Interrogating Segregation: Re-Examining Socio-Economic Inequalities of South Asians in the UK

The spatial concentration of ethnic minorities has provoked much controversy in the western world and remains an issue at the centre of much social policy in the US and many European countries. Much of the academic literature stemming from the Chicago Schools' assimilationist theory has conceptualised and measured 'segregation' in spatial terms and related these measures to indicators of economic and social well being. However, more recently the way in which segregation has been conceptualised has shifted so that its historical use relating to a state imposed phenomenon has instead become a reference to ethnic minority concentrations that have 'self-segregated' (Phillips, 2005). As such this has implications for how associations between 'segregation' and socio-economic outcomes are interpreted. This paper aims to make sense of contemporary ethnic minority geographies in the UK, looking specifically at South Asian groups, by considering the historical processes of migration and settlement. Within this context, settlement in deprived inner city areas can explain poor outcomes in neighbourhoods with larger minority concentrations. However, I also argue that focus on the geographic location of ethnic minorities in a bid to improve their socio-economic circumstances detracts from the real structural issues that result in inequality. Empirical evidence shows that inequalities are worst in the most desirable neighbourhoods, contrary to the predictions of assimilationist theory, but persist across all neighbourhood types. Perhaps it is more important to see that the 'segregated' neighbourhoods have also become lived spaces and 'home', requiring direct state intervention for improved socio-economic circumstances.

Contemporary literature on segregation in the UK has been drawn from earlier work in the US where there is a long history of assessing the relationship between spatial concentration of minority groups and their socio-economic status (Duncan and Duncan, 1955, Duncan and Lieberson, 1959, Lieberson, 1961, Taeuber and Taeuber, 1964, Wilson and Portes, 1980, Sanders and Nee, 1987, Williams and Collins, 2001, Lee, 2004). Analysis of 'assimilatory

processes' is traceable to the Chicago school in the early twentieth century, in particular the work of Robert E. Park, W. I. Thomas and their collaborators. Work followed to dissect the concept of assimilation and ascribe to the term a series of processes that would occur as immigrants became part of the new society they entered (Gordon, 1964). While Milton Gordon's work has been highly influential key in his account is the argument that once 'structural assimilation' (by which he meant 'entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society' (Gordon, 1964, p.80)) has occurred all other types of assimilation would follow. 'This means in particular that prejudice and discrimination will decline (if not disappear), intermarriage will be common, and the minority's separate identity will wane' (Alba and Nee, 1997, p.830). An extension of this is the Chicago school's ecological hypothesis:

> Spatial assimilation… views the spatial distribution of groups as a reflection of their human capital and the state of their assimilation, broadly construed…As members of the minority groups acculturate and establish themselves in American labour markets, they attempt to leave behind less successful members of their groups and to convert occupational mobility and economic assimilation into residential gain, by "purchasing" residence in places with greater advantages and amenities. This process entails a tendency toward dispersion of minority group members, opening the way for increased contact with members of the ethnic majority and thus desegregation. According to the model, entry into relatively advantaged suburban communities that contain many whites is a key stage in the process' (Alba and Nee, 1997, p.836-837).

While the focus of this paper is not to argue for assimilation in the cultural sense nor establish causal mechanisms, the idea that greater equality is achieved in more 'White affluent' neighbourhoods is of interest, particularly in terms of how applicable it is to the UK.

This ecological hypothesis stems from a historical context in the U.S. in which segregation was imposed. This American apartheid system lay the roots of residential separation that remains today between African Americans and Whites (Williams and Collins, 2001). Legally instilled until the Brown versus Board of Education ruling, even after the Civil Rights Act of 1968 desegregation was protested with challenges made to the ruling in some northern cities as late as 1978 (Tindall and Shi, 1997), and the bussing of school children to create more ethnically mixed schools remains a matter of great political debate (see http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/). In contrast, in the UK, following the 1976 Race Relations Act, analysis of segregation as a tool to measure race-relations or socio-economic well being fell into abeyance when discriminatory acts such as the bussing of school children in Southall was deemed illegal. Following a period that embraced multiculturalism, segregation and its relation to various outcomes has only more recently been taken up in policy and academic circles. This has been most marked since 2001 when riots in declining industrial towns (and international events) led ethnic minority home spaces to be thought of as problematic. Reaction by the head of the CRE deemed areas of high ethnic minority concentration as self-segregated areas (Phillips, 2005). Areas of high ethnic minority concentration have therefore come onto take an altered meaning in the academic literature which has implications for how these areas and their socio-economic circumstances have become understood. Such a framing ignores the way in which ethnic minority concentrations have formed in the UK. This paper aims firstly to re-conceptualise South Asian geographies by exploring their formation to negate claims of self-segregation. I then go onto empirically examine whether greater equality is achieved in more affluent, less 'ethnically segregated' neighbourhoods as spatial assimilation theorists would predict.

South Asian geographies are complex and any framing of high concentration areas would be better if considered in the way in which they neighbourhoods have formed. Geographies are best understood when one considers migration history and the mass arrival of a Black workforce in the post-colonial context. While for the most part, immigrants arrived in industrialised urban areas where job opportunities requiring mostly semi-skilled and unskilled

labour were available that few indigenous workers were willing to do (Brah, 1996), there are also clear links between colonial processes and the location of the new commonwealth migrants. One example of this is shown in the city of Birmingham. Birmingham attracted a large Black migrant workforce post 1948 to work in its manufacturing industries, and in 2001 was the district with the largest non-white population. Early settlement of Black and Asian groups was in those deprived inner city areas close to the factories where work was available (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979). Evidence has shown this was a continuation of the processes before as there had been a significant Asian population working in these factories during World War Two. 'By April 1943, it was estimated that there were around… 800-1,000 [Indians] in Birmingham, with at least 112 Indian houses' (Visram, 2002, p.268) where Indians already present in Britain had found work in factories requiring labour to support the war effort. This group were mostly Bengali Muslims, largely ex-seamen, and Punjabis, both Sikhs and Muslims, and from the same regions in India where most South Asian migrants arriving post 1948 came.

