British Asians today: a statistical overview
The **British Asians: Building Leadership for Corporate Citizenship** (BALCC) initiative is part of the Centre for Social Market’s strategic programme to draw ethnic minority and diaspora communities in Britain into the debate on corporate social and environmental responsibility. CSM believes that mobilising these communities should create positive pressure for change - both at home and abroad - through their existing cultural and commercial links to developing countries. This in turn should contribute to the development of an enabling environment for business to operate responsibly and profitably, and also to the strengthening of democratic institutions and civil society.
PREFACE

This paper is intended as a backgrounder for the Centre for Social Market’s initiative on British Asians: Building Leadership for Corporate Citizenship. There are more than 1.7 million people of South Asian origin in Britain. They form the largest ethnic minority group in the UK and are estimated to contribute more than £5 billion to the economy. This paper seeks to provide as current and factual a basis as possible for a debate on the role of Asian business, a key component of UK PLC, in promoting corporate citizenship.

Discussions on Asians and Asian business tend to be more marked by myth, hype and occasional prejudice, than sound scientific data and analysis. This leads to debates that often perpetuate, rather than challenge, stereotypes, and fail to yield policy-relevant insights.

Part of the problem is the paucity of available date in this area. Where it is available, data is patchy, piecemeal and spread through a variety of institutions and agencies that themselves are seldom networked. The national census, a major data source, only started asking questions on ethnic minority background in 1991.¹ The 2001 census is expected to fill in many of the data gaps. But in our extensive searches, we found no comprehensive study of the state of South Asians in Britain. The responses were startling. Libraries told us: “There is no study as yet of the British Asian community – we’re working on it this year.” And “No research done on the Asian community specifically. It’s an area we are only now starting to look at.” The media response was similar: “Don’t know of any compiled reports; no national breakdown or figures.” One leading Asian business organization said: “The Asian community is operating very individually – just getting into the idea of information exchange now … new idea.”

This state of affairs led us to produce this modest booklet. It has no pretensions to being comprehensive. It is merely designed to offer an accessible overview of some key features of the British Asian experience, based on the best available data in this area, in comparative perspective. We hope it will make a small contribution to achieving a better understanding of this diverse community.

¹One limitation that must be acknowledged is that the data only refer to people of Indian, Bangladeshi or Pakistani origin under the term South Asian. Sri Lankan and Nepalese are not specifically referred to. It is hoped that the 2001 census will help correct this gap.
I. INTRODUCTION:
Asian business and entrepreneurship

The term ‘Asian Tigers’ usually refers to East Asian countries such as Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore. However, it could equally be used to refer to the phenomenal Asian entrepreneurs who have changed the face of UK small business and become the stuff of urban legend. The renaissance of the small firm, which started in the 1970s, was led by immigrant-origin communities and South Asians in particular – with Ugandan Asians adding a boost. Since then, ethnic minority self-employment rates have continued to outstrip the native-origin population, and the self-employment rates among Indians and Pakistanis is now far greater than the general population.

In the public mind, Asians are typically seen as small traders, restauranters, local newsagent and convenience store owners. This is not far from the truth. While there are a few celebrated “rags to riches” cases of Asian millionaires, the story of the typical Asian firm is more mundane and less a tale of high-profit than ‘just-about’ profit. As one academic notes: “The [Asian] petty bourgeoisie is differentiated into two main constituencies: on the one hand the prosperous owners of more than one enterprise and, on the other hand, the small shopkeepers eking out a living on very narrow profit margins…” (quoted in Ram & Jones: 1998: 23). The high street presence of Asian shopkeepers across the UK has given them an unmatched visibility compared to other immigrant business groups - rivaled only by the Chinese in the restaurant stakes. However, Asians have now moved into other service sectors such as catering and hotels, are a major presence in the clothing industry, and are now believed to own almost half of the UK’s independent retail outlets.

The findings of the following survey, commissioned by Barclays Bank in 1996 of 400 small businesses with a turnover of less than £1 million, shed more light on some vital statistics of Asian business practices and attitudes:

- Retailing accounts for 60% of all Asian-owned small businesses, compared with 34% of White and 36% of Black businesses.
- Asians put in the longest day of all working an average of 11 and a half hours.
- Nearly half of Black small businesses and 29% of Asian small businesses have experienced discrimination in some form.
- 34% of Asian small businesses say that family tradition has had
an influence over their decision to run their own business, compared with 17% of White and 8% of Black businesses.

- More Asians said they would prefer to recruit family members as employees than any other group with 70% of them considering them more trustworthy; with succession in mind, a further 46% said they wanted family members to learn or understand the business.

- 86% of Asian business and 74% of black small businesses never use the services of business support organizations.

- The lower proportion of Asian businesses starting up in the last three years reflects a growing trend for young Asians to take up alternative career opportunities.

- More Asians (13%) are educated to degree level than any other group.

- Asians are twice as likely to spend any excess business profits on their family, perhaps to support a child through further education, than either Black or White entrepreneurs.

- Small businesses employing family members were most likely to employ their partner (husband or wife) than any other relative, regardless of ethnic origin. However, while the second choice of Black or White businesses was to recruit their children, Asians preferred to employ their siblings.

The ‘Golden Age’ of the small business is now being challenged by changes in the economy and in particular the rise of the supermarket as a major threat to high street shops. Romantic views of the corner shop are now giving way to a recognition of the stressful reality of small-scale, often under-capitalised enterprises reliant on long hours and sometimes exploitative family labour to break even. There are increasing reports of corner shop owners seeking exit strategies as fewer and fewer young Asians choose to follow their parents in such enterprises.

In recent years, Asian business trends show a move towards greater diversification and ‘break-out’ into new sectors such as internet and communications technology. This reflects the gains being made as a result of investment in their children’s education by Asian parents. (Asians - Indians in particular - show the highest rates of education in the UK.) This migration by a well-educated, upwardly-mobile class from self-employment in one generation, to the professions in the second generation is by no means unique to Asians. It matches the
trajectory of other immigrant groups across industrialized countries such as Jews, Chinese and Blacks in the United States who have achieved entrepreneurial success (partly through access to class resources such as property, finance, contacts and information networks), and who have prioritised education as an advancement strategy for their children (Ram and Jones: 1998).

Another feature noted in recent studies, is the rise in female entrepreneurship. Women have traditionally been invisibilised and their role underestimated, in South Asian firms where business ownership continues to be more male-dominated than business ownership in general and even more so in comparison with African-Caribbeans. Among Asian business, by far the lowest rates of female participation are in the predominantly Muslim Pakistani/ Bangladeshi communities where the ratio of men to women active in business is 9:1 (quoted in Ram and Jones: 1998:21-22).

The success of some sections of the Asian community, masks a less positive reality for others - as the socio-economic and employment statistics for the Bangladeshi community in particular below shows. This makes it very hard – and potentially dangerous – to generalize across the Asian community, or ethnic minority communities in general. For example, a commonly-held myth is that ‘business is in the blood’ of Asians, that they have a cultural predisposition to entrepreneurial success or are more geared towards hard work than other communities. This ‘culturalist’ view takes little account of differences in social capital, class resources and endowments, economic drivers, and opportunity structures facing different groups (Ram and Jones: 1998).

For example, the business entry experience of Ugandan Asian merchants displaced by Idi Amin in the 1970s, was quite different to the experience of Pakistani workers displaced by the collapse of the textile industry in Bradford and forced to become self-employed. In a study of ethnic minorities in business, Monder Ram and Trevor Jones argue: “…pure culturalist explanations are at best misleading and simplistic; and at worst supportive of damaging myths, which represent minority groups like Asians as naturally acquisitive and as muscling in on commercial opportunities rightly the preserve of native whites” (1998:16). They note further: “…minority entrepreneurs generally operate in a highly disadvantageous opportunity structure. On one
level, they share the disadvantages common to all small firm operators … On another level, they face additional problems specific to racism. Racial discrimination continues to constrain the life-chances of ethnic minorities of many spheres” (Ram & Jones, 1998:10).

At a time when notions of the ‘Asian community’ are being challenged by those who choose to assert their ethnic, national or religious identities, it is appropriate to recognize the diversity and complexity of this section of the population. One can no longer assume common origins, journeys or destinations. Equally, one cannot deny common cultures or shared experiences where they do exist. Two salient facts stand out from the statistical overview compiled in this report: 1. the Asian community is not a homogeneous block, and 2. it is a community in transition. The challenge is to reconcile differences and promote joint action where possible. The arena of corporate social and environmental responsibility is one where Asian businesses and entrepreneurs – as the UK’s largest and economically most active ethnic minority group – can and must show leadership.

STATISTICAL OVERVIEW:
Asians and ethnic minorities in comparative perspective

1. UK immigration history

- Members of ethnic minority groups were present in the United Kingdom in small numbers throughout the period of the British Empire. However, their numbers have increased dramatically since then (ONS, 2001:32). The passing of the 1948 British Nationality Act after the end of the Second World War led to a major growth in the ethnic minority population of Britain when people from the Commonwealth countries were encouraged to come to Britain to work. (ONS, 1996:7).

- In 1962 the first legislation to control Commonwealth immigration was passed. Further restrictions were introduced in 1968 and entry from all countries is now controlled by the Immigration Act 1971. (ONS, 1996:10).

- The peak of immigration from the Caribbean occurred in the early 1960s, while immigration from India and Pakistan peaked in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and it was not until the early 1980s that immigration from Bangladesh and Hong Kong occurred in significant numbers. (ONS, 1996:7).
• In the 1970s, Britain admitted 28 thousand Asians who were expelled from Uganda in 1972. (ONS, 1996:9).

• Total immigration from the New Commonwealth declined in the 1970s and early 1980s, after which it began increasing slightly again due to the growing numbers of migrants from Bangladesh, Hong Kong and Africa. (ONS, 1996:10).

• Immigration from India and Pakistan was prompted by a desire for better opportunities in employment and education. (ONS, 1996:9). Most Indian immigrants came from the Punjab and Gujarat. (ONS, 1996:9).

2. Information sources

• The two major sources of information about Britain’s ethnic minorities are the 1991 Census of Population and the Labour Force Survey. (ONS, 1996:10).

• The 1991 Census of Population was a milestone in the collection of ethnic minority data, being the first census in Great Britain to ask a question on ethnic group. (ONS, 1996:7).

• The classification used in the 1991 census has subsequently become the standard for most surveys and, in 1992, was adopted for use in the Labour Force Survey. (Schuman, 1999:33).

• The Labour Force Survey is a quarterly sample survey of around 60,000 private households throughout Great Britain, representing about 1/350 of the total private household population. (Schuman, 1999:42).

• Since spring 1992, the Labour Force Survey has been conducted on a quarterly basis, obtaining responses from about 60 thousand private households and some 150 thousand household members. (Schuman, 1999:34).

• The Labour Force Survey is the main data source for estimates of the ethnic minority populations living in private households for years other than the Census year. (Schuman, 1999:33).

• The Labour Force Survey can provide more up to date information than the Census, although as it is a sample survey.
there are limitations on analyses at a detailed level. (ONS, 1996:10).

- It should be noted that there is no explicit category in the Labour Force Survey for mixed ethnicity. (Schuman, 1999:36).

- Current plans for the next census, due to be collected in April 2001, include ‘Mixed’, ‘Asian or Asian British’ and ‘Black or Black British’. (Schuman, 1999:42).

### 3. Numbers overall

- From Office of National Statistics (Summer 1999):
  
  Population size in 1997:
  
  - Indians = 925,000 (1.6% of total GB population)
  - Pakistanis = 587,000 (1.0% of total GB population)
  - Bangladeshis = 209,000 (0.4% of total GB population)
  - Total for 1997 = 1,721,000

  All ethnic minority groups=3,599,000 (6.4% of total GB population)
  
  Total population = 56,550,000

  (Schuman, 1999:34)

- 2000: In Spring 2000, about one person in 15 in Great Britain was from an ethnic minority group. (ONS, 2001:32)

- 1997: In 1997 (the latest complete year for which data are available), the ethnic minority populations are estimated to have totaled 3.6 million people, or 6.4 per cent of the total population of Great Britain. (Schuman, 1999:34)

- 1996: There are now more than three million people in Great Britain belonging to an ethnic minority group - just under six per cent of the total population. (ONS, 1996:7)

- 1996: The LFS estimated that around 3.2 million people in Great Britain belonged to an ethnic minority group in Spring 1995, around 5.7 per cent of the total population. (ONS, 1996:10)

- 1994: Just over one in five of London’s population is from an ethnic minority group. This represents nearly one and a half million people. (LRC, 1994:3)
4. **Numbers by ethnic group**

- The Indian group formed the largest ethnic minority group, amounting to 26 per cent of the ethnic minority population. The next largest groups were those of Pakistani and Black Caribbean origins. *(ONS, 1996:10)*

- According to *Social Trends* study, the South Asian population in Great Britain in 1999-00 broke down as follows:
  - 0.9 million Indian
  - 0.7 million Pakistani
  - 0.3 million Bangladeshi

  Interestingly the combined Bangladeshi/Pakistani populations were equal to the Indian population. *(ONS, 2001:32)*

- The Black and South Asian groups - Percentage of total ethnic minority population
  - Indian 26%
  - Pakistani 16%
  - Bangladeshi 6%
  - Total South Asian 48%
  - Black-Caribbean 15%
  - Black-African 10%

  *(Schuman, 1999:36)*

- The resident population of London is over six and a half million. The total ethnic minority population in London is over 1,346,000.
  - Indian 347,091 5.2%
  - Pakistani 87,816 1.3%
  - Bangladeshi 85,738 1.3%

  *(LRC, 1994:15)*

- Between 1992 and 1997, the relative sizes of the different ethnic minority groups remained fairly constant, but with a small decrease in the proportion made up by the Indian population. *(Schuman, 1999:36)*

- Almost half of the ethnic minority population in 1997 was made up of the three groups originating from the Indian subcontinent - the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations. *(Schuman, 1999:36)*
5. **Recent demographic trends**
   
   - The growth of the ethnic minority population in Great Britain is now slowing. (*ONS, 1996:9*)
   
   - Between 1992 and 1995 there was very little change in the size and proportion of the total ethnic minority population, but the proportion increased from 5.8 per cent in 1995 to 6.4 per cent in 1997 and 1998, most likely as a result of two processes: 1. It is likely there has been a real increase in the size of several of the ethnic minority populations, due in part to the higher concentration of these populations in the fertile age range compared with the White population, and also to the larger family sizes seen in many of the ethnic minority groups. 2. The second reason for the apparent increase in the ethnic minority population could reflect the fact that an individual’s ethnic group is determined by him or herself. There may have been changes over the last few years in the way that some people categorise themselves, particularly those of mixed ancestry. (*Schuman, 1999:34*)
   
   - The largest percentage increase between 1995 and 1997 has been experienced by the ‘Black-Other’ group. (*Schuman, 1999:34*)

6. **Born in the United Kingdom or abroad?**
   
   - In 1971, 65% of the New Commonwealth population was born abroad and 35% were born in the United Kingdom; by 1976 the proportions had changed to 61% and 39% respectively. By 1980 the proportion born in this country will have risen further and it may be assumed that by the end of this decade more than half of those of New Commonwealth origin will have been born here. (*Home Office, 1981:9*)
   
   - Just under one half of the ethnic minority population as a whole was born in the UK, compared with 96 per cent of the White population. (*Schuman, 1999:41*)
   
   - Of the South Asian ethnic minority groups only the Pakistani group has a majority who were born in the UK. The high proportion for the Pakistani group reflects both the large average family size and the length of time that the population has lived in the UK. (*Schuman, 1999:41-42*)
• More recently growth in the ethnic minority population has been mainly due to children being born here. (ONS, 1996:7)

• Despite the fall in immigration in the 1970s and early 1980s, the ethnic minority population has continued to increase as second and third generations have been born in Britain. (ONS, 1996:10)

7. Settlement patterns overall

• People from most ethnic minority groups are not evenly distributed throughout the UK, tending to live in the most populous areas of England, in particular in the South East (ONS, 1996:7); relatively small numbers live in Scotland and Wales (ONS, 1996:17).

• Ethnic minorities tend to be highly concentrated in the more urbanised parts of the country. Their geographical distribution is very different from that of the White population. (Schuman, 1999:36)

• Nearly half of all people in Great Britain of ethnic minority origin live in Greater London, compared with less than one in ten of the White population. (Schuman, 1999:36)

• The metropolitan counties of Greater London, Greater Manchester, West Yorkshire and West Midlands together contain nearly three quarters of the ethnic minority population, compared with less than a quarter of the White population. (Schuman, 1999:36)

• Outside London, the West Midlands region has the highest proportion of people of ethnic minority origin - nearly one in ten of the total population - primarily Indian, Pakistani and Black-Caribbean. (Schuman, 1999:40)

8. Settlement patterns specific

• The concentration of ethnic minority groups in particular areas has been explained in terms of ‘choice’ and ‘constraint’ theories: a preference to live with their own group or being prevented from moving outside certain geographical areas by their economic position, lack of information, fear of discrimination, etc. (Schuman, 1999:36).
• While people belonging to the South Asian groups were again concentrated in London, they were mainly in the west and north east. Outside Greater London, Birmingham and Leicester had the greatest concentrations of South Asians. (ONS, 1996:17)

• The main concentrations of Pakistanis were in north east and west London, Slough and Luton in the south; Birmingham, Stafford and Peterborough in the Midlands; and in the textile towns of Lancashire, Greater Manchester and West Yorkshire, in which their concentration was more than five times the British average. (ONS, 1996:17)

• The greatest concentration of those of Bangladeshi origin in 1991 was in the London borough of Tower Hamlets, where nearly a quarter of the population was of Bangladeshi origin. The Bangladeshi group was also represented in Luton and Oldham. (ONS, 1996:17)

• The three South Asian ethnic groups - Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi - show marked differences in their areas of residence. More than half of all Bangladeshis and 45 per cent of all Indians live in Greater London, compared with less than 20 per cent of the Pakistani population. Of the Indians who live in Greater London, only one in five live in Inner London. This contrasts with the Bangladeshi population, where four out of five of the Greater London residents live in Inner London. (Schuman, 1999:36)

• Greater London stands out as having a very different ethnic mix from the rest of Great Britain, with one quarter of its population of ethnic minority origin. Within Inner London, almost one third of the population is of ethnic minority origin. (Schuman, 1999:36)

• Half of Black African people and half of Bangladeshis lived in inner London, compared with only 5 per cent of Pakistanis and 8 per cent of Indians. (Labour Market trends, January 2001:30)

• The Indian and Black Caribbean groups are the largest ethnic minority groups in London. (LRC, 1994:3)

• The Black and South Asian groups (Indians, Pakistanis and
Bangladeshis) are concentrated in particular areas in London, but the Chinese group is spread much more evenly across London. (*LRC, 1994:3*)

- The concentration of individual ethnic groups is even more extreme: Greater London contains 85 per cent of the total Black-African population in Britain … but less than 20 per cent of the Pakistani population. By contrast, the metropolitan counties of Greater Manchester, West Yorkshire and West Midlands contain nearly half of the Pakistani population. (*Schuman, 1999:36*)

- There are also concentrations in other parts of the country: for example, in Leicester the Indian group made up a fifth of the total population according to the 1991 Census. (*ONS, 1996:7*)

- The different profiles of skills and experience found in different ethnic groups led the early migrants to seek employment in particular industries. The tendency of Pakistanis, for example, to settle in particular Northern and West Midland conurbations - as commented on earlier - was related to the seeking out of employment opportunities within the textile and heavy engineering industries. (*Schuman, 1999:36*)

