

**Mapping Residential Segregation on
Housing Executive Estates in 2011**

Report 1: Belfast District Council

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1.0 Introduction

This report updates earlier work that profiled Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE) estates from 1971-2001 (Shuttleworth and Lloyd 2007). It is made possible by the availability of grid-square population data from the 2011 Census of Population. There are good reasons to replicate this earlier work and to bring it up to date with 2011 data. Chief amongst these are the rapid demographic and social changes experienced in Northern Ireland between 2001 and 2011. This decade saw a continued decline in the proportion of houses in the social rented sector as seen in the past, but with the new development of an increase in the share of privately rented homes. It also saw the growth of immigrant communities in Northern Ireland, rapid demographic shifts in some locations, and also some evidence for a decline in residential segregation. In combination, these changes mean that there are new challenges and a very different environment for Housing Executive operations than that seen in the past.

However, although there has been change there has also been continuity and the question of whether Housing Executive estates are more segregated than the general housing stock remains. The objectives of the research are therefore to:

1. Profile the demographic and housing tenure composition of Housing Executive estates in 2011
2. Outline change since 2001
3. Compare the estates, where possible, with the wider Belfast area

The report starts by discussing the 2011 grid-square data with special reference to its new features and also briefly outlining the analytical method. Following this, the key results are presented; setting out statistics for 2011 and placing these 2011 findings in a longer-temporal context from 1971. Detailed estate-level tabulations are also presented at Appendix 1.

2.0 Data and methods

The analysis makes use of the Northern Ireland Grid-Square Product. This is unique in Northern Ireland and has been produced at every Census since 1971. It gives population counts for 1km and 100m cells. Until 2001, the 100m counts were produced only for urban areas but for 2001 and 2011 the 100m data were available for all Northern Ireland. The counts cover standard census variables such as age group, gender, housing tenure, and religion but additionally, in 2011, also present data from new questions on national identity. In the case of data for 1971 to 2001, for cells with fewer than eight households or 25 individuals, counts were suppressed to preserve confidentiality and only the total population and household counts were given. In 2011, the threshold was changed to 30 usual residents in 10 households. This has some implications for the estate-level tabulations, since the base for comparison is not exactly the same as for 1971-2001. Combined with population shifts, it means that some estates with statistics in 2001 are not captured in the 2011 data.

The cells are constant through time and so they provide a readymade geography for analysis. This approach is used to profile the Housing Executive's estates because information on religion and national identity is not routinely collected by administrative systems controlled by the organisation. Furthermore, changes in the housing stock, for example the sale of houses formerly owned by the Housing Executive and the rise of owner occupation, mean that some residents and some houses, although in an estate, fall outside the purview of the organisation.

This absence of individual-level data means that the best option is to relate Housing Executive estates to 100m cell counts. This is done by overlaying estate boundaries, provided by the Housing Executive, over the grid-square data using a Geographic Information System (GIS). As Housing Executive estates are generally relatively small, the 100m counts are used since these can capture detail at a fine spatial scale. The process that was adopted was to allocate a 100m cell to an estate if its centre point fell within the boundary of that estate.

For practical purposes this method of matching the 100m data to Housing Executive estate boundaries was likely to be sufficient but there could be a small minority of cases where population from a 100m cell was not allocated to an estate because its centre lay outside the estate boundaries despite a substantial part of the cell lying within the estate. However, experience of similar exercises suggests that these problems are marginal, especially in comparison with other sources of error (e.g. changes in the religion question and responses to it) and that the spatial linkage procedure is adequate for purpose. A particular strength of the grid-square product is that it permits relatively easy comparisons through time. Often, census output geographies, such as electoral wards, undergo changes in the sizes, shapes and numbers of units. The cells used in the grid-square product, however, are the same in each census, giving greater confidence that 'like is being compared with like' than if using standard census data products.

There are some changes that cannot be easily managed. The religion question in the Northern Ireland census changed between 2001 and 2011. In this case, for 2011, the information that was closest to the 2001 Community Background question was used. The numbers and proportions of Catholics and Protestants was the focus for the analysis and not people who either stated they had no religion or refused to give a religion, although this proportion of the population has grown since 1971. Moreover, the reorganisation of local government means that new council boundaries were created, and are now in use. However, this report focuses on the old Belfast District Council unit (with one exception), not least because it permits comparisons through time to be made and for trends to be discussed.

3.0 Results

3.1 Profiling Belfast and Housing Executive Estates 1971-2011

Tables 1 and 2 describe the changes in the religious demography of Belfast District Council and Housing Executive estates within this boundary as represented by the grid-square data. The figures do not exactly match with those from published census data because of the special nature of the grid counts that were described above. Nevertheless, the overall trends that are seen are very similar to those noted elsewhere (e.g. Gregory *et al*, 2013). Considering Table 1, Belfast as a whole saw a fall in population from 1971 but which has remained relatively stable since 1991. The number of households has also fallen since 1971 but by a smaller amount than total population, suggesting that average household size across Belfast decreased in the forty years between 1971 and 2011. Changes in the religious demography of the city are very clear in that it has become proportionately much more Roman Catholic through time, largely because Protestant population numbers have fallen further and faster than those for Catholics.

