

The settlement patterns and residential histories of older Gujaratis, Punjabis and Sylhetis in Birmingham, England

VANESSA BURHOLT*

ABSTRACT

Britain's minority ethnic groups are numerous and diverse, and among them there are complex relationships between their origins, the timing of their arrival by decade and the age of the migrants, their geographical distribution in Britain, and gender differences in their occupational status distributions. All of these lifecourse attributes have implications for the migrants' situations as they reach old age. To advance our knowledge and understanding of these factors, this paper examines the lifecourse of a sample of 303 South Asian older migrants living in Birmingham, England's second largest city. The sample included 103 Gujaratis, 100 Punjabis, and 100 Sylhetis. The paper examines their living arrangements, education and language abilities, occupational status, and settlement and moves within the United Kingdom. The associations between ethnic group membership, gender and pre-migration histories are related to differences in their settlement patterns and residential mobility in Britain. The findings show variations in the timing, chronology and locations of each ethnic group's major lifecourse events, in the meanings associated with the events, and in the outcomes in late life. The similarities and differences between the ethnic groups and between men and women are discussed with regard to the current socio-economic situation of ethnic older people in the UK and the prospect for continuing inequalities.

KEY WORDS – Asian communities, older people, Birmingham, relocation, ethnic segregation, social exclusion.

Introduction

The United Kingdom (UK) is an increasingly multi-cultural society and over the next decade an increasing number of the immigrants who from the 1960s came to the country from South Asia will reach old age. At the time of the 1991 population census, four per cent of the (self-defined) Indian-origin population and one per cent of the Bangladeshi-origin population living in the UK were aged 65 and more years, compared with

* Centre for Social Policy Research and Development, University of Wales, Bangor.

17 per cent of people born in the United Kingdom (Owen 1993).¹ In the early 1990s, it was predicted that the proportion of Asian elders in the population would increase three to seven times as older immigrants moved into the retirement age group (Patel 1993). Over the last ten years, the proportion of the South Asian origin population in the older age groups has increased, while among those born in the United Kingdom it did not change. According to the 2001 census, 6.6 per cent of the Indian population and 3.2 per cent of the Bangladeshi population in the UK were aged 65 and more years.

Emigration from South Asia to the UK was strongest from particular areas such as Sylhet in Bangladesh, and the Punjab and Gujarat in India. Specific features of the migrations from different areas have been well documented.² The peak of migration to the UK for the Gujaratis and Punjabis was during the 1970s but for the Bangladeshis it was a decade later (Modood *et al.* 1997). As is characteristic of international labour migrants, the majority of South Asian immigrants to Britain were single men between the ages of 20 and 29 years (Carey and Shukur 1985; Dusenbery 1986; Gardner 1993; Helweg 1986; Khan 1991). As a consequence, until recently there have been very few older people in these populations, and, like other ethnic minority older people in Britain, their older members have received little research attention.³

An international migration commonly disrupts the normal timing of lifecourse events such as childbearing and marriage, but there is little information about the precise impacts for specific migrant and ethnic groups (Blackwell 2000). Disturbances to the lifecourse may reinforce the disadvantage and exclusion associated with moving to another country. The seminal United States studies of its 'society of migrants' framed the adjustments made by immigrants in the new country in terms of acculturation, which Redfield *et al.* (1936: 149) defined as, 'those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups'. Thirty years later, a theory of assimilation was developed that focused on integration into the host society (Gordon 1964). Recent contributions based on the British and European experience have tended to reject early acculturation theory as too simplistic, and especially have criticised linear or unidirectional 'stage' models and their lack of attention to the variable modifiability of religious and cultural identities (Adrados 1993; Rogler *et al.* 1991; Salant and Lauderdale 2001). It is now generally agreed that cultural research needs to consider complexity and context, especially when examining human development and the ageing process (Eckensberger 1973; Hermans and Kempen 1998; Jackson and Antonucci 1994; Markides *et al.* 1990; Ogbu 1994).

Despite the valid criticisms of acculturation and assimilation theory, the factors it identified as influential in the migrants' experience still require attention. Studies have used place of birth, cohort, age at immigration, duration of residence and reasons for moving as measures of acculturation. Age at immigration has a clear impact on the lives of immigrants, for those who arrive as children experience the new country very differently from those who arrive as adults (Salant and Lauderdale 2001). The education and occupational credentials gained in the source country may not be recognised or valued in the host country (Berthoud 2000; Chiswick and Miller 1985; Friedberg 2000; Kee 1995; Schaafsma and Sweetman 2001). In addition, the labour market experiences of young adults who spent at least some of their childhood in the host country may be different from those who arrive in middle age with work experience and skills that are little demanded in the new country. The linguistic and cultural challenges may also differ according to the age at arrival (Daniel 1968; Rose 1969; Schaafsma and Sweetman 2001).

Duration of residence is also an important consideration. It is generally assumed that increased duration of stay is associated with increased social contacts and interaction with the host society (Salant and Lauderdale 2001). It is thought that increases in interaction with the majority population and a country's bureaucratic and institutional infrastructure lead to better language and communication skills and knowledge of the new country, especially with regard to the labour market and health and welfare services (Dawson *et al.* 1996; Ginn and Arber 2001; Leclere *et al.* 1994; Tran 1990). However, the associations between duration of residence, the development of life skills, and assimilation into the host country are not linear. Duration of residence interacts with the timing of critical lifecourse events and this results in complex implications for both the acquisition of skills and the redundancy of others (Adrados 1993; Rogler *et al.* 1991).

Duration of residence may also be an important influence on income in later life through employment history and pension contributions (Ginn and Arber 2001). The occupational history is of prime importance, for to be entitled to a full UK state pension, a man needs to have paid *National Insurance* contributions for 44 years, and a woman for 39 years. Given the timing of their migrations (especially from East Africa in the 1970s), South Asian migrants are unlikely to be entitled to a full state pension, especially as many Asian men experienced periods of unemployment (Brown 1984; Drew 1995; Jones 1993). The reasons commonly given for inactivity in the later working years are 'sickness, disability and retirement' (Brown 2000). It has been suggested that these reasons mask early retirements prompted by the migrants' disadvantaged position in the workforce and discrimination against ethnic minorities (Ginn and Arber 2001; Modood *et al.* 1997).

Occupation and income are intricately linked to housing, settlement and resettlement patterns. The early migrants were economically motivated and were needed to overcome labour shortages and to fill low-paid and arduous jobs that native-born residents did not want (Dusenbery 1986; Miles 1982; Piore 1979). The result was that concentrations of the migrants formed in Britain's large conurbations such as London and Birmingham (Carey and Shukur 1985; Gardner 1993; Jones 1970, 1979; Phillips 1998). Immigrants also went in large numbers to the metal manufacturing areas of the West Midlands and to the textile towns of the North West and West Yorkshire (Mahmood 1995; Runnymede Trust 1980). The material conditions of newly-arrived migrants were poor. At the local level, poverty meant that immigrants inhabited private-rented accommodation or shared the worst owner-occupied housing in inner cities (Ballard 1986; Chowdhury 1993; Khanum 1994; Lomas and Monck 1975; Portes and Rumbaut 1990; Rose 1969; Smith 1989).