9. **Ethnic differences with Whites**

- There are often bigger differences between the individual ethnic minority groups than between ethnic minorities as a whole and the White population. (*ONS, 1996:7*)

10. **Employment – compared with Whites**

- Generally men of working age from all the ethnic minority groups are less likely to be working and more likely to be unemployed than White men. (*ONS, 1996:8*)

- Both men and women of working age from ethnic minority groups are less likely to be economically active than those in the White group. (*ONS, 1996:41*)

- White economic activity rates are well above those for people from ethnic minority groups as a whole. Among men of working age, only Black Caribbean and Indian men have economic activity rates (80 per cent and 82 per cent respectively) close to Whites (85 per cent). (*Labour Market trends, 2000:505*)
• The unemployment rate for ethnic minority men was more than
twice that for White men. Indeed this was true for all the ethnic
minority groups except Indians. The rate for Pakistani/
Bangladeshi men was nearly three times that for Whites. \textit{(Labour
Market trends, 1999:633)}

• The younger age profiles of ethnic minority groups is one reason
why they tend to have lower activity rates than Whites. Young
people are much more likely to be in full-time education and
therefore less likely to be economically active than those over
25, and young people from ethnic minorities tend to have
particularly high participation rates in full-time education. \textit{(Labour
Market trends, 1999:633)}

• Men from ethnic minority groups were more likely to be working
part-time than their White counterparts (14 per cent compared
with 9 per cent). \textit{(Labour Market trends, 1999:627)}

• By contrast, overall, women from ethnic minorities were less likely
to work part-time than Whites (35 per cent compared with 44
per cent). \textit{(Labour Market trends, 1999:627)}

• White men are more likely than those from the main ethnic
minority groups to be managers, with Pakistani/Bangladeshi and
Black men least likely (12 per cent and 13 per cent respectively).
The percentages of Indian men in management fell in between
the levels of White men and those of the other two South Asian
countries (at 17 per cent for Indian men versus 23 per cent for
White men). \textit{(ONS, 2001:81)}

11. Employment – ethnic differences

• In total, there were 2.4 million men and women of working age
from ethnic minorities: 635,000 of Indian origin, 389,000
Pakistanis, 142,000 Bangladeshis. \textit{(Labour Market trends,
January 2001:30)}

• Indian men had the highest employment rate at 76 per cent
after White men at 80 per cent, followed by Black Caribbean
men at 67 per cent. Bangladeshi men had the lowest
employment rate at 52 per cent. \textit{(Labour Market trends, January
2001:33)}
• Among the ethnic minority groups, the Indian group had the highest working-age economic activity rate at 75 per cent, and also the highest employment rate at 69 per cent. *(Labour Market trends, March 2001:141)*

• For a variety of cultural reasons, as well as because of differing age structures, economic activity rates vary between people of different ethnic groups in Great Britain. Overall, the lowest activity rates for women are among the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities at only 30 and 22 per cent respectively in 1999-00. Their activity rates are very low at all ages compared with other ethnic groups. Although economic activity among Pakistani and Bangladeshi men aged 25 to 44 is comparable with most other non-White groups, rates for older and younger men are also low. *(ONS, 2001:77)*

• Conversely, the highest labour market participation is to be found among Indian and White men aged 25 to 44. However, this is the age range in which the differences in economic activity rates between ethnic groups are smallest. *(ONS, 2001:77)*

• Among the ethnic minority groups, Indian men are the most likely to be in work. *(ONS, 1996:8)*

• Only two thirds of Pakistani/Bangladeshi men of working age were economically active in Spring 1995 compared with more than four fifths of Indian and White men. *(ONS, 1996:40)*

• All ethnic groups had lower activity rates for women than for men. The largest difference was for the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group, where the rate for men was more than twice that for women. *(Labour Market trends, March 2001:141)*

• Economic activity rates for women vary widely between different ethnic groups. In 1999/2000, working-age Black Caribbean and White women had economic activity rates of around three-quarter compared with less than one-third for Pakistani/Bangladeshi women. *(Labour Market trends, January 2001:29)*

• Indian women 16-59 are represented in the work force at 63 per cent versus 30 and 22 per cent for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women respectively. *(ONS, 2001:77)*
12. Employment – sectoral distribution

- Activity rates for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women were significantly lower at 31 per cent and 24 per cent respectively compared with Indian women at 63 per cent. The emphasis placed on the domestic role of women may partly account for the low activity rates for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. (Labour Market trends, January 2001:33)

- An important influence on the participation of women in the labour market is their partnership status. Black Caribbean women have the highest economic activity rate (83 per cent). Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are more likely to be economically active if they are single than if they are married or cohabitating. (Labour Market trends, 2000:505)

- For those women aged 35 to 60 who have a partner but no dependent children, economic activity rates are generally high at around two thirds or more, except for South Asian (Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi) women. (ONS, 1996:41)

- Certain ethnic groups have a tendency to be employed with certain industries. Employment in the distribution, hotel and restaurant industries was particularly common among the South Asian groups in 1995; 34 per cent of Pakistani/Bangladeshi men of working age were employed in these industries compared with only 18 per cent of Black men and 17 per cent of White men. South Asian and White men were also likely to be employed in the manufacturing industries whereas, within the Black group, people were most likely to be employed in the public administration, education and health sectors. Women from all ethnic groups were more likely than men to work in public administration, education and health. (ONS, 1996:42)

- Ethnic minority men are over-represented in the service sector. The distribution industry (including restaurants and retail businesses) is the largest single source of service sector jobs for men from ethnic minority groups, employing 70 per cent of Bangladeshi and 58 per cent of Chinese men. In contrast, only 17 per cent of White and 19 per cent of Black men work in this industry. (Labour Market trends, 2000:507)
• Ethnic minority men were under-represented in agriculture, fishing, construction, energy and water, but were more likely than White men to work in one of the service industries, which employed three-quarters of ethnic minority male employees and self-employed, compared with around three-fifths of White men. *(Labour Market trends, January 2001:33)*

• These variations between ethnic groups were accentuated at the detailed industry level. For example, 52 per cent of male Bangladeshi employees and self-employed worked in the restaurant industry, and the figure for Chinese males was also high at 44 per cent. This compares with only one per cent of White men. *(Labour Market trends, January 2001:33)*

• When looking at the occupations of male Pakistani employees and self-employed, one in eight was a cab driver or chauffeur compared with the national average of one in 100. Some 5 per cent of Indian men were medical practitioners – almost ten times the national average. Some 35 per cent of Bangladeshi men were cooks or waiters. *(Labour Market trends, January 2001:34)*

• Indian and Pakistani women more likely than other women to work in a manufacturing industry. For example, nearly one in five Indian women were employed in such industries, particularly in clothing and fur manufacture. Similarly high proportions of Indian and Pakistani women worked in the retail trade. *(Labour Market trends, January 2001:36)*

• Nursing is one profession in which some ethnic minorities have traditionally been well represented. *(ONS, 1996:43)*

• The civil service is also a significant employer of people from ethnic minorities. Since 1989 the total number of people from ethnic minorities working in the civil service has increased while the overall size of the civil service has fallen. *(ONS, 1996:43)*

• Ethnic minorities remain under-represented in nearly all the criminal justice agencies although steady progress has been made over the last few years. *(ONS, 1996:43)*

• Figures from police forces in England and Wales show that nearly
2 per cent of police officers came from ethnic minority groups in 1995. (ONS, 1996:43)

- Ethnic minority representation in the armed forces is also relatively low with only 1.4 per cent of all ranks, and 1.0 per cent of officers, belonging to ethnic minority groups on 1 November 1995. (ONS, 1996:43)

- Certain ethnic minority groups are also more likely to do shift work. Around a third of people belonging to the Black group do shift work at least sometimes compared with around a fifth from the Indian and White groups. Pakistani/Bangladeshis are almost as likely as the Black group to work shifts. This may be partly due to the different types of professions and industries in which people are employed. (ONS, 1996:44)

- People belonging to ethnic minority groups are also more likely to be in temporary employment than those in the White group. In particular the Pakistani/Bangladeshi and ... were twice as likely as the White group to be employed on a temporary basis in Spring 1995. (ONS, 1996:44) Just under a half of all employees in a temporary job in Spring 1995 were in this type of employment because they could not find permanent work. However, three quarters of people from the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group with temporary jobs gave this reason compared with less than half in the Indian, Other ethnic minorities and White groups. (ONS, 1996:44)

- People belonging to an ethnic minority group were also less likely to be managers than those from the White group: for example, the White group, at 19 per cent, were almost twice as likely to be managers than the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group in Spring 1995. Again this reflects the different industries in which people are employed. (ONS, 1996:43)

13. Employment – training

- Some employees are more likely to receive job-related training than others. Employees from the Black group were the most likely to have received training in the four weeks before being interviewed as part of the Labour Force Survey in Spring 1995 while those from the Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups were the least likely. (ONS, 1996:44).

- Around 3.1 million people were self-employed in the United Kingdom in Spring 2000, representing 11 per cent of all in employment. Self-employment is much more common among men than among women – 15 per cent versus 7 per cent. Men and women also vary considerable in the type of self-employed work they undertake. In Spring 2000 around 0.7 million people in the United Kingdom were homeworkers. Most (0.5 million) were women. (ONS, 2001:82).

- Self-employment is much more common for men than for women, and most common among South Asian people. The largest percentages of men who are self-employed occur in the Pakistani (25 per cent), Chinese (21 per cent) and Indian (19 per cent) ethnic groups. (Labour Market trends, 2000:506)

- The predominance of self-employment amongst Asian and Chinese ethnic minorities in the British labour market is well known. It has probably been partly a response to facing discrimination in the labour market that ethnic minorities, with the appropriate traditions and ability to raise capital have gone down this route, and have often made a success of their businesses. (EOC, 1995:53)

- The third main source of income for most groups was income from self-employment. Both Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi households received 11 per cent of their income from this source on average [higher than the White and Black groups]. This reflects the high levels of self-employment in these ethnic groups. (ONS, 1996:48)

- Almost a quarter of Pakistani/Bangladeshi and Chinese males in employment were self-employed in 1999/2000. The figure for Indian males was around one-fifth. (Labour Market trends, January 2001:36)

- The Pakistani/Bangladeshi group had by far the highest proportion of people in self-employment - 22 per cent of those of working age in employment in Spring 1995. (ONS, 1996:44)

- As many as 30 per cent of Asian men were in flexible jobs compared with only 17 per cent of Black Caribbean men and 20
per cent of White men (data from the 1994 Labour Force Survey). High proportion of Asian [includes Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi] men (25 per cent) and Chinese and Other men (21 per cent) were self-employed. Self-employment with employees made up a much larger share of the Asian total in self-employment than was the case for self-employed men who were White (9.4 out of 25 per cent versus 4.3 out of 16.8 per cent). (EOC, 1995:50)

- More than two-fifths of Indian self-employed men had employees compared with only one-quarter of their White counterparts. (Labour Market trends, 1998:608)

- Self-employment is of course more common in some industries than in others. However, even within an industry some ethnic groups are more likely to be self-employed than others. For example, 27 per cent of Pakistani/Bangladeshis working in the services sector were self-employed compared with only 7 per cent of people from the Black group. (ONS, 1996:44)

- For the Pakistanis, around two-fifths of [the self-employed] were cab drivers and chauffeurs. For the Indians, more than one-third were service industry managers. Nearly one-third of self-employed White men worked in the construction industry. (Labour Market trends, 1998:608)

- The women of the same ethnic origin appear to have followed the men. (EOC, 1995:53)

- Among all ethnic groups, men were more likely than women to be self-employed; for example, 18 per cent of Indian men were self-employed in Spring 1995 compared with 7 per cent of Indian women. (ONS, 1996:44)

- Asian and Chinese women, like their male equivalents, had much higher percentages in self-employment (10.8 per cent of Asian women were self-employed in 1994 versus 6.7 of white women), and as with the men, it was largely self-employment without employees. (EOC, 1995:52)
15. Employment – unions

- Trade union membership varies by gender and industry, as well as by ethnic group. Male employees belonging to the Black group were the most likely to belong to a trade union in Autumn 1995 when nearly 40 per cent were members. Among Indian men, membership was lower at 30 per cent while for Pakistani/Bangladeshi it was only 20 per cent. (ONS, 1996:45).

- Black employees had the highest levels of unionisation at 31 per cent compared with people of Pakistani/Bangladeshi origin who had the lowest at 19 per cent. (Labour Market trends, March 2001:141).

- The low levels of union membership among Pakistani/Bangladeshis and those of Other origins are partly a reflection of the fact that large proportions of these groups are employed in the distribution, hotels and restaurants industries (which have below average levels of unionisation). By contrast, Black employees are far more likely than any other group to be employed in the public administration, education and health industries, which tend to be highly unionised. (Labour Market trends, March 2001:141).

16. Employment – victimization

- In a 1992 survey of industrial tribunals conducted on behalf of the then Employment Department found that people of Black ethnic origin were more likely than those of Asian ethnic origin to quote loss of a job as a cause of discrimination while those of Asian origin were more concerned by unequal chances of promotion. (ONS, 1996:45)

17. Unemployment

- The reasons for the differences between the unemployment rates for some ethnic groups are complex. Some of the explanations may be found in the different age profiles, qualifications held, and the occupational and geographical distributions of the ethnic groups. Nevertheless, there are differences which have not been accounted for and which further analysis of the Labour Force Survey data is unlikely to explain. (Labour Market trends, January 2001:41)
• People from all ethnic minority groups had higher unemployment rates than White people in the year up to Spring 2000. The ILO unemployment rate for ethnic minority men at 13 per cent was more than twice that for White men at 6 per cent, but there were wide variations between individual ethnic minority groups. For example, the unemployment rate for Indian men was only about one percentage point higher than the rate for White men. In contrast, Pakistani/Bangladeshi men had very high unemployment rates compared with Whites [White 5.9%, Indian 7.2%, Pakistani 14.6%, Bangladeshi 20.4%]. (Labour Market trends, January 2001:36)

• The Pakistani/Bangladeshi group had the highest ILO unemployment rate, with nearly one in six economically active members unemployed. This compares with an unemployment rate of just under one in 20 for economically active White people. (Labour Market trends, March 2001:141)

• In Spring 1995, unemployment rates, based on the ILO definition, for the Black and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups were 24 per cent and 27 per cent respectively - double the rate of 12 per cent for the Indian group. The White population had the lowest unemployment rate at only 8 per cent. (ONS, 1996:46).

• The fact that a high proportion of Pakistanis/Bangladeshis have no qualifications is likely to contribute to their high unemployment rate. (Labour Market trends, 1999:633).

• One of the reasons why certain ethnic minority groups tend to have higher unemployment rates is their concentration in urban areas such as inner London, where unemployment rates are generally higher than the national average. (Labour Market trends, 1999:633).

18. Wages

• Among ethnic minority groups, the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group earned the least per hour. White men earn, on average, more than men from each of the ethnic minority groups. (ONS, 1996:47).
19. **Income Support**

- The Pakistani/Bangladeshi group received a larger proportion of household income from social security benefits than any other ethnic group; this was almost as much as the proportion from wages and salaries, reflecting their high unemployment rate and low wages. *(ONS, 1996:48).*

- Around half of Pakistani/Bangladeshi households received income support compared with almost two fifths of Black households and a quarter of Indian households. *(ONS, 1996:48).*

20. **Savings**

- Savings patterns vary with ethnic group. In particular, 59 percent of Pakistani and Bangladeshi households and 54 per cent of Black households had no savings. White and Indian households were much more likely to have savings, and in fact had very similar savings patterns. *(ONS, 2001:110).*

- Pakistani/Bangladeshi households, with the lowest proportion of their income derived from earnings, had the lowest amount of savings on average of all the ethnic groups at just over £2.5 thousand in 1994-95. Indian households had over £13.6 thousand; this was £4 thousand less than White households who had the most savings. *(ONS, 1996:49).*

- Only 75 per cent of Pakistani/Bangladeshi households held any form of savings compared with around 90 per cent of Indian and White households. Black and Pakistani/Bangladeshi households were also far less likely to have investments such as stocks and shares. *(ONS, 1996:49).*

- Only 43 per cent of employed Pakistani/Bangladeshis were members of either their employer’s scheme or a personal scheme in 1994-95 compared with 62 per cent of those in the Black and Indian groups and 69 per cent of those in the White group. *(ONS, 1996:49).*

- Qualitative research commissioned by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation has suggested that the largest group of those who have never made use of financial services are householders who have never had a secure job. Other groups affected are
people aged 70 and over who are part of a cash-only generation, women who became single mothers at an early age, and some ethnic minority groups, particularly Pakistani and Bangladeshi households. *(ONS, 2001:110).*

21. Education

- Above average proportions of Indian and Chinese men had higher qualifications. Conversely, a high percentage of Pakistani/Bangladeshi men at 31 per cent had no formal qualifications compared with 14 per cent of White men and only 9 per cent of Black African men. *(Labour Market trends, January 2001:30).*

- Black African men were the most likely to have a higher qualification, with Pakistani and Bangladeshi women tending to be the most poorly qualified. *(Labour Market trends, January 2001:29).*

- Chinese and Black African women were the most likely to have a higher qualification at 30 per cent and 25 per cent respectively. For women in most other ethnic groups, the average was around 20 per cent for possessing such a qualification. The exception was Pakistani/Bangladeshi women, only 9 per cent of whom possessed a higher qualification, and around 40 per cent had no qualifications. For the Indian group, 20 per cent had a higher qualification. *(Labour Market trends, January 2001:30).*

- Indians tend to be the most likely to stay on at school or college and are among the most successful academically at the GCSE level while the Black and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups are the least successful. *(ONS, 1996:8).*

- The Youth Cohort Study commissioned by the Department for Education and Employment studied young people’s experiences as they completed their period of compulsory education in the Spring of 1994 and in the following three years. The Indian group had similar achievements to the White group with 45 per cent of pupils achieving five or more GCSEs at grades A to C. Approximately 23 per cent of pupils in the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group achieved such results, making this group the second least successful after the Black group at 21 per cent. *(ONS, 1996:34).*
• In general, children whose fathers are in the manual social classes tend to have lower achievements, which may account for the low proportions of Black and Pakistani/Bangladeshi children achieving five or more GCSEs at grades A to C. (ONS, 1996:34).

• For those who were aged 18 the differences between the proportions staying on from ethnic minority groups and the White group were even larger: 65 per cent of Indians of this age and 61 per cent of the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group were still in full-time education compared with only 38 per cent of the White group. The reasons behind the larger proportions of ethnic minorities staying on are complex but factors may include strong family encouragement to continue in full-time education and also the difficulties which some young ethnic minority people face in finding employment. (ONS, 1996:34).

• Despite having a lower success rate for higher education applicants than the White group, the Indian group had a higher proportion of 19 to 24 year olds studying for a degree in Spring 1995: 30 per cent were studying for a degree which was more than twice the proportions from the Pakistani/Bangladeshi, Black and White groups. (ONS, 1996:37).

• The South Asian ethnic groups followed similar patterns in the subjects studied in higher education, with sciences the most popular, followed by social sciences and medicine. The only difference within the South Asian group was a slightly greater proportion of Indians studying social sciences, and Pakistani/Bangladeshis studying sciences. (ONS, 1996:37).

• Data on qualification levels of the employed workforce in Great Britain from 1995 demonstrate that around 40 per cent of those in the Black, Indian and White groups had at least an NVQ level three qualification or equivalent compared with only 30 per cent of those in the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group. (ONS, 1996:38).

22. Socio-economics – class

• Nearly half of Indian employed and self-employed men were in the top two social classes compared with just over a quarter of
23. Socio-economics – standards of housing

- Bangladeshi households have a lower standard of housing than other ethnic groups. (ONS, 1996:7).

- In 1994-95, more than 60 per cent of Pakistani/Bangladeshi households were in council estate and low income areas compared with only 40 per cent of both Black and Indian households. (ONS, 1996:18).

- In the 1970s the South Asian groups had high levels of owner-occupation, even among those with lower paid jobs. For South Asians in particular, the preference to live close to other members of their ethnic group is thought to have affected these ownership patterns. (ONS, 1996:24).

- Results from the 1994-95 Survey of English Housing show that Indians were far more likely to own their own homes than any other ethnic group and the least likely to be renting from the social sector, that is from a local authority, housing association or a new town. High proportions of households in the Black and Bangladeshi groups were renting from the social sector: almost half of Black and six in ten Bangladeshi households compared with less than a tenth of Indian households. (ONS, 1996:25).

- The majority of Bangladeshi households lived in purpose built flats, whereas the majority of Pakistani households lived in terraced housing. (LRC, 1994:3).

- In the population as a whole, the proportion of households who
own their own homes has been rising and now stands at almost 70 per cent. This general rise is reflected in all ethnic groups except the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups. For these two groups, although the actual number of households who owned their own homes doubled in the ten years to 1994, the proportion of owner occupiers has fallen due to the substantial growth in the Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations. (ONS, 1996:17).

24. Socio-economics - consumption

• The possession of certain consumer durables can also reflect the affluence of a household. Virtually all ethnic households had a television in 1994-95 but there were large differences between the ethnic groups for some other consumer durables. Black households were the least likely to own most of the consumer durables shown, whilst Indian households were the most likely. (ONS, 1996:50).

• Indian households are also more likely to own a car than any other ethnic group. More than seven in ten Indian households owned at least one car in 1994-95 compared with just over four in ten Black households. The ownership of two or more cars was also much more common in Indian and White households than in Black and Pakistani/Bangladeshi households. Again car ownership can be related to wealth; however, the area in which people live will also have an effect. (ONS, 1996:50).

25. Socio-economics – health

• Information from the 1992-95 General Household Survey found that after adjusting for age, people in the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group were the most likely to report a limiting long-standing illness while those in the Other ethnic minorities group were the least likely. The Black and Indian groups showed very little difference from the whole population. (ONS, 1996:52).

• Information from the General Household Survey showed that people aged 16 to 74 from ethnic minority groups were more likely to describe their health status as poor (either fairly poor or very poor), and that Bangladeshis were the most likely to describe their health status in this way. (ONS, 1996:52).

• Young Bangladeshi adults aged 30-34 had nearly twice the rates
of long term illness compared with White people of that age. (LRC, 1994:4).

- Among the Bangladeshi population stomach problems affected around one in seven people, which was about twice the proportions in the other ethnic minority groups. (ONS, 1996:52).

- In all ethnic groups the percentage of people reporting poor health increases with age but the rise is sharper and generally comes earlier in the ethnic minority populations than among the whole population. Elderly Bangladeshi men were the most likely to describe their health status as poor: nearly two thirds of 50 to 74 year olds described their health in this way compared with only a third of Indian and Pakistani men of the same age. Just over half of elderly South Asian (Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi) women described their health as poor. (ONS, 1996:52).

- Pakistani elderly people aged 60-65 had higher rates of long-term illness than any other ethnic group of that age. (LRC, 1994:4).

- Ethnic minority adults were less likely than their White counterparts to have regular dental check-ups. People from the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group were the least likely to do so. Men from all ethnic groups were less likely than women to have regular check-ups. (ONS, 1996:58).

26. Smoking / drinking

- For both men and women aged between 16 and 64, South Asians were the most likely to have never smoked. (ONS, 1996:58)

- People from ethnic minorities were less likely than the White population to consume alcohol above the sensible levels recommended at that time. Less than 2 per cent of Pakistani/Bangladeshi men and women aged 16 to 64 drank alcohol above the sensible levels compared with 31 per cent of White men and 14 per cent of White women of the same age. While Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi men were more likely to drink over sensible levels than women, both men and women had the smallest numbers of people drinking over sensible levels of all ethnic groups. (ONS, 1996:59).

- It would appear that at most ages White men and women are
more likely to drink above sensible levels than people belonging to ethnic minority groups. (ONS, 1996:59).

• Over 90 per cent of Pakistani/Bangladeshi adults who did not drink abstained for religious reasons compared with only 6 per cent in the White group. (ONS, 1996:59).

27. Birth control/ family planning

• A smaller proportion of women from ethnic minority groups use contraception than White women. (ONS, 1996:60).

• The pill was the most common method of contraception used by women from the Black and White groups, whereas the male condom was the most commonly used contraceptive by Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi women. Sterilisation, particularly male sterilisation, was also far less common among ethnic minority groups than the White group. (ONS, 1996:60).

• A higher proportion of Pakistani/Bangladeshi women said that they either wanted to get pregnant, or were already pregnant, than women from any other ethnic group. (ONS, 1996:60).

28. Sport and health

• As part of a 1992 Survey by the Health Education Authority (HEA) people aged 16 to 74 were asked if they undertook activities which they felt either maintained, or improved, their health. Overall 62 per cent of the population of the United Kingdom said that they were involved in some health-enhancing activity in 1992. Ethnic minorities showed lower rates of participation however: 46 per cent of Indians, 41 per cent of Pakistanis and only 37 per cent of Bangladeshis said that they undertook some health-enhancing activity. (ONS, 1996:53).

• Less than a quarter of both Pakistanis and Bangladeshis said that they participated in sporting activities - lower proportions than for the other ethnic groups. (ONS, 1996:53).

• With walking the most common sporting activity for all ethnic groups, the second most common sporting activity among men from most ethnic groups was snooker or pool. Among Indian men, swimming and keep fit/yoga were the third most popular
activities while among Pakistani/Bangladeshi men it was soccer. Pakistani/Bangladeshi men were also at least three times more likely to have played cricket than men from any other ethnic group. (ONS, 1996:53).

- Much smaller proportions of women from all ethnic minorities compared to the White population had been swimming. (ONS, 1996:61).

29. Leisure

- The most common home-based leisure activity undertaken by people from each ethnic group was watching television. The next most common activities for all ethnic groups were visiting or entertaining friends or relatives and listening to the radio. There were some differences however: Pakistani/Bangladeshis are less likely than the other groups to listen to either the radio or records and tapes whereas they are more likely to do some dressmaking, needlework or knitting. All ethnic minorities are less likely than the White population to do DIY and gardening. (ONS, 1996:61).

- The Youth Lifestyles Survey from 1993, on behalf of Home Office, found that for young Indian people, going to the cinema, theatre or a concert was also a popular activity, but using a computer for pleasure was slightly more so. Pakistani/Bangladeshi young people were less likely to have participated in most of the activities than young people from any other ethnic group. The most common activity among Pakistani/Bangladeshis was using a computer for pleasure. (ONS, 1996:61).

30. Age structure

- The ethnic minority population generally has a much younger age structure than the White population reflecting past immigration and fertility patterns. (ONS, 1996:7).

- All of the ethnic minority populations have a younger age profile than the White population, with most of the groups being characterised by a small proportion of elderly people and a large proportion of children. (Schuman, 1999:40).

- The age structures of the different ethnic groups are very different from each other, which will have implications for future numbers in each group. (LRC, 1994:3).
There is a marked difference between the population pyramid for the Indian group and those for the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups. The latter two groups are characterised by large numbers of children, and decreasing proportions of people in increasing age groups. By contrast, the Indian population shows a more uniform structure, with similar sized age groups up to the age of 44. (Schuman, 1999:41).

The age profile of the Indian population follows that of the White population much more closely than the other South Asian populations, except in its lower numbers of people in the 65 and over bracket where it falls in between the White and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups. (ONS, 2001:32).

The Bangladeshi group also has a young age structure, with 40 per cent aged under 16 in 1999-00. This was double the proportion of the White group. In contrast, the White group had the highest proportion of people aged 65 and over at 16 per cent, compared with 4 per cent of the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group. (ONS, 2001:32).

The relatively young age structure of the ethnic minority groups leads to high child dependency ratios. This ratio is calculated as the number of children aged under 16 as a proportion of the number of people of working age. The second highest ratio (after ethnic minorities - other) was among those belonging to the Pakistani/Bangladeshi group, at 72. For every 100 people of working age there were 72 children aged under 16. In contrast the White group had the lowest child dependency ratio at only 33. (ONS, 1996:11).

Conversely, elderly dependency ratios were much lower for all the ethnic minority groups than for the White group. (ONS, 1996:11).

31. Gender

Males outnumbered females in all three of the South Asian groups. (ONS, 1996:11).

The greatest excess of males was in the Bangladeshi group where there were over 10 per cent more males than females. One reason for these differences is the different migration
histories of the ethnic groups. For example, the pattern of South Asian migration was typically one of men migrating first and being joined later by their wives and children. Bangladeshis, in particular, are more recent migrants and have been the slowest to complete the migration of whole families. (ONS, 1996:11).

- An excess of males over females in the Bangladeshi 60-74 age group - representing the early migrants to Britain - is clearly seen in the pyramid. (Schuman, 1999:40).

32. Family size

- South Asian households (those of Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin) usually contain children, tend to be large and are also the most likely to be made up of two or more families living together as an extended family. (ONS, 1996:7).

- The South Asian groups (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi) have the largest households of the various ethnic groups. In particular, Bangladeshi households contained an average of more than five people in 1991, which was about twice the size of households in the Black and the White groups. (ONS, 1996:20).

- South Asian households were also the most likely to be made up of two or more families: almost one in ten was of this type compared with only 1 in 100 households from both the Black and the White ethnic groups. These South Asian households may contain three generations with grandparents living with a married couple and their children. (ONS, 1996:20).

- The Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups are distinctive in having large proportions of children. This is a result of families tending to have a larger number of children than in other groups. (Schuman, 1999:40).

- Nearly half of all Bangladeshi households contained six people or more. (LRC, 1994:3).

33. Living patterns

- There is a strikingly low percentage of adults living alone in the three South Asian groups - Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi -
particularly for the Bangladeshis. This feature reflects, in part, the tendency of the South Asian groups to live in extended families. *(Schuman, 1999:41).*

### 34. Marriage

- South Asians marry at a younger age than any other ethnic group, and cohabitation is rare. Inter-ethnic partnerships are also relatively more common among Black people than South Asians. *(ONS, 1996:7).*

- Tradition and culture play an important part in the marriage patterns of some ethnic groups. Almost all young people in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh get married, and at a relatively young age. This tradition has tended to continue among these ethnic groups living in Great Britain. Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis follow very similar marriage patterns. *(ONS, 1996:7).*

- South Asian people who were born in this country are older when they first marry than those people who were born outside the UK. *(ONS, 1996:7).*

### 35. Language

- According to a survey by the Health Education Authority from 1992, of the three South Asian groups, people of Indian origin were the most likely to speak English while those of Bangladeshi origin were the least likely. In each of the three South Asian groups a higher proportion of men than women reported being able to speak English. This may be due to higher economic activity rates among men. *(ONS, 1996:13).*

- Similar results were found when people were asked about their ability to read English: three quarters of people from the Indian group reported that they could read English compared with a little over half of those belonging to the Bangladeshi group. *(ONS, 1996:13).*

- Among the South Asian groups, Indians were not only the most likely to speak English but they were also the most likely to speak it as their main language. However, slightly more Indians spoke Gujarati as their main language, which was spoken by just over
a third, while Punjabi was the main language of a further quarter. Punjabi was the main language of nearly half of Pakistanis. Almost three quarters of the Bangladeshi group said that Bengali was their main spoken language. (ONS, 1996:13).

36. Religion

- Nearly all of those belonging to the South Asian groups said they had a religion. Virtually all Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were Muslims. Around half of those belonging to the Indian group were Sikhs, while a further third followed the Hindu religion. (ONS, 1996:14).

- The Youth Lifestyles Survey, conducted by the Home Office in 1993, focused on youth aged 14-25 in England and Wales. The Survey found that attending religious services and meetings was much more common among young people from the ethnic minority groups than among young White people; young Indians were three times as likely to say that they had gone to a religious service or meeting than White young people. (ONS, 1996:62).

37. Tradition

- Many members of ethnic minority groups maintain links of one sort or another with their family’s country of origin. Most South Asian women wear ‘traditional’ clothes at least occasionally. (ONS, 1996:8).

- Around eight in ten Pakistani and Bangladeshi women said that they always wore ‘traditional’ clothes compared with fewer than one in ten men. Only four in ten Indian women reported always wearing traditional clothes and 0.6 men. (ONS, 1996:15).
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