Table 1: Belfast 1971-2011

	1971		1991		2001		2011	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Persons	388,973		248,063		256,770		254,305	
Households	119,437		92,685		106,330		110,255	
Catholic (religion)	107,815	27.72	96,680	38.97	109,141	42.51	*	*
Protestant (religion)	211,140	54.28	99,950	40.29	102,621	39.97	*	*
Catholic (CB)	*		*		122,410	47.67	125,136	49.21
Protestants (CB)	*		*		123,657	48.16	105,901	41.64
Owner occupied	50,380	42.18	52,070	56.18	58,646	55.15	56,207	50.98
Social rented	31,009	25.96	32,058	34.59	33,852	31.84	28,943	26.25
Private rented	38,048	31.86	8,557	9.23	13,832	13.01	25,105	22.77

Source: Census of Population 1971, 1991, 2001

Table 2: Profile of Belfast Housing Executive Estates 1971-2011

	1971		1991		2001		2011	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Persons	113,591		65,180		66,421		59,945	
Households	32,421		24,340		27,327		26,098	
Catholic (religion)	38,825	34.18	29,917	45.90	31,786	47.86	*	*
Protestant (religion)	61,591	54.22	28,071	43.07	24,244	36.50	*	*
Catholic (CB)	*		*		35,423	53.33	31,919	53.25
Protestants (CB)	*		*		28,810	43.37	23,988	40.02
Owner occupied	7,161	22.09	6,190	25.43	9,390	34.36	10,218	38.61
Social rented	15,145	46.71	17,269	70.95	16,469	60.27	11,978	45.90
Private rented	10,115	31.20	8,81	3.62	1,468	5.37	3,902	14.95

Source: Census of Population 1971, 1991, 2001 and 2011

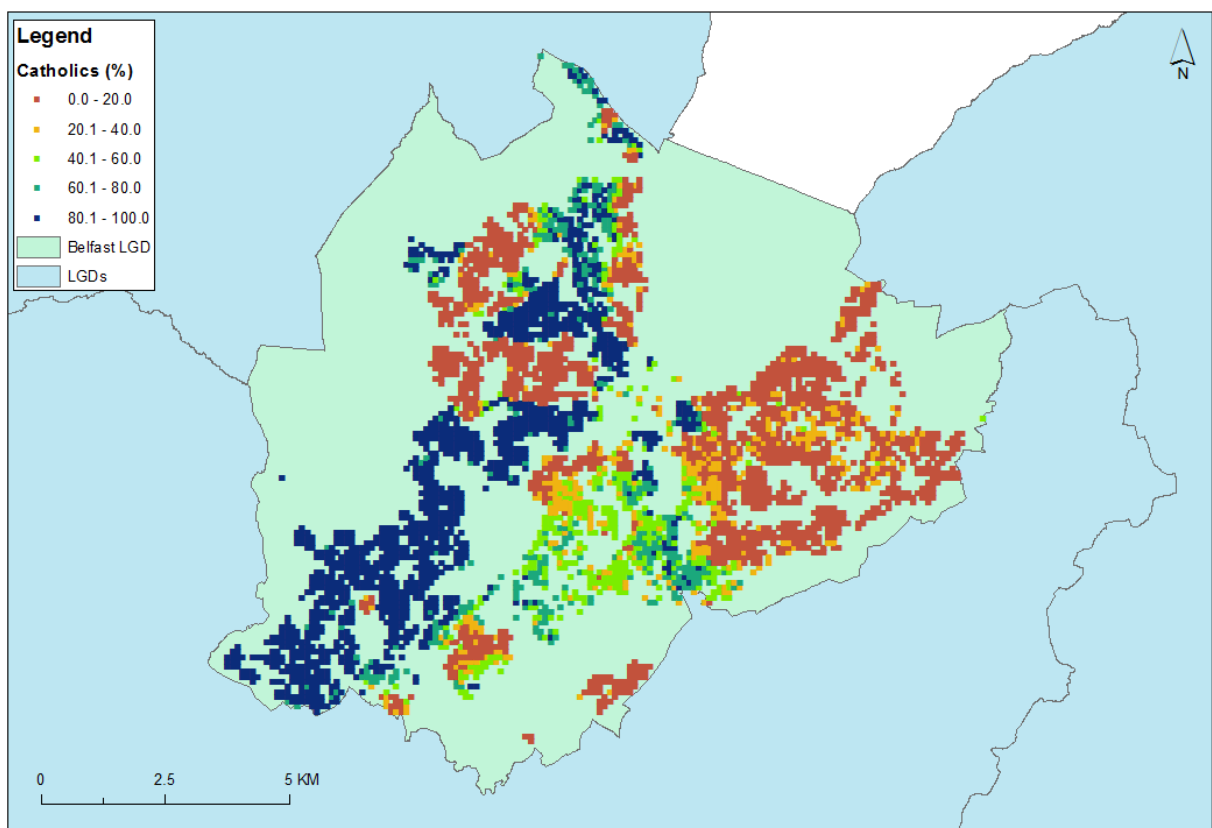
With regard to housing tenure, the main story has been the fall in share of social rented housing and the growth of owner occupation. However, there were new trends in the most recent 2001-11 period, with an increase in private rented housing stock and a fall in owner occupation. Table 3 mirrors the contents of Tables 1 and 2, but for the new Belfast District Council area in 2011. A key distinction is in the increased proportion of Protestants with the expansion of the DC area.

Table 3: Profile of Housing Executive Estates and Belfast (new boundaries) in 2011

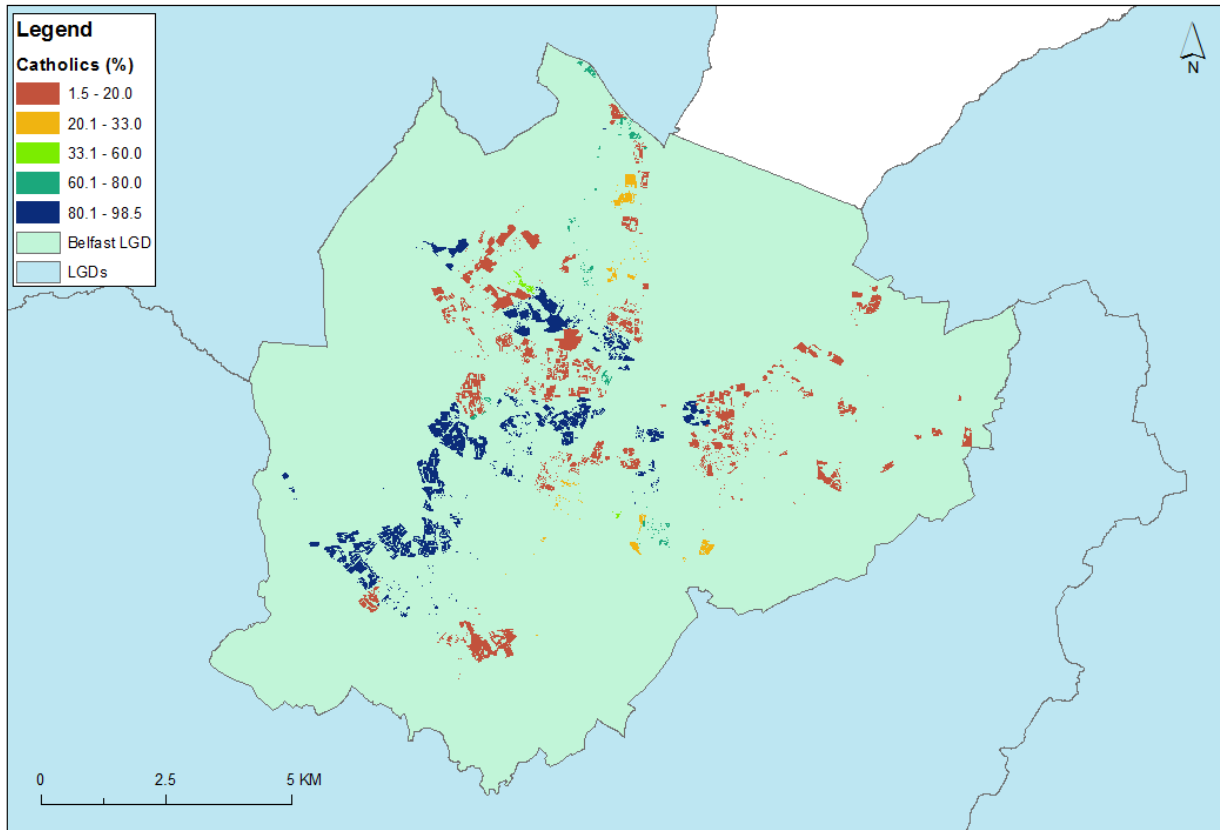
	Belfast		Housing Executive Estates	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Persons	299,825		76,018	
Households	128,281		32,708	
Catholic (CB)	148,347	49.48	39,656	52.17
Protestants (CB)	125,212	41.76	31,301	41.18
Owner occupied	67,844	52.89	13,503	41.28
Social rented	33,576	26.17	14,644	44.77
Private rented	26,861	20.94	4,561	13.94

Map 1 shows the religious composition of Belfast using 100m cells. It shows that the basic religious geography of the city is constant, with large areas either Catholic or Protestant. However, there are some areas with more even population balances. This pattern is replicated in Map 2, which looks at Housing Executive estates only. Here, it is apparent that some estates in the South and East of the city have more even population balances and are not either monolithically Catholic or Protestant.

Map 1: Percentage Catholic in 2011 in Belfast



(Source: Census of Population)

Map 2: Percentage Catholic in 2011 in Belfast Housing Executive estates

(Source: Census of Population)

The same trends are reflected for Housing Executive estates in Table 2, but with some subtle differences. Housing Executive estates, for instance, are more Catholic than the rest of Belfast. As might be expected, they have a greater share of social rented housing than the rest of the city, although they have not been immune from the long-term growth of owner occupation and the more recent increase in the share of private renting. The changes observed in the estates are very much like those observed across Belfast and indeed the rest of Northern Ireland in general.

3.2 Demographic change 2001-2011 in Northern Ireland: Setting the context

In preparing for the interpretation and discussion of the results, it is worthwhile to outline some of the demographic changes that occurred between 2001 and 2011 across Belfast and across Northern Ireland as these will form an important part of the analysis. One major demographic development has been the rise of immigrant communities across Belfast but

also in other areas such as Mid Ulster. Associated with incomers from the countries which joined the European Union in 2004, these areas are often associated with local dramatic demographic shifts since many of these immigrants, for example those from Poland and Lithuania, are Catholic. These patterns can be clearly seen in Table 4 below, which looks at ward-level demographic change. Seven of the ten wards with the greatest Protestant decrease between 2001 and 2011 are located in Belfast, in inner-city areas that were in the past predominantly Protestant.

Table 4: The ten wards with greatest Protestant decrease 2001-2011

Ward Name and Code	Percentage Protestant 2001	Percentage point Protestant decrease 2001-2011	Percentage point Catholic increase 2001-2011	Percentage born outside UK or RoI 2011	Percentage born in A8 Accession states 2011
95GG20 Duncairn (Belfast)	90.24	-26.36	18.05	10.33	4.96
95OO13 Coolhill (Dungannon)	75.76	-24.03	19.89	30.30	18.63
95GG50 Woodstock (Belfast)	86.67	-23.36	13.22	14.67	7.75
95GG44 The Mount (Belfast)	89.69	-21.37	12.16	12.59	8.10
95LL21 Parklake (Craigavon)	60.71	-21.07	16.46	8.99	6.60
95GG37 Ravenhill (Belfast)	67.35	-20.45	14.10	9.62	5.00
95GG10 Blackstaff (Belfast)	91.40	-19.89	10.77	12.83	7.28
95GG29 Island (Belfast)	89.51	-19.73	8.55	13.00	5.40
95GG11 Bloomfield (Belfast)	87.65	-17.93	11.01	10.09	6.31
95LL07 Church (Craigavon)	93.81	-17.79	11.07	12.02	9.43

Source Census of Population 2001 and 2011

Related to this has been a general decrease in segregation across Northern Ireland as measured by the index of dissimilarity, D , between 2001 and 2011. This index describes how evenly two populations are distributed in comparison with each other. Scores nearer zero indicate that the populations are fairly evenly distributed, whereas values nearer one indicate unevenness and greater segregation.

There are a couple of cautionary notes about D . First, it is well recognised in the academic literature (Massey and Denton 1988) that there are other dimensions of segregation that can be captured using other indicators. These include isolation and exposure. Second, D assumes that spatial unevenness and separation are related to greater social separation.

This assumption may, of course, be warranted but contemporary social networks are not bounded as much by our neighbourhoods as in the past so D (and other statistical segregation indicators) might not present a full picture of social interactions. Nevertheless, it remains a good indicator to use since it describes population patterns in 2011 in the same way as in earlier Censuses and it deals with an important dimension of segregation. It is given by:

$$D = 0.5 \times \sum_{i=1}^n \left(\left| \frac{x_i}{X} - \frac{y_i}{Y} \right| \right)$$

where x_i and y_i are counts of population in two groups for areal unit i and there are n units. X and Y are the total population counts across the whole of the study area. D takes a value between 0 and 1, where a large value implies a high degree of segregation. The two groups were defined as ‘Catholics’ compared with ‘Others’ (Protestant denominations plus other religions – in practice Protestants). Non-responders to the religion question are excluded.

The headline results from the 2011 Census are that ward-level segregation *fell* between 2001 and 2011. In 2001, D was 0.617 for religion and 0.601 for community background. In 2011 it was 0.581 for religion and 0.561 for religion or religion brought up in (equivalent to community background in 2001). This shows a small but clear decrease in residential segregation during the first decade of the 21st Century. This was probably surprising for some people who, despite the lack of advance speculation about the results of the 2011 Census, probably assumed that segregation would have increased since 2001 given media coverage about the ‘failure of the peace’ earlier in the decade. However, when set in a wider context, the observed decrease in segregation as measured by D is consistent with other sources and not surprising at all.

3.3 Segregation in Belfast Housing Executive estates in 2011

The analysis of the grid-square counts for Housing Executive estates in Belfast matches this pattern of falling residential segregation. In 2001, D for Housing Executive estates in Belfast

was 0.940 (using community background) but in 2011 it had fallen to 0.814. This is a substantial decrease that could be a result of population migration or differences in the rates of stating (or not stating) a religion. Further evidence is provided by Figures 1 and 2, which show the distribution of estates by religion in 2001 and 2011. It is apparent that there has been a decline in the proportion of estates that lie at the ends of the distribution – for example, more than 90% Catholic or Protestant – over the decade. This is also apparent in Table 5, which presents information on the number of residents living in estates beyond the 80% limit. The fall is particularly marked for Protestant majority estates.

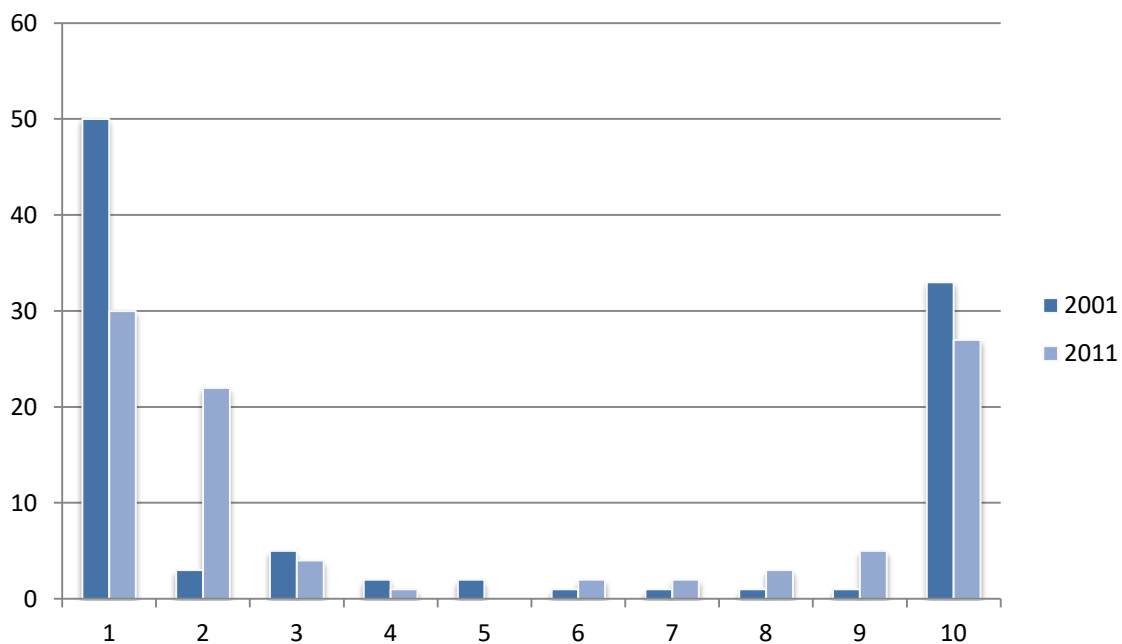
Table 5: Households in Polarised Housing Executive Estates 1971-2011

Absolute values	1971	1991	2001r	2001cb	2011cb
More than 80% Catholic and less than 20% Catholic	22,469	24,259	25,772	26,107	23,169
More than 80% Protestant and less than 20% Protestant	19,902	21,869	15,818	25,657	19,028
Total	32,421	24,340	27,327	27,327	26,098
Percentages	1971	1991	2001r	2001cb	2011cb
More than 80% Catholic and less than 20% Catholic	69.30	99.67	94.31	95.54	88.78
More than 80% Protestant and less than 20% Protestant	61.39	89.85	57.88	93.89	72.91

Source: Census of Population 1971, 1991, 2001 and 2011

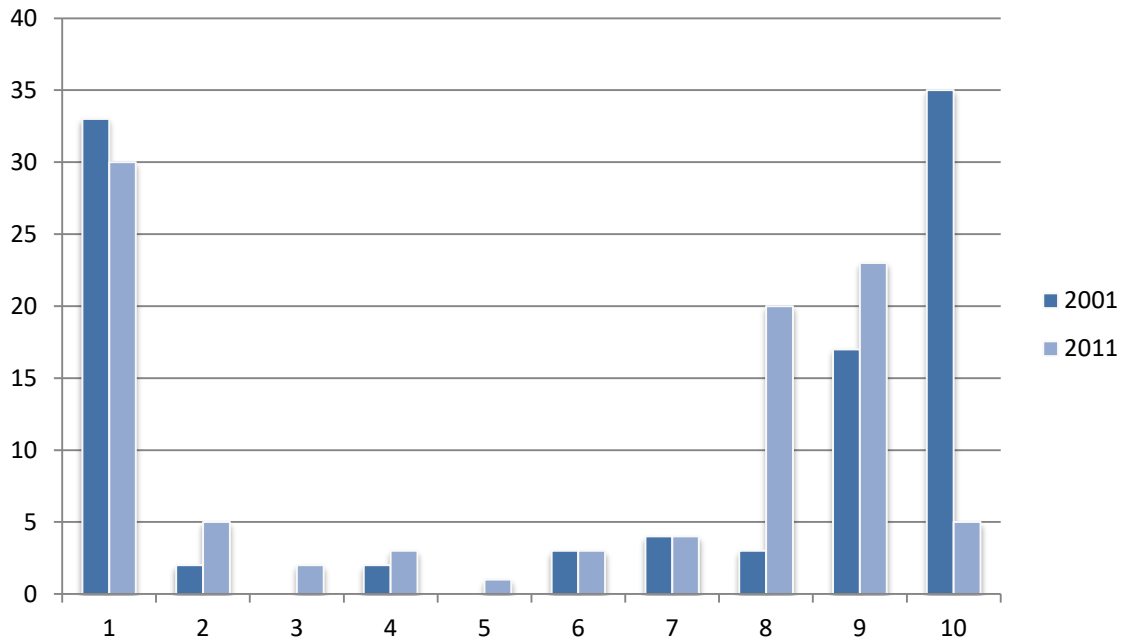
Note: 2001r=religion; 2001cb=community background

Figure 1: Percentage distribution of Housing Executive Estates in Belfast 2001 and 2011, by decile (Percentage Catholic)



Source: Census of Population, own calculations

Figure 2: Percentage distribution of Housing Executive estates in Belfast 2001 and 2011, by decile (percentage Protestant)



Source: Census of Population, own calculations

Appendix 1 shows *change by religion* between 2001 and 2011; the percentage Catholic (and Protestant) in 2001 was subtracted from the respective percentage in 2011 to get this figure. However, the results should be used with caution – they are estimates, not precise figures and they thus show general trends rather than measuring demographic changes to an accuracy of a few percentage points.

The overall picture is one of population decline but relatively small shifts in the religious makeup of the population. However, there are some estates where there appear to be relatively large changes in the religious composition of the population. These include Alliance, Annadale, Bridge End, Carrick Hill, Flush, Torrens, Sandy Row, and Springfield Road/Dunboyne.

Appendix 2 presents additional information on religion, national identity, and housing tenure in 2011. It is interesting that some of the estates noted above as experiencing demographic change between 2001 and 2011 also have relatively large shares of residents

with 'other' national identities. Amongst these are Annadale, Bridge End and Flush. However, there are other estates with relatively high 'other nationalities' proportions which have not seen such large shifts in their religious demography. The estates which have large 'other nationalities' shares are mainly in South and East Belfast and are associated with the types of area noted in Table 4.

4.0 Discussion

The demographic trends observed between 2001 and 2011 on Housing Executive estates in Belfast mirror those across the wider city and Northern Ireland. The most important *developments* have been:

- a decrease in residential segregation since 2001;
- the growth of immigrant communities (although this latter feature is particular to just a few estates where these populations are concentrated); and
- the rise of the private rental sector.

In other respects, there is considerable *continuity* with trends since 1971, with:

- the decline of social rented housing;
- the continuing importance of owner occupation; and
- decreasing household sizes.

The data on national identities adds an extra dimension to our understanding of the situation across Belfast in 2011. To some degree it is possible to argue that a focus on the two blocks of Catholics and Protestants overstates segregation. The existence of the three categories of British, Irish and Northern Irish permits a more nuanced view of segregation. There are very few estates which are purely British or Irish, and very few where British and Irish stand as the two main categories. Normally, the Northern Irish are a significant minority. Of course, this raises questions about the political and cultural significance of these categories and also of their durability and stability as markers of identity. Nevertheless, whether looking at religion alone, or adding national identity to the mix, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that by 2011 Housing Executive estates were less segregated than in 2001 and in other dimensions, such as national identity, were becoming more mixed.

References

Gregory, I., Cunningham, N., Lloyd, C., Shuttleworth, I., Ell, P., (2013), *Troubled Geographies: A Spatial History of Irish Religion and Society*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington: Indiana

Shuttleworth, I., Lloyd, C., (2007), *Mapping Segregation on Belfast NIHE Estates*, Northern Ireland Housing Executive, Belfast

Appendix 1: Estate profiles – religious change in Belfast Housing Executive estates, 2001-2011