The size of an ethnic group and its spatial distribution influences the social resources available to new immigrants and their subsequent patterns of relocation within the host country (Frisbie *et al.* 2001; Robinson 1992). An ethnic cluster promotes solidarity through large, strong social networks and provides social capital that, for example, helps in finding jobs (Ballard 1986; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). Living in an area with a single predominant ethnic group (sometimes referred to as an 'ethnic enclave') is also likely to impact on social integration into mainstream society by decreasing the returns from conformity to expected behaviour and norms (Leclere *et al.* 1994; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Salant and Lauderdale 2001). Ethnic clustering does however have a downside. It has been noted that historically the type and availability of jobs are limited in areas of settlement for ethnic minority groups (Berthoud 2000; Phillips 1998). The decline of the British manufacturing industry during the 1980s resulted in a 50 per cent rise in unemployment among Asian industrial workers (Ballard 1986). On the whole, ethnic minorities have shown a 'hyper-cyclical' pattern of employment: they have experienced the fastest rise in unemployment during economic downturns, and the fastest rises in employment during the recoveries (Berthoud 2000). The cyclical pattern contributes to both relatively low lifetime income and poor pension entitlements in later life (Ginn and Arber 2001).

The reasons for the original migrations differed among the ethnic groups and may be related to their variable attitudinal and psychological adjustments to the new country. There has been considerable interest in the different levels of stress experienced by voluntary and involuntary migrants such as asylum seekers (Aldrich and Mendkoff 1963; Baglioni 1989; Bourestom 1984; Hasselkus 1978; Rapoport 1978; Salant and Lauderdale

2001). There are several types of voluntary migration, including emigration for professional or economic reasons and family reunification. It is however important to note that, in a household, one person is usually responsible for the decision to migrate which leads to differential enthusiasm for the move: it is not unusual for some members to migrate volitionally and some to be impelled. Consequently, the post-migration adjustments of individual family members may be diverse.

The effect of gender on acculturation and assimilation is less clearly established (Salant and Lauderdale 2001). It has been suggested that the process of adjustment to a new society is slower for women (Ghuman 2000). It is well known that within ethnic groups there are gender differences in education (Blackburn *et al.* 1996; Modood and Shiner 1994), fluency in the national language of the host country (Alexander 1999; Donaldson 1986), and cultural norms and traditions (Ginn and Arber 2001), all of which affect women's employment prospects. Women's participation in the labour force varies by ethnic groups (Elias and Gregory 1992; Leffler 1992; McGuire and Reskin 1993; Modood *et al.* 1997; Office of National Statistics 1996; Owen 1994; West and Pilgrim 1995). In turn, lower levels of employment (and language skills) impact on ethnic women's social contacts with people outside their ethnic group, and consequently the life experiences after the migration of men and women can be very different.

The research literature also indicates complex relationships between the mean and distribution of an ethnic group's ages at immigration, durations of residence in the adopted country, geographical distribution, socio-economic status and their lifecourse development and experiences. American research with 'new' migrant groups has focused on a few factors that influence the acculturation of young adults and adolescents (Angel and Angel 1992; Jackson and Sellers 2001; Tran 1990; Tran *et al.* 1996). This paper aims to make a different contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the life experience of ethnic minority older people in Britain. Its emphasis is upon the diversity of the experiences of three ethnic groups that most of the host population could not differentiate, and also examines variations by gender and ages of arrival. The differences in the groups' settlement patterns and residential mobility are related to their pre-migration histories to build up a picture of their distinctive life experiences and their circumstances in and on the threshold of old age.

Research design and methodology

The sample was composed of 303 South Asian origin elders (aged 55+ years), including 103 from Gujarat, 100 from East Punjab (both States of

the Republic of India), and 100 from Sylhet, a district of Bangladesh, living in the City of Birmingham in the West Midlands of England. The sample was drawn with the assistance of local ethnic community associations. Access to potential respondents was sought through temples, mosques and *gurdwaras*, day centres, women's groups and other informal meeting places for elders, such as drop-in centres. To supplement the lists of respondents supplied by the ethnic associations, 'snowballing' was used. This method was successfully used to identify an ethnic sample in a 'Health and Ethnicity' project in Liverpool (Boneham *et al.* 1997). The use of general medical practitioner patient lists as a sampling frame normally results in an under-representation of ethnic groups in a population sample (Saunders *et al.* 1993; Sin 2004). The interviews were conducted between January 2001 and May 2002 in the respondent's native language (Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu or Bangla), and wherever possible in the respondent's own home, but some preferred to be interviewed in a private room at a community or day centre.

Residential setting

Some areas of Birmingham have had high concentrations of South Asians for decades (Jones 1970). The Gujarati elders recruited into the study lived mainly in the southeast suburbs of Sparkhill, Hall Green and Billesley; the Punjabi elders were mainly located in Lozells and Handsworth; and the Sylheti respondents lived in Alum Rock and Aston. A brief description of these various areas will be helpful. *Sparkhill* is a deprived inner city area four kilometres southeast of the city centre with high unemployment and a poor environment (Birmingham City Council 2002). It has mainly older owner-occupied and private-rented terraced housing but also considerable non-profit Housing Association accommodation. The population in 1998 was 29,800 and they were mainly from minority ethnic groups. Over one-tenth (12%) were aged 60 and more years (National Statistics Online 2002*a*). The area has received £30 million of British government and European Union funds for urban regeneration (Birmingham City Council 2002).

Hall Green is situated on the southeast boundary of the City, approximately seven kilometres southeast of the city centre. It has mainly inter-war owner-occupied family housing and a predominantly white population with a slightly older age profile than the City. The resident population in mid-1998 was 26,200, and more than one-fifth (21%) were aged 60 and more years (National Statistics Online 2002*b*). *Billesley* is also on the city's southern boundary approximately seven kilometres from the city centre. It is similar to Hall Green, having inter-war and post-war family housing

with a predominantly white population. The resident population in mid-1998 was 27,600, and over one-fifth (21%) were aged 60 and more years (National Statistics Online 2002*c*).

Lozells and *Handsworth* are approximately four kilometres north of the city centre. *Handsworth* has mainly pre-1919 owner-occupied and private-rented dwellings but with many pockets of post-1945 public housing and Housing Association properties. Over half the residents belong to ethnic minority groups. *Lozells* and *Handsworth* have been the focus of racial tensions and discontent. In September 1985, the police conducted 'blanket raids' on Black and Asian meeting places, and their 'stop-and-search' policy raised tensions with the ethnic minority groups which escalated to riots. After the *Handsworth* riots, the community worked with the local authority to rebuild community relations (Birmingham City Council 2002). *Aston* is approximately three kilometres north of the city centre. It grew during the early 19th century, when small factories, workshops and clusters of shops were established as well as a few large factories.⁴ A majority of the 19th-century terraced housing has been demolished and replaced by mainly post-1945 council (social) housing. Nearly half the residents belong to ethnic minority groups.

Findings

Age structure and living arrangements

The sample socio-demographic data show differences among the three ethnic groups (Table 1). The mean ages of the Gujaratis, Punjabis and Sylhetis were respectively 66.5, 68.4 and 64.4 years. There was a significantly high percentage of the Sylhetis in the 60–64 years age group, but among the Punjabis a high percentage in the oldest age group (75+ years). In all groups, a majority of the sample were married but the highest percentage was among the Sylhetis. All of the Punjabi and Sylheti sample had been or were married at the time of the survey.

The three ethnic groups' household compositions also differed. Whereas over one-quarter of the Gujaratis lived alone, only 14 per cent of the Punjabis and none of the Sylheti sample did so. A majority of the Punjabis lived only with a spouse. The most substantial difference between the groups was the proportion living in multi-generational households, for over 90 per cent of the Sylheti sample were in such households compared with under half of the other two groups. This difference is reflected in the number of people in a household. Over one-third of the Gujaratis and Punjabis lived in two-person households: among the Sylhetis, about one-third lived in five or more person households.

TABLE I. *Profiles of the samples*

| | Gujaratis % | Punjabis % | Sylhetis % |
|-----------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Age groups (years)* | | | |
| 55-59 | 22 | 14 | 21 |
| 60-64 | 23 | 19 | 31 |
| 65-69 | 18 | 25 | 26 |
| 70-74 | 18 | 17 | 16 |
| 75+ | 18 | 25 | 6 |
| Gender | | | |
| Male | 49 | 49 | 54 |
| Female | 52 | 51 | 46 |
| Marital status** | | | |
| Never married | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Married | 54 | 71 | 82 |
| Widowed | 33 | 27 | 16 |
| Divorced/separated | 10 | 2 | 2 |
| Household composition** | | | |
| Alone | 26 | 14 | 0 |
| With spouse/partner only | 30 | 37 | 9 |
| With younger (2) generation | 23 | 24 | 44 |
| In 3 or 4 generations house | 19 | 25 | 47 |
| Other | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Number in household** | | | |
| 1 | 26 | 14 | 0 |
| 2 | 37 | 38 | 9 |
| 3-4 | 20 | 17 | 16 |
| 5-6 | 12 | 26 | 38 |
| 7+ | 5 | 5 | 37 |
| Sample size | 103 | 100 | 100 |

Significance levels: Pearson chi-squared tests: * $p = < 0.05$, ** $p = < 0.001$.

Some evidence about trends in household size and other social indicators can be gained by comparing this study's sample estimates with figures from the 1991 population census and from estimates made by Evandrou (2000) by pooling 1991 and 1996 *General Household Survey* (GHS) data for Great Britain. Only broad indications are gained, however, because of inconsistencies in the area definitions and ethnic group categories. In 1991 in Great Britain, the average size of Indian households was 4.2 and of White households 2.5 (Owen 1993). The Punjabis' mean household size was 3.5 people (standard deviation 2.3), similar to that for Indian households (3.8) in the 1991 population census data, but the sample mean household size for Gujaratis was closer to the White census figure (2.4) than that for Indians (3.8). Overall, the sample estimates suggest that during the 1990s there has been a marked reduction in the size of Gujarati and Punjabi households and that an increasing proportion of Indians live alone. There

TABLE 2. *Education and language skills by ethnic group and gender.*

| | Gujaratis | | | Punjabis | | | Sylhetis | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|----|----|----------|----|----|----------|----|----|
| | All | M | F | All | M | F | All | M | F |
| | Percentages | | | | | | | | |
| Full-time education** | | | | | | | | | |
| None | 7 | 4 | 9 | 39 | 33 | 45 | 57 | 41 | 76 |
| 1–5 years | 40 | 36 | 43 | 11 | 6 | 16 | 22 | 32 | 11 |
| 6–10 years | 22 | 18 | 26 | 19 | 20 | 18 | 14 | 15 | 13 |
| 11–15 years | 15 | 22 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 11 | 0 |
| 16+ years | 17 | 20 | 13 | 23 | 33 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Speak English* | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 33 | 24 | 42 | 46 | 27 | 65 | 55 | 32 | 83 |
| Yes | 67 | 76 | 59 | 54 | 74 | 35 | 45 | 69 | 17 |
| Sample size | 103 | 50 | 53 | 100 | 49 | 51 | 100 | 54 | 46 |

Note: M=male and F=female. Significance levels from Pearson chi-squared tests: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.001$.

is a strong suggestion that the prevalence of multi-generational households has declined.

The Bangladeshis do not however appear to be sharing in the trend towards smaller and nuclear households. A study in London showed that multi-generational households were the most common household form for this ethnic group (Burholt *et al.* 2000). The 1991/96 GHS estimate was that only two per cent of Bangladeshis and Pakistanis over the age of 60 years lived alone (Evandrou 2000). In the 2001/02 Birmingham sample, the mean household size of 5.9 for Bangladeshis was greater than the 1991/96 GHS estimate for Bangladeshi and Pakistani households (4.6), but similar to that from the 1991 census for the West Midlands (5.7) (Owen 1993).

Education and language

Education is an important foundation of social inequalities and is linked to income, health and wellbeing (Blane *et al.* 1996; Evandrou 2000). There were significant differences between the groups in their education levels (Table 2). The Sylheti respondents were the most likely to have had *no* school education, while the Gujaratis were most likely to have had one to five years full-time education, and the Punjabis the most likely to have had more than 16 years of full-time education. A majority of the respondents (who went to school) were taught in their native tongue. Around half (55%) of the Gujaratis were taught in Gujarati, and half (52%) of the Punjabis were taught in Punjabi, but on the other hand 80 per cent of the Sylhetis were taught in Bangla or Sylheti. Consequently, fewer Sylhetis (3%) were taught in more than one language or in English, compared with

21 per cent of Gujaratis and 30 per cent of Punjabis. The Gujaratis and Punjabis were more likely than the Sylhetis to have been taught in English.⁵ Table 2 shows significant differences among the groups in English-speaking ability. Whereas two-thirds of Gujaratis spoke English, only around one-half of Punjabis and Sylhetis did so. Given that fewer of the Sylheti respondents were taught in English, it is likely that those who learnt the language did so after they had arrived in the UK.

The acquisition of English language skills is important in terms of socialising with others outside the ethnic group of origin and in accessing both the labour market and health and welfare services. In each ethnic group, men were more likely to speak English than women. Although Gujarati women had lived in the UK for the least time, they were more likely to speak English than either Punjabi or Sylheti women (doubtless a function of the language of their education). Differences in English-language competence may also arise through the practice of *pardah* (literally 'curtain' or 'veil'), which legitimates the gender division of labour and the ideal of female seclusion in values of honour (*issat*) and modesty or shame (*lojja*) (White 1992). Given that a majority of the Sylheti women in this sample were Muslim (Burholt and Wenger 2003), *pardah* would have played a part in excluding Muslim women from work outside the home, and from socialising outside the Bangladeshi community. Both restraints restricted the social spheres in which they could learn conversational English. It has been noted elsewhere that the *pardah* system has been relaxed in London since the 1980s, but movement outside the home or Sylheti community may also be restricted by the fear of racial abuse (Birmingham City Council 2001 *b*; Carey and Shukur 1985).

Settlement in England

A majority of the Punjabi and Bangladeshi respondents lived in South Asia before moving to England: 95 per cent of Sylhetis had lived in Bangladesh, and 77 per cent of Punjabis had lived in India. In contrast, over one-half of the Gujaratis and one-fifth of the Punjabis had lived in Africa before arrival. Table 3 shows that a majority of the Punjabis and Sylhetis but fewer Gujaratis moved to the UK between the ages of 20 and 39 years. One-quarter of Gujaratis were aged 40–49 years when they moved to the UK. Examination of the ages of each ethnic group's moves to the UK reveals the distinctiveness of the Sylhetis' migrations, for 25 per cent entered during the 1950s compared to nine per cent of the Punjabis and five per cent of the Gujaratis. Nearly one-half (44 %) of the Gujaratis moved to the UK during the 1970s, compared with 21 per cent of both the Punjabis and the Sylhetis. Consequently, at the time of the survey, the

TABLE 3. Age at move to the UK by ethnic group and gender

| | Gujaratis | | | Punjabis | | | Sylhetis | | |
|---------------------|-------------|----|----|----------|----|----|----------|----|----|
| | All | M | F | All | M | F | All | M | F |
| | Percentages | | | | | | | | |
| Age group (years)** | | | | | | | | | |
| 10–19 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 8 | 6 | 10 | 13 | 17 | 9 |
| 20–29 | 31 | 35 | 28 | 43 | 46 | 40 | 47 | 63 | 28 |
| 30–39 | 35 | 20 | 28 | 23 | 21 | 25 | 27 | 20 | 35 |
| 40–49 | 36 | 26 | 25 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 0 | 17 |
| 50–59 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 7 |
| 60+ | 12 | 11 | 13 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| Sample size | 99 | 46 | 53 | 96 | 48 | 48 | 100 | 54 | 14 |

Note: M = male and F = female. Significance levels from Pearson chi-squared tests: ** $p = < 0.001$.

TABLE 4. Most common reasons for moving to the UK by ethnic group

| Gujaratis | Punjabis | Sylhetis |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Africanisation of labour (24%) | Economic/for work (39%) | Economic/for work (43%) |
| Resettle, need a change (21%) | To join spouse (22%) | To join spouse (39%) |
| Economic/for work (19%) | Live with or near relative (12%) | Live with or near relative (4%) |
| Live with or near relative (18%) | Africanisation of labour (10%) | As a child with parents (4%) |

Sylhetis had lived in the UK for longer (mean 35.4 years) than either the Punjabis (34.2 years) or Gujaratis (29.1 years).

Table 4 presents the most frequently reported reasons for moving to the UK by ethnic groups. For both the Punjabis and Sylhetis, the most prevalent reason was for work, but less than one-fifth of the Gujarati sample gave economic reasons. Their most frequently-cited reason was the Africanisation of labour in the East African countries where they lived. Another fifth of the Gujaratis said that they moved to the UK ‘to resettle’, or that they ‘needed a change’, which may be euphemisms for being compelled to leave Africa: 17 of the 20 Gujaratis who used these phrases had formerly lived in an African country. If these expressions refer to the same political background, two-fifths of the older Gujaratis in the sample came to the UK through this impelled migration. One-tenth of the Punjabi respondents also came for these reasons. The main attraction to Britain was that they had a right to settle: their moves were ‘pushed’ more than ‘pulled’.⁶

Among the Punjabis and Sylhetis, the second most frequently-cited reason for moving to the UK was to join a spouse. Others moved to live with or near a relative: this motive was more common among the Gujaratis and Punjabis than the Sylhetis, and may partially account for

TABLE 5. *Principal former occupationals by ethnic group*

| Occupational group | Gujaratis | Punjabis | Sylhetis |
|------------------------------------|-------------|----------|----------|
| | Percentages | | |
| Armed forces | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Legislators, senior officials etc. | 11 | 14 | 12 |
| Professionals | 12 | 18 | 0 |
| Tech's and associate professionals | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| Clerks | 5 | 0 | 1 |
| Service workers etc. | 8 | 6 | 18 |
| Skilled agricultural workers | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Craft and related workers | 28 | 24 | 4 |
| Machine operators and assemblers | 21 | 30 | 44 |
| Elementary occupations | 6 | 6 | 21 |
| Sample size | 102 | 100 | 100 |

Notes: The classification used is the *International Standard Classification of Occupations* (ISCO-88) of the International Labour Office (1990), Geneva. For details see endnote 3.

the relatively low proportion of the Sylheti sample who were aged 75 or more years.

Occupational status and relocation within the UK

The former occupations of the three South Asian groups differed (Table 5).⁷ Most of the Gujaratis had worked as carpenters, tailors, mechanics, drivers, machine operators or factory operatives, although many had been in more highly skilled occupations such as engineers and quality-assurance inspectors. Most of the Punjabis had worked as carpenters or mechanics or in foundries and factories as machine operators or sewing machinists. They were more likely than the Gujaratis or Sylhetis to have had skilled occupations (typically teachers), probably reflecting their greater education. A majority of the Sylhetis were factory workers or in 'elementary' occupations such as kitchen porters (and housewives). They were also more likely than the others to have been chefs, waiters and kitchen assistants in restaurants (Eade *et al.* 1996).

The differences in occupations were reflected in their skill levels (Table 6). Nearly one-quarter of the Sylhetis had low skills, compared with only seven per cent of the Punjabis and Gujaratis. The Punjabis tended to be more highly skilled than the others. However, a large proportion of the respondents in all the three groups had fairly basic skills – to a large extent, South Asians were engaged in factory work and skilled trade occupations after they migrated. It should however be borne in mind that this analysis of skill levels excludes managers and senior officials, who accounted for just over one-tenth of each group. Table 6 also shows strong gender differentials in occupations and skills but of different forms in each of the

TABLE 6. Skill levels for all groups and by gender and ethnic group

| Skill level** | Gujaratis | | | Punjabis | | | Sylhetis | | |
|---------------|-------------|----|----|----------|----|----|----------|----|----|
| | All | M | F | All | M | F | All | M | F |
| | Percentages | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 7 | 13 | 59 | 7 | 10 | 62 | 24 | 31 | 64 |
| 2 | 68 | 64 | 26 | 71 | 67 | 29 | 76 | 69 | 36 |
| 3 | 12 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | 13 | 11 | 13 | 21 | 24 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sample size | 91 | 45 | 46 | 84 | 42 | 42 | 88 | 45 | 43 |

Note: The skill levels 1–5 are as defined in the *International Standard Classification of Occupations* (ISCO-88) of the International Labour Office (1990), Geneva. For more details see endnote 3. M= male and F= female. Significance levels from Pearson chi-squared tests: ** $p < 0.001$.

three ethnic groups. These will be examined in more detail later in the paper.

The low occupational status that most South Asian immigrants achieved in Britain was reflected in their patterns of settlement and resettlement. Over nine-tenths of the sampled Gujaratis and Punjabis settled in the West Midlands when they arrived in the UK, compared with only two-thirds (66%) of the Sylhetis, among whom 17 per cent first settled in Greater London and 15 per cent in West Yorkshire. More of the Sylhetis therefore settled first in other industrial areas with abundant low-skilled jobs (Phillips 1998). The initial settlement of Sylhetis outside the West Midlands, their younger age at migration and their lower education has much to do with their current distribution within the UK. Only 14 per cent of the Gujaratis and 14 per cent of the Punjabis had moved within the UK, in great contrast to the Sylhetis, for one-half had made at least one move and 18 per cent at least two moves ($p < 0.001$).

Gender differences

This section explores the different life experiences of men and women (and reports statistically significant differences). Among the Gujaratis and Punjabis, there were more similarities than differences between men and women, whereas among the Sylhetis there were substantial differences. Taking first education and language abilities, over three-quarters of the Sylheti women reported no education compared with only 41 per cent of the men ($p < 0.05$). In each ethnic group, the men were more likely to speak English than the women (although the difference was not statistically significant for the Gujaratis). Half as many Punjabi women as men spoke English ($p < 0.01$), as did four times as many Sylheti men as women

($p = < 0.01$). Overall, the Gujarati women were more likely to speak English than either Punjabi or Sylheti women.

Turning to the first settlement, more Sylheti men than women arrived in the UK when aged 20–29 years, and fewer men than women arrived older than 40 years of age ($p = < 0.01$). Significantly more Sylheti men (91 %) than women (46 %) came to the UK before 1969 ($p = < 0.001$). The average duration of residence in the UK of the Sylheti women was approximately 30 years, 10 years less than for Sylheti men. In all the groups, men were significantly more likely than women to give economic motives for their migration: indeed, none of the Sylheti women gave an economic reason. Gujarati men (32 %) were more likely than women (17 %) to give political motives for moving, and Gujarati women (29 %) were more likely than men (11 %) to say that they moved ‘to resettle’ or because they ‘needed a change’. The semantic differences for what were probably similar compelling reasons had a gender dimension ($p = < 0.05$).

Only Punjabi and Sylheti women said that they came to the UK to join a spouse ($p = < 0.001$). Overall, a greater proportion of the Sylheti women (89 %) than the Punjabi women (43 %) gave this reason. A close examination of the data shows, however, that over one-quarter of the Punjabi women gave ‘other’ reasons associated with the marital relationship. Nearly one-fifth moved to the UK *with* their spouse, and another six per cent moved in order to marry. The large percentage of the Punjabi and Sylheti women who came to the UK to join a spouse indicates that in the early stages of migration, the ‘era of lodging’, many Punjabi and Bangladeshi men left spouses behind. Only when the men had established a livelihood that could support their families in the UK did their wives follow (Chowdhury 1993; Khanum 1994). The reunification of Sylheti men with their spouses occurred much later than for Punjabis. Consequently, significantly more Sylheti women had given birth to children before coming to the UK. In addition, the Sylheti women who had borne children outside the UK had spent longer rearing their children in Bangladesh than either Gujarati or Punjabi women. More Gujarati women than men came to live with or near a relative, and although the numbers were small, no Sylheti men gave this reason for moving. Over two-thirds of the Gujarati women and all the Sylheti women that moved to the UK to be proximate to family members were widowed at the time.

Occupational status and relocation within the UK

The introduction asserted that cultural norms and traditions affect women’s employment prospects, and it was indeed found that participation in the labour force varied by ethnic group. As noted earlier, there

were significant gender differences in the types of occupation that were undertaken by men and women. Women were more likely to have been in elementary occupations because many were 'housewives'. There were, however, significant differences by ethnic group ($p = < 0.01$). Around two-fifths of Punjabi women and over one-quarter of Gujarati women had previously been employed in more skilled occupations. In these two groups, over one-tenth had been employed as managers, senior officials or in professional occupations. On the other hand, only one Bangladeshi woman had been employed outside the home (as a machinist): all the others defined themselves as housewives. It has been shown that minority ethnic group men are more likely to be employed than women, and that the Bangladeshis have the greatest gender differential (Modood *et al.* 1997; Office of National Statistics 1996). These findings reflect the very low educational attainment of Bangladeshi women and the group's norms regarding their employment outside the home (Khanum 2001; White 1992).

The migration details of the 18 Sylheti respondents who had made two or more moves within Britain showed a strong gender differential. All but four were men, and of these 11 had originally settled elsewhere in the UK and travelled around the country for work. The Sylheti men who relocated several times had worked in London, Merseyside, Manchester and West Yorkshire, the conurbations with the largest Bangladeshi communities. The four Sylheti women who moved two or more times gave different reasons for their relocations. Three said that they made repeated moves in rented accommodation, some to live with or near children.⁸

Conclusions

Despite the criticisms of acculturation and assimilation theory, this paper has demonstrated that some of the factors identified in those theoretical models do impact on the life experiences of migrants. Thus, different years, ages and locations of a migrant's major lifecourse events are associated with different motivations, behaviour and socio-economic, family network and state welfare eligibility outcomes. There were both similarities and differences in the migration patterns of the three ethnic groups, and these have influenced the patterns of settlement and relocation within the UK.

Many of the migrants from East Africa had been absent from their original homeland for over 60 years, and they had fewer ties with their country of origin than the other groups. Unlike those who came directly to the UK from South Asia, they visited their native land less frequently and were more inclined to see themselves as permanent residents of the UK

(Aurora 1967; Bhachu 1986). The East African migrants were also distinctive in that many arrived in Britain in three-generation family units and had substantial capital (Bhachu 1986). They had higher levels of education, a good command of English and technical work experience (under British colonial rule, the early labour recruitment policies in East Africa selected only skilled labourers) (Morris 1968). With these advantages, many of the East African Asians that came to the UK during the 1970s were relatively well equipped to navigate British society: they had English language proficiency and some familiarity with the country's institutions and bureaucratic processes (Bhachu 1986). In this study's sample, a greater proportion of the Gujaratis and Punjabis than the Sylhetis had been employed in professional occupations.

The migrants to the UK from South Asia, especially those from Bangladesh, tended to be less educated and they concentrated more in disadvantaged areas, both regionally and locally (Phillips 1998). On arrival in the UK, South Asian men tended to lodge or share housing with others from the same background until they were employed and financially established (Ballard 1986; Chowdhury 1993; Khanum 1994). While most of the Gujarati and Punjabi respondents made few moves after arriving in the UK, tending to settle and relocate within Birmingham, a large proportion of the Sylhetis moved around the UK in search of employment. Previous research found that older Bangladeshi immigrants living in Tower Hamlets had not been as mobile as those living in the West Midlands: only seven per cent of respondents had lived elsewhere compared with over one-half of the Birmingham sample (Burholt *et al.* 2000). Other UK data from the early 1990s suggest that, although minority ethnic group inter-regional mobility rates were relatively low, their out-migration rates from the more peripheral regions of the UK exceeded that for the majority population (Champion 1996; Robinson 1996). In this study, the Sylheti men who initially settled in Yorkshire and Humberside have over time tended to move to the West Midlands, reinforcing long-established patterns of regional ethnic concentration.

Analyses of the 1991 census data have shown that there has been little change in the concentration of minority ethnic settlements since the 1950s (Coleman and Salt 1996; Karn 1997; Peach 1996*a*; Ratchiffe 1996; Rees and Phillips 1996). At the local level, however, many of the more economically successful moved away from deprived areas and to higher quality neighbourhoods (Cameron and Field 2000). This suggests that two types of neighbourhood polarisation are being experienced by the South Asian ethnic groups. Whereas some are able to move to more favourable neighbourhoods and to become owner-occupiers, others with lower incomes (particularly the Bangladeshis) are 'trapped' in the least desirable

neighbourhoods and remain tenants of social housing (Cameron and Field 2000). In several Birmingham wards, Asians are the majority population (Peach 1996*b*), but the various groups have different distributions. The higher socio-economic position of the Indians (many being of East African origin) has meant that they comprise one-fifth of the population in some affluent suburbs of Birmingham. Conversely, 60 per cent of Bangladeshis live in the inner city (Phillips 1998).

Evidence about the residential distribution of immigrants indicates that Britain's minority ethnic groups are strongly clustered and that within these clusters culturally appropriate services, community-based political organisations, places of worship and specialist retail outlets are especially concentrated (Curtis and Ogden 1986; Gardner 1993; Peach 1990; Phillips 1987, 1988; Solomos and Back 1995). Less attention has been given to broader social and cultural aspects and implications of the spatial segregation. An increasing tendency to live in nuclear family households and for the dispersion of the extended family's residences has been noted in this study and by others for Gujaratis and Punjabis, but not for Bangladeshis (Bhachu 1986). The extent to which the clustering of the large households of Bangladeshis in relatively deprived areas of the city are a result of cultural preference or lack of affordable attractive alternatives is not fully understood, as reflected in a long-running debate about the household form in successive new migrant groups (see Deakin and Cohen 1970; Rex and Moore 1967). Even in the more affluent owner-occupied areas of the city, segregation may reflect 'racial steering' by estate agents (Commission for Racial Equality 1988; Hatch 1973). Scharf *et al.* (2002) noted that 'much more needs to be known about how place-related inequalities influence daily life in old age'. Neighbourhoods characterised by poverty and social deprivation and with poor access to retail, welfare and leisure services negatively affect the wellbeing of older people (Leclere *et al.* 1994; Smith 2000). If there are no suitable housing alternatives and the involuntary non-mover is constrained by limited financial resources, there may be additional negative impacts on the psychological wellbeing of ethnic elders.

The degree to which emigration had been voluntary may also be related to the wellbeing of older people. Broadly, Punjabis and Sylhetis came to the UK in search of work, whereas Gujaratis (and some Punjabis) came to escape hostile regimes in Africa. Punjabi and Sylheti men stated that they moved to the UK for work, whereas women tended to move with their spouse, to join a spouse or to marry. As noted earlier, there may be variation between the members in a family in the degree to which the move was voluntary. Many women are likely to have had little say in the decision to migrate. Consequently, the post-migration experience of men

and women and their psychological adjustment to the new country have differed (Richmond 1993).

The reunification of Sylheti men with their spouses occurred much later than among the Punjabis. Tightened UK immigration rules slowed the process of spouse reunification (Carey and Shukur 1985; Gardner 1992). The timing of the Sylheti women's arrival may have had an important effect on their access to services now they are reaching old age. Data on the timing of childbirth suggest that more Punjabi and Gujarati than Sylheti women would have accessed peri-natal care in the UK, which would have given them some familiarity with the hospital and community health services that may predispose them to seek assistance in the future. However, the extent to which Punjabi and Gujarati women took advantage of these services is not known, nor whether they produced negative or positive experiences. Because the research on pregnancy and childbirth has examined 'Asians' as a group (Woollett and Dosanjh-Matwala 1990*a*, 1990*b*; Woollett *et al.* 1995), we cannot draw conclusions regarding the history of service use between ethnic groups and its effect in later life. Nevertheless there is evidence that both pre- and post-immigration experiences, including personal health practices, impact on the 'immigration experience' and the subsequent degree of integration, adaptation or ability to navigate the host society (Kinnon 1998).

Another consequence of the relatively late reunification of Sylheti men with their spouses was that they sent remittances to wives and families in Sylhet for longer than Punjabis. After family re-unification, Sylheti fathers sustained links with their former communities, particularly through the marriages of their children. Migrants are generally able to choose high-status partners for children, as their remittances enhance their status in the communities of origin (Ballard 2001). Although the educational level of Sylheti women has increased over time (Bhopal 1998), young Sylheti wives who are brought to the UK from Bangladesh may encounter similar exclusion from mainstream society as previous generations. Newly-arrived Sylheti brides (like earlier migrants) are likely to have lower levels of education than women educated in the UK, and to be less able to speak English (Daniel 1968; Rose 1969).

The gender differential in English language skills conditions access to health and social care services (Askham *et al.* 1995; Pharoah 1995). Birmingham has many health professionals of South Asian origin, but some patients still face difficulties related to language or gender. One UK study showed that communication is still a challenge because interpreters are scarce: only three per cent of Indians and seven per cent of Bangladeshis said their general practitioner provided interpreting services when required (Rehman 1999). In Birmingham it has been noted that communicating

with English-speaking health personnel is a barrier to effective health care (Ritch *et al.* 1996). The Chairman of Birmingham Health Authority noted that investment in translation services was 'only £373,000 a year for a population of 250,000 minority ethnic people, of whom it is estimated that 120,000 have poor English' (Birmingham City Council 2001 *b*). The provision of adequate translation services in the health and social care organisations is paramount to ensure access by older South Asians, especially women.

The study has highlighted several issues about inequalities between ethnic groups and between them and the majority population that require further investigation. In Birmingham, older Bangladeshis are more socially disadvantaged than Gujaratis or Punjabis, and more segregated in the deprived areas of the city. In addition, older Bangladeshi women appear to be more disadvantaged and socially excluded from mainstream society than their Gujarati or Punjabi peers. There is evidence that the educational level and economic activity of South Asian women is increasing over time (Bhopal 1998), and it has been shown that highly-educated South Asian women have negative attitudes towards some traditional South Asian practices such as arranged marriages (Bhopal 2000). It remains to be seen whether the custom of recruiting brides from Bangladesh will impact on future cohorts of older Sylheti women in the UK. One might predict that the social exclusion of future generations of Bangladeshi women will be stratified by place of birth, that is the UK or South Asia.

In conclusion, it can be seen that the contrasting migration and life histories of Gujaratis, Punjabis and Sylhetis and of men and women associate with strongly differentiated outcomes in the host country. Researchers of migration should be attentive to the migrants' lifecourse events and their implications in later life. In particular, studies which aggregate migrants by continent of origin should be aware of the important differences among specific migrant groups.

Acknowledgements

The understanding and interpretations presented in this paper owe much to the parallel studies that were conducted in the migrants' origin or sending areas, and to the knowledge and work of collaborating researchers in South Asia: Dr A. Abdul Biswas (Department of Anthropology, Shahjahan University of Science and Technology, Sylhet, Bangladesh), Dr Parul Dave and Ms Indira Mallya (Department of Human Development and Family Studies, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Gujarat, India), Dr N. S. Sodhi (Retired Professor of Social Work, Patiala, Punjab, India), and Dr Shubha Soneja (Head Research & Development, *HelpAge India*, New Delhi, India). International project co-ordination

was provided by Professor G. Clare Wenger (Centre for Social Policy Research and Development, University of Wales, Bangor). The project was funded by the UK Department for International Development.

NOTES

- 1 In this paper, ethnic groups are described by terms such as Indian, Bangladeshi and Gujarati, referring to the regions of their origin and (for most) birth. It is emphasised that many are citizens of the UK. The terms are probably generally acceptable to the older migrants themselves and would be used in self-descriptions. The problems of ethnic group nomenclature are greater in the second generation, as among young adults who were born in the UK of Black-African or Afro-Caribbean parents: some prefer the designation Black-British to Black-African or Afro-Caribbean. For further discussion, see the Preface of Hiro (1992: vii–x).
- 2 For the Sylheti migration see Gardner 1993, 1995; for the Punjabis see Ballard 1986 and Bhachu 1986; and for the Gujaratis see Bhachu 1986; Kalka 1990; and Morris 1968.
- 3 There have however been valuable studies, often of specific communities in local areas: Alibhai-Brown 1998; Bhalla and Blakemore 1981; Blakemore and Boneham 1994; Boneham *et al.* 1997; Farrah 1986; Manthorpe and Hettiaratchy 1993; Qureshi 1998; Silveira and Ebrahim 1998; and more recent projects funded under the ESRC *Growing Older* research programme: Afshar *et al.* 2001, 2002; Grewal and Nazroo 2001; Maynard 2002; Moriarty *et al.* 2001; Scharf 2002.
- 4 The plants included Ansell's Brewery, Hercules Cycles, Martindale's Crocodile Works and an HP Sauce factory (Birmingham City Council 2001*a*).
- 5 Schools based on the English system were first introduced into India in 1835. After this date, social reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy opened English 'medium schools'. They were given state recognition, which 'automatically de-recognised the indigenous system and created glaring [educational] disparities ... the acquisition of the English language became as a "measure of worth"' (Naik 2001).
- 6 'In August 1972, General Idi Amin declared that all Asians must quit Uganda within three months. He mentioned a figure of 80,000 Asians which turned out to be an exaggeration. In the event, about 50,000 Asians left by the deadline. Of these, only a little over a half landed in Britain' (Hiro 1992: 223). One commentator has suggested that 'for many Asians the major tie to Britain was merely a formal one: the passport which gave them the right to settle' (Kalka 1990).
- 7 The occupations were classified using the *International Standard Classification of Occupations* (ISCO-88) (International Labour Office 1990). ISCO-88 is a hierarchical framework of occupations classified according to the similarity of its tasks and duties. It identifies 10 major groups. Housewives were placed in elementary occupations. ISCO-88 also delineates four broad skill levels, defined in terms of the job's required educational levels and formal training. Skill level is not defined for two of the major groups (legislators, senior official and managers; and armed forces), as there are aspects of the work that are important as similarity criteria but may represent significant differences in skill levels within each group. For comparisons among married couples, the highest spousal occupational rating was used (*i.e.* the spouse's classification was used if higher than the respondent's). Analysis of differences in occupation and skill level between men and women used the rating of the respondent.
- 8 Exceptionally frequent local moves between public housing tenancies by a minority of the Bangladeshi community have been noted elsewhere (Cameron and Field 2000).

It has been suggested that residential instability or frequent moves in the social housing sector reflect material and emotional impoverishment and may be prompted by a fear of crime, fuel debts, relationship breakdowns and problems with neighbours (Keenan 1998; Richardson and Curbishley 1999).

References

- Adrados, J. L. R. 1993. Acculturation: the broader view. Theoretical framework of the acculturation scales. In De La Rosa, M. R. and Adrados, J. L. R. (eds), *Drug Abuse Among Minority Youth: Advances in Research and Methodology*. US Department of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, National Institute of Health, National Institute on Drug Abuse, Rockville, Maryland, 57–77.
- Afshar, H., Franks, M., Maynard, M. and Wray, S. 2001. Empowerment, disempowerment and quality of life for older women. *Generations Review*, **11**, 4, 12–13.
- Afshar, H., Franks, M., Maynard, M. and Wray, S. 2002. Gender, ethnicity and empowerment in later life. *Quality in Ageing*, **3**, 1, 27–34.
- Aldrich, C. and Mendkoff, E. 1963. Relocation of the aged and disabled: a morbidity study. *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society*, **11**, 185–94.
- Alexander, Z. 1999. *Department of Health Study of Black, Asian and Ethnic Minority Issues*. Department of Health, London.
- Alibhai-Brown, Y. 1998. *Of Heritage and Homeland*. Counsel and Care, London.
- Angel, J. L. and Angel, R. J. 1992. Age at migration, social connections and well-being among elderly Hispanics. *Journal of Aging and Health*, **4**, 480–99.
- Askham, J., Henshaw, L. and Tarpey, M. 1995. *Social and Health Authority Services for Elderly People from Black and Minority Ethnic Communities*. Studies in Ageing, Age Concern Institute of Gerontology, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
- Aurora, G. S. 1967. *The New Frontiersmen*. Popular Prakashan, Bombay.
- Baglioni, A. J. 1989. Residential relocation and health of the elderly. In Markides, K. S. and Cooper, C. L. (eds), *Ageing, Stress and Health*. Wiley, Chichester, Sussex, 119–37.
- Ballard, R. 1986. Differentiation and disjunction amongst the Sikhs in Britain. In Barrier, N. G. and Dusenbery, V. (eds), *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab*. Chanakya, Delhi, 200–34.
- Ballard, R. 2001. *The Impact of Kinship on the Economic Dynamics of Transnational Networks: Reflections on Some South Asian Developments*. Report 1 WPTC-01-14, Centre for Applied South Asian Studies, University of Manchester, Manchester.
- Berthoud, R. 2000. Ethnic employment penalties in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, **26**, 3, 389–416.
- Bhachu, P. 1986. The East African Sikh diaspora. In Barrier, N. G. and Dusenbery, V. (eds), *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab*. Chanakya, Delhi, 235–60.
- Bhalla, A. and Blakemore, K. 1981. *Elders of the Minority Ethnic Groups*. All Faiths for One Race, Birmingham.
- Bhopal, K. 1998. How gender and ethnicity intersect: the significance of education, employment and marital status. *Sociological Research Online*, unpaginated. Available online at <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/3/3/6.html>
- Bhopal, K. 2000. South Asian women in east London: the impact of education. *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, **7**, 35–52.
- Birmingham City Council 2001a. *History of Aston*. Birmingham Library Services, Birmingham. Available online at http://www.birmingham.gov.uk/GenerateContent?CONTENT_ITEM_ID=2515&CONTENT_ITEM_TYPE=o&MENU_ID=0
- Birmingham City Council 2001b. *Challenges for the Future. Race Equality in Birmingham: Report of the Birmingham Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Commission*. Birmingham City Council, Birmingham.

- Birmingham City Council 2002. *History of Handsworth*. Birmingham Library Services, Birmingham. Available online at http://www.birmingham.gov.uk/GenerateContent?CONTENT_ITEM_ID=2516&CONTENT_ITEM_TYPE=0&MENU_ID=0
- Blackburn, R. M., Dale, A. and Jarman, J. 1996. Ethnic differences in attainment in education, occupation and lifestyle. In Karn, V. (ed.), *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*, volume 4. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 242–64.
- Blackwell, L. 2000. Fragmented life courses: the changing profile of Britain's ethnic populations. *Population Trends*, **101**, 6–10.
- Blakemore, K. and Boneham, M. 1994. *Age, Race and Ethnicity*. Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Blane, D., White, I. and Morris, J. 1996. Education, social circumstances and mortality. In Blane, D., Brunner, E. and Wilkinson, R. (eds), *Health and Social Organization*. Routledge, London, 171–87.
- Boneham, M. A., Saunders, P. A., Copeland, J. R. M., Wilson, K., Dewey, M. E. and Scott, A. 1994. Age, race and mental health: Liverpool's elderly people from ethnic minorities. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, **2**, 2, 113–25.
- Boneham, M. A., Williams, K. E., Copeland, J. R. M., McKibbin, P., Wilson, K., Scott, A. and Saunders, P. A. 1997. Elderly people from ethnic minorities in Liverpool: mental illness, unmet need and barriers to service use. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, **5**, 3, 173–80.
- Bourestom, N. 1984. Psychological and physiological manifestations of relocation. *Psychiatric Medicine*, **2**, 1, 57–90.
- Brown, C. 1984. *Black and White Britain*. Heinemann, London.
- Brown, M. S. 2000. Religion and economic activity in the South Asian population. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, **23**, 6, 1035–61.
- Burholt, V. and Wenger, G. C. 2003. *Families and Migration: Older People from South Asia*. Final report to the Department for International Development, Project ESA315, Centre for Social Policy Research and Development, University of Wales, Bangor.
- Burholt, V., Wenger, G. C., Scott, A., Yahya, B. and Roy, S. 2000. Bangladeshi immigration to the United Kingdom: older people's support networks in the sending and receiving countries. *Quality in Ageing*, **1**, 2, 18–30.
- Cameron, S. and Field, A. 2000. Community, ethnicity and neighbourhood. *Housing Studies*, **15**, 6, 827–43.
- Carey, S. and Shukur, A. 1985. A profile of the Bangladeshi community in East London. *New Community*, **11**, 3, 405–17.
- Champion, T. 1996. Internal migration and ethnicity in Britain. In Ratcliffe, P. (ed.), *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*, volume 3, *Social Geography and Ethnicity in Britain*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 135–75.
- Chiswick, B. R. and Miller, P. W. 1985. Immigrant generation and income in Australia. *Economic Record*, **61**, 540–53.
- Chowdhury, Y. 1993. *The Roots and Tales of the Bangladeshi Settlers*. Sylheti Social History Group, Birmingham.
- Coleman, D. and Salt, J. (eds) 1996. *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*, volume 1, *Demographic Characteristics of the Ethnic Minority Populations*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
- Commission for Racial Equality 1988. *Racial Discrimination in a London Estate Agency: Report of a Formal Investigation into Richard Barclay and Co*. Commission for Racial Equality, London.
- Curtis, S. E. and Ogden, P. E. 1986. Bangladeshis in London: a challenge to welfare. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, **2**, 3, 135–50.
- Daniel, W. 1968. *Racial Discrimination in England*. Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
- Dawson, E., Crano, W. D. and Burgdoon, M. 1996. Refining the meaning and measurement of acculturation: revisiting a novel methodological approach. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, **20**, 1, 97–114.

- Deakin, N. and Cohen, D. C. 1970. Dispersal and choice: towards a strategy for ethnic minorities in Britain. *Environment and Planning*, **2**, 193–207.
- Donaldson, L. J. 1986. Health and social status of elderly Asians: a community survey. *British Medical Journal*, **293**, 1079–82.
- Drew, D. 1995. *Race, Education and Work: The Statistics of Inequality*. Avebury, Aldershot, Hampshire.
- Dusenbery, V. A. 1986. Introduction: a century of Sikhs beyond Punjab. In Barrier, N. G. and Dusenbery, V. (eds), *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab*. Chanakya, Delhi, 1–28.
- Eade, J., Vamplew, T. and Peach, C. 1996. The Bangladeshis: the encapsulated community. In Peach, C. (ed.), *The Ethnic Minority Population of Great Britain: Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*, volume 2. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 150–60.
- Eckensberger, L. H. 1973. Methodological issues of cross-cultural research in developmental psychology. In Nesselroade, J. R. and Reese, H. W. (eds), *Life-span Developmental Psychology: Methodological Issues*. Academic, New York, 43–64.
- Elias, P. and Gregory, M. 1992. *The Changing Structure of Occupation and Earning in Great Britain 1975–1990*. Institute for Employment Research, Coventry, Warwickshire.
- Evandrou, M. 2000. Social inequalities in later life: the socio-economic position of older people from ethnic minority groups in Britain. *Population Trends*, **101**, 11–18.
- Farrah, M. 1986. *Black Elders in Leicester: An Action Research Report on the Needs of Black Elderly People of African Descent from the Caribbean*. Leicester Social Services Department, Leicester.
- Friