

South Asian and Caribbean Ethnic Minority Housing Choice in Britain

Ceri Peach

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Summary. The paper deals with choice and constraint in ethnic minority housing in Britain. It argues that the interpretation of patterns has changed from one in which minorities were viewed as powerless victims of racist discriminatory constraint, to one in which they are seen as exercising a greater degree of autonomy. Indian and Pakistani housing tenure is shown to have great similarities in terms of owner-occupation but to diverge greatly in terms of house type and location. Bangladeshis and Caribbeans are shown to share similarities in terms of socioeconomic class and housing tenure patterns, but to differ strongly in terms of the reasons for their high concentrations in council housing and also in the locations in which they live and their trends in terms of segregation. Bangladeshis and Pakistanis are shown to have similar socioeconomic profiles, but to differ in tenure and house types. Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are shown to have similar family structures but to differ in house types. The housing patterns of Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Caribbeans in Britain owe more to ethnicity and culture than to race.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that, while there are structural constraints on the areas and types of residence open to minority populations in Britain, there are, nevertheless choices that the groups and individuals have been able to make. Minority groups, which arrived in Britain more or less contemporaneously in the 30 years after the Second World War and which faced similar problems of discrimination, have become significantly differentiated from each other in terms of their socioeconomic trajectories. Whereas their situation in the 1960s was often represented in blanket terms of white racism and discrimination, current interpretations, while recognising the continuing force

of discrimination, emphasise the cultural differentiation of strategies between the groups.

In brief, the Indian profile appears as white-collar, suburbanised, semi-detached and owner-occupying; the Pakistani profile as blue-collar, inner-city and owner-occupying in terraced housing; the Bangladeshi profile is blue-collar and council-housed in inner-city, terraced and flatted properties; the Caribbean population is also blue-collared with substantial representation in council housing, but far less segregated than the Bangladeshis and with a pronounced tendency to decentralisation. It is more gendered in its housing profile than the other groups. While Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi

families are predominantly nuclear, with two parents and children (OPCS, 1993, table 18) half of Caribbean households are single female-headed, often with dependent children (Peach and Byron, 1993). Ethnic groups are significantly segregated from each other, sometimes more than from the dominant white population. This is not to underestimate the power of discrimination and harassment (Virdee, 1997). However, discrimination is not the preserve of a single group. Housing patterns may be understood much more as the product of autonomous ethnic culture and choice, moderated by chain migration and differing rates of diffusion.

Demographic Background

The non-European ethnic minority population of Great Britain grew rapidly in the post-war era. In 1951 it was about 80 000; in 1961 it had reached 500 000; by 1971 it was 1.5 million; by 1981 it was 2.2 million and by 1991 it was just over 3 million (Peach, 1996a, p. 8). The bulk of primary immigration was completed between 1948 and 1974 and since that time, most growth has come about through natural increase. Over half of the Caribbean and Pakistani ethnic populations in Britain are UK born, with the Indian percentage not far behind. South Asians and Caribbeans together constitute the majority of the non-European ethnic minority population of Great Britain.

Although their primary immigration was largely contemporaneous and in response to similar conditions of economic demand, their socioeconomic paths have diverged substantially, not only between the Caribbeans and the South Asians, but within the Asian population, between Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, and within the Indian population between those coming directly from the sub-continent and those who arrived from east Africa. These divergent trajectories are partly due to differential human capital brought with the primary migrants; in other words, not all groups started from the same base level.

The 1991 census was the first to pose an ethnic question and it revealed a population of 3 millions, or 5.5 per cent of the total population. Indians were the largest group, 840 255; followed by the Caribbeans, 499 964; and the Pakistanis, 476 555. The Bangladeshis, 162 835, were fewer than the Africans (212 362) and the rather heterogeneous 'Black-Other' population (178 401) but more numerous than the Chinese (156 938). There were, in addition, two further catch-all categories of Other-Asians (197 534) and the despairingly labelled 'Other-Other' (290 206). The Irish, who were not counted as an ethnic group, were, nevertheless, probably the largest individual minority at about 1 million (see Peach, 1996a for an account of these groups).

Post-war Social and Political Change

To understand the pattern of Caribbean and South Asian ethnic minority housing in Britain in the 1990s, it is necessary first to understand the post-war social, political and economic history of migration to Britain. Essential to this understanding is the fact that the ethnic minority population that immigrated to Britain in the post-war period was acting as a replacement population filling the gaps caused by the occupational upward mobility of the white population and by the white population's geographical decentralisation from major cities. South Asians and Caribbeans shored up industries and sections of cities that were failing to recruit new members (Peach, 1966; 1968). However, while the Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Caribbean minority populations faced similar problems at the beginning of their settlement, they have become significantly differentiated from one another by the 1990s.

Sassen (1996) has argued that restructuring of economies, far from eliminating the need for unskilled menial employment in service industries, has increased such demand and that immigrant and minority population growth in Western economies is a response to this demand. In the British context, there is some evidence for this prop-

osition in the trough of low unemployment in the period 1945–73 between the peaks of the 1930s and 1980s (see Figure 1). However, in the restructuring that has taken place since 1973, many of the minority groups have been stranded first by the economic slump that followed the first oil crisis and then by the subsequent jobless economic recovery. Unemployment rates have always been higher for the minority groups than for the white population, but in the depressed conditions of the early 1990s, the levels were devastatingly high for young minority men. While the average unemployment for white persons 18–19 years old in the 1991 census was 17.1 per cent, for Indians and Bangladeshis it was 27, and for Caribbeans it was 37.9 and for Pakistanis 40 per cent (OPCS, 1993, table 10).

Structural Change in the British Space Economy

To place immigration in context, it is necessary to see its operation in relation to the interaction of four kinds of change in the British social, economic and political scene. Perhaps the most fundamental factor was the long-term transfer from manual to non-manual employment and from manufacturing to service employment (Price and Bain, 1988, p. 162). The manual share of the labour force decreased from 75 per cent in 1911 to 51 per cent in 1991 (Price and Bain, 1988, p. 163; OPCS, 1993, p. 811). The reduction of labour in the primary sector had been achieved in the 19th century, but the transfer from secondary to tertiary employment was a less spectacular process until the sharp deindustrialisation of the 1980s.

Secondly, the post-war nationalisation of substantial sectors of the service economy in health and transport subjected these sectors to political control of wages and investment. This had the ultimate effect of substituting cheap labour for capital injection and technical innovation and, by the 1950s, these sectors were short of and unattractive to labour. They needed new labour sources to prop them up. A simple example of this process is the delay in changing from double manning

of buses (driver and conductor) to single manning.

The third factor, connected to the first process, was counter-urbanisation. After 1945, the combination of green belt legislation preventing the physical expansion of cities and the progressive decline of central-city industrial employment led to the decrease of population in the largest metropolitan centres and the growth of smaller centres at the bottom of the urban hierarchy. This process was exacerbated by the policy of decanting skilled labour from inner-city areas to new towns leaving more severe shortages in the metropolitan areas (Deakin and Ungerson, 1977). It is important to note that counter-urbanisation was not 'white flight'. It pre-dated substantial non-European immigration.

The fourth change, superimposed on the two previous structural shifts were the cyclical shifts of boom and slumps. In the 1970s and 1980s, these secular movements had the effect of disguising the deeper structural changes. Post-war immigration was not only a replacement labour force moving to fill the gaps created by full employment and upward mobility of the native population. It was also strongly governed by cyclical fluctuations in demand for labour. Figure 1 illustrates the trend in unemployment between 1900 and 1994. It demonstrates that the period of mass migration coincided with an historically low period of unemployment between 1945 and 1973. In an era of 2 million unemployed, it is hard to believe that average total unemployment in 1955 was just over 200 000 (Peach, 1991, p. 10). Poor wages in the National Health Service, in British Rail and London Transport, as shown above, led these organisations to recruit workers directly in the Caribbean (Glass, 1960; Davison, 1962; Patterson, 1963; Western, 1992). The weakening of manufacturing industry meant that it became harder to recruit labour at the unsocial end of the process. Night-shift working in the textile industry, for example, was unpopular and the industry attempted to recruit cheap labour rather than technical innovation. Pakistani and Indian movement into

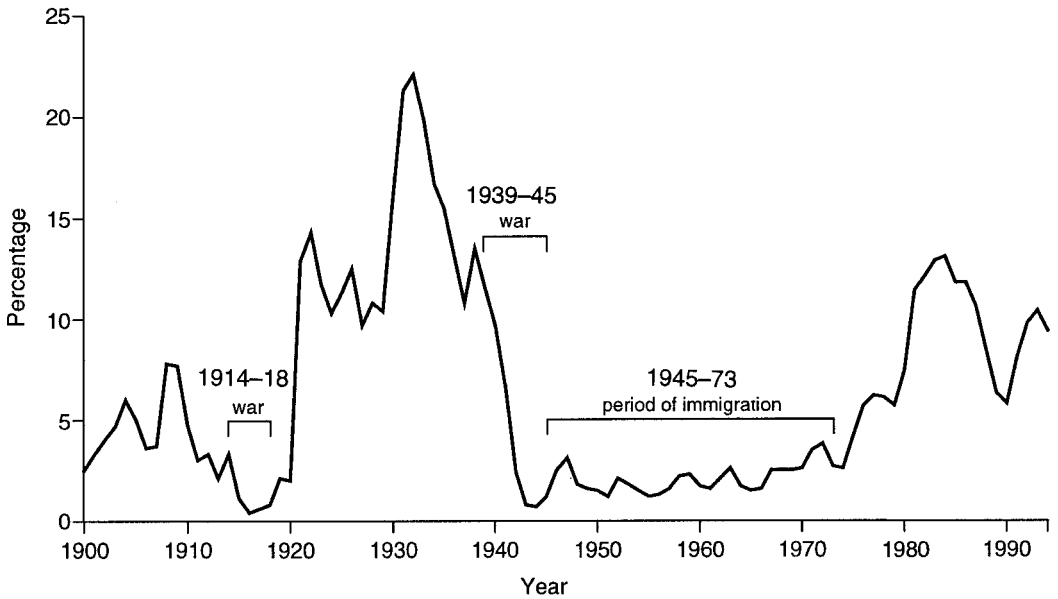


Figure 1. Percentage rate of unemployment, UK, 1900-94.

the Yorkshire and Lancashire textile towns was a response to this development (Robinson, 1986).

These 'replacement' jobs were located in large cities which were losing population, particularly from their central areas, as a result of the counter-urbanisation movements. Immigrant populations thus settled in the abandoned jobs in emptying conurbations. While immigrants in the early 1960s were attracted to Britain by the demand for labour, they tended to settle in regions of moderate rather than strongest demand. Where strong demand for labour was coupled with strong net inward movement of the white population, white movement acted as a blockage to ethnic minority ability to settle. On the other hand, where there was demand for labour but rather weak net in-migration from the white population, the openings for ethnic minority settlement were greatest (Peach, 1966). Like barium meal in an X-ray investigation, the minorities picked out the weak areas in stronger regional economies. Immigrants avoided the areas of highest unemployment (the North, Scotland, Northern

Ireland, Wales) but were largely prevented from gaining access to the strongest and most actively growing parts of the economy (the then Eastern, Southern and South Western standard regions) or to the fastest-growing parts of the urban system (Peach, 1966). On the other hand, where demand was very strong (as in the London and South East region) but net white migration was outwards (as was the case in the London part of that region), ethnic minority settlement was greatest.

Taking a synoptic view of Britain's economy from 1945 to 1995, the time can be broken into two main periods. The first is 1945-73. This period from the end of the Second World War to the Seven Days' War and the oil crisis, marked the post-war economic recovery. Economic growth was uneven and there were booms and slumps, but their magnitude seems slight in relation to the later period. It was the period of labour shortage, not only in the British economy but in western Europe generally. It was the period of large-scale immigration.

Net immigration from the Caribbean to

Britain began in 1948 and was over by 1974. It was highly and inversely correlated with unemployment. For the period 1955–74, the overall correlation coefficient between net West Indian immigration and annual average monthly unemployment was -0.65 (Peach, 1991, p. 11). Robinson (1986, p. 28) showed a similar but less strong relationship between unemployment in selected industries and net immigration from India and Pakistan for the period 1959–74. The flow from Bangladesh to Britain is more difficult to track because Bangladesh was part of Pakistan until 1972. No separate statistics were kept. However, it seems that Bangladeshis moved into Britain under rather different economic circumstances from the other main ethnic minority groups, increasing during the 1980s at a time of rising unemployment (Peach, 1990). It is perhaps for this reason that they are the most spatially constrained and occupy the tightest spatial niche of all ethnic minorities in Britain. In other words, they are the most spatially concentrated and segregated of all ethnic minority groups.

The oil crisis of 1973 marked the dramatic end of this period of prosperity. The quadrupling of the price of petroleum had a devastating effect on industrial production and employment. Inflation increased massively. Industrial action and strikes produced convulsions in the social and economic life of the country. Net immigration almost ceased. In 1979, the Thatcher government was elected which produced radical changes from the 'Butskellism' of the previous period. ('Butskellism' refers to the convergent and consensual social policies of the Labour and Conservative parties, as represented at this time by R. A. Butler and Hugh Gaitskell respectively). In particular, policies of protecting vulnerable industries and regions were dismantled. Manufacturing employment decreased dramatically and unemployment soared. To exemplify, employment in manufacturing industries fell from 7 176 000 in 1979, the year of the first Thatcher electoral victory, to 4 015 000 in 1996 a decrease of 44 per cent (*Annual Abstract of Statistics*, 1983, 1996). Deregulation of transport and

privatisation of public utilities such as water and electricity led to further, substantial shedding of labour. The economic tide which had drawn immigrants to Britain's inner cities ebbed and left many members of the minority communities stranded in a workless environment.

Metropolitan Concentration of Ethnic Minority Population

The result of these processes has been a high concentration of the ethnic minority population in the declining metropolitan centres of economically active regions (Jones, 1970; Lee, 1973; Ratcliffe, 1996). Note that declining metropolitan centres of *declining regions* have not been attractive: there are few ethnic minorities in Belfast or Newcastle on Tyne, for example. However, the four Metropolitan counties of Greater London, West Midlands (Birmingham), Greater Manchester and West Yorkshire (Bradford–Leeds) alone contained over two-thirds of the minority population of Great Britain in 1991, compared with just over one-fifth of the white population (see Table 1). It is also evident from the Office for National Statistics classification of local authorities (Wallace and Denham, 1996, pp. 47–56) that minority groups in 1991 were underrepresented in the most prosperous and rapidly growing localities, areas classified as 'concentrations of prosperity' (such as Bromley), 'established high status' (Guildford), 'satellite towns' (Colchester), 'growth corridors' (Newbury), 'metropolitan overspill' (Bexley), 'market towns' (Stratford on Avon). On the other hand, ethnic minority population growth in Greater London had been larger than white loss and sufficiently large between 1981 and 1991 to reverse the previous decrease in population (Rees and Phillips, 1996). In Birmingham, although there was substantial growth of the minority population between 1981 and 1991, it does not seem large enough to have reversed the decline.

Within this overall pattern of metropolitan concentration, there has nevertheless been considerable differentiation of the settlement

Table 1. Relative concentration of ethnic minority population in selected areas, Great Britain, 1991

Area	Total	White	Black Caribbean	Black African	Black Other	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese
Great Britain	54 888 844	51 873 794	499 964	212 362	178 401	840 255	476 555	162 835	156 938
Greater London	6 679 699	5 333 580	290 968	163 635	80 613	347 091	87 816	85 738	56 579
West Midlands Metropolitan County	2 551 671	2 178 149	72 183	4 116	15 716	141 359	88 268	18 074	6 107
Greater Manchester Metropolitan County	2 499 441	2 351 239	17 095	5 240	9 202	29 741	49 370	11 445	8 323
West Yorkshire Metropolitan County	2 013 693	1 849 562	14 795	2 554	6 552	34 837	80 540	5 978	3 852
Percentage ethnic group in named areas	25.04	22.58	79.01	82.66	62.83	65.82	64.21	74.45	47.70

Source: OPCS (1993, table 6).

Table 2. IDs and IS at enumeration district level for the Bangladeshi population against selected groups for cities containing 1000 or more Bangladeshis in 1991

City	White	Caribbean	African	Indian	Pakistani	Irish-born	ID	IS	<i>N</i>
London	77	74	71	78	77	74	74	75	85 298
Birmingham	88	66	74	70	50	79	78	79	12 181
Oldham	92	80	86	81	76	89	87	89	5 126
Luton	80	70	78	72	52	75	73	75	4 672
Bradford	93	83	87	86	73	89	88	89	3 654
Sandwell	87	84	86	84	79	90	85	86	2 219
Manchester	86	76	78	73	66	77	82	83	1 994
Leeds	94	71	83	84	67	69	92	93	1 718
Coventry	88	83	84	71	61	76	74	75	1 196
Sheffield	94	91	93	90	77	92	93	93	1 083
Leicester	93	80	84	83	74	90	88	89	1 042
Unweighted average	88	78	82	79	68	82	83	84	120 183

Source: Special tabulations prepared from ESRC 1991 census archive at Manchester University.

patterns of the main groups. The Caribbean, Indian and Bangladeshi populations are concentrated in London and Birmingham while the Pakistani population has a much stronger northern bias towards Birmingham, Manchester, Bradford and the Pennine textile towns generally (Owen, 1992; Rees and Phillips, 1996) (see Table 1).

Segregation in Britain

Segregation is generally measured in terms of the Index of Dissimilarity (ID) and its variant, the Index of Segregation (IS) (for a discussion, see Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Peach and Rossiter, 1996). The Index of Dissimilarity measures the percentage of a minority population which would have to shift its area of residence in order to replicate the distribution of the population as a whole. The Index of Segregation measures the percentage of the minority population which would have to shift its area of residence to replicate that of the rest of the population (i.e. the total population *minus* the target group). The index is scaled from 0 (no segregation) to 100 (total segregation). IS or IDs of less than 40 are regarded as low; those from 40 to 59 as moderately high; 60–69 as high; and 70 and above as very high. To give a sense of proportion, the very highest indi-

ces are characteristic of the African American population in the US, where the average level for 16 of the largest Metropolitan areas in 1990 was 78 (Denton, 1994).

Within and between the areas of settlement, there has been considerable spatial sorting. Bangladeshis, for example, are very highly concentrated into a single London Borough. Nearly one-quarter of the Bangladeshi ethnic population in Great Britain lived in Tower Hamlets in 1991 (Eade *et al.*, 1996). The Bangladeshis also manifest very high levels of segregation, not only from the white population but from all other ethnic minority groups as well. Table 2 shows that they had an extraordinarily high rate of 88 with whites, an IS of 84, and an ID of 79 with Indians and even their lowest rate, with the Pakistanis—with whom they shared nationality until 1971 (and with whom they share their religion)—was 68. This is significant in evaluating whether segregation is a product of external discriminatory behaviour of the dominant society or of internal cultural pressures for the maintenance of ethnic and religious identity.

Bangladeshis in Britain have similar IDs to those experienced by African Americans in the US. Table 2 gives Indices of Dissimilarity and Segregation of the Bangladeshi population at enumeration district level in

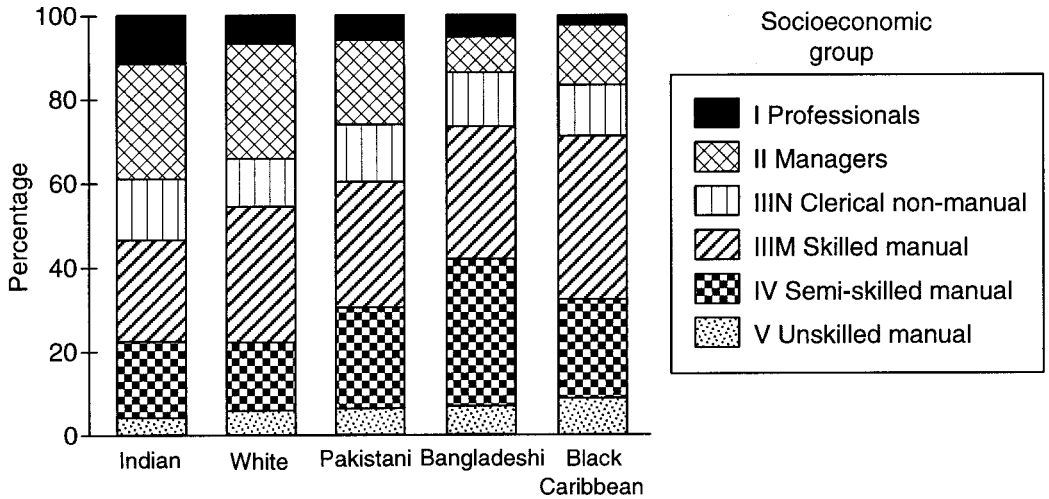


Figure 2. Ethnic group by socioeconomic group for men aged 16 years and over, Great Britain, 1991.

cities with over 1000 Bangladeshis in the 1991 census, together with ID comparisons with other selected ethnic groups. The mean unweighted Index of Segregation (IS) for the Bangladeshi ethnic population in the 11 British cities in which they numbered 1000 or more in 1991 was 84 (see Table 2). Pakistanis, although manifesting high levels of segregation from nearly all groups in 20 urban areas in which they numbered 1000 or more, were nevertheless some 11 points lower on their unweighted IS.

The Indian unweighted average IS was 58 (see Table 3)—some 26 points lower than that of the Bangladeshis. Their relatively modest level of segregation is a manifestation of the significantly different economic trajectory which has progressively differentiated them from the Bangladeshis and Pakistanis.

The Indian socioeconomic profile is more professional and white-collar than that of the white population (see Figure 2). In 1991, 11.4 per cent of Indian men aged 16 and over are in the top professional class, compared with 6.8 per cent of white men and they have a higher proportion in white-collar occupa-

tions and a lower proportion in manual work than whites (Peach, 1996b, p. 16). This economic advantage is reinforced by their geographical distribution in London which is overwhelmingly (79 per cent) Outer rather than Inner London (OPCS, 1993, table 6). It is also reflected in their housing, 37 per cent of which is detached or semi-detached. This is significantly better than the position of other minority populations.

What is clear from an examination of the indices of dissimilarity of ethnic minority populations within cities is that there is a considerable amount of spatial sorting. Table 4 gives the IDs of the ethnic minority populations for Greater London. This demonstrates that both the Caribbean and Bangladeshi populations, for example, are more segregated from the Indian than from the white population. Bangladeshis are as segregated from the Pakistani population (with whom they once shared a nationality) as from the whites.

The Caribbean population, although more blue-collar and manual than the Indian population, has similarly low levels of segregation. Although its distribution is inner-city,

Table 3. IDs and IS at enumeration district level for the Indian population against selected groups for cities containing 1000 or more Indians in 1991

City	White	Caribbean	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Irish-born	ID	IS	N
Greater London	56	62	0	48	78	52	51	54	345 901
Leicester	65	54	0	51	83	62	48	62	60 289
Birmingham	68	49	0	54	70	59	56	60	49 798
Wolverhampton	58	48	0	53	88	57	49	56	27 714
Sandwell	60	43	0	60	84	59	53	57	22 866
Coventry	53	52	0	55	71	53	48	51	21 549
Slough	46	47	0	42	83	44	36	41	12 553
Kirklees	75	78	0	58	89	75	70	72	11 876
Bradford	69	62	0	53	86	67	61	62	11 704
Blackburn	80	86	0	38	71	74	68	74	10 458
Leeds	63	60	0	61	84	56	59	60	7 956
Luton	36	36	0	53	72	36	30	31	7 192
Manchester	61	59	0	46	73	53	56	57	4 348
Bristol	60	55	0	60	80	59	59	59	2 772
Oldham	72	76	0	65	81	70	69	69	1 550
Oxford	44	53	0	56	69	44	42	42	1 537
Sheffield	70	75	0	78	90	67	68	69	1 383
Liverpool	74	76	0	70	87	70	73	73	1 237
Unweighted average	62	60	0	56	80	59	55	58	602 683

Table 4. Greater London IDs, by ethnicity, 1991, (ward level above the diagonal, enumeration district level below it)

Ethnic group	White	Caribbean	African	Other Black	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Other Asian	Other-Other	Irish-born	Non-white	ID	IS	N
White	0	49	46	41	51	54	65	30	34	29	26	35	8	35	5 050 537
Black Caribbean	54	0	21	15	56	51	62	42	43	35	38	29	43	45	289 712
Black African	56	35	0	19	56	51	57	34	39	33	36	27	40	41	161 660
Other Black	52	32	39	0	55	51	60	35	39	29	31	25	35	36	80 368
Indian	56	62	64	65	0	33	67	49	38	45	45	36	46	49	345 901
Pakistani	66	62	64	65	48	0	65	51	41	46	47	36	48	49	87 452
Bangladeshi	77	74	71	74	78	77	0	59	60	59	61	54	62	63	85 298
Chinese	52	60	57	60	64	70	77	0	27	23	24	27	26	26	55 499
Other Asian	47	54	54	55	50	58	76	53	0	22	27	23	28	29	111 701
Other-Other	39	46	47	46	54	61	74	52	43	0	17	19	22	23	120 118
Irish-born	31	45	47	45	52	60	74	51	44	34	0	22	21	22	253 211
Non-white	40	33	36	37	40	48	67	49	36	31	29	0	27	35	1 590 920
Index of Dissimilarity	9	47	49	46	51	60	74	49	42	34	26	30			
Index of Segregation	40	49	50	47	54	61	75	50	43	34	27	40			

Source: Calculated from Local Base statistics, ESRC 1991 census holding, University of Manchester Computer Centre.

it shows continuous reductions in the level of segregation in London between 1961 and 1991 and shows strong centrifugal movement towards the suburbs (Peach, 1996a).

The chain migration from the Caribbean has produced a sorting and sifting of population by island, so that Jamaicans dominate the distribution south of the Thames, with a small outlier north of the river in Brent (see Figure 3), while it is possible to pick out an archipelago of Windward and Leeward Island settlements from west to east to the north of the river. The census does not give detailed information on individual islands, but survey work has shown clustering of, for example, Dominicans around Paddington and people from Montserrat around Finsbury Park (Peach, 1984; Philpott, 1977). Such local clusters from particular islands are common (Byron, 1994). Figure 3 is a map of London on which circles are proportional in size to the Jamaican-born population. Positive location quotients of 1.25 and above for the Jamaican-born population (i.e. areas where the Jamaican percentage of the Caribbean population in that area is 25 per cent higher than its share of the Caribbean population in London as a whole) are represented in solid circles. (Jamaicans form half of the Caribbean-born population in London). The Jamaican concentration south of the river from Wandsworth in the west, through Lambeth, Southwark and Lewisham in the east, with a southward extension from Lambeth into Croydon is clear. The origin of this south-of-the-river concentration seems to date to 1948 when many of the arrivals on the first Caribbean immigrant ship to arrive at Tilbury, the *Empire Windrush*, were lodged in the Clapham Common air-raid shelters.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that immigrants are not confined to a single immigrant area within cities. Even if they are economically constrained to certain sectors of the housing market, they establish—largely through the inertia of chain migration—particular localities in which they become the characteristic symbolic group. The importance of this point is that it illus-

trates the operation of choice within the constraints to which the minorities are subject.

Part of the constraint on location facing many of the minority population relates to the spatial concentration of certain kinds of housing tenure. Owner-occupation, council housing and private rental housing tend to have specific locations in the urban framework (Hamnett, 1991). Thus concentration in the 1950s and 1960s of the immigrant population in private rental, and failure to gain access to council housing, had particularly constraining effects on the settlement patterns. In 1961, just under 70 per cent of Caribbean households and just over 40 per cent of Indian and Pakistani households lived in private rental accommodation. Just over 2 per cent of Caribbean and 8 per cent of Indian and Pakistani-headed households lived in council accommodation and just over one-quarter of households with a Caribbean-born and just under half of Indian and Pakistan-born heads lived in owner-occupied property (General Register Office, 1965, table B.3).

The 1991 census revealed a substantial change from the 1961 picture, but with continuing substantial differences in tenure between the groups. Just over 80 per cent of Indian households and just under 80 per cent of Pakistani households were owner-occupied, compared with 63 per cent of all households (see Figure 4). They showed little settlement in social housing (local authority or housing association). On the other hand, the Caribbean and Bangladeshi-headed households showed double the national dependence on social housing and below average (but nevertheless substantial) owner-occupation.

Despite the fact that the Indians and Pakistanis manifest similar tenure patterns, they are significantly differentiated in terms of house types and location. The Indians have a higher proportion in detached and semi-detached houses than the Pakistanis. The latter have the highest concentration of any group in terraced housing (see Figure 5) which is often in 19th-century inner cities. This owner-occupation is in relatively cheap

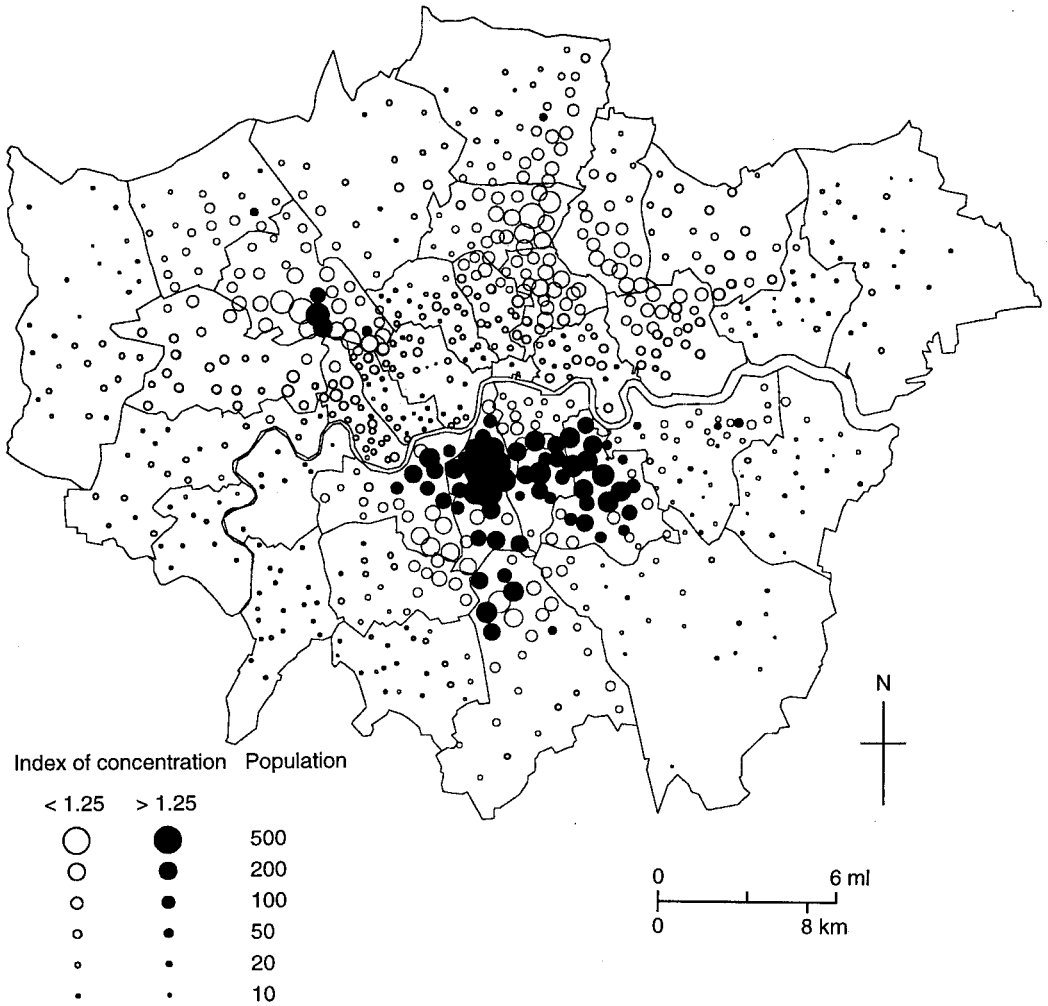


Figure 3. Distribution and concentration of Jamaican-born population, Greater London wards, 1991. (Source: 1991 Local Base Statistics).

houses. Dahya (1974, p. 84) reported that in 1949/1950 small terraced houses in the Pakistani area of settlement in Bradford cost only £150 and larger ones £250. Inner-city terraced houses were, however, relatively expensive to maintain and did not produce such large capital gains as newer, more desirable properties. The relatively high Pakistani concentration in Greater Manchester, Birmingham

and the West Yorkshire Metropolitan County (46.1 per cent) compared with 25 per cent of Indians in these same areas, in part explains the differences in house types. However, work by Howes and Mullins, controlling for the effect of household type and locality, show that the concentration in terraced housing is greater than the locality and household type effect can explain. They ar-

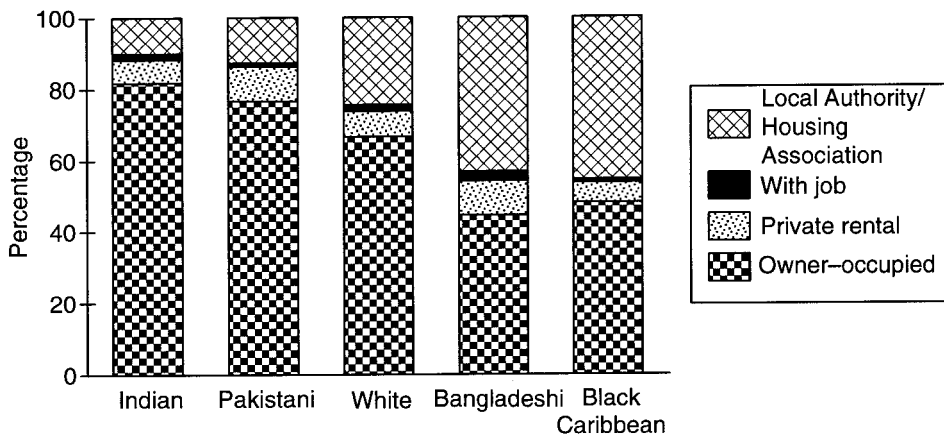


Figure 4. Ethnic groups by housing tenure, Great Britain, 1991.

gued that there would appear to be a consistent pattern of Pakistani preference for this type of house (Howes and Mullins, 1997, pp. 213–214).

The Indians, on the other hand, are not only more concentrated in more modern industrial areas (such as Outer London, Leicester and the East Midlands), but are also found in more modern, suburban housing. Although Indians had made substantial advances into the more desirable house types and localities, Phillips (1997, p. 187) indicates that the picture was not uniformly favourable to them. They still experienced difficulty in purchasing in the most favoured localities and many Indians still lived in poor inner-city conditions. However, it is clear that the similarity between Indians and Pakistanis in terms of housing tenure disappears in terms of housing type and location.

Choice and Constraint

One of the continuing debates in the literature on ethnic minority housing in Britain has been choice versus constraint. Research from the 1950s to the 1980s showed high levels of segregation among the ethnic minority populations, although not on such a high level as that of African Americans in the US. Views

were divided between those who saw such distributions as the result of racist discrimination (Rex and Moore, 1967; Brown, 1981; Jones and McEvoy, 1978; Smith, 1989) and those who saw choice as playing a significant role (Dahya, 1974; Flett, 1977, 1979; Peach, 1979; Robinson, 1986). On the whole, the constraint school discounted choice while the choice school recognised constraint, seeing choice as operating within it. A third school emerged in the late 1980s (Sarre *et al.*, 1989) which used Giddens' structuration theory to attempt a synthesis of these positions. Essentially, they argued that minority groups often internalised the external constraints on their desired actions, so that they chose only what they knew would not be opposed by white racist discrimination. Although this added a new dimension to the discussion, theirs was essentially a constraint argument. It nevertheless added important detail to evidence of gatekeeper control of access to housing.

One of the earliest and most influential of the constraint school was John Rex (Rex and Moore, 1967) who argued from a study of Sparkbrook, Birmingham, that there was a hierarchy of housing classes in Britain in which the minority population (in this case the Pakistanis) occupied the lowest rung. Rex and Moore defined five housing classes

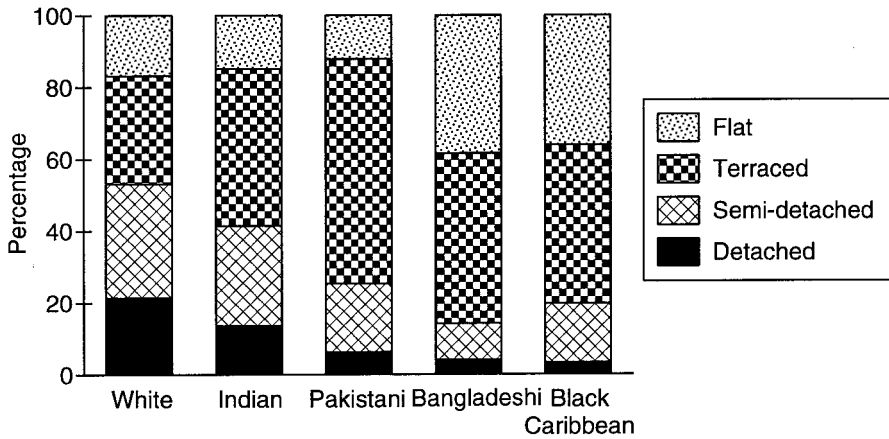


Figure 5. Ethnic groups by house type, Great Britain, 1991.

in terms of tenure. The highest tenure was outright owner-occupation, followed by owner-occupation with a mortgage, followed by council house tenants, lodging house proprietors and finally tenants of lodging houses (Rex and Moore, 1967, p. 36). Rex and Moore argued that ethnic minorities, excluded from the higher tenures, were forced into the lowest category. The overrepresentation of immigrant households in multi-occupied private rental accommodation was certainly true in the 1960s. In 1961, over 40 per cent of Indian and Pakistani-headed households and nearly 70 per cent of Caribbean-headed households were in this sector (General Register Office, 1965, table B.3).

However, shortly afterwards, Rex and Moore's assessment was challenged. Dahya (1974), working partly in the same location, argued that Pakistani concentration in lodging houses was a rational *choice*. Dahya argued that Pakistani immigrants in the 1960s were single men, often from the same village and family, moving in chain migration, speaking little English, often employed as a gang, sharing the same religion and dietary requirements. Their aim in coming to Britain was not to stay but to earn money to send home as remittances. Therefore, minimising

their living expenses, sharing with kinsmen, observing their religion and *halal* food requirements was rational. It was not that discrimination and racism were not present, but that it had little direct effect. Cheap, inner-city housing fitted their requirements well and Dahya was able to demonstrate that within the south Asian groups, considerable sifting of residential areas took place by religion, caste and area of origin. Dahya therefore argued that choice was dominant in explaining south Asian housing patterns and that the values of the ethnic minority population were not necessarily the same as those of the local population.

It is nevertheless clear that severe and continuing discrimination took place in the allocation of council housing (Burney, 1967; Cullingworth Committee, 1969; Parker and Dugmore, 1977/78; Phillips, 1986; CRE, 1988). Since this tenure represented between one-quarter and one-third of the housing stock between 1961 and 1981, exclusion of minority populations during the period before 1970 severely curtailed their potential distribution. In 1961, for example, only 2 per cent of Caribbean households in the conurbations occupied council housing (Peach and Shah, 1980). Access to council housing was restricted first by residential requirements

of living in the local authority area for a given period of time (generally five years). Once this residential barrier had been overcome and minority populations had begun to grapple with the bureaucracy, discrimination operated on the type of housing that was made available (Henderson and Karn, 1984). Generally speaking, the most desirable category was semi-detached housing in suburban locations; the least desirable was high-rise flats in inner-city areas. Minorities showed a disproportionate concentration in the latter category (Mullings, 1991; Peach and Byron, 1993, 1994).

Council housing was never a major form of tenure for Indians and Pakistanis. The constraint school interpreted this absence as due to discrimination. Indeed Sarre *et al.* (1989, p. 241) regard council housing as the rational choice for working-class Asians, so that they regard their proclivity for house purchase as a forced rather than a chosen option. Although non-availability of information in Asian languages in the 1960s and 1970s was clearly inhibiting, it seems clear that property ownership was seen by many Asians as a goal rather than a forced alternative to council housing. The fourth Policy Studies Institute (PSI) survey (Modood *et al.*, 1997, p. 205) shows, for example, that owner-occupation was the preferred tenure category of 90 per cent of Caribbean households, 96 per cent of Indians, 91 per cent of Pakistanis and 66 per cent of Bangladeshis. Among those ethnic households living in council housing, owner-occupation was the overwhelming aspiration for all but the Bangladeshis; of Caribbean council tenants, owner-occupation was the desired tenure of 85 per cent; for Pakistanis it was 82 per cent; for Indians 66 per cent; and for Bangladeshis 40 per cent.

Once the residential requirements had been overcome by the 1970s, however, council housing became almost the modal tenure category for the Caribbean population. The proportion of Caribbeans in council housing increased from 2 per cent in 1961 to 21 per cent in 1971 (Peach and Byron, 1993) and 34 per cent in 1991 (with a further 8 per cent in

housing association property) (OPCS, 1993, table 11). For Indians and Pakistanis, however, only one-tenth of households were housed in this tenure. Although Indians and Pakistanis were greatly underrepresented in council housing, Bangladeshis showed a notable concentration in this sector. In 1991, 43 per cent lived in council housing or housing association property (Eade *et al.*, 1996, p. 157).

By 1981, sharp contrasts had appeared in the tenure classes of the different ethnic minority populations. Indians and Pakistanis had become overwhelmingly owner-occupiers, while the Caribbean and Bangladeshis populations showed a high concentration in social housing. The 'choice' and 'constraint' schools reacted to these changes in different ways. In Rex and Moore's original housing class terms, Indians and Pakistanis would have now occupied the top rung of the hierarchy. This was impossible to reconcile with the discrimination arguments. Accordingly, the hierarchy was reviewed. Rex and Tomlinson (1979, p. 132) argued that housing classes needed to take into account location as well as tenure. They argued that the top housing class was not simply owner-occupation, but owner-occupation of a house in a suburban or desirable area, while owner-occupation of a house in an undesirable area was relegated to a rank below that of a tenant of a council house on an undesirable estate and below that of a homeless person eligible to be rehoused. In the reformulated scheme, Indians and Pakistanis remained at the bottom of the hierarchy despite being overwhelmingly located in owner-occupied homes.

There is truth in Rex and Tomlinson's argument that ownership of 19th and early 20th-century inner-city terraced property carried with it substantial maintenance costs and also in the argument advanced by other observers that capital gains on such houses were less than those accumulated by more modern and well located properties. On the other hand, such homes were relatively cheap to buy, removed the need to pay rent and achieved capital gains not available to coun-

cil house renters until the large-scale propagation of council house sales in the 1980s.

The degree of freedom in the selection of housing is clearly constrained by economic circumstances. We would not expect poor people to live in rich neighbourhoods. Regrettably, the British census includes no questions on income. It does, however, classify socioeconomic groups. As has been demonstrated in Figure 2, while Indian men aged 16 and over are overrepresented (relative to the total population) in the white-collar socioeconomic classes (I Professional; II Managerial; and III Non-manual clerical, etc.) the opposite is the case for the Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Caribbeans. If we control for socioeconomic group, by applying the national housing class tenure composition of each socioeconomic group to the class composition of each ethnic group, it can be shown that the resulting patterns differ, in some cases considerably, from the expectations generated by their class compositions. The Caribbean population is far more concentrated into council housing than its class structure would suggest (Peach and Byron, 1993) and the Indian and Pakistani populations are also more concentrated in owner-occupation than expected (Modood *et al.*, 1997, pp. 216–217).

Work by Dorling (1997, p. 155) shows that, after controlling for socioeconomic class and geography (minorities being more concentrated in metropolitan areas than the populations as a whole) the Caribbean population was 8 per cent more represented in council housing in 1991 than the regression predicted, while the Bangladeshi population was slightly (1.8 per cent) underrepresented in that tenure. The big deviations from the regression prediction, however, were for the Indians and Pakistanis. They were respectively 17 and 20 per cent overrepresented in owner-occupation and 13 and 18 per cent underrepresented in council housing. In effect, the Caribbean and Bangladeshi tenure profiles were reasonably close to their class and geographical predictions, while Indians and Pakistanis were much more owner-occupied and much less socially housed than their

class and geographical distributions would suggest. Given the recent findings of the fourth PSI survey of race relations (Lakey, 1997, p. 205) that owner-occupation was the preferred category of 95 per cent of Indian and 91 per cent of Pakistani households, it would seem perverse to regard the overrepresentation of Indians and Pakistanis in owner-occupation as the result of failure to gain access to the social housing sector. Ethnic choice seems to be clearly present.

Similarly, if indirect standardisation is carried out to predict how much segregation would occur between groups if socioeconomic class were the only factor controlling the distribution of ethnic groups, it can be seen that socioeconomic class accounts for very little of the observed segregation. Indirect standardisation works in the following way:

- (1) The distribution of socioeconomic classes across wards in London is taken as given.
- (2) The percentage that economically active men of each ethnicity form of a given socioeconomic class is then applied to the total numbers of men in the appropriate class in each London ward. To exemplify, if Indian men formed 10 per cent of men in Class I (the Professionals) in London as a whole, they would be expected to form 10 per cent of the total number of Class I men living in each ward and so on for their proportion of each class.
- (3) The 'expected' number of men of each ethnicity in each ward in London is then computed by adding together the expected number for each ethnicity in each class.
- (4) The index of dissimilarity between the 'expected' distribution of each ethnic group in relation to each other across all wards is then computed. The resulting figures represent the degree of segregation between men of these groups, *if socioeconomic class were the only determinant of their distribution.*

Table 5. Comparison of observed segregation (above diagonal) and expected segregation on the basis of social class (below diagonal) for ethnic groups, Greater London, 1991

Ethnic group	White	Caribbean	African	Other Black	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Other Asian	Other-Other	Irish-born	ID	IS	N
White	0	50	50	44	52	56	64	38	40	34	28	7	34	233 247
Caribbean	4	0	33	31	55	53	65	53	47	42	41	44	46	11 704
African	3	2	0	37	61	61	65	51	48	42	43	46	46	4 060
Other Black	2	3	2	0	58	57	65	52	47	40	39	40	41	1 952
Indian	1	4	2	2	0	43	70	52	43	50	44	47	50	13 635
Pakistani	1	3	2	1	1	0	70	58	48	52	49	51	52	2 050
Bangladeshi	6	2	3	4	5	5	0	66	63	62	62	62	62	1 088
Chinese	2	6	5	4	3	3	8	0	40	38	37	36	37	2 188
Other Asian	0	4	3	2	1	1	6	2	0	34	34	35	36	4 457
Dissimilarity	0	4	2	2	1	1	5	3	1	2	3			
Segregation	2	4	2	2	1	1	5	3	1	2	3			

Source: This table is based on Table 93 of the Local Base Statistics, which gives social class and ethnic group for residents aged 16 and over, employees and employed. The figures for residential segregation differ slightly from those based on total population counts.

Table 6. P* indices for Greater London at ED level, 1991

Ethnic group	White	Caribbean	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	N	Percentage of London total population
White	83.5	3.6	4.0	1.0	0.9	5 303 748	79.40
Caribbean	66.5	11.6	5.6	1.8	1.5	289 712	4.34
African	66.2	9.2	5.3	1.7	1.9	161 660	2.45
Indian	60.7	4.7	20.5	3.6	1.2	345 901	5.18
Pakistani	59.9	6.1	14.2	7.2	2.2	87 452	1.31
Bangladeshi	54.4	5.0	4.8	2.2	23.7	85 298	1.28

Table 5 shows in the lower section, below the diagonal, the 'expected' level of segregation while the figures above the diagonal show the observed level. The exercise is similar to that carried out by Taeuber and Taeuber (1964) for measuring the economic contribution to African American segregation in Chicago and with broadly similar results.

Economic factors explain little of minority segregation. It can be seen, for example, for both the Indians and Pakistanis, that the class explanation of their segregation from the rest of the population is only 2 per cent. However, the level of explanation is more significant for both the Caribbean and Bangladeshi populations. The 'expected' Caribbean Index of Segregation in London in 1991 was 4 while the observed level was 46. Thus, about 9 per cent of the observed level of Caribbean segregation is directly attributable to socioeconomic class, while for the Bangladeshis it is 8 per cent.

Social cohesion or ethnic solidarity is rather difficult to quantify. Essentially, however, the argument is that ethnic groups are more likely to be found living in the company of their co-ethnics than would occur by random processes. This proclivity for living in the same neighbourhoods as co-ethnics can be assessed from Lieberman's P* index (Lieberman, 1981; Robinson, 1986; Peach and Rossiter, 1996) which measures the probability of the next person one meets in a street being of that ethnic group (see Table 6).

The P* index measures the probability across each row of the table, of a person of the row-labelled group living in the same

area or meeting a person of the group designated in the column heading. The probabilities are asymmetric, however. In Table 6, the white probability of meeting Caribbeans is 3.6 per cent, while the Caribbean probability of meeting whites is 66.5 per cent. To assess the extent to which any group overselects its own co-ethnics, compare the value with the percentage that the group forms of the London population in the final column. For example, the probability of a Caribbean meeting another Caribbean is 11.6 per cent, which is nearly three times the random probability from the Caribbean percentage of the London population. For the Indians, the chance is 4 times greater; for the Pakistanis 5.5 times greater and for the Bangladeshis, 18.5 times greater. These results are confirmed by survey research in the fourth Policy Studies Institute survey of ethnic minorities (Modood *et al.*, 1997) which shows that 87 per cent of Pakistanis, 78 per cent of Bangladeshis, 71 per cent of Indians and 62 per cent of Caribbeans considered their neighbourhoods to rank well for the possibility of meeting people of their own ethnic group (Lakey, 1997, p. 192).

The fourth PSI survey also shows a high degree of broad satisfaction of the surveyed groups with the area in which they lived. For whites the figure was 88 per cent, for Caribbeans 77 per cent, for Indians 89 per cent, for Pakistanis 85 per cent and for Bangladeshis 76 per cent. However, when disaggregated into 'very satisfied' and 'fairly satisfied', 49 per cent of whites, 40 per cent of Indians, 28 per cent of Pakistanis, 27 per cent of Bangladeshis and 26 per cent of Caribbeans were 'very satisfied' (Lakey,

1997, p. 195). Running a regression model on the results to standardise for social and economic variables, the survey concluded that

given similar areas and housing and similar age profiles, all ethnic minority groups would be significantly less likely than whites to express dissatisfaction with their local areas, with Bangladeshis the least likely of all to do so (Lahey, 1997, pp. 186–197).

Cultural Traditions, Economic Expectations and Housing Possibilities

Because ethnicity is socially constructed, rather than a primordial given, it tends to be mistrusted when invoked as an explanatory variable (Jackson and Penrose, 1993; Ratcliffe, 1997). There is a suspicion that essentialist arguments are being proposed to explain behavioural differences. However, it is clear that the social and economic circumstances of different ethnic groups and therefore their outcomes in housing choices are not comprehensible without reference to cultural traditions. This is particularly true of marriage and family patterns. Ethnic cultural values strongly influence age of marriage, family size, household structure and female independence, for example. Afro-Caribbean society in the West Indies is strongly marked by matrifocal households, co-habitation and visiting relationships (Lowenthal, 1972; Thomas-Hope, 1992, p. 4). Marriage is often a middle-aged, middle-class institution adopted after the rearing of a family. In Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi society, on the other hand, patrifocal, nuclear families with arranged marriages are the norm (Ballard, 1990, pp. 241–242; Modood *et al.*, 1997, p. 318); multi-family households are not uncommon (9 per cent of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi-headed households, as against 1 per cent of Caribbeans and whites; OPCS, 1993, table 18); lone parents with dependent children (5 per cent of Indian, 9 per cent of Pakistani and 11 per cent of Bangladeshi, as against 20 per cent of

Caribbeans; OPCS, 1993, table 18) and co-habitation (1 per cent of Indians and Pakistanis and less than 1 per cent of Bangladeshis, as against 5 per cent of whites and 7 per cent of Whites) are unusual. Asian households tend to be large and Caribbean households to be small (Peach, 1996a). The social and cultural traditions of the sending societies persist in the British context and have a profound effect of differentiating their housing needs and housing outcomes from those of the population as a whole.

The tradition of female independence is strongly developed in Afro-Caribbean society and the Caribbean population in Britain has the highest female participation rate in the formal economy of any ethnic group (67 per cent; Peach, 1996a, p. 34). While the proportion of Caribbean male-headed households in different housing tenures is very close to what would be predicted from the socioeconomic profile, this is not the case for Caribbean female-headed households (Peach and Byron, 1993). It is the high proportion of single female-headed Caribbean households with dependent children that explains the higher-than-expected Caribbean representation in social housing. It is the inability of lone female parents with dependent children to refuse less desirable housing offers from local authorities which accounts for their concentration in the higher storeys of tower blocks of flats.

The dominantly Islamic groups from Pakistan and Bangladesh have, on the other hand, a strong tradition of *purdah* and of sheltering and secluding women from outside society. In its strictest form in Mirpuri society (Mirpur is an area from which many Pakistanis in Britain originated), adult women are expected to avoid all public places, including the bazaar and to keep their faces well covered with a headscarf (Ballard, 1990, p. 232). The fourth PSI survey records 85 per cent of Bangladeshi women and 79 per cent of Pakistani women as always wearing Asian dress (Modood *et al.*, 1997, p. 327). This is double the rate for the predominantly non-Muslim Indian women. It is difficult to maintain strict *purdah* in British

society, but participation rates in the formal economy, for women from predominantly Muslim Pakistani and Bangladeshi societies, are very low. Just over one-quarter (27 per cent) of Pakistani women aged 16 and over and just over one-fifth (22 per cent) of Bangladeshi women were in the formal employment sector compared with 50 per cent for white women (Peach, 1996a, p. 18). These cultural attributes have a profound impact on housing requirements and the ability to pay for housing. Moreover, the very English education of those reared in the British Caribbean, prior to migration in the 1950s and 1960s, produced an entirely different set of cultural expectations and abilities to cope with British bureaucracy than was the case for those speaking only South Asian vernaculars.

These different ethnic cultures have had a profound effect on the housing patterns of the four groups with which this paper has been concerned. The three South Asian groups have considerable similarities in terms of their social organisations. They are still characterised by arranged marriages—Muslims and Sikhs particularly (Modood *et al.*, 1997, p. 318)—so that families tend to be ethnically homogeneous (Peach, 1996a, p. 21). About 10 per cent of households are characterised by extended families and co-habitation is extremely rare. Traditional social structures are firmly in place. On the other hand, the three groups are very different economically. These differences are more marked between the Indians and the others than between the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. A majority of Indian men are in white-collar, non-manual employment; they are more professionalised than the population as a whole. Pakistani and Bangladeshi men, on the other hand, are predominantly manual and blue-collar workers. They are less professionalised than the total population. Pakistani and Bangladeshi unemployment rates were double those of the Indians. Unlike the Indians, where a significant proportion of women were in the official labour force, very few Bangladeshi or Pakistani women worked outside the home.

The combination of manual work, one breadwinner in a household, high unemployment and large families has led to a very marginal existence for the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.

However, all three South Asian groups are sharply differentiated in terms of housing. The Indian pattern is largely, but not completely, predictable from their socioeconomic profile. They are overwhelmingly owner-occupiers, living in houses rather than flats, and are suburbanised. The Pakistanis, despite their blue-collar profile and their economic marginality are also overwhelmingly owner-occupiers and to only a very slightly lesser degree than the Indians. Their properties, however, tend to be older, inner-city and terraced. While Indians and Pakistanis are little represented in council housing, Bangladeshis have social housing almost as their modal type. Despite their very large average family size, they tend to be found in flats and to suffer overcrowding. Like the Pakistanis, they are concentrated in inner-city areas. They manifest extraordinarily high degrees of segregation and encapsulation which isolates them not only from white society, but also from almost every other ethnic minority group. Encapsulation means that the group exists in a sort of social bubble, attached to the economy, but distinct from the broader society, spatially concentrated, in-married, very often speaking its own vernacular language and wearing traditional dress—particularly, but not solely, in the case of women (Modood *et al.*, 1997).

Conclusion

The Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations have been linked together because of their 'racial' differences from white society in Britain. Legislation to protect them from discrimination is framed in 'racial' terms; there is a Commission for Racial Equality. Yet although minorities face racist discrimination, 'race' is less important a dimension for understanding the positions of minority populations than ethnicity. The

Caribbean population shares some of the socio-economic characteristics of the Bangladeshis and Pakistanis in having a manual occupational structure for the men and a similar degree of dependence on council housing as the Bangladeshis. However, the housing tenure characteristics have developed from very different social circumstances.

The Caribbean population has an almost equal balance between male and female heads of household. Caribbean women have the highest participation rate of any group in the formal labour force. A very high proportion of female-headed households are of single parents with dependent children and it is these households which are particularly concentrated in council housing. Peach and Byron (1993) have shown that while the tenure pattern of Caribbean male-headed households conforms closely to what would be predicted from its socioeconomic class structure, Caribbean women are far more concentrated into council housing than their class structure would suggest. It is the large proportion of female single-parent households which accounts for the importance of this tenure to Caribbean households. However, the Caribbean patterns, despite the similarity in socioeconomic and tenure profiles with the Bangladeshis, are totally distinct in spatial patterns. While the Bangladeshis are highly segregated and intensifying their patterns of concentration, the Caribbean population has low and decreasing levels of segregation with clear evidence of outward diffusion (Peach, 1996b; Western, 1993). The housing patterns of Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Caribbeans in Britain owe more to ethnicity and culture than to 'race'.

Thus, while the 1960s' literature tended to see South Asian and Caribbean migration as single black entity, compelled to live in poor inner-city conditions by white racism, the 1990s' view is much more differentiated. Discrimination and harassment continue, but responses to it and the assertion of ethnic identity have produced very different responses from the different groups. Asian en-

capsulation continues whether the group is economically upwardly mobile or economically marginalised. Encapsulation continues whether it is inner city or suburban. The Caribbean patterns, on the other hand, while continuing to show signs of economic marginalisation are socially integrated to a far greater degree. Even so, the ethnic data available from the census hide the much finer grain of identity concealed behind national origins. We cannot distinguish between Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims of Indian origin, nor between Sikhs who have arrived proximately from the Punjab and those who have arrived from east Africa. This said, however, the minorities that have originated from predominantly Muslim societies, the Pakistanis and the Bangladeshis, show a higher degree of encapsulation than the others. They have larger families, fewer breadwinners, higher unemployment and more cramped living conditions. The great interest in the social geography of British cities in the future is to see whether these encapsulated bubbles will float free from the inner city to the outer wall of the suburbs.

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