main language and proficiency in English

In addition to ethnic group, another measure that can be used to study diversity is language. Knowledge and use of English can also be an indication of integration, and can flag potential difficulties in access to state services. Within the Elephant and Castle area, 78% of the population aged 3 and above used English as their main language while the rest (19,800 residents) mainly spoke another language. It is important to point out that there was space for respondents, particularly bilingual and multilingual speakers, to subjectively interpret what 'main spoken language' meant. After English, the most commonly spoken languages were other European, East Asian and African languages. Specifically, the most commonly used main language besides English¹⁴ in the area is Spanish (2,400 residents), representing 12% of all residents who reported a main spoken language other than English and 2.7% of the total population of the area. Many of those residents are likely from Latin America, as only about 800 residents reported Spain as their country of birth (see below). This highlights the usefulness of using multiple measures to explore diversity since looking at ethnic group or country of birth in this instance does not entirely capture the nature of Latin American migration in the area. Spanish was followed by Chinese, French, Portuguese and Arabic in the top five non-English main spoken languages within the Elephant and Castle area. The area's linguistic diversity is in line with the London average of 22% mainly speaking a language other than English, but slightly higher than the average for Lambeth and Southwark (19.9%).

Not only did residents in the Elephant and Castle area speak a variety of languages, those who did not use English as their main language also had different levels of proficiency in English. Of the 19,800 residents who did not use English as their main language, 85% spoke it well or very well, while 15% could not speak English well or at all. Specifically, there were 2,700 residents in the area who reported not being able to speak English well and just under 400 residents who could not speak English at all. While this could largely be due to more recent migrants having fewer English skills, it is a relevant variable to look at when considering diversity, integration and inequality.

Religion

Residents in the Elephant and Castle area reported a lower level of religiosity¹⁵ than is average for London as well as for England and Wales as a whole; in 2011, 65% of residents reported having a religion in Elephant and Castle, compared to 71% of Londoners and 68% of people in England and Wales. The estimated 60,300 religious residents in Elephant and Castle were predominantly Christian (50.8% of residents), followed by Muslims (9.7%). The Christian population share was lower in the area than nationally, while the reverse is the case for the Muslim percentage of the population. Conversely, more than a quarter (26.9%) of Elephant and Castle residents reported having no religion, higher than the fifth (20.7%) of residents in London as a whole.¹⁶ Moreover, religiosity differed significantly by ethnic self-identification. On the one hand, only 51% of White British residents reported having a religion. On the other, 85% of residents who self-identified as Black, African, Caribbean or Black British were religious.¹⁷ Other ethnic groups' levels of religiosity fell somewhere in between. Moreover, different religions also featured more prominently within different ethnic groups. Even so, this does not capture the full extent of religious diversity within the area. Looking at the detailed write-in responses, there are at least 44 different religious affiliations reported (this does not include the different versions of non-religiosity, such as atheist, agnostic, etc.). Similar to the reporting of ethnic group, this is likely to be an undercount, further evidencing the super-diversity of the area.

Diversity: Migration

Country of birth

The sections above considered some of the measures commonly associated with different identities. However, when considering diversity, migration is clearly an important indicator. When analysing migration, the country of birth measure is arguably the most useful; one's country of birth does not change over one's lifetime and is a clear indication of a migration experience (shown in Figure 2). At the same time, it does not capture the length of stay in the new country or whether a migrant has acquired citizenship. As such, it is also useful to look at other measures such as passports held (as a proxy for nationality) or length of residence. Of the estimated 93,298 residents in the area in 2011, 42% were born outside of the UK (39,100 residents). The non-UK born population was on average younger than the UK-born population, with 76% of non-UK born residents aged between 16 and 49 years of age, compared to 57% of UK-born residents. This is mostly the result of the fact that most migrants are of working age. Moreover, non-UK born residents had a slightly higher female share, with 51% being women, compared to 48% of UK-born residents.

The 42% non-UK born population share within the area is significantly above the average for the UK (12.7%), slightly above London (36.7%) but in tune with the Inner London average of 42.2%. The non-UK share for the area is slightly higher than the share for the two boroughs in which it lies—Lambeth (38.9%) and Southwark (39.4%)—highlighting its nature as a pocket of super-diversity within a very diverse metropolis. As shown in Figure 2, among those residents of the area who were born outside of the UK, 31.5% were born in Europe (excl. UK), 29% in Africa, 20% in Asia and the Middle East, 15.4% in the Americas and the Caribbean and the rest (2%) in Oceania and Antarctica. Moreover, nearly a quarter (22.8%) of all non-UK born residents in the area came from the EU,¹⁸ the majority of whom (6,244) came from ‘Old’ EU countries,¹⁹ while only 6.8% of non-UK born residents (2,661) came from EU Accession countries.²⁰ In terms of individual non-UK countries of birth, from those for which data is available at this geographical level²¹, the most common country of birth of residents within the Elephant and Castle area in 2011 was Nigeria, with 3,457 residents representing 8.9% of all non-UK born residents within the area and 3.7% of the total population of the area. Nigeria was followed by Ireland (1,846), Ghana (1,560), Jamaica (1,306), China (1,231) and France (1,198), to name the top 5 countries of birth of those for which data is available. This highlights a great diversity of migration origins, combining regions and countries with a long history of migration to the UK with more recent sources of migration. Overall, residents of the Elephant and Castle area were born in at least 50 distinct countries or regions of the world.

Migration and diversity: spatial analysis

At the same time, as with ethnic group, there is a significant amount of variation within the Elephant and Castle area when looking at the percentage of residents born outside of the UK in each census output area. While overall 42% of residents in Elephant and Castle were born abroad (as of 2011), when looking at individual OAs this ranges from 17% to 68%. Of the 318 output areas, the majority (75%) had a non-UK born population share between 30% and 50%. At the same time, 9% (30 OAs) had a share lower than 30%, while the remaining 16% (30 OAs) had more than half of its residents born outside of the UK. As shown in Map 3, the spatial distribution of the non-UK born population mirrors to an extent the spread of non-White British residents within Elephant and Castle. For example, there is also an area of higher non-UK born share in the central-eastern part of the area. At the same time, the north-eastern and south-western corners show clusters of OAs with an average non-UK born share. While areas with a below average share tend to be more isolated, there is a cluster of OAs where less than 25% of the population was born outside of the UK on the south-western edge of the area. This area also has a below-average non-White British share. The spatial correlation between diversity based on ethnicity and country of birth is

interesting as it highlights areas of further diversity within an already diverse London area, and is further explored below.

Figure 2: Country of birth in Elephant & Castle 2011

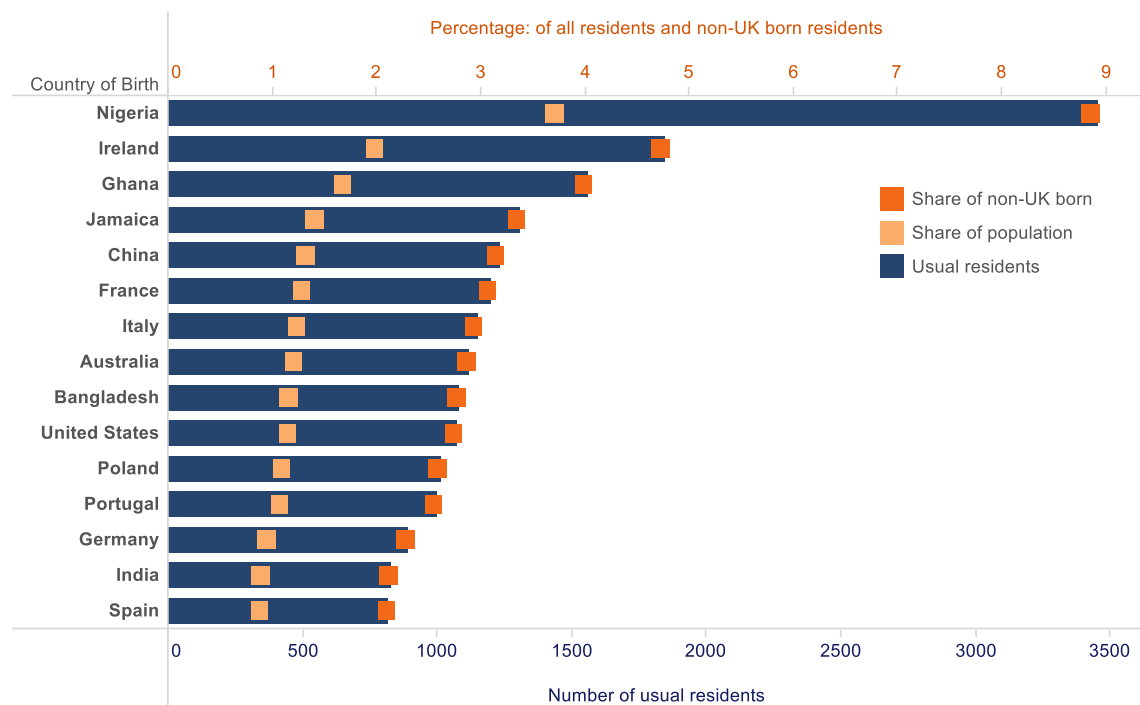
Region of birth

EUROPE (excl.UK)	AFRICA	MIDDLE EAST AND ASIA	AMERICAS AND THE CARIBBEAN	ANTARCTICA AND OCEANIA
12,219	11,341	7,828	5,999	1,602

Sub-region of birth

'Old' EU countries*	Central and Western Africa	South and Eastern Africa	EU Accession countries	South America	Southern Asia	Eastern Asia	South-East Asia	The Caribbean	Australasia
8,090	7,353	3,153	2,661	2,497	2,457	2,235	2,197	1,883	1,578

Top 15 countries of birth (excl.UK)



Source: England & Wales 2011 Census, ONS. Usual resident population. Note: These are the top 15 countries of the 27 individual countries of birth for which data are available at this geographical level, and thus not necessarily the top 15 countries of birth in this particular area. *'Old' EU countries refers to countries which were members of the EU before 2001, and EU Accession countries to countries which joined the EU between 2001 and 2011.

Passports held

While about 42% residents of Elephant and Castle were born outside of the UK, just over a quarter of residents (26%) had only a non-UK passport (estimated 23,810 residents).²² At the same time, the majority of the population (67.3%) held a UK passport and the rest (7.2%) held no passport.²³ A slight majority (52%) of non-UK nationals had a passport from other European countries, with a large proportion holding a passport from one of the 'Old EU' countries (32%). At the same time, 16% of non-UK passport holders held an African passport, followed by passports from Asia and the Middle East (15%) and the Americas and

the Caribbean (12%). It is important to note that the 'non-UK passport holder' category excludes residents with more than one passport if one of those was a UK passport; in those instances, residents are only included in the 'UK passport' category.

This highlights the fact that many residents included in the 'non-UK born' category will be British citizens. In fact, looking specifically at the non-UK born population, of the 39,100 foreign-born residents in the area, 40.5% held a UK passport in 2011,²⁴ while 57.1% only had a non-UK passport. Only a small proportion of the non-UK born population (2.4%) held no passport at all. Yet the British nationality rates for non-UK born residents differed significantly based on the region of birth.²⁵ While only 12% of residents born in other EU countries held a British passport, this measure was 59% for residents born in Africa. Thus, not only is there great diversity within the area in terms of countries of birth and nationalities, but it also in terms of legal status and the corresponding entitlements. This has a significant impact on the experience of difference as legal status affects access to the state in a variety of ways, and creates further heterogeneity within different national or country-of-origin 'groups'.

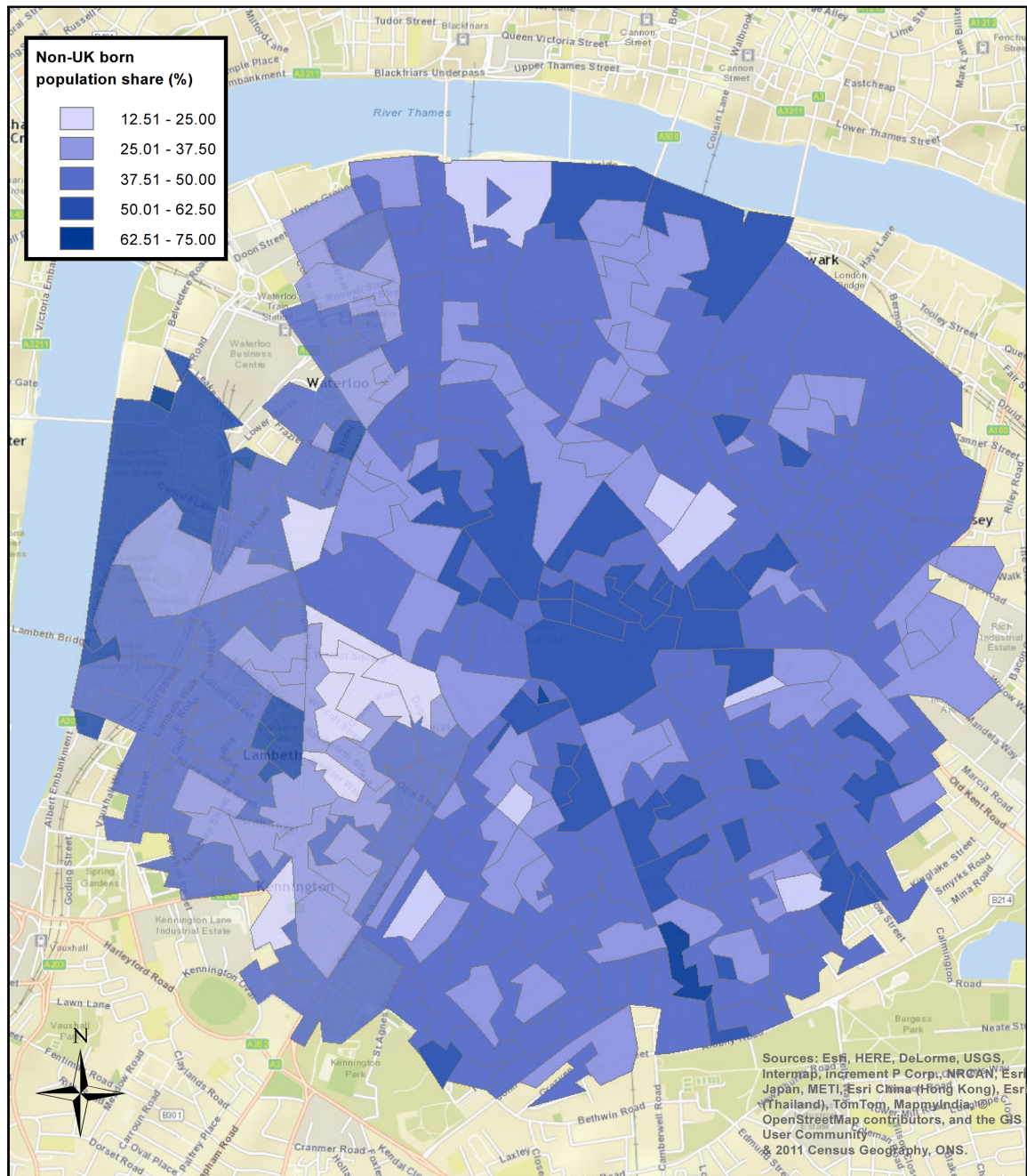
Length of residence and year of arrival in the UK

Legal status for migrants is also linked to the differences in terms of length of residence, often corresponding to different waves of migration to the UK from various parts of the world. In fact, about half (49.4%) of the migrant population in the Elephant and Castle area had been resident in the UK for 10 years or longer at the time of the 2011 Census. This is broadly in line with the length of residence for respondents both in England and Wales generally, and in London specifically. However, what this does not show is the diversity of migration experiences between different foreign-born groups. For instance, of the estimated 2,700 Elephant and Castle residents born in countries which joined the EU between 2001 and 2011, 65.5% came into the UK during or after 2004 (75.5% since 2001). Conversely, residents born in Ireland were more likely to have come earlier in the 20th century, with nearly half (47%) having arrived in the UK before 1980 and only 30% arriving since 2001.

While it is not possible to compare individual countries of birth at this geographical level when looking at year of arrival (the Irish-born being the exception), it is nevertheless illuminating to look at various regions of birth. With the top two countries of birth in the Elephant and Castle area being Nigeria and Ghana, it is interesting to see that the majority (63%) of the 7,400 residents born in Central and Western African countries arrived in the country before 2001. Specifically, just over half (56%) came to the UK in the 1980s and 1990s. Thus, migrant groups that are more likely to have come to the country more recently, such as residents born in other European countries as well as many Asian, Middle

Eastern and South American countries²⁶ are becoming more prominent within the non-UK born population in the area. Adding to the more established groups that resulted from more historical migrations, particularly from African countries and the Caribbean, this is further 'diversifying the diversity' of the area.

Map 3: Non-UK born residents as share of population in Elephant & Castle 2011



Note: The Elephant and Castle area was constructed out of all the 2011 Census Output Areas, which had at least 95% of their area within a 1-mile radius from the Elephant and Castle roundabout (SE1 6TG: Coordinates for the actual centre of the radius are 0°6'1.995"W and 51°29'42.736"N).

Super-diversity?

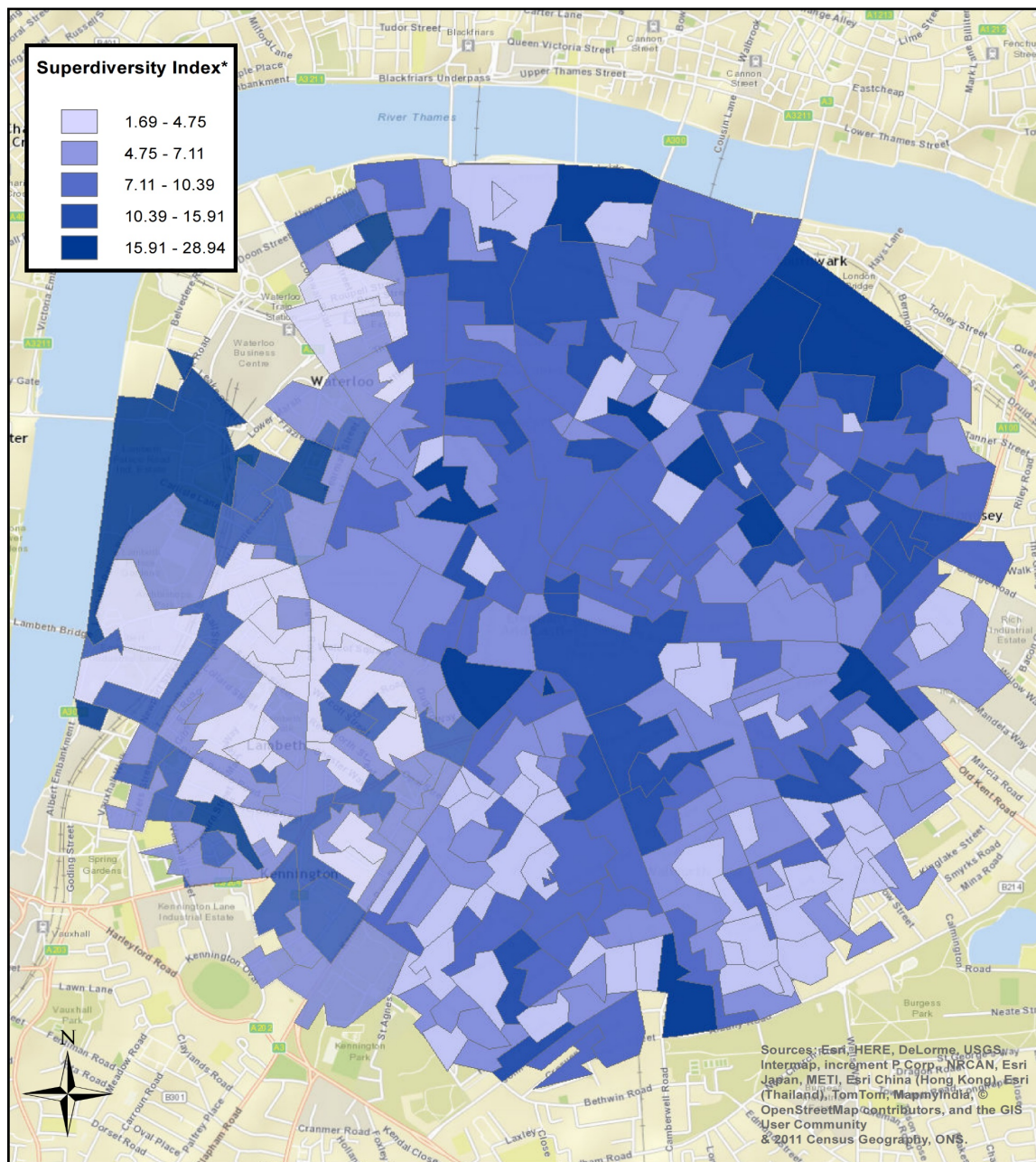
The sections above reviewed the various facets of identity and difference, including measures related to ethnic self-identification, migration experience, nationality, religion and language. However, what the concept of super-diversity—as discussed above—highlights is that we need to pay attention to not only the multiple elements of diversity, but also their potentially compounding effect. This includes also considering socio-economic effects and not only measures that are more commonly thought of as indicators of diversity. Even so, it is possible to show just how diverse the Elephant and Castle area already by looking at the compounding effect of ethnic, migration and religious difference. Constructing a measure of the intersections of diversities based on ethnic group, country of birth and religion could then be one way to try and measure super-diversity. Rather than looking at the percentages of non-White or non-UK born population, the index takes into account the number of different ethnic groups, countries or origins and reported religions, as detailed as the census data allow. This tentative super-diversity measure is shown in Map 4.

This is likely to overestimate the extent of diversity along these three measures: we would not expect, for example, that all ethnic groups are represented within each country of birth group. This is also why including all kinds of measures of diversity in one index would provide an indicator that is both too complex and probably highly overestimated. At the same time, the likely underestimation of diversity by the census, especially of migrant groups—both due to undercounting issues and the lack of full detail at small geographical areas—counteracts this overestimation to a certain extent. This measure is also not capturing the full ‘diversity of diversity’, in that linguistic differences, nationalities or relevant socio-economic inequalities are not captured. Moreover, its usefulness lies in that it is really telling us about relative diversity within a particular area. Indeed, the three measures are correlated; each extra ethnic group in an output area is associated with an extra country of birth being represented within the local population, and an increase in one extra religion tends to happen for every two or three additional extra ethnic groups.

The pattern of this super-diversity measure differs to a significant degree from the spatial analysis of ethnic group or country of birth alone. Although there are some areas which have a high score in all three measures—such as, broadly, the centre of the map around the Elephant and Castle roundabout as well as the north-western edge of the map—overall the pattern is rather different. The starkest example is the south-western corner of the map; while this area exhibits among the highest percentages of non-White British residents, it has low scores on the super-diversity index used here. This suggests that while this area has a very high percentage of residents who identify as other than White British, this group is likely to be dominated by one or more groups, rather than a large number of different

ethnic self-identifications. In fact, in the Elephant and Castle area, the population share of non-White British is correlated²⁷ with the share of Black African residents, the largest non-White British ethnic group in the area. As such, just looking at the percentage of the population that identifies as other than White British does not necessarily tell us about super-diversity. On the other hand, counting the different numbers of groups highlights areas which not only have large shares of residents that are not from the majority groups, but also whether there is a diversity within.

Map 4: Super-diversity index in Elephant & Castle 2011



Note: The *Superdiversity Index is a compound measure of the diversity of diversity: specifically, it is constructed by interacting the number of ethnic groups, the number of countries of birth and the number of religions (/1000) in each area. The Elephant and Castle area was constructed out of all the 2011 Census Output Areas, which had at least 95% of their area within a 1-mile radius from the Elephant and Castle roundabout (SE1 6TG: Coordinates for the actual centre of the radius are 0°6'1.995"W and 51°29'42.736"N).

Super-diversity: Socio-economic characteristics

Economic activity

Yet as mentioned above, other sources of local heterogeneity must also be considered if the lived experience of super-diversity is to be better understood. Participation in the labour market can shed further light on the extent of (super-)diversity in Elephant and Castle. Overall, the Elephant and Castle area has a higher rate of economic activity than the national rate, though this is also true for London as a whole. Of the estimated 54,300 economically active residents (69% of the local population), 71% were employees, 14% were self-employed and 8% were unemployed (4,400 residents). This unemployment rate²⁸ is higher than the England and Wales rate according to the 2011 Census (6.3%), though in line with the 8% unemployment rate in the Lambeth and Southwark boroughs and 7.2% for London as a whole. In 2011, there was an above-average concentration of students in Elephant and Castle, with 14,000 students in the area (both economically active and economically inactive); this amounts to 18% of the local population, above the 12% in Lambeth and Southwark, 11% in London and 8% in England and Wales.

Economic activity by ethnic group and country of birth

It is also interesting to analyse labour market participation of different sections of the Elephant and Castle community in order to fully explore issues of diversity and inequality. For example, residents who self-identify as White British have a slightly higher rate of economic activity (70%) than the rest of local residents (68%). However, this is largely attributable to the larger proportion of students within the non-White British population (21.5%) compared to the White British population (12%), and the majority of non-White British students (72%) are economically inactive.²⁹ At the same time, when looking at the country of birth of Elephant and Castle residents, there are only small differences in economic activity between the UK-born and the non-UK born population. For both groups, 69% of residents were economically active; however, the non-UK born population was also not homogenous in terms of its labour market participation. In particular, non-UK born residents from the EU had both a higher rate of economic activity (72%) and lower unemployment rate (4.9%) than the UK-born population. However, residents born outside of the EU were also more likely to be students, with 5,237 students accounting for a fifth of those residents in 2011. For comparison, 16% of EU-born residents and 17% of UK-born residents in the area were students in 2011.

Occupation and socio-economic classification (NS-SeC)

Based on the census data on respondents' occupation, along with other variables such as their economic activity, the ONS assigns a National Statistical Socio-economic

Classification³⁰ to respondents. This is illuminating in that it not only captures respondents' occupation, but also their labour market participation and the nature of their work, such as the whether they have any supervisory roles. In line with the wider London picture, the usually resident population in the Elephant and Castle area has a higher proportion (15%) of residents in higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations than nationally (10% in England and Wales). At the same time, the proportion of people in routine and semi-routine occupations (18%) is below the national average (26%), again in line with wider London trends. Yet again, this differs significantly between different groups within the area, particularly by various ethnic groups. Among residents who self-identified as White British, 19% worked in managerial, administrative and professional occupations, compared to 12% of non-White British residents. Conversely, 20% of non-White British residents worked in routine or semi-routine jobs, while this was 16% for the White British population. This was even more pronounced for the BME (non-White) population, with only 9% of residents who self-identified as other than White in managerial, administrative and professional occupations. It was particularly acute for the largest BME group in the area; among residents who reported belonging to one of the Black, African, Caribbean or Black British ethnic groups, 6% had managerial, administrative and professional jobs, while over a quarter (26%) worked in routine or semi-routine occupations. The BME population was of course not uniform; residents who identified as Asian and Asian British were the least likely to work routine or semi-routine jobs (12%), though this is also affected by the fact that more than a third (34%) were students in 2011. This highlights the multiple facets of socio-economic inequalities, and crucially their intersections with the various axes of diversity.

Highest qualification

Nearly half (43.2%) of all residents aged 16 and above in the area were educated to degree level or higher, above even the already elevated London rate of 38% (compared to 27% in England and Wales). At the same time, 15.9% of residents in the Elephant and Castle area held no qualifications and 30.5% had some secondary school qualifications, while the rest (10.4%) held other or foreign qualifications (the latter if a UK equivalent could not be found). Yet again, this also differs depending on ethnic group and country of origin. Non-UK born residents in Elephant and Castle were slightly less likely to be unqualified (14%) compared to UK-born residents (17%), and this is particularly the case for residents born outside of the EU. This is at least partially likely to be due to the visa requirements and the higher shares of university students among the population born outside of the EU. Non-White British residents were also less likely to have no qualifications than White British residents. This is even more pronounced when comparing those who identified as White and those who did not: in 2011, 13% of the BME population was unqualified, 38% had a secondary school

qualification and 36% held a university degree. The same statistics were 18%, 25% and 48% respectively for residents who identified as White.

Tenure

The Elephant and Castle area has an above-average percentage of residents living in social housing (50%), compared to 39% within the total population of Lambeth and Southwark (and compared to 23% London-wide and 16% nationally). This is mainly due to the lower numbers of residents having tenure (whether owning their accommodation outright, with a mortgage or on shared ownership); while 21% of residents in the area owned their accommodation, this was 32% overall in Lambeth and Southwark. Conversely, the private renting rate (28%) was in line with the rate for the two boroughs the Elephant and Castle area is situated in (29%). Housing tenure also differed significantly based on ethnic self-identification. While there is variation in terms of all types of tenure, it is particularly social renting and private renting rates that vary considerably across ethnic groups. Comparing the White British and the non-White British population, the differences are not immediately obvious. However, compare for example residents who identified as Other White (White but not White British) versus residents who reported belonging to one of the Black/African/Caribbean/Black British ethnic groups; within the former group, 28% rented socially and 51% rented privately, while within the latter, 78% rented socially and only 10% rented privately. Combined with the high rates of overcrowding in the area (discussed above), this highlights the uneven spread of inequality and deprivation within the area.

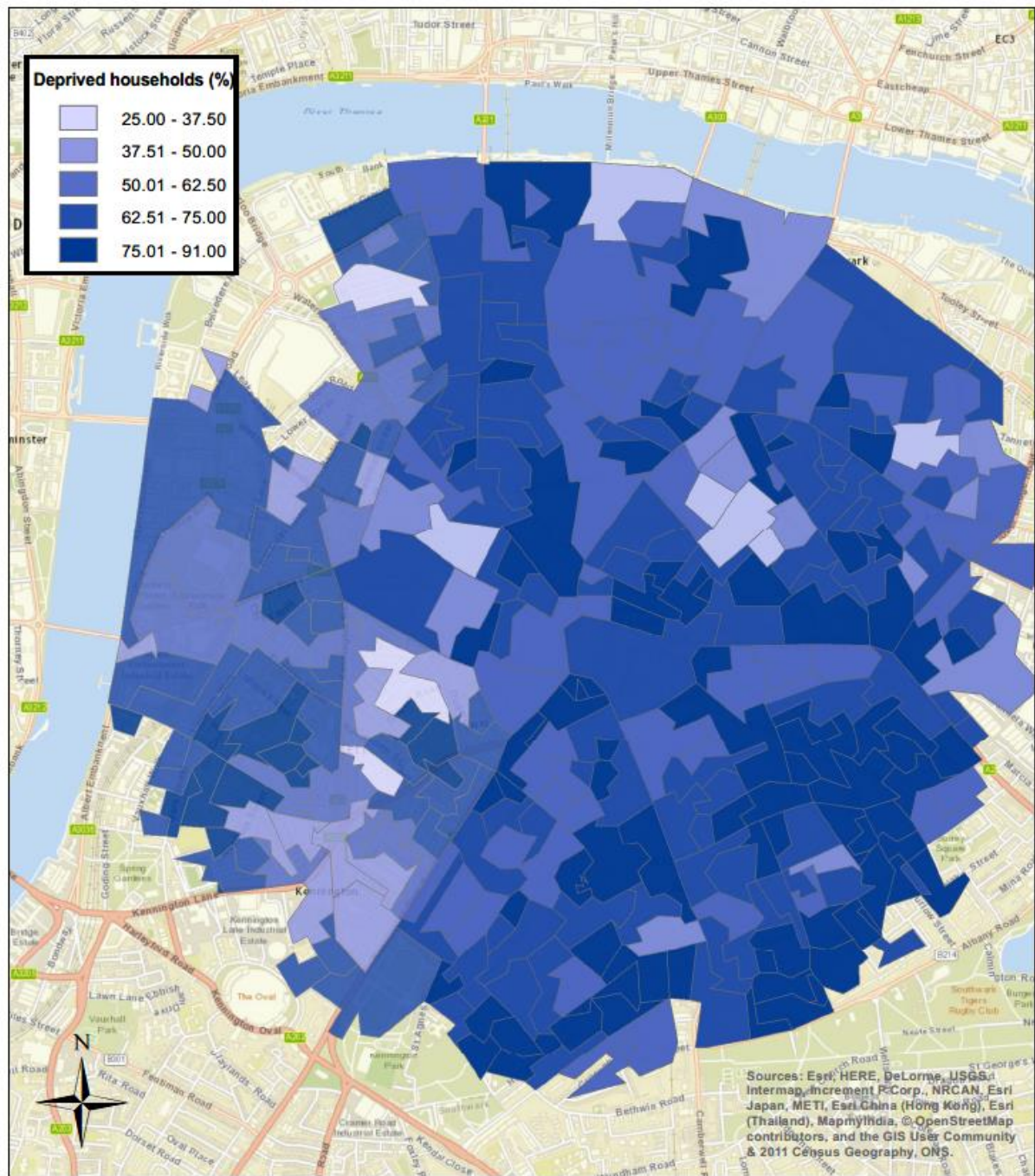
Super-diversity: Deprivation

This leads us to consider the spatial distribution of deprivation within the area, a measure compiled by the ONS for households, rather than individuals, and consisting of four dimensions. Those dimensions are: 1) employment; a household is classified as deprived in this dimension if any member of it that is not a full-time student is either unemployed or is long-term sick, 2) education; no person in the household has at least level 2 education, and no person aged 16-18 is a full-time student, 3) health and disability; any person in the household has general health 'bad or very bad' or has a long term health problem, and 4) housing; the household's accommodation is either overcrowded, with an occupancy rating -1 or less, or is in a shared dwelling, or has no central heating.

In Elephant and Castle, in 2011, 67% of households were deprived in at least one of the four dimensions. For England and Wales as a whole, this statistic is 57.6%. Then, in Elephant and Castle, 29% of households were deprived in two or more, 9% in 3 or more, and 1% (459 households) in all 4 dimensions. Yet for individual OAs within the area, the percentage of households deprived in at least one dimension ranges from 25% to 91% (this is shown in

Map 5). With the available data it is not possible to look at the deprivation measures by the ethnic group, country of birth or nationality of the household reference person. The individual dimensions of the measure, such as education, tenure, economic activity and reported health, are however discussed in different parts of this person in terms of their intersections with diversity and difference.

Map 5: Household Deprivation in Elephant & Castle 2011



Note: The data on deprivation dimensions group households based on the number of dimensions (employment, education, housing and health) they are deprived in. This map shows the percentage of households in each OA deprived in at least one of those dimensions. The Elephant and Castle area was constructed out of all the 2011 Census Output Areas, which had at least 95% of their area within a 1-mile radius from the Elephant and Castle roundabout (SE1 6TG: Coordinates for the actual centre of the radius are 0°6'1.995"W and 51°29'42.736"N).

Looking at the percentage of deprived households within Elephant and Castle, it is clear that the most deprived areas are not generally the most diverse ones (compare Maps 4 and 5). Indeed, this measure of deprivation and the tentative super-diversity index developed above (Map 4) are not correlated (the descriptive³¹ pairwise correlation is actually -0.11, suggesting if anything a somewhat negative correlation). However, the percentage of residents self-identifying as non-White British is correlated with the level of overcrowding; it is not clear from the available data at this low geographical level how this relationship might work, whether one causes the other, or if there is an intervening variable explaining both. However, what it does highlight is the effect that not only identity-related categories have on lived experiences, but also how these experiences are affected by socio-economic variables.

Super-diversity: Health

Health

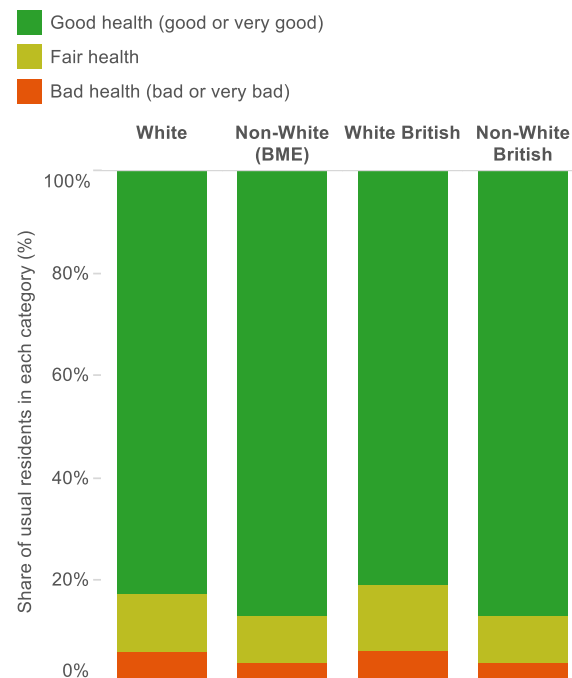
Another way to approach inequality is by looking at health, one of the component dimensions of the deprivation measure. Overall, 85% of residents in the Elephant & Castle area reported having good health (good or very good), compared with 10% who reported fair health and 5% who reported bad health (either bad or very bad). The rate of reporting good health is slightly above the London average (83.8%) as well as higher than the 81% rate for England and Wales. Of course, self-reporting of bad health would be expected to increase with age and thus it is crucial to account for age when analysing the data on self-reported health.³² It is also possible to explore health experiences for particular sections of the Elephant and Castle community. As shown in Figure 3, residents who identified as White British had a lower reporting of good health (81%) and higher reporting of long-term health problems or disability (17%) compared to the non-White British local population (87% and 11% respectively). This tended to be the case regardless of age or gender. This corresponds to the disparate effect of ethnic group on health outcomes nationally, although the health reporting for specific groups is not necessarily the same nationally (CoDE, 2013b).

Moreover, as also shown in Figure 3, lower levels of English proficiency appear to be associated³³ with higher reporting of bad health.³⁴ Of course, older residents are generally more likely to report both bad health and less proficiency in English, and it is important to remember that both measures are self-reported. Despite those qualifications, it appears there is a relationship between proficiency in English and health. Overall, those who did not use English as their main spoken language had similar rates of reporting good health to those whose main language was English (85% and 84% respectively). However, this begins to differ significantly when proficiency in English is taken into account, with 89% of those who spoke

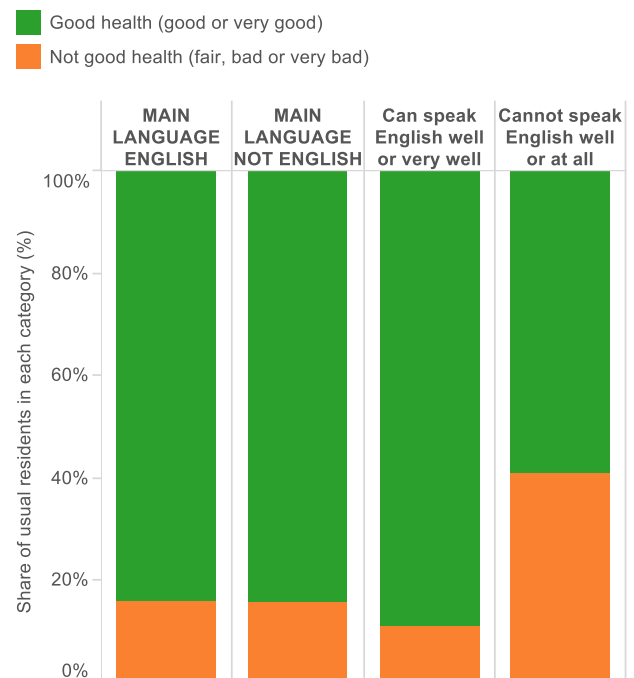
English well or very well reporting good health compared to 60% of those who could not speak English well or at all, and this broadly reflects national and London-wide trends. There is no measure of skills in English for those who did mainly speak it, and it could be that it is in fact differences in educational levels or related socio-economic status that account for both lower English proficiency and worse health. However, it is also plausible to expect that many with lower English skills will be migrants, and higher experiences of bad health could also point to lower access to healthcare services. This can have a potentially crucial effect on the lived experience of diversity.

Figure 3: Health by ethnic group and proficiency in English in Elephant & Castle 2011

Health by Ethnic Group



Health by Proficiency in English



Source: England & Wales 2011 Census, ONS. Usual residents.

Note: All measures are self-reported.

Conclusion

This analysis sought to explore the extent of (super-)diversity of the Elephant and Castle area through an exploration of the characteristics of the area’s households and residents—specifically by looking at identity- and migration-related measures as well as socio-economic variables—and the heterogeneity within Elephant and Castle itself. Through looking at a large number of measures available from the 2011 Census, it shows the area to be highly diverse—if not super-diverse—whether looking at ethnic self-identification, migration experiences, religious beliefs or spoken languages. At the same time, an exploration of a

wide range of socio-economic variables highlights the multiple aspects of diversity, integration and inequality within the area. Such a multi-faceted approach is essential if we are to try to understand both the structure of diversity and the lived experience of difference. Moreover, this report shows the usefulness of using census data in order to explore small geographical areas. On the one hand, it allows for a large amount of detail when exploring the characteristics of a given population with, though still estimates, relatively low margins of error. On the other hand, even for an area as small as Elephant and Castle, the census data allows for an investigation of heterogeneity of the area through a spatial analysis of diversity. Such low-grained comparison would not be possible with other quantitative datasets available. While descriptive, the analysis paints a detailed picture of an arguably super-diverse London area.

Yet a census analysis can only do some much. While it highlights the complex diversities of the area, and to an extent their interactions, there are so many elements of diversity that cannot be conveyed not only with the census data specifically, but through quantitative tools generally. The analysis here still presents a very static picture of the diversity of difference. In particular, the lived experiences of super-diversity and the social meanings attached to the different elements of difference need to be explored further, through in-depth qualitative investigations. We know that diversity and inequality are often interlinked, with some groups experiencing structural disadvantage—some of which is evidenced in this report—but what impact does the increasing super-diversity have on this? As such, this report sets the stage for more in-depth probes into the nature of super-diversity with Elephant and Castle. In doing so, it hoped to make a small contribution to our understanding of super-diversity, particularly in increasingly heterogeneous urban areas. This is important as we try to grapple with the question of what difference makes a difference, in an ever-changing global context.

¹ When the analysis for this paper was carried out, the census microdata were not available in general, nor was it possible to request microdata specifically for this area for the future, and the analysis uses publicly available cross-tabulated data; as such, it is mainly descriptive.

² Of course, in some areas of the country, the White British UK-born residents are in fact a minority.

³ The 2011 Census data are publicly available; in this study they were collected from the Nomis website (www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011). The latest UK censuses were conducted on 27th March 2011, 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 national picture, comparison is made with England and Wales only.

⁴ Alongside this, moreover, the census data was subjected to various quality checks, including checking for inconsistencies and imputing missing answers (ONS, 2012b).

⁵ This is a statistical disclosure control method, whereby the records of individuals or households with unique characteristics that could lead to identification in tables with small counts are swapped with another household with same basic characteristics, usually within the same MSOA or local authority. The specific level of swapping is not disclosed by the ONS to further ensure confidentiality.

⁶ Including anyone outside the UK but with a permanent UK address and who intended to stay outside the UK for less than 12 months.

⁷ Coordinates for the actual centre of the radius are 0°6'1.995"W and 51°29'42.736"N.

⁸ The 2011 Census output areas have between 100 and 625 people, bar exceptional cases. The output area with 787 residents in question here encompasses the King's College Guys Campus, and thus most of the area's residents are in a communal establishment (647 out of 787).

⁹ This means being single at the time of the census and never been married or in a civil partnership.

¹⁰ Although this disparity has been increasing for some ethnic groups while declining for others and varies by region of the country.

¹¹ There is no way of telling whether this refers to the respondents' country of birth, their parents' country of birth or another relation to the country specified.

¹² The White British category includes those who identified as White British, White English, White Welsh, White Scottish or White Northern Irish.

¹³ Specifically, 25% of White British residents were under 24 and 47% were 25-49 years old. This compares starkly to the generally younger non-White British population: in 2011, more than a third (37%) of residents that self-identified as other than White British were younger than 24, while nearly half (49%) fell in the 25-49 age group.

¹⁴ Of the 11 individual languages for which data is available at this level of geography.

¹⁵ In line with national trends, the religious residents in the Elephant and Castle area had an older age profile than non-religious residents, and were more likely to be women.

¹⁶ The remaining respondent did not state whether they had a religion or not.

¹⁷ Unfortunately, only the lowest level of detail regarding both religion and ethnic groups is available at the OA geographic level.

¹⁸ That is, from countries that were members of the European Union in 2011.

¹⁹ That is, countries that were members of EU before 2001.

²⁰ Countries which joined the EU between April 2001 and March 2011.

²¹ These are the 27 most common non-UK countries of birth at the national level.

²² Citizens with dual nationality holding both a UK and non-UK passport are counted in UK passport category in this instance.

²³ It is interesting to point out that, as is also the case nationally, the majority of those with no passport were born in the UK. In this case, the percentage was 86.1%.

²⁴ Although very nearly all of those with a British passport are also British citizens, it is also possible to hold a British passport without being a British citizen: for example, in the case of British overseas territories citizens or British subjects.

²⁵ Unfortunately, individual countries of birth are not available for the relevant census table at this geographical level.

²⁶ Other regions of origin of more recent migrants include Eastern Asia (75% arrived between 2001 and 2011), South-East Asia (58%) and South and Central America (57%).

²⁷ The descriptive pairwise correlation is 0.67.

²⁸ The unemployment rate is traditionally calculated as the percentage of economically active residents that are out of work, rather than a percentage of all residents. Moreover, in the case of the 2011 Census, residents were considered unemployed if they were economically active but out of work and looking for work the week before 27th March 2011.

²⁹ This is mainly due to visa restrictions placed on non-EU students.

³⁰ The full description of this variable by the ONS is as follows: “The National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS-SEC) provides an indication of socioeconomic position based on occupation. It is an Office for National Statistics standard classification. To assign a person aged 16 to 74 to an NS-SEC category their occupation title is combined with information about their employment status, whether they are employed or self-employed, and whether or not they supervise other employees. Full-time students are recorded in the ‘full-time students’ category regardless of whether they are economically active or not.”

(<https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/ks611ew.pdf>)

³¹ Moreover, in none of the preliminary regression analyses are any of the measures of diversity, nor the super-diversity index presented here, statistically correlated with the deprivation measure.

³² It is important to bear in mind that that this measure of health is self-reported, and for children this would most likely be answered by a parent or head of household. This raises questions over whether some groups of people may be more likely to be negative or positive about their health, and the health of others in their household.

³³ 2011 Census microdata that would allow for a robust statistical analysis of this potential relationship is unfortunately not yet available as of July 2014.

³⁴ In this instance, health is grouped into two categories: good health = good + very good health, while bad health = fair, bad + very bad health.

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