Estate Name	Persons	Household	Catholic % change	Protestant % change
AGNES STREET	-35	-9	5.56	-4.49
AINSWORTH	-30	1	3.33	0.33
ALLIANCE	-56	-11	-17.60	27.20
ANNADALE	82	-2	13.28	-15.93
ARDCARN	188	65	-19.11	8.89
ARDMOULIN	-10	15	6.00	3.00
ARDOYNE	-450	-6	4.99	5.64
ASHMOUNT	-38	-24	7.68	-3.89
BALLYGOMARTIN	-35	0	4.71	0.89
BALLYMURPHY	-232	-7	-2.58	6.04
BALLYSILLAN	-181	-61	6.06	5.50
BEECHMOUNT	-17	-9	14.44	1.73
BLOOMFIELD	-8	-15	12.73	-1.95
BRIDGE END	31	22	18.87	52.83
BROWN SQUARE	-30	-2	2.90	8.75
CAMBRAI/WOODVALE	-26	-9	0.61	6.12
CARLISLE/NEW LODGE/HENRY ST	-321	-115	-3.41	5.25
CARRICK HILL	14	1	-13.90	19.85
CAVEHILL	-50	12	-3.14	6.94
CAVENDISH STREET	-65	-13	4.56	2.41
CHERRYVALLEY	-24	-14	9.35	17.16
CLARAWOOD	-46	-15	4.23	1.29
CLIFTONDENE	-18	-15	16.87	-7.85
CLIFTONVILLE	-106	-13	3.22	-0.21
CLUAIN MOR	-198	-34	1.40	4.07
CROMAC	-231	-122	2.04	4.86
DIVIS COMPLEX	120	123	4.99	7.43
DONEGALL PASS	54	5	10.28	-1.89
DONEGALL ROAD	-43	-58	9.99	-1.18
DOVER	-39	-8	8.11	7.26
EDENVALE	52	19	12.21	-5.40
FAIRHILL/WAVENEY/DOWNVIEW	12	28	14.12	-7.91
FALLS COURT/CLONARD	157	63	1.21	5.36
FINAGHY	-173	-169	10.26	-2.78
FLUSH	-49	-46	19.55	-7.00
GAINSBOROUGH/MOUNTCOLLYER	-10	-11	15.49	-2.47
GARNERVILLE	-2	-2	6.28	7.11
GLENCAIRN	-75	5	7.24	3.22
GRANSHA/DOWNFINE	-14	1	-0.69	4.99

Estate Name	Persons	Household	Catholic % change	Protestant % change
GRAYMOUNT/SHORE CRESCENT	-39	-13	6.56	2.48
GREATER ANDERSONSTOWN	-1325	-49	5.03	2.91
HAMILL ST/JOHN ST	-14	0	-2.91	11.94
HANNAHSTOWN	-11	0	2.48	1.52
HIGHFIELD	-60	-16	6.06	0.54
INVERARY	22	40	4.02	9.45
KNOCKNAGONEY	-118	-58	2.12	7.30
LAWNBROOK	31	13	1.52	3.88
LISBURN ROAD	96	-19	3.04	7.47
LORD ST/AVONIEL	60	27	11.02	-1.00
LOWER BEERSBRIDGE/THE MOUNT	112	38	8.64	-2.80
LOWER FALLS	-116	-7	1.36	7.47
LOWER LIGONIEL	-5	3	17.39	-1.46
LOWER OLDPARK	-205	-9	2.48	7.39
LOWER ORMEAU	-46	-23	-3.84	5.27
LOWER SHANKILL	-74	-23	6.49	1.77
LOWER SPRINGFIELD ROAD	-13	19	4.90	4.18
LOWER SUFFOLK	-46	-17	8.66	-1.57
MID SHANKILL	-4	-1	2.21	3.01
MOUNT VERNON ESTATE	-29	10	10.70	-7.34
MOYARD	-147	-4	-4.33	7.91
NEW BARNSELY	-48	23	9.71	5.24
NEWTOWNARDS ROAD	-185	-130	9.20	2.28
OLDPARK	-82	57	7.00	3.48
ORCHARD COURT	-9	0	3.95	12.16
ROCKMOUNT	-9	-2	0.10	3.75
RODEN STREET	-79	-14	10.19	3.88
SANDY ROW	218	107	17.28	-11.22
SHORT STRAND	-221	-38	11.71	2.77
SKEGONEILL	99	34	4.21	-0.04
SPRINGFIELD PARK	-59	2	-5.90	6.28
SPRINGFIELD ROAD/DUNBOYNE	-393	-177	51.77	-45.30
SPRINGHILL	-64	5	3.22	1.07
SPRINGMARTIN	37	10	7.20	-10.80
ST JAMES AREA	-3	9	-0.86	4.57
STRANMILLIS	14	-22	2.61	-3.51
SUMMERHILL	-19	-2	6.50	20.62
SUNNINGDALE	-271	-146	8.28	14.46
SYDENHAM	-70	-11	9.02	2.20
TAUGHMONAGH	-119	-59	8.18	1.55
TORRENS	188	57	45.86	-44.73
TUDOR	58	-26	3.52	8.06

Estate Name	Persons	Household	Catholic % change	Protestant % change
TURF LODGE	-465	-41	6.31	4.17
TWADDELL/WOODVALE	-92	-29	1.59	1.70
UPPER & LOWER DUNCAIRN	-64	-50	9.74	1.30
UPPER LIGONIEL	-76	-14	14.24	7.96
UPPER ORMEAU	61	21	8.50	-3.19
UPPER SHANKILL	-48	-16	0.93	4.77
WANDSWORTH	-47	-10	12.46	-5.17
WESTLAND	-26	-21	8.40	-0.39
WESTROCK	40	34	1.27	2.55
WHEATFIELD	-254	-112	4.92	-2.77
WHITE CITY	1	10	10.43	-10.51
WHITEROCK	-216	-41	-0.63	3.92
WHITEWELL/FAIRYKNOWE	-120	-35	8.09	2.53
WILLOWFIELD/UPPER CASTLEREAGH	5	0	8.11	10.49
WOODSTOCK/RAVENHILL	-42	-4	14.29	-6.29

Source: Census of Population, own calculations

Appendix 2: Housing Executive Estate Profiles in 2011

Estate Name	Households	Persons	Religion		National Identity				Tenure		
			Catholic %	Protestant %	British %	Irish %	NI %	Other %	Owner Occupied %	Social Rented %	Private Rented %
AGNES STREET	73	126	5.56	86.51	84.13	8.73	17.46	0.00	19.18	71.23	9.59
AINSWORTH	86	150	3.33	89.33	86.00	0.67	22.67	0.00	40.70	39.53	19.77
ALLIANCE	78	147	3.40	93.20	80.27	3.40	25.85	0.68	7.69	83.33	8.97
ANNADALE	188	389	28.28	39.07	45.76	19.54	22.62	23.91	31.38	48.94	18.09
ARDCARN	94	225	8.89	80.89	68.00	8.00	31.56	4.44	52.13	30.85	15.96
ARDMOULIN	93	200	96.00	4.00	8.50	63.50	28.00	4.00	44.09	45.16	8.60
ARDOYNE	988	2,359	91.99	5.64	14.12	61.98	26.37	0.81	33.60	47.87	17.81
ASHMOUNT	118	265	8.68	78.11	67.55	5.28	36.60	3.40	43.22	50.00	5.08
BALLYGOMARTIN	186	389	7.71	86.89	79.18	5.14	24.68	0.51	47.31	43.55	9.14
BALLYMURPHY	587	1,688	92.42	6.04	12.09	68.84	22.10	0.59	42.93	47.70	9.03
BALLYSILLAN	520	1,221	6.06	85.50	78.62	7.45	21.70	2.70	35.19	50.19	14.23
BEECHMOUNT	78	241	95.44	3.73	11.20	65.98	21.16	1.66	15.38	73.08	10.26
BLOOMFIELD	205	415	13.73	72.05	69.64	9.16	22.65	6.27	35.61	41.46	21.95
BRIDGE END	40	53	18.87	52.83	54.72	24.53	15.09	13.21	32.50	30.00	37.50
BROWN SQUARE	35	69	2.90	92.75	84.06	2.90	17.39	0.00	28.57	60.00	11.43
CAMBRAI/WOODVALE	218	436	1.61	93.12	88.07	1.38	21.10	0.23	19.72	63.30	16.97
CARLISLE/NEW LODGE/HENRY ST	681	1,617	91.59	6.25	15.89	57.70	28.01	2.35	32.75	55.36	11.31
CARRICK HILL	53	131	77.10	19.85	29.77	48.09	25.95	1.53	15.09	69.81	15.09
CAVEHILL	259	569	77.86	14.94	25.48	52.37	27.94	3.34	50.19	23.94	25.48
CAVENDISH STREET	125	264	93.56	3.41	6.44	70.08	21.97	4.92	48.00	23.20	28.00
CHERRYVALLEY	47	124	19.35	70.16	63.71	14.52	39.52	1.61	61.70	23.40	14.89
CLARAWOOD	233	449	4.23	81.29	78.62	4.45	22.72	0.89	53.22	34.76	10.73
CLIFTONDENE	90	213	55.87	36.15	35.21	34.74	37.09	1.41	61.11	23.33	15.56
CLIFTONVILLE	218	501	91.22	5.79	16.37	55.29	33.53	2.20	45.41	38.53	14.68

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CLUAIN MOR	155	393	94.40	4.07	6.87	74.05	20.87	0.25	54.84	41.29	3.87
CROMAC	372	904	90.04	6.86	15.60	59.18	26.55	2.77	34.68	53.49	11.83
DIVIS COMPLEX	351	754	88.99	7.43	14.72	65.78	20.16	1.06	20.51	71.23	7.98
DONEGALL PASS	398	783	13.28	70.11	68.58	10.60	22.09	9.07	15.58	68.59	15.58
DONEGALL ROAD	664	1,318	11.99	73.82	67.91	9.26	27.24	8.19	28.77	38.86	32.08
DOVER	132	259	8.11	87.26	82.24	7.34	17.37	1.16	21.97	62.88	15.15
EDENVALE	93	172	12.21	68.60	68.02	9.30	31.98	5.81	43.01	23.66	31.18
FAIRHILL/WAVENEY/DOWNVIEW	484	1,032	21.12	72.09	66.38	15.31	23.06	1.74	57.85	28.51	13.22
FALLS COURT/CLONARD	257	660	91.21	6.36	11.36	68.33	21.21	2.27	33.85	43.97	22.18
FINAGHY	666	1,501	15.26	73.22	71.69	9.73	27.45	4.46	59.91	27.63	11.71
FLUSH	155	335	29.55	60.00	50.75	16.72	31.64	10.45	55.48	25.16	18.71
GAINSBOROUGH/MOUNTCOLLYER	257	479	16.49	74.53	70.98	10.65	15.66	8.77	27.24	52.53	19.46
GARNERVILLE	148	357	7.28	80.11	80.67	4.48	21.01	3.36	18.92	73.65	6.76
GLENCAIRN	323	704	7.24	86.22	80.54	9.09	16.62	1.14	42.11	47.37	10.22
GRANSHA/DOWNFINE	58	143	92.31	6.99	6.99	56.64	37.76	2.80	65.52	18.97	10.34
GRAYMOUNT/ShORE CRESCENT	122	222	8.56	77.48	76.13	7.21	24.77	4.05	36.89	47.54	14.75
GREATER ANDERSONSTOWN	3,341	8,203	94.03	3.91	9.74	71.21	22.15	0.78	58.10	31.79	9.52
HAMILL ST/JOHN ST	73	134	82.09	11.94	11.94	56.72	29.10	6.72	46.58	26.03	27.40
HANNAHSTOWN	23	66	98.48	1.52	1.52	72.73	27.27	1.52	78.26	21.74	0.00
HIGHFIELD	453	1,040	6.06	86.54	83.65	4.81	17.98	1.44	29.14	61.15	9.27
INVERARY	163	323	4.02	85.45	77.40	4.02	23.84	2.48	34.36	53.99	11.66
KNOCKNAGONEY	202	449	5.12	85.30	75.50	6.01	27.84	4.01	50.50	34.65	13.37
LAWNBROOK	32	66	1.52	87.88	89.39	4.55	16.67	0.00	18.75	34.38	43.75
LISBURN ROAD	218	566	33.04	49.47	37.46	24.56	34.63	16.61	26.61	14.22	58.72
LORD ST/AVONIEL	428	971	18.02	69.00	66.74	8.55	20.49	10.40	24.07	50.93	24.07
LOWER BEERSBRIDGE/THE MOUNT	284	633	9.64	75.20	67.14	8.85	30.17	9.79	25.70	46.13	27.82

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LOWER FALLS	466	1,151	90.36	7.47	16.51	61.77	24.85	1.22	34.76	55.15	9.66
LOWER LIGONIEL	105	184	17.39	75.54	69.02	14.13	19.57	4.35	45.71	31.43	21.90
LOWER OLDPARK	399	744	10.48	82.39	74.46	10.22	22.18	1.75	11.28	79.20	9.27
LOWER ORMEAU	97	255	92.16	6.27	20.00	56.86	23.53	0.00	39.18	50.52	10.31
LOWER SHANKILL	224	462	6.49	83.77	83.12	5.41	18.18	1.08	14.29	76.79	8.93
LOWER SPRINGFIELD ROAD	125	328	93.90	5.18	12.20	67.38	20.43	0.30	36.00	56.80	7.20
LOWER SUFFOLK	225	532	14.66	71.43	69.55	7.14	25.38	6.39	38.67	47.11	13.33
MID SHANKILL	147	317	2.21	94.01	89.59	2.52	14.20	0.00	25.85	61.90	12.24
MOUNT VERNON ESTATE	169	376	11.70	77.66	75.80	6.38	26.06	3.99	27.22	58.58	14.20
MOYARD	154	424	84.67	9.91	24.53	56.13	23.82	0.24	32.47	59.74	5.84
NEW BARNSELY	277	763	93.71	5.24	11.40	66.45	24.25	0.52	36.10	55.96	7.58
NEWTOWNARDS ROAD	760	1,521	9.20	80.28	75.41	8.22	21.89	2.83	20.66	66.71	12.24
OLDPARK	662	1,625	92.00	5.48	14.89	62.09	24.80	1.29	31.72	53.17	14.65
ORCHARD COURT	26	76	3.95	88.16	65.79	3.95	30.26	0.00	11.54	69.23	19.23
ROCKMOUNT	69	174	93.10	5.75	15.52	67.24	17.24	1.72	59.42	13.04	26.09
RODEN STREET	210	541	95.19	3.88	14.42	60.63	29.39	0.92	25.71	66.67	7.62
SANDY ROW	369	722	18.28	70.78	63.16	13.43	22.58	9.70	23.31	42.55	33.88
SHORT STRAND	379	922	93.71	4.77	12.26	67.68	21.04	0.65	41.95	47.76	10.29
SKEGONEILL	159	393	26.21	54.96	55.98	16.79	27.23	7.89	38.36	40.25	20.75
SPRINGFIELD PARK	62	191	91.10	6.28	14.66	60.73	27.23	0.00	62.90	32.26	4.84
SPRINGFIELD ROAD/DUNBOYNE	80	181	60.77	33.70	36.46	48.62	23.76	3.31	68.75	15.00	15.00
SPRINGHILL	98	281	98.22	1.07	5.69	80.07	19.22	0.71	26.53	59.18	14.29
SPRINGMARTIN	47	125	7.20	79.20	80.00	4.00	18.40	5.60	21.28	70.21	8.51
ST JAMES AREA	147	350	93.14	4.57	11.14	70.86	20.57	2.29	59.86	23.81	16.33

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STRANMILLIS	74	186	51.61	28.49	27.96	45.70	32.80	6.99	31.08	6.76	60.81
SUMMERHILL	60	123	6.50	88.62	81.30	10.57	22.76	0.81	58.33	28.33	13.33
SUNNINGDALE	198	399	11.28	83.46	74.44	6.02	24.56	3.76	68.18	15.66	16.16
SYDENHAM	306	649	10.02	77.20	71.03	9.71	27.43	2.16	53.92	26.47	18.63
TAUGHMONAGH	452	1,061	10.18	79.55	76.72	7.16	24.13	4.71	32.30	54.87	12.83
TORRENS	133	370	84.86	10.27	19.19	64.32	18.38	3.51	18.05	68.42	12.78
TUDOR	209	512	3.52	89.06	82.62	6.45	20.51	0.39	31.58	46.41	18.66
TURF LODGE	665	1,775	94.31	4.17	11.38	64.96	25.46	1.18	53.38	39.70	6.62
TWADDELL/WOODVALE	304	618	2.59	87.70	87.86	4.21	16.99	0.32	47.04	36.18	16.45
UPPER & LOWER DUNCAIRN	313	647	9.74	81.30	77.74	8.35	18.24	4.02	9.58	76.36	14.06
UPPER LIGONIEL	344	859	88.24	8.96	26.89	47.61	28.17	1.51	25.29	63.37	10.47
UPPER ORMEAU	167	357	60.50	23.81	31.93	33.89	33.33	11.76	39.52	29.94	29.94
UPPER SHANKILL	219	466	1.93	90.77	89.48	4.29	16.52	0.86	17.81	66.67	15.53
WANDSWORTH	187	411	19.46	60.83	61.07	18.73	29.93	2.68	70.05	16.58	12.83
WESTLAND	91	193	11.40	74.61	69.95	9.33	27.46	5.70	25.27	62.64	12.09
WESTROCK	151	423	95.27	3.55	11.11	63.59	27.19	0.00	25.17	68.21	6.62
WHEATFIELD	338	711	13.92	76.23	73.56	8.02	21.80	4.64	31.07	47.63	21.30
WHITE CITY	138	298	14.43	73.49	69.80	8.72	27.18	5.70	21.74	64.49	12.32
WHITEROCK	256	664	93.37	3.92	9.34	67.77	23.95	0.45	50.78	37.89	10.55
WHITEWELL/FAIRYKNOWE	234	502	77.09	16.53	27.09	39.44	34.06	3.59	53.42	26.07	17.95
WILLOWFIELD/UPPER CASTLEREAGH	22	37	8.11	86.49	78.38	2.70	21.62	5.41	18.18	45.45	36.36
WOODSTOCK/RAVENHILL	636	1,338	16.29	67.71	65.92	8.15	24.66	11.29	32.70	41.04	25.79

Source: Census of Population, own calculation