Later analysis of the location of immigrant groups in the city showed that in 1981 Pakistanis were mostly concentrated in 'Saltley, Small Heath, Sparkhill, Sparkbrook, Washwood Heath and Deritend…[with] a second much smaller concentration in Soho, Handsworth and Aston', while Indians were mostly in 'Soho, Sandwell, Handsworth, All Saints and Rotton Park. There was also a smaller concentration in Sparkhill' (Henderson and Karn, 1987, p.28). Table 1.1 shows the wards with highest concentrations of each South Asian group in 2001. Ward boundaries and names have changed since 1981 which means the geographic comparison is not exact but the table does show the general pattern of distribution remains. The highest concentrations of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups are found in Small Heath, Sparkhill, Washwood Heath, Sparkbrook, Nechells (which includes 1981 Deritend), Handsworth, Aston and Soho. Similarly, the Indian group have their largest concentrations in Sandwell, Soho (which includes parts of 1981 Rotton Park and All Saints), Handsworth, Ladywood (which includes parts of Rotton Park), Hall Green and Sparkhill. It is clearly in this historical context that the geographies of ethnic minority groups must be seen.

There are comparable although less well researched links that could be made when one thinks of South Asian presence in other cities in the colonial period. 'By mid-1942, it was estimated that over 3,000 Indians were employed in various industries in Britain, in Birmingham, Bradford, Coventry, Huddersfield, Nottingham, Newcastle, Manchester, Sheffield and Wolverhampton; and in Southampton, Glasgow and London' (Visram, 2002, p.268), many of the cities that became home to larger communities in the post-war period.

While the colonial links can explain settlement geographies, the class positions of the arriving migrants in relation to the mode of production explain the neighbourhoods in which they settled in and the nature of work they undertook. It has been well documented that a combination of poverty and hostility forced Black and Asian migrants 'into poor private rental accommodation and the worst of owner-occupied housing in the declining inner cities' (Phillips, 1998, p.1682). Research into the situations of Black migrants in the 1960s and 1970s established that 'All immigrants had to go to live in areas where jobs in which they would be accepted were available; all tend to be confined to the lower level jobs; all tend to find difficulty in gaining access to council housing…all tend to have low earnings and hence have to buy poor quality housing in decaying central areas' (Smith, 1977, p.181, see also Daniel, 1968).   At the local level patterns of inner-city clustering, overcrowding and housing deprivation emerged. These patterns of settlement were reinforced by family and chain migration, as well as manufacturing recruitment processes, which led to the formation of more established communities (Simpson et al., 2006).

It is in this context that present-day geographies of ethnic minorities in the UK have emerged. However, in the contemporary context these patterns are complicated by the social mobility of some minorities which has led to greater dispersal and internal migration to more affluent neighbourhoods. Analysis of migration patterns has shown that both whites and non-whites are migrating out of areas with the highest levels of non-white concentration to areas with the lowest levels of non-white concentration, indicating a movement from

deprived inner-city areas to the suburbs and more affluent neighbourhoods for all groups (Simpson, 2004, 2007).

Nevertheless, a comparison of the areas with largest concentrations of ethnic minorities in 2001 with geographies of the 1960s shows how the settlement geographies of the latter period remain consistent with 'segregated' neighbourhoods in the former. In Britain, the 1966 Census showed that 56% of immigrants resided in the six major conurbations, compared with 36% of the total population (Castles and Kosack, 1985, p.49) with more than a third of all immigrants residing in Greater London. In 2001, analysis had moved on to distinguish between immigrants and UK born ethnic minorities, but evidence from the Census showed nearly half of all Britain's ethnic minority residents lived in London (Simpson et al., 2006, p.41) with highest concentrations in the regions that migrant labour had originally moved to (London, West Midlands, East Midlands, North West, Yorkshire and Humber, and the South East). Further, outside London, particular groups were shown to be most concentrated in particular regions, again reflecting the historical legacy of migration to the UK. Bangladeshis were most concentrated in the West Midlands and North West; Indians in the East and West Midlands and Pakistanis more equally distributed between London, the North West and West Midlands. That within these regions, higher concentrations of minorities remain in the poor neighbourhoods has been shown by other research. Work focusing on inequalities in health showed that 81 per cent of Pakistani and Bangladeshi people, and 49 per cent of Indian people lived in the bottom quintile of areas, using a standard area deprivation score (Nazroo, 2006).

While the colonial and post-colonial processes can explain the settlement patterns and locations of ethnic minorities, and contextualise the poverty of large proportions of these groups, these neighbourhoods should not be viewed as a static or fixed phenomenon, nor solely in negative terms. Within this debate the case that has been made by others, that Black home spaces have acted as sites of solidarity and resistance (Gilroy, 1992), are vibrant social spaces, lived spaces, and 'home' (Phillips, 2006), is often forgotten. In a qualitative study focusing on the experiences of Pakistani men growing up in

Bradford, alongside the narratives of experiences of poverty and racism are strong identifications with Bradford as home. As one interviewee explains:

> *'It's home and it's yours, too. It's not just a place where you have an address. It's a part of you, something you've grown up with. Bradford's mine, my town and that means we sort of know each other. I won't say I know all of it inside out but the Bradford that I do know, I know it as well as I know my own self. Without it, I wouldn't be me. I don't think I'd ever leave. The funny thing is, Bradford might as well be the whole world for me. Nearly everyone that I've ever known is in Bradford'* (Alam, 2006, p.61).

It is such sites where community organisations, places of worship and cultural activities have been able to flourish. As spaces that have acted to offset discrimination (Phillips, 2006) calls for dispersal of such populations and 'de-segregation' are as problematic as the state-imposed segregation that has occurred elsewhere. Indeed this was recognised in the mid 1970s when the dispersal housing policy being implemented by Birmingham City Council was ruled discriminatory (Henderson and Karn, 1987, chap.9) and similar acts were legislated against with the 1976 Race Relations Act.

Such cultural spaces have been the exact target of more recent criticisms which have re-emerged to argue that they foster alternative values and norms (Goodhart, 2004), issues that have become the heart of the integration and cohesion agenda (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007), squashing issues of inequality which remain. While this issue has been critiqued elsewhere (Kalra and Kapoor, forthcoming), much of the earlier work in the segregation field was based on a premise that spatial integration led to improved outcomes for minorities and therefore equality. This position continues to be upheld by some (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002, Johnston et al., 2007) although there has been little empirical evidence for the UK to show that inequality is actually reduced in more affluent neighbourhoods or those

with smaller ethnic minority populations[1]. This is something I will go onto examine in a later part of this paper, but first it is necessary to say something about the issue of socio-economic inequalities experienced by ethnic minorities in the UK.

Socio-Economic Inequalities in the UK

Research into socio-economic inequalities experienced by ethnic minorities has been prolific over the past fifty years (Collins, 1957, Daniel, 1968, Smith, 1977, Rex and Tomlinson, 1979, Bhat et al., 1988, Modood et al., 1997, Simpson et al., 2006). Quantitative evidence has documented the persistence of inequalities in health (Nazroo, 2006), education (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000), employment (Heath and Li, 2007), housing and income (Berthoud, 2000) often concluding that racial discrimination remains a significant cause. Much of this work though has focused at the national level, so inequalities across different neighbourhoods are less well known. Nevertheless, more recent evidence has shown such inequalities still remain for all minority groups, and persist for ethnic minorities born in the UK (Simpson et al., 2006). The issue remains therefore not just for more recently arrived immigrants but for ethnic minorities as a whole. In fact, analysis of the 2001 Census showed 'the net disadvantage of ethnic minorities in the labour market has become greater for men born in the UK' (Simpson et al, 2006, p.2). That is, that despite gaining higher qualifications on average than their overseas-born parents, ethnic penalties remain and there is even greater unemployment for Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Caribbean men born in the UK. Similarly, analysis of health outcomes has shown that poor health has persisted for non-migrant ethnic minorities and may even be worse for those born in the UK (Nazroo, 1997). Likewise research into educational inequality has shown Pakistani and Caribbean pupils have not shared equally in rising GCSE attainment levels increasing the inequality in recent years for these groups (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000).

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[1] Most have tended to focus on comparing outcomes of the same group, rather than make a comparison with the majority population in the same neighbourhood.

One of the domains where inequality has been frequently documented is in the labour market. In 1971 work by the Runnymede Trust (1980) showed that Black minorities held far more unskilled or semi-skilled jobs than the White British population and that the unemployment rate of Black youth was much higher than that of their white peers. Young Blacks in employment had to try harder and took longer to find jobs that their white contemporaries. Nevertheless, more recent evidence has suggested circumstances have improved, although some continue to show worse outcomes than others (Li and Heath, 2007). Research into employment disadvantage has continued to find lower employment rates, higher levels of unemployment, higher rates of economic inactivity, and for some groups a disproportionate number in semi and low skilled jobs (Simpson et al., 2006).

Inequalities in education show similar findings. A report for the Office for Standards in Education showed that while inequalities varied from one area to another distinct patterns of inequality were visible (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000). Inequalities in attainment of GSCES were most severe for African-Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils and while social class and gender differences were associated with inequalities, ethnic/racial inequalities remained for these groups. Racism in schools and the educational system has been shown to play a persistent part in explaining this remaining disadvantage (Gillborn, 1990, Wright, 1992).

Analysis of household income has shown the variation both within and between ethnic groups (Berthoud, 2000). While there are differences in the extent of income inequality between ethnic groups, there are also differences amongst the same ethnic group. Overall, it has been found that poverty within Pakistani and Bangladeshi households is particularly high (Berthoud, 1997). Analysis of the fourth national survey of ethnic minorities found that 'more than four out of five Pakistani and Bangladeshi households fell below a benchmark which affected only a fifth of white non-pensioners' (Berthoud, 1997, p.180). However, Caribbean and Indian households were also more likely to be in poverty than Whites.

Similarly there is diversity amongst the health experiences of ethnic minorities in the UK (Nazroo, 2006). While Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese people are all more likely to report fair or poor health than the White English ethnic group, there is variation within the minority groups. This is most notable amongst South Asians, with Bangladeshis reporting the worst health, followed by Pakistanis and then Indians. This diversity in health experience reflects the differences in migration history, and the economic experiences of these groups. Indeed, it has been shown that when a variety of socio-economic differences are considered, including income differences, the health inequalities between groups are much reduced (Nazroo, 1997, 2006). Inequalities in one domain therefore may have a knock on effect in other areas, further exacerbating overall inequality.

Soxio-economic inequalities clearly persist for minority groups, albeit to different extents. This remains an issue for ethnic minorities born in the UK as well as immigrants. But is it the case that they are reduced or removed in less deprived neighbourhoods and neighbourhoods where there are smaller proportions of others from the same ethnic group?

III Inequality and the neighbourhood

The relationship between the spatial distribution and concentration of ethnic minorities and their socio-economic well-being is a much contested issue. Critics of assimilationist theories have argued for alternative frameworks in which to analyse improved outcomes and experiences of ethnic minorities. Some have argued for an ethnic enclave thesis with empirical evidence to show that immigrant minorities can remain spatially concentrated, be less culturally assimilated and do better than minorities in the mainstream economy (Wilson and Portes, 1980, Portes and Bach, 1985). Within the assimilationist framework there is mixed evidence. While some argue that living in less segregated areas leads to better outcomes in employment (Clark and Drinkwater, 2002), health (ref), and education (Lee, 2004), others point to the benefits of group solidarity (Gilroy, 1987, Halpern, 1993) which include social support that make high concentration areas 'home'. Less of this

research in the UK has examined the inequality in these neighbourhoods so in a bid to argue circumstances are improved for minorities living in more 'White affluent' neighbourhoods, focus is often on comparison same group living in different neighbourhoods, rather than a comparison with the White majority group living in the same place (Clark and Drinkwater, 2007, Johnston et al., 2007). Work on the patterns of 'segregation' has shown that minority groups in the UK are much less enclosed that African Americans in the US (Peach, 1978, 1996, 2006) and it is recognised that in the UK neighbourhoods with large ethnic minority populations are mostly diverse neighbourhoods (Simpson et al, 2006). In this context it is feasible to compare members of the White British ethnic group with South Asian minorities within different neighbourhood types.

I categorise neighbourhoods by both the deprivation score and the proportion of people from each South Asian group within them. For the quantitative data analysis that follows I use aggregate data from the 2001 UK Census for England and Wales. Neighbourhoods are defined as Lower Super Output Areas (LSOA) which are geographies that have been constructed for Census purposes encompassing 1,000-1,500 people and designed with homogeneity in mind. As such they are quite a fitting geography both in size and type for neighbourhood representation. Limitation to aggregate form though means individual factors cannot be taken into account. However, given data is available on health and employment rates for different ethnic groups at this level, the ethnic composition can be calculated, and neighbourhood deprivation scores are also measured at this geography, the basic trends of inequality can be established with this data. In order to measure inequality I calculate a relative rate, so the proportional difference in outcomes is measured. As such the equality rate has been calculated as:

Relative inequality = SAO_n / WBO_n
SAO_n = *South Asian outcome in neighbourhood n*
WBO_n = *White British outcome in neighbourhood n*

I focus on two socio-economic outcomes in this paper; the first is unemployment rates as an indicator of labour market differences between groups and the second is self-reported poor health rates, as an indicator of health differences.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of neighbourhoods according to the proportion of each South Asian group within them. Neighbourhoods without the particular South Asian population are excluded from the analyses, and because of data inaccuracy in neighbourhoods with very small populations, (areas with less than seven of each population), have also been removed. Nevertheless, a large number of neighbourhoods across the country remain for each group. The box plots have been weighted by the population of each group within the neighbourhood to give greater weight to neighbourhoods with larger populations. As such the line representing the median LSOA also indicates half the population of each group.

The graphs show half of the Bangladeshi population live in an area where there are 10% or less Bangladeshis, although there are some neighbourhoods in Tower Hamlets and Oldham with particularly large Bangladeshi populations. Half the Indian population live in neighbourhoods with 12% or less Indians but there are some neighbourhoods with much higher populations compared to the average in Leicester and Bolton. Half the Pakistani population live in neighbourhoods with 17% or less Pakistanis. In contrast to all three South Asian groups half the White British population live in neighbourhoods with at least a 96% White British population and three-quarters of areas have a White British population of 91%. There are some areas with a high proportion of non-white groups, for example in Leicester, Blackburn with Darwen, Bradford, Birmingham and in some London boroughs. This shows that neighbourhoods with high proportions of South Asians are also diverse neighbourhoods, and that in the UK these minority groups are not particularly segregated from other groups.

When we compare the average deprivation scores of neighbourhoods for the different ethnic groups, we see much higher scores for the Bangladeshi and

Pakistani groups in particular, compared to the White British. Figure 2 shows boxplots for each ethnic group which have again been weighted by the size of the ethnic minority population within the neighbourhood. We see that half the Bangladeshi population are located in neighbourhoods with a deprivation score of 44 or higher, the median neighbourhood deprivation score for the Pakistani ethnic group is 39, for the Indian group it is 23. For the White British group it is16. On average Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are much more likely to live in deprived neighbourhoods, supporting the evidence found in the literature. Neighbourhoods with high concentrations and high deprivation levels are likely to be reflective of the settlement areas discussed earlier[2], while more affluent neighbourhoods with smaller concentrations, the areas that spatial assimilationist theorists predict more equality to be.

Prior to discussion of the relationship between the neighbourhood and socio-economic inequality, it is necessary to establish the extent of inequalities across neighbourhoods. National level analysis of inequalities is based on an average where in some areas there may be little or no inequality for ethnic minorities and in other places differences between the minorities and the majority group are particularly high. Assimilationist theories would predict that equal outcomes are most likely in neighbourhoods where social mobility has occurred and minority groups are located in less deprived neighbourhoods with smaller concentrations of co-ethnics. Analysis of the distribution of inequality across neighbourhoods shows that an inequality persists across a high proportion of neighbourhoods for each group (see figure 3), and that these distributions are positively skewed so as well as there being wide variation between neighbourhoods some areas have particularly high levels of inequality compared to the average. When unemployment inequality is examined we see in just over 50% of areas there is an inequality experienced by the Indian group. For the Pakistani group there is an inequality in about 75% of LSOAs. For the Bangladeshi group there is an unemployment inequality in approximately 80% of LSOAs.

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[2] Ideally we would want to classify settlement areas according to where immigrant populations were residing in the 1950s, 60s and 70s. This is work I am currently involved in but for now my analysis is limited to looking only at neighbourhood concentration and deprivation in 2001.

Analysis of health inequality shows a more similar experience for all three South Asian groups (see figure 4). Again inequality for all groups is positively distributed so as well as neighbourhood variation some neighbourhood have particularly high levels of inequality. In just over 50% of areas where the Bangladeshi group reside there is a Bangladeshi health inequality. An inequality is present in 75% of neighbourhoods for the Pakistani group. For the Indian group an inequality persists in about 60% of LSOAs. Both indicators show there is variation across neighbourhoods for each group, with inequality being particularly prevalent in some areas and less of an issue in others.

Analysis of inequality rates in neighbourhoods categorised by concentration and deprivation levels and in neighbourhoods classified by both concentration and deprivation, however, does not support spatial assimilationist theories to show less inequality in more affluent, less concentrated neighbourhoods. Rather we see greatest inequality levels in the more affluent areas. Table 2.1 shows the unemployment inequality rates for each South Asian group in neighbourhoods categorised by the percentage of each South Asian group within it. The results show inequality is greatest in the least concentrated areas, although for the Indian group there is little difference between areas. Generally the Indian and Pakistani populations do not make the same improvement as the White British population across area types so inequality increases. For the Bangladeshi group the association appears to go in the opposite direction and inequality increases as concentration increases, except for those in the lowest concentration areas, where the inequality score is 2.6. This is most clearly understood when one considers the types of areas where the South Asian groups are most concentrated. For Pakistanis, the highest concentrations are in Bradford, Rochdale, Calderdale, Oldham (as well as Birmingham), where the former are declining industrial towns that also have particularly high White British unemployment and are not areas that generally attract young professionals or have alternative high employment industries. In contrast the highest concentrations of Bangladeshis are found in Tower

Hamlets and Newham, areas with young, single White British populations working in London.

Table 2.2 shows unemployment inequality in neighbourhoods characterised by deprivation. Here we see a greater difference between neighbourhoods with inequality levels much higher in the least deprived neighbourhoods. For the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups it is more than double the inequality score in the most deprived neighbourhoods and for the Indian group it is just less than double. For the Indian group in the most deprived neighbourhoods there is no inequality. Finally, table 2.3 categories neighbourhoods by both concentration and deprivation. In order to classify neighbourhoods as high/low concentration or high/low deprivation, the median score for each group's population has been taken as the dividing point. For unemployment this means areas that are classed as high concentration contain half of the economically active for each group, and the same for deprivation. The results in Table 2.3 show for the Pakistani and Indian group inequality is greatest in the least concentrated, least deprived neighbourhoods, although overall inequality does not change as the concentration of the neighbourhood changes but as the deprivation of the neighbourhood changes. Deprivation matters more than concentration for all three groups, although for Bangladeshi group there appears to be slightly greater disadvantage in high concentration neighbourhoods as well.

Table 3.1 shows health inequality rates in neighbourhoods classified by concentration. The figures show there is little difference in inequality across neighbourhoods when they are classed this way and inequality rates are similar for all South Asian groups. The general trend is that inequality rates are slightly higher in low concentration areas. Inequality is greatest in the least deprived neighbourhoods. There is a more significant difference between neighbourhoods when they are classed by deprivation (table 3.2). Here it is in the most deprived neighbourhoods that there are equal outcomes for the Asian and White British groups, with higher levels of inequality is the less deprived neighbourhoods. When we consider both neighbourhood factors, the inequality scores show that for the Indian group inequality varies

only slightly across neighbourhood types but is worst in least deprived neighbourhoods. For the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups inequality is also worse in the least deprived neighbourhoods and varies little or not at all with concentration.

Clearly then living amongst one's own is not the most important factor in explaining patterns of inequality, nor do relative circumstances seem to improve in less deprived neighbourhoods. Key in this discussion is the segregation within the White British group and the differences in socio-economic outcomes experienced by the White middle classes and the working classes. When the South Asian groups are compared with the White British within their neighbourhood socio-economic well being is more similar in the most deprived areas, but minority groups do not make the same improvement as the White British group living in the more affluent neighbourhoods. This requires us to question the extent to which spatial movement does indicate more equality and to consider the more entrenched structural factors that persist across space and place, factors referred to in much of the inequality literature (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000, Karlsen et al., 2002, Heath and Cheung, 2006).

Within this paper I have aimed firstly to re-frame South Asian geographies within a context that recognises the way in which they have formed and secondly, to establish whether geographical location is really a reflection of, or a means of achieving equality. South Asian geographies in the UK have formed in the context of colonial and post-colonial processes that brought these people to the UK. Demand for semi and unskilled labour in manufacturing industries in metropolitan districts and industrial towns and discriminatory housing practices led to settlement in deprived inner-city areas. While these populations have grown and dispersed, high concentration areas largely remain within these areas. One might predict levels of unemployment, education qualifications to be worse in such neighbourhoods as a result. However, predictions of greater equality in more affluent 'White' neighbourhoods are not substantiated with empirical evidence. When one considers inequality within areas, rates are worst in the more affluent places

and living in an area with high proportions of one's own has little or no effect. Although the levels of inequality vary, it appears to persist across geographies, suggesting there are more fundamental entrenched issues that require tackling, with the state as the agent rather than sole reliance on minority groups.

Tables and Figures

Table 1 Wards with highest concentrations of South Asian groups, Birmingham 2001

Pakistani		Indian		Bangladeshi	
Small Heath	50.59	Sandwell	36.77	Aston	16.07
Sparkhill	45.45	Soho	26.72	Handsworth	10.91
Washwood Heath	41.46	Handsworth	18.66	Sparkbrook	10.34
Sparkbrook	40.45	Ladywood	11.64	Small Heath	8.71
Nechells	37.24	Hall Green	11.15	Nechells	4.47
Handsworth	25.24	Sparkhill	10.36	Soho	3.86
Aston	21.02	Edgbaston	8.94	Sparkhill	3.85
Soho	13.97	Perry Barr	7.35	Washwood Heath	3.41
Moseley	13.95	Fox Hollies	7.03		
Ladywood	10.65	Moseley	6.39		
Fox Hollies	8.52	Quinton	5.85		
Hall Green	8.31	Sparkbrook	5.73		
Sandwell	6.72	Harborne	4.20		
Edgbaston	5.63	Aston	4.19		
Stockland Green	5.5	Acock's Green	4.18		
Acock's Green	5.4	Small Heath	4.06		
Yardley	5.23	Selly Oak	3.43		
Hodge Hill	4.47				

Figure 1 Distribution of Co-ethnic Concentration across Neighbourhoods

% of Bangladeshis in Bangladeshi Neighbourhoods

Percentage Bangladeshi in neighbourhood

Cases weighted by Bangladeshi

% of Indians in Indian Neighbourhoods

Percentage Indian in neighbourhood

Cases weighted by Indian

% of Pakistanis in Pakistani Neighbourhoods

Percentage Pakistani in neighbourhood

Cases weighted by Pakistani

% of White British in White British Neighbourhoods

Percent White British in neighbourhood

Cases weighted by Number of White British

Figure 2 Distribution of Neighbourhood Deprivations Scores

Deprivation Scores of Bangladeshi Neighbourhoods

Deprivation scores
Cases weighted by number of Bangladeshi in neighbourhood

Deprivation Scores in Indian Neighbourhoods

Deprivation scores
Cases weighted by number of Indians in neighbourhoods

Deprivation Scores in Pakistani Neighbourhoods

Deprivation scores
Cases weighted by number of Pakistani in neighbourhood

Deprivation Scores of White British Neighbourhoods

Deprivation score
Cases weighted by number of White British in neighbourhood
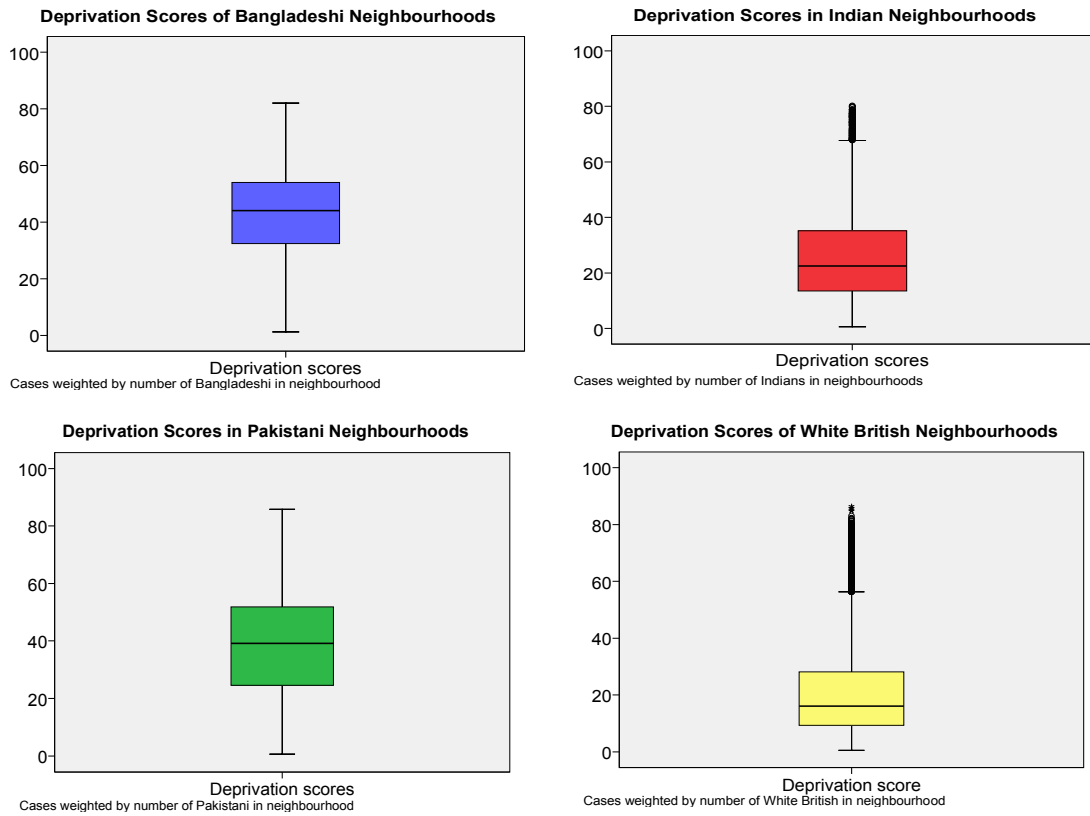
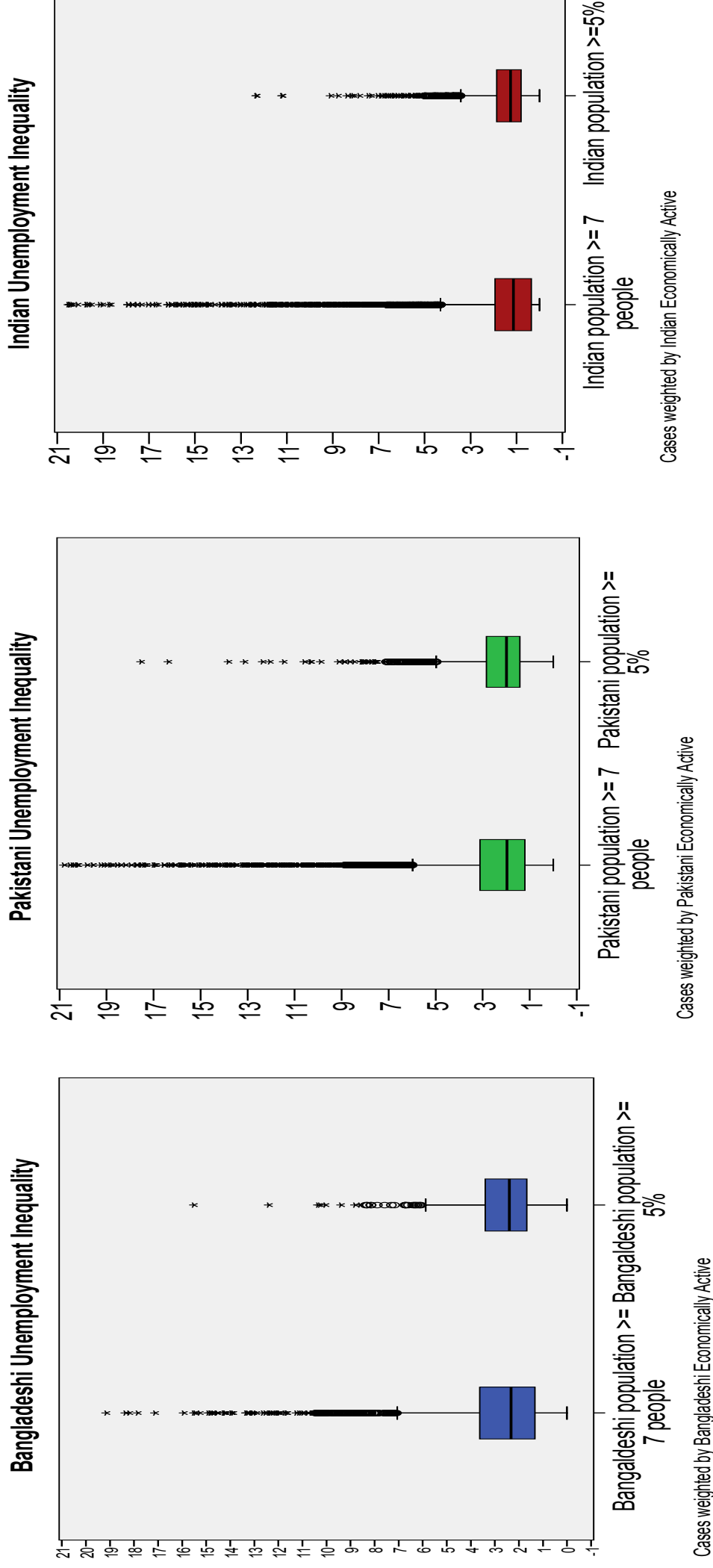Figure 3 Distribution of Neighbourhood Unemployment Inequality in England and Wales

Figure 4 Distribution of Neighbourhood Poor Health Inequality in England and Wales
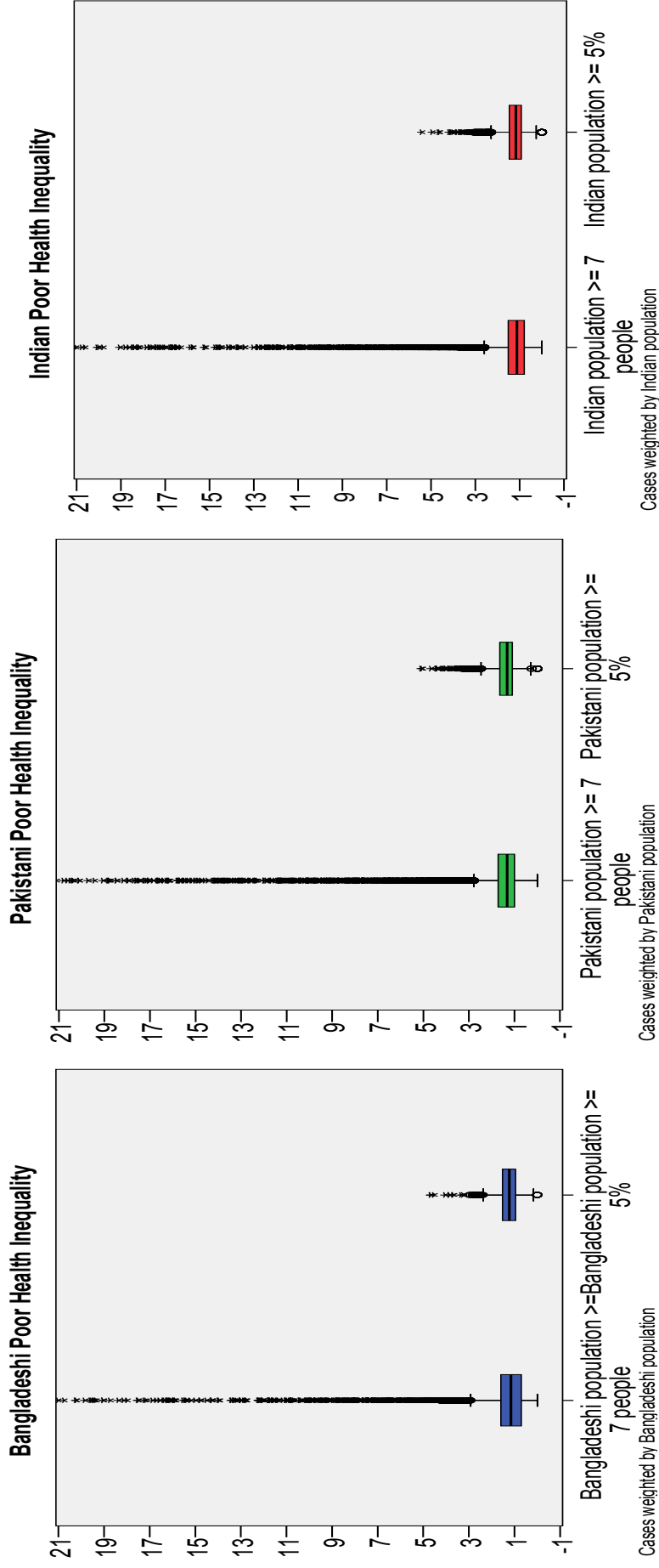
Table 2.1 Co-ethnic concentration and Unemployment Inequality

Concentration (%)	Bangladeshi Unemployment Inequality	Pakistani Unemployment Inequality	Indian Unemployment Inequality
0-5	2.6 (1426)	2.5 (3395)	1.4 (8528)
5-10	2.2 (324)	2.3 (823)	1.4 (1423)
10-20	2.3 (196)	2.1 (518)	1.4 (779)
20-30	2.5 (62)	2.1 (202)	1.2 (355)
30-40	2.8 (35)	2.0 (122)	1.4 (162)
Over 40	3.1 (51)	1.9 (188)	1.2 (170)

N= Number of LSOAs in each category shown in parentheses.

Table 2.2 Neighbourhood Deprivation and Unemployment Inequality

LSOA IMD score	Bangladeshi Unemployment Inequality	Pakistani Unemployment Inequality	Indian Unemployment Inequality
Least deprived 0-20	3.4 (369)	3.1 (1865)	1.7 (6014)
20-40	3.1 (855)	2.5 (2108)	1.3 (3733)
40-60	2.3 (703)	2.0 (990)	1.2 (1397)
Most deprived Over 60	1.6 (167)	1.5 (285)	0.9 (273)

N= Number of LSOAs in each category shown in parentheses.

Table 2.3 Unemployment inequality in neighbourhoods characterised by co-ethnic concentration and deprivation

Unemployment Inequality	High deprivation	Low deprivation
High concentration	1.9 (446) 2.2 (171) 1.2 (696)	2.7 (196) 3.4 (101) 1.5 (528)
Low concentration	1.9 (1073) 1.7 (489) 1.2 (4347)	2.8 (3533) 3.0 (1333) 1.6 (5846)

N is shown in parentheses.
Pakistani Bangladeshi Indian

Table 3.1 Co-ethnic concentration and Poor Health Inequality

Concentration	Bangladeshi Poor Health Inequality	Pakistani Poor Health Inequality	Indian Poor Health Inequality
0-5	1.4 (4928)	1.5 (7937)	1.1 (13126)
5-10	1.3 (324)	1.4 (824)	1.3 (1423)
10-20	1.2 (197)	1.4 (518)	1.3 (780)
20-30	1.2 (62)	1.3 (202)	1.2 (355)
30-40	1.2 (35)	1.4 (122)	1.2 (162)
Over 40	1.3 (51)	1.3 (188)	1.2 (170)

N= Number of LSOAs in each category shown in parentheses.

Table 3.2 Neighbourhood Deprivation and Unemployment Inequality

LSOA IMD score	Bangladeshi Poor Health Inequality	Pakistani Poor Health Inequality	Indian Poor Health Inequality
0-20	1.4 (1695)	1.7 (3953)	1.3 (8665)
20-40	1.5 (2330)	1.5 (3654)	1.1 (4951)
40-60	1.2 (1300)	1.3 (1710)	1.1 (1973)
Over 60	1.0 (272)	1.1 (474)	1.0 (427)

N= Number of LSOAs in each category shown in parentheses.

Table 3.3 Poor health inequality in neighbourhoods characterised by co-ethnic concentration and deprivation

Poor Health Inequality	High deprivation	Low deprivation
High concentration	1.2 (395) 1.2 (198) 1.1 (649)	1.5 (209) 1.5 (112) 1.3 (576)
Low concentration	1.3 (964) 1.1 (990) 1.1 (5747)	1.7 (3680) 1.5 (4297) 1.2 (9044)

N for every mean is shown in parentheses.
Pakistani Bangladeshi Indian

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