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# **CONTRASTING PATTERNS OF INDIAN, PAKISTANI AND BANGLADESHI SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN**

## **SUMMARY**

In his paper the author deals with disparities in living and economic conditions between the main South Asian ethnic minorities in Great Britain based on the 1991 Census of Britain which, for the first time, posed a question on ethnicity. He discusses these differences taking into consideration age/sex structure, socio-economic profiles, educational levels, family patterns, housing conditions and geographical patterns. At the end, putting all these factors together, presented are a number of conclusions.

**KEY WORDS:** ethnic groups, South Asians, ethnicity, ethnic minorities, Great Britain, living and economic conditions, social structure

## **Introduction**

It has been argued that South Asians in Britain faced a Jewish future while the Caribbeans faced an Irish future. This is to say that South Asians, in general, had closed social structures (nuclear or extended families, ethnically homogeneous) and upward economic mobility (significant amounts of self-employment, professionalisation, suburbanisation and owner occupation). The Caribbean population was seen as having a more working class profile (a higher proportion of manual workers, less self employment, more council housing) and a more 'open' social structure (a large proportion of female headed households, more single mothers with dependent children, more cohabitation and more ethnically mixed marriages). It was more individuated and less communally based both in social and economic organisation.

However, one of the results of the 1991 Census of Great Britain has been to highlight the enormous disparities in living and economic conditions between the main South Asian ethnicities, rather than between the South Asians taken as a whole and the Caribbean population. The Indians and particularly those originating in East Africa, stand out as having a strongly upwardly mobile socio-economic profile while the Pakistanis and even more so the Bangladeshis stand out as being severely disadvantaged, far more so than the Caribbean population. The South Asian populations share social structures but differ substantially in economic terms.

The Jewish analogy remains helpful, however, because it contains two models. The first is the secularised group, economically integrated and successful, but maintaining a degree of social closure. The second is the orthodox and visually distinctive group of the Hasidic Jewish population with an inner city concentration and high degree of social closure.

## 1991 Census Results

The 1991 Census of Britain posed, for the first time, a question on ethnicity. According to the results, there were 3,000,000 members of non-European ethnic minorities living in Britain (5.5 per cent of the total population) of whom nearly half had their origins in South Asia. Indians number some 840,000, Pakistanis 476,000 and Bangladeshis 163,000. They form 2.7 per cent of the population of Great Britain. Although there has been a South Asian presence in Britain for nearly two hundred years (Fryer, 1984; Robinson, 1986, 26) numbers were very small until the post-war immigration.

*Table 1: Estimated Size and Growth of the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Ethnic Populations in Great Britain, 1951-1991*

	Indian	(of whom East African Asians)	Pakistani	Bangladeshi
1951	31,000		10,000	2,000
1961	81,000		25,000	6,000
1966	146,000		64,000	11,000
1971	375,000	68,000	119,000	22,000
1981	676,000	252,000	296,000	65,000
1991	840,000	244,000	477,000	163,000

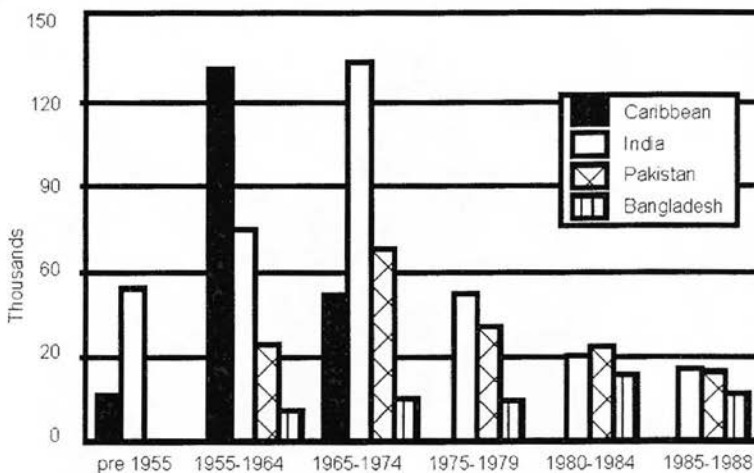
Sources: Pakistani figures 1951-1966 based on Peach and Winchester 1974, adjusted for separation of Bangladeshi component. Figures for 1971 based on Peach 1990. Bangladeshi population 1971-1981 from Peach 1990; Figures for 1951, 1961, 1966 based on Peach and Winchester 1974, adjusted from

Peach 1990. Indian figures based on Robinson's tables 4.1 and 4.2, chapter 4 in Peach, 1996b. The 1991 figure for East African Indians is calculated by taking the East African Asian (141,555) percentage of the total ethnic Indian population born outside the UK (487,807) = 29 per cent and applying it to the ethnic Indian total (840,255) = 243,831 (OPCS, 1993, Table 5).

## Dates of Arrival

Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis arrived in Britain in successive waves; the Indians first followed by the Pakistanis and the Bangladeshis most recently (see Figure 1). The large peak in Indian arrivals 1965-1974 coincided with the expulsion of East African Asians (Bhachu, 1985; Twaddle, 1990; Thai and Ghai, 1970) Post war growth can be divided into three approximate periods: (1) Pre 1962, the unregulated labour migration period before the imposition of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962. (2) 1963-1983 regulated labour flow and family reunification. The labour flow was progressively professionalised during this period. However, this period also saw the mass expulsion of about 200,000 East African Asians of largely Indian ethnicity (3) Post 1984, movement towards the majority of the ethnic populations being British born. These dates are approximate because the timing differs slightly for the

Figure 1: Dates of Arrival in Great Britain of the Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Population Present in 1988



Source: Labour Force Survey 1990 and 1991, London, HMSO, 1992, Table 6.39 p 38.

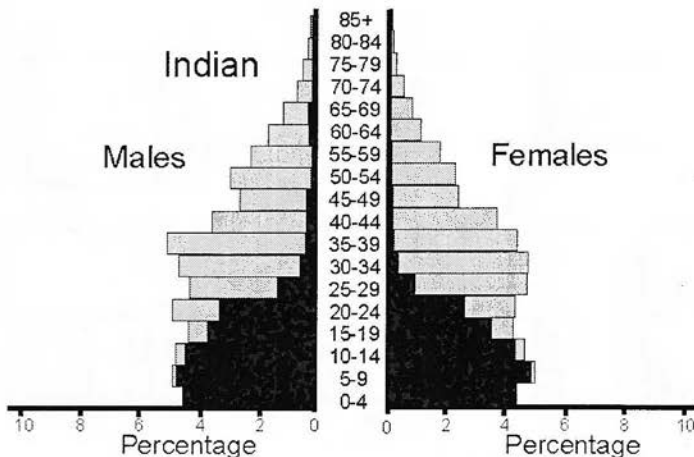
three main groups. The Indian movement was earlier than that for the Pakistanis, which in turn was earlier than for the Bangladeshis. While the peak of Indian and Pakistani settlement was 1965 to 1974, that for Bangladeshis was 1980 to 1984.

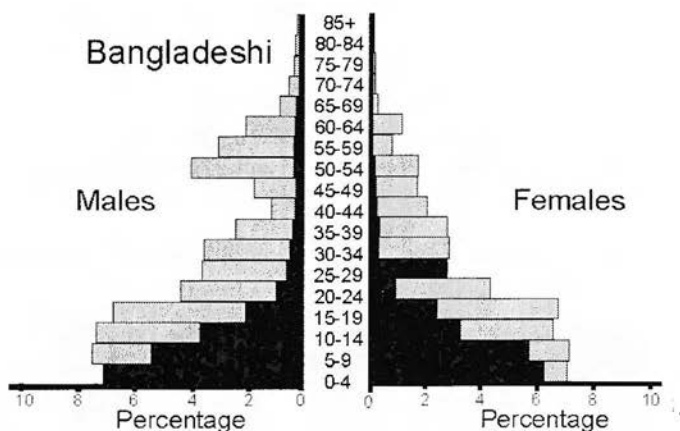
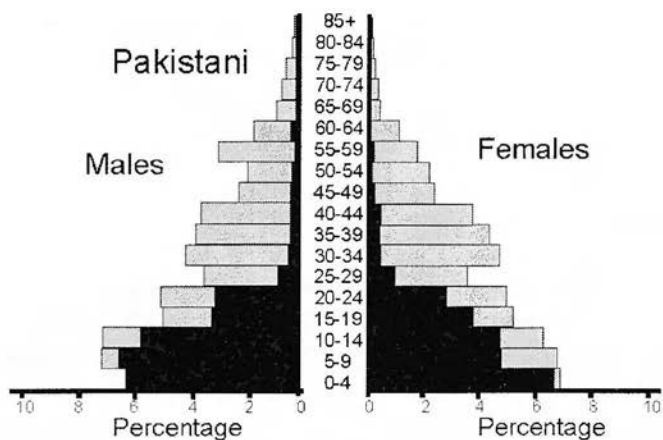
## Age/Sex Structure

The differences in timing of arrival are reflected in the different age/sex structure of the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations (see Figure 2). South Asian migration was characterised by the prior arrival of men, who later sent back for wives and families. The age sex pyramids show the overseas born in grey and the British born population in black. All three groups have a young demographic structure in comparison with that of the White population, but the Indian population is more mature than the Pakistani is, while the Bangladeshi structure is very irregular. In particular, the Bangladeshi population is still much more male dominated (100:64) than the Pakistani (100:94) while the Indian population is more balanced (100:99).

The male : female ratios suggest that family reunification has largely been completed for the Indians and Pakistanis, while for the Bangladeshis, there is still some

Figure 2





way to go. There is a sharp predominance of Bangladeshi men over women in the 50-65 year old age group, while in the 35-50 year old age groups this is reversed. It seems that older men sent back to Bangladesh for younger brides, once they had become established. The Samples of Anonymised Records (SARs) in the 1991 census shows that the average age of Bangladeshi husbands is ten years older than Bangladeshi wives (45.6 : 36.7) (Eade et al 1996).

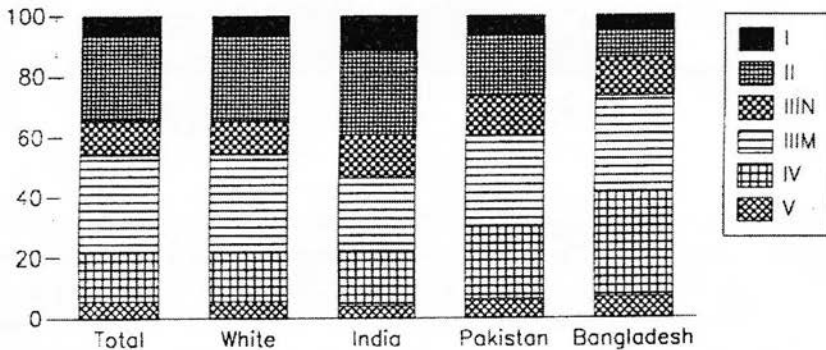
Half of the Pakistani ethnic population is British born. For the Indian population the figure is 47 per cent, while for the more recently arrived Bangladeshis, the figure drops to 35 per cent.

### Socio-Economic Profiles

There are some notable differences in the socio-economic profiles of the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations. The Indian profile is more white collared than that of the other South Asian groups and indeed, of the total population. In particular, it has a significantly higher percentage of men in Class I, the professional class (11.4 per cent versus 6.8). Over half (53 per cent) is in non-manual occupations compared with 45.7 per cent of the total population, 38 per cent of the Pakistani population and just over a quarter (26.6 per cent) of the Bangladeshi men (see Figure 3). The Indian population also has a higher proportion which is economically active (78.1 per cent compared with 73.3 per cent for Pakistani men, 72.4 per cent for Bangladeshis and 73.3 per cent for the total population). The Indian male unemployment rate is just above the average (13.4 per cent; that of the total population was 11.2 per cent) while the Pakistani and Bangladeshi rates are nearly three times as high (28.5 and 30.9 per cent respectively).

The differences in economic activity for women are very striking. While Indian female economic activity rates are higher than those of the total population (55.4 as against 49.9 per cent) those for the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis rates are less than

Figure 3: Socio-Economic Class of Men 16+ by Ethnicity, Great Britain 1991



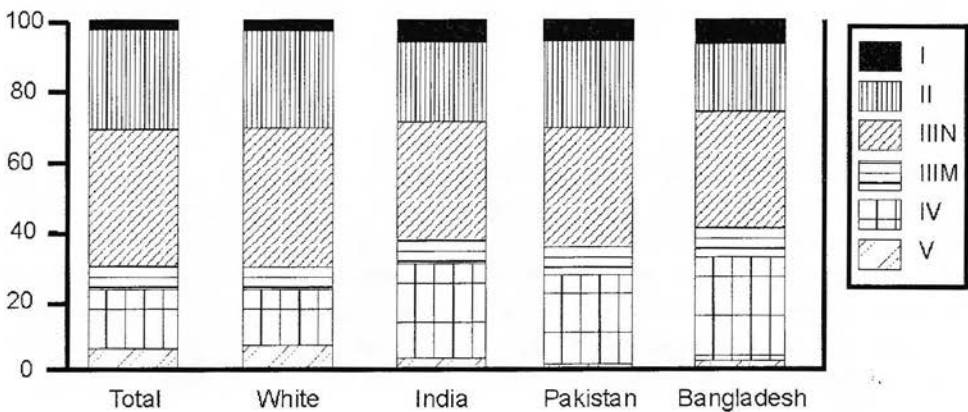
Source: OPCS, 1993, Table 10

half the Indian rates. This seems to be partly a reflection of the Islamic reluctance to let women go out to work (Ballard, 1990; 1996). Home working, often at low rates, is nevertheless common particularly among Bangladeshis in the rag trade in London (Eade, Vamplew and Peach, 1996).

Because of the low participation rates, the socio-economic pattern of women's occupations is perhaps less meaningful than that for men. However, their patterns are rather closer to those of the total population than was the case with the men and a somewhat higher (although still low) proportion of all three South Asian groups in class 1 than is the case for the total population (See Figure 4). On the other hand, a somewhat larger proportion than is the case in the White or total population is in manual occupations.

There is a striking amount of self-employment for the Indians and Pakistanis though the Bangladeshi rate is only slightly higher than the population as a whole (see Figure 5). Only the Chinese have a higher proportion of self-employed than the Indians and Pakistanis. Much of this employment relates to niche occupations in catering

Figure 4: Socio-Economic Class of Women 16+ by Ethnicity, Great Britain 1991

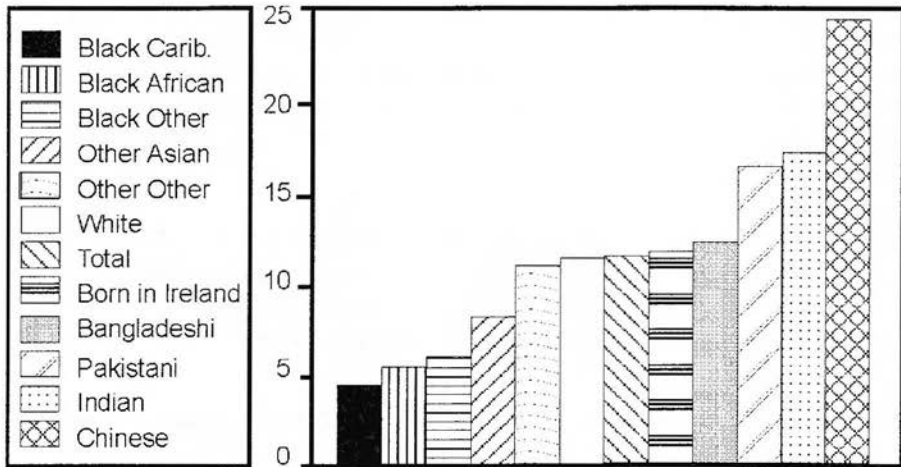


Source: OPCS, 1993, Table 10

(restaurants and take-aways) but also in shopkeeping and increasingly for Pakistanis in taxi driving (Ballard, 1996). The rag trade is also important in home working for Bangladeshi women in Tower Hamlets. Although these visible occupations are im-

portant, there is also significant representation of Indians in particular, in medicine, the law, accountancy and academia. In Oxford University in 1991, for example, four out of the 35 lecturers in economics were Indian.

Figure 5: Great Britain 1991, Percentage Economically Active Ethnic Group, Self-Employed



## Educational Levels

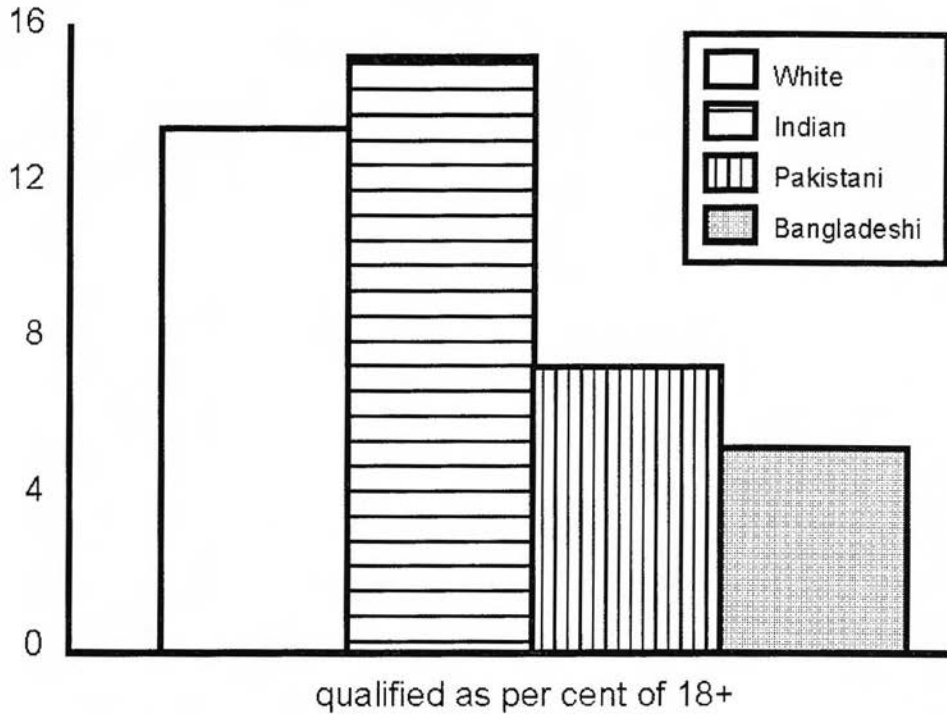
Socio-economic class is largely a reflection of educational qualifications and these, in turn, generally reflect pre-migration characteristics of the groups. In educational levels, Bangladeshis have the lowest qualifications of any ethnic group. Figure 6 shows that only 5 per cent of the Bangladeshi population over the age of 18 had any formal educational qualifications. For Pakistanis the figure was 7 per cent, which was itself less than half the Indian level. The Indians with 15 per cent were ahead of the white population, but were some way behind the Chinese and African population.

## Family Patterns

There are significant differences between the ethnic groups in terms of family structure. South Asians have very few single person households in comparison with most other groups. Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshis have less than 10 per cent in such households in comparison to about a quarter for all other groups. On the other



Figure 6: Percentage of the Total Population of Selected Ethnic Groups with Educational Qualifications



hand, the South Asian ethnicities have very much higher proportions in extended families (households with two or more families) than other groups. Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshis have just under 10 per cent in such households in comparison to under three per cent for other ethnicities. Similarly, cohabitation is rare for the South Asian ethnicities, with less than 2 per cent in such households compared with at least double that proportion for other non-Asian groups (see Table 2). The nominated head of household is almost always male, compared with, say the Caribbean population, where nearly half are women. There is very little ethnic mixing of spouses in South Asian households. In brief, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi households show a very conservative and traditional pattern.

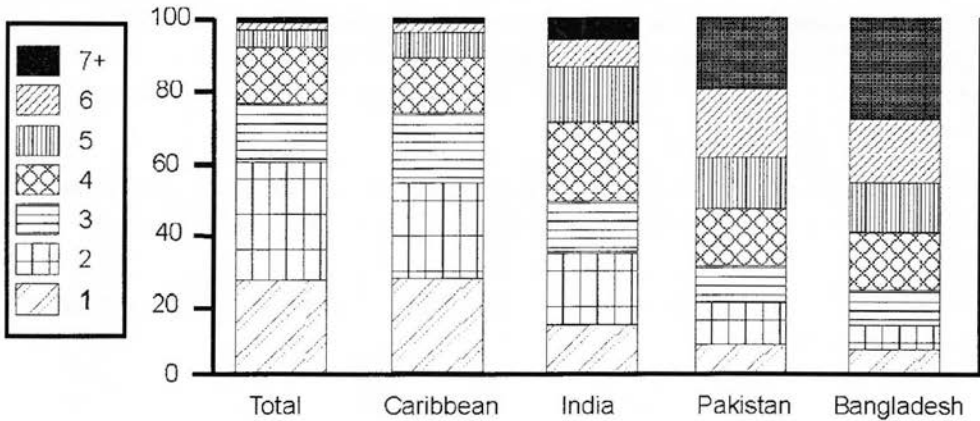
Table 2: Ethnic Groups by Household Structure, Great Britain 1991

	White	Black Caribbean	Indian	Paki- stani	Bangla- deshi	Chinese	Born in Ireland
<i>Households with no family</i>							
One person household	26.6	27.7	9.5	7.6	6.2	21.1	30.0
Two or more person household	3.2	4.2	2.7	2.9	4.3	9.1	4.9
<i>Households with one family</i>							
<i>Married couple family</i>							
With no children	24.8	10.3	12.7	7.3	4.7	13.7	21.0
With dependent children	21.8	13.8	49.7	58.3	63.6	38.6	17.3
With non-dependent children	8.7	7.5	8.1	4.1	2.4	4.9	10.5
<i>Cohabiting couple family</i>							
With no children	3.4	3.4	0.8	0.5	0.3	1.8	3.0
With dependent children	1.8	3.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	1.3
With non-dependent children	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.3
<i>Lone parent family</i>							
With dependent children	5.0	20.2	4.5	7.2	8.3	5.3	5.2
With non-dependent children	3.7	7.4	2.6	1.9	0.8	2.5	5.6
<i>Households with two or more families</i>	0.8	1.6	8.9	9.6	9.0	2.5	1.0
TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: OPCS 1993, vol. 2, Table 11, 770

Where South Asian families differ significantly from one another is in terms of family size. Over 60 per cent of Bangladeshi households were 5 persons or more and 50 per cent of the Pakistani headed families were this size. In contrast only a quarter of Indian headed families fell into this category. The average size of an Indian-born family head was 3.6; that for a Pakistani born head was 4.8 and that for a Bangladeshi born head was 5.4. The average for all families in Britain was 2.5 so Bangladeshi families were twice as big as the average (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Percentage Distribution of Household Size for Selected Groups, by Birthplace of Head, Great Britain 1991



Source: OPCS, 1993, Table H

## Housing Conditions

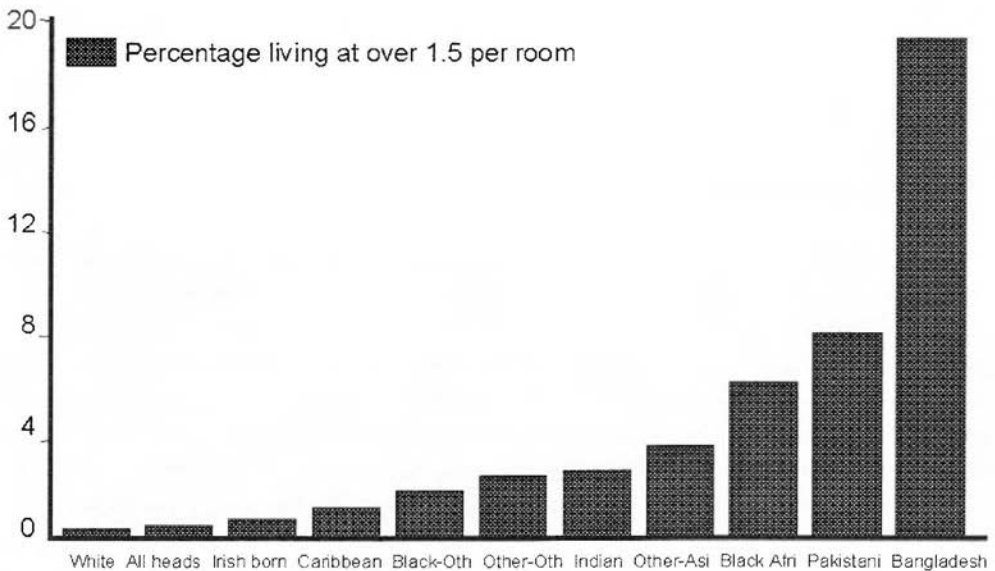
Although Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis share similar family structures, there are massive differences in living conditions. The main difference stems from average family size (see Figure 7). Nearly 30 per cent of households headed by a person born in Bangladesh are 7 persons or more. For the Pakistanis the figure is 21 per cent, but for Indians it was only 6 per cent and for the total population, less than 1 per cent. Bangladeshis also tended to live in smaller accommodation and therefore the degree of crowding and overcrowding was the worst of all ethnic minority populations (see Figure 8). The combination of large family size, manual employment, high unemployment, non participation of women in the formal labour force and cramped living conditions, particularly when joined to high levels of inner city segregation and low ability to speak English, places the Bangladeshi population in an encapsulated, separate environment, disadvantaged even by the poor standards of the Pakistanis.

The Pakistanis have made considerable progress relative to the more recently arrived Bangladeshis. They have an extremely high level of property ownership, although not quite as high as the Indians. Over three-quarters (77 per cent) of Pakistani

headed households owned or were buying their homes. This compares with 82 per cent of Indian households but 66 per cent of total households. The property tends to be inner city Victorian terraced housing, with problems of repair and maintenance. The Bangladeshis, on the other hand have flats as their modal form of home and nearly half of their households are in council or housing association tenancies. They have the lowest degree of facilities whether in terms of central heating or double-glazing.

Housing differed substantially between the groups in terms of type, tenure and location. Indians and Pakistanis lived overwhelmingly in houses rather than flats.

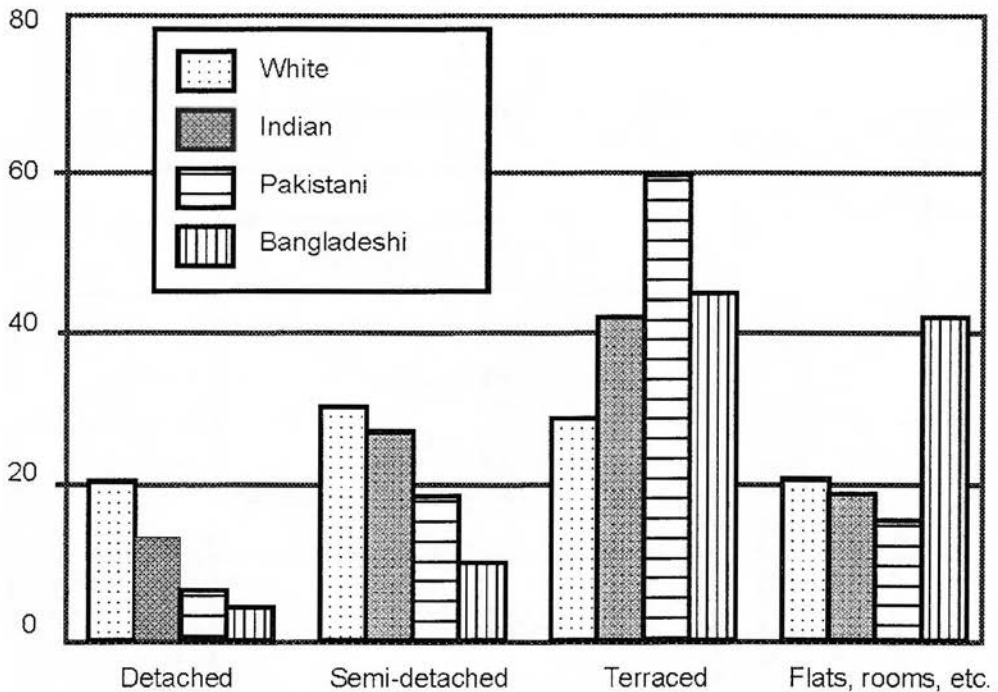
Figure 8: Percentage of Different Ethnic Groups Living at over 1.5 Persons per room, Great Britain 1991



However, Pakistanis tended to live in inner city Victorian terraces while Indians had a smaller proportion in terraces and larger share in semi-detached and detached houses. Bangladeshis had a much higher proportion of flats than the other two groups (see Figure 9).

In terms of tenure, even more striking contrasts occur. While two-thirds of the white population own their homes (or are buying them on mortgages), over three-quarters of the Pakistanis and 82 per cent of Indians do so. Bangladeshis, on the other hand, have the second highest dependence on local authority or housing association property of any ethnic group (see Figure 10) and home ownership is about half of the Indian level.

Figure 9: Contrast in House Types for Selected Groups



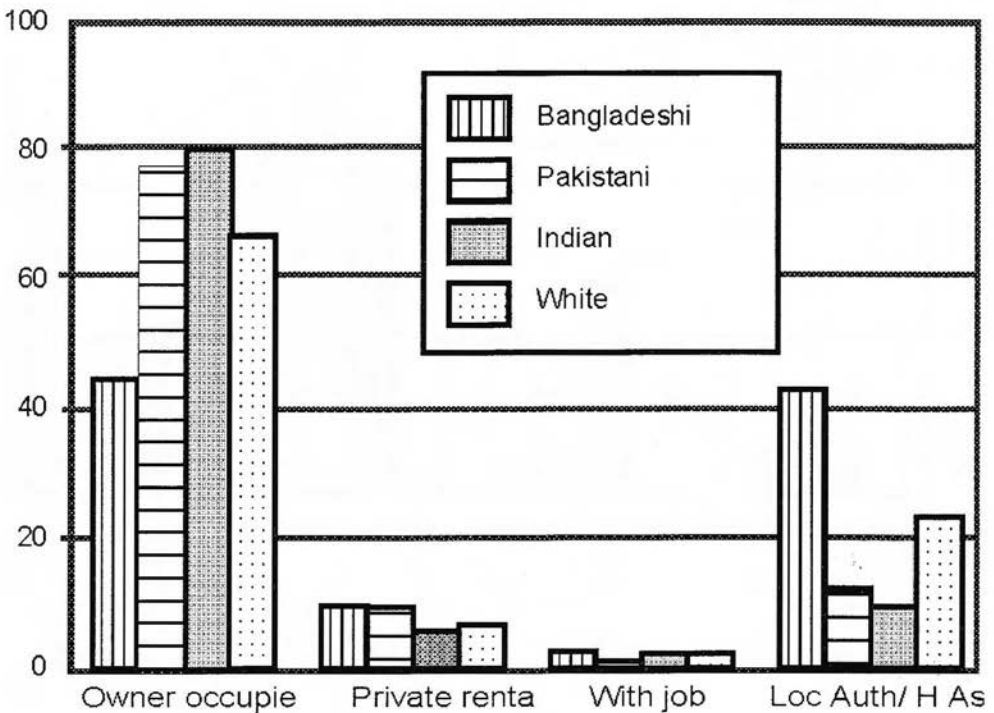
Source: OPCS, 1993

## Geographical Patterns

The three national groups show very different geographical distribution patterns both at the macro and micro levels. At the national level, Pakistanis have a much more Northern distribution than any of the other groups and a relative lack of concentration

on London: 36 per cent of the Pakistani population was living in Lancashire and Yorkshire compared with 12 per cent of Indians and 14 per cent of Bangladeshis (see Figure 11). On the other hand, only 30 per cent of Pakistanis were living in the South East compared with 53 per cent of Indians and 64 per cent of Bangladeshis. Indians and Pakistanis show a similar concentration on the West Midlands (19 and 21 per cent respectively) but Bangladeshis show a much lower concentration, only 12 per cent. The Pakistani pattern is partly the product of the factors controlling their earlier immigration. They were recruited in particular to industrial jobs, notably the textile mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire and also to metal working industries in the West Midlands. The Pakistani regional pattern shows little change between 1981 and 1991

Figure 10: Contrast in Housing Tenure for Selected Ethnic Groups

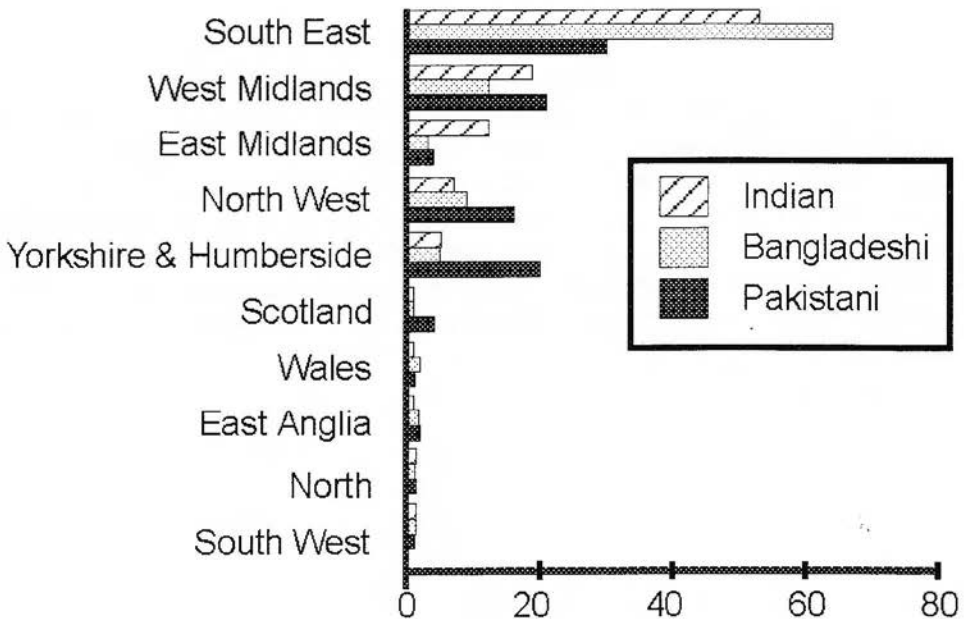


Source: OPCS

and such changes as have occurred have strengthened their relative concentration in weaker economic regions, such as the North West, Scotland and Wales.

Indians show a greater concentration on the Midlands and London. Robinson (1996: 101-102) has demonstrated that East African Indians show an even stronger South Eastern concentration than the Indian population as a whole: two-thirds of them were living there in 1991 compared with just over half of the total Indian ethnic population (see Table 3). The East Midlands were a particular area of settlement for East African Asians at the time of the expulsions.

Figure 11: Contrasts in Housing Tenure for Selected Ethnic Groups



Source: OPCS, 1993, Table 6

*Table 3: Regional Distribution of the Ethnic Indian Population, 1981 and 1991*

	Ethnic Indians 1991		Indians 1981	East African 1991	
	Number	Per cent	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Great Britain	840,255	100.0	100.0	211,535	100.0
England	823,821	98.0	96.6	209,437	99.0
Scotland	10,050	1.2	2.4	789	0.4
Wales	6,384	0.8	1.0	1,309	0.6
North	7,739	0.9	1.3	437	0.2
Yorkshire & Humbershire	40,752	4.8	6.3	4,707	2.2
East Midlands	98,859	11.8	9.2	33,206	15.7
East Anglia	6,492	0.8	1.1	1,954	0.9
South East	444,779	52.9	47.3	139,764	66.0
South West	10,915	1.3	3.0	2,308	1.1
West Midlands	158,731	18.9	20.3	17,828	8.4
North West	55,554	6.6	8.1	9,233	4.4

Source: Robinson, 1996; OPCS, 1993, Table 6

Robinson (1996) also demonstrates that there have been dramatic shifts in the geographical location of the Indian population between 1981 and 1991. During this period, the Indian percentage decreased in every region except the East Midlands and the South East. This swing was powered by the East African Indian population, which manifested some of the most remarkable shifts of any group in Britain during this period. In 1981, just over a quarter of the East African Indians lived in Outer London; by 1991, just under a half did so. In 1981, 20 per cent of East African Indians lived in the West Midlands; by 1991, that percentage had more than halved to 7 per cent (see Table 4).



*Table 4: Changes in Regional Distribution of the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Populations, 1981-1991*

	Indian		Bangladeshi		Pakistani	
	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981
England	98	97	97	97	94	95
Scotland	1	2	1	1	4	3
Wales	1	1	2	2	1	1
North	1	1	2	2	2	2
Yorkshire & Humbers	5	6	5	7	20	20
East Midlands	12	9	3	3	4	4
East Anglia	1	1	1	1	1	1
South East	53	51	64	58	30	32
South West	1	3	1	1	1	2
West Midlands	19	18	12	14	21	20
North West	7	7	9	11	16	15
Great Britain	100	100	100	100	100	100

Bangladeshis also show a high concentration on the South East and the West Midlands, where their degree of concentration has increased slightly between 1981 and 1991. The Bangladeshis are unique in their concentration on a single London Borough. Almost a quarter of the entire Bangladeshi population of Britain is located in Tower Hamlets.

*Table 5: Conurbation Distribution, 1981 and 1991 of Indian and East African Indian Ethnic Population*

	Ethnic Indians	Per cent	Per cent	East African Indians	Per cent	Per cent
	1991 Number	GB total 1991	GB total 1981	1991 Number	GB total 1991	GB total 1981
GB Total	840,255	100	100	211,535	100	100
Inner London	74,000	8.8	9.1	17,344	8.2	9.0
Outer London	273,091	32.5	24.1	97,439	46.1	27.9
Greater Manchester	29,741	3.5	4.4	5,922	2.8	3.8
Merseyside	2,646	0.3	0.5	170	0.1	0.4
South Yorkshire	3,526	0.4	0.6	405	0.2	0.5
Tyne and Wear	4,228	0.5	0.6	167	0.1	0.6
West Midlands	141,359	16.8	17.9	15,109	7.1	20.0
West Yorkshire	34,837	4.1	5.2	3,989	1.9	4.9
Conurbation Total	563,428	67.0	62.4	140,545	66.4	67.3

Source: Robinson, 1996, 1981 figures from CRE (1985)

At the level of the main metropolitan centres, Indians and Pakistanis show a similar degree of concentration, with just under two thirds being in the four main cities. Bangladeshis are more concentrated, with three-quarters in these cities (see Table 6).

*Table 6: Relative Concentration of Ethnic Minority Population in Selected Metropolitan Counties, Great Britain, 1991*

	Total	White	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladesh
Great Britain	54,888,844	51,873,794	840,255	476,555	162,835
Greater London	6,679,699	5,333,580	347,091	87,816	85,738
West Midlands Metropol. County	2,551,671	2,178,149	141,359	88,268	18,074
Greater Manchester Metropol. County	2,499,441	2,351,239	29,741	49,370	11,445
West Yorkshire Metropol. County	2,013,693	1,849,562	34,837	80,540	5,978
Percentage Ethnic group in named areas	25.04	22.58	65.82	64.21	74.45

Source: OPCS, 1993, Table 6

However, at the micro scale there are considerable differences. The first is that while the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis have an inner city distribution, the Indians are notably suburbanised. Over 80 per cent of London's Indians are in Outer London; over 80 per cent of Bangladeshis are in Inner London. It is true that Pakistanis also have an Outer London concentration: 66 Outer 33 Inner, but in the Northern and Midland cities, where they are concentrated, they are found in inner cities.

In terms of segregation levels, the Bangladeshis have the highest for any ethnic minority group in the country. Using the Index of Segregation, which ranges from 0 (no segregation) to 100 (complete segregation) averaged 69 in cities where there were over 1,000 Bangladeshis living. Pakistanis averaged nearly 10 points lower at 58 while Indians averaged a very modest 41. However, there is evidence that all three groups are tending to intensify their densities in areas of already established concentrations. This is in marked contrast with the Caribbean population in London, which shows strong outward movement (Peach, 1996).

## Conclusion

Putting all of these factors together, a number of conclusions appear. Bangladeshi household size is double the national average, but it lives in small house flats in poor inner city areas. The degree of crowding and overcrowding is the highest of any ethnic minority group. Amenity levels, such as double-glazing, central heating and car availability is low. Bangladeshis are among the groups most dependent on social housing. Bangladeshi wives do not go out to work and children tend to be young so that there is generally only one wage earner per household. The occupational structure is working class and educational levels are low. Unemployment rates, however, are high. Bangladeshis seem to experience extremes of economic disadvantage. Bangladeshi also experience the highest levels of segregation of any ethnic minority population in Britain (Peach, 1996). They also have among the highest percentage unable to speak English. They thus appear to be an isolated and encapsulated community.

Pakistanis share many of the characteristics of the Bangladeshis, but in a less extreme form. They have been in Britain, longer on average. They have a similar blue collar, working class structure and low levels of educational qualifications. They show high levels of segregation, but 10 point lower on average than those of the Bangladeshis. On the other hand, they have much higher proportions of self-employment than the Bangladeshis do and they have exceptionally high rates of home ownership.

The Indians represent the real success story among the South Asians. They have a higher proportion of members in the professional class than the white population. A majority of both the men and women are in white-collar occupations. Women, as well as men are highly integrated into the formal labour force, so that there are generally two adult earners per household.

It is clear that while Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis share many social characteristics of family organisation (arranged and ethnically homogeneous marriages, nuclear and extended families and a strong sense of *izzet*) and while much organisation is aimed at family rather than simply individual progress and despite high levels of self employment there is an enormous gulf between the economic success of the Indians at one end of the scale and Bangladeshis at the other. The Indians have become predominantly white collar and middle class. They have achieved higher levels of professionalisation than the white population and the second highest levels (behind the Chinese) of educational attainments. Anecdotal evidence indicates that many are sending their children to the elite fee paying public schools. Female employment in the formal labour market is relatively high and women are also pre-

dominantly in white-collar occupations. Home ownership is nearly at saturation point and the type of house is increasingly detached or semi-detached.

Pakistanis, on the other hand, have remained concentrated in older industrial cities, which have experienced the brunt of collapse in manufacturing jobs. Although they have bought their homes, to almost the same extent as the Indians, the properties are generally terraced inner city houses of a poor kind. Their children have gone to inner city state schools and parental concerns seem to centre on questions of religious observation (the supply of halal school meals, avoidance of gymnastics, swimming and dancing for girls, establishment of Islamic schools) rather than scholastic attainment. They have high levels of male self-employment, but generally in the lower end of the retail business, small shops rather than department stores, taxi driving rather than shipping fleets. Their businesses are often aimed at the ethnic rather than the general market (halal butchers rather than general butchery, for example). They have very low levels of female participation in the labour market and high levels of male unemployment.

The Bangladeshis, however, present a highly disadvantaged picture. Despite having similar family structures, they have, at present, a poor economic profile. They have a concentration in manual labour; they have low rates of female participation in the formal labour force; they have high rates of unemployment; they have low levels of educational qualification; they have a high dependence on council housing; they have low provision of amenities, such as central heating, double glazing or cars; they have large average family sizes and high rates of overcrowding; they show the highest degrees of segregation of any ethnic group in Britain and they are concentrated in one of the most deprived Boroughs in London. They have a very high dependence on welfare.

In other circumstances, this might be thought of as the conditions of an underclass, yet while the adverse economic conditions are present, there are also signs of ability to break away. The key phenomenon here is the relatively high percentage in self-employment. A significant part of the 'Indian' restaurant trade seems to be Bangladeshi controlled. There are signs of educational performance particularly among Bangladeshi girls.

The paper began with the idea of a Jewish model for South Asians in Britain. There is a paradox that we know more about the three South Asian groups than we do about their supposed model trajectory. However, if we take the supposed characteristics of the Jewish population in Britain as maintaining its social, religious and cultural identity, despite growing pressures of out-marriage; as being economically progressive, white collared, self employed, educationally highly qualified and as being con-

centrated in a small number of cities, suburbanised, but maintaining a significant degree of spatial concentration, then many of these elements apply to the Indians.

The model applies less well to the Pakistanis and to the Bangladeshis. However, the Jewish model outlined above is not the only Jewish model. There is a big difference between, for example, the traditional orthodox Hasidim and the more assimilated liberal Jewish tradition. The Hasidic Jews continue to wear traditional dress, to follow niche occupations, maintain arranged marriages and to live in segregated groups. It is this maintenance of community that seems similar to the Pakistani and Bangladeshi model.

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### **OPREČNI MODELI INDIJSKOG, PAKISTANSKOG I BANGLADEŠKOG NASELJAVANJA U VELIKU BRITANIJU**

#### **SAŽETAK**

U svom radu autor se bavi razlikama u životnim i ekonomskim uvjetima glavnih južnoazijskih etničkih manjina u Velikoj Britaniji na temelju popisa iz 1991. u kojemu je po prvi puta postavljeno pitanje etničnosti. On raspravlja o tim razlikama uzimajući u obzir starosnu/spolnu strukturu, društveno-ekonomske uvjete, obrazovnu razinu, uvjete stanovanja i zemljopisne obrasce. Na kraju, skupivši sve ove čimbenike, autor daje mnoge zaključke.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** etničke skupine, Južnoazijci, etničnost, etničke manjine, Velika Britanija, životni i ekonomski uvjeti, socijalna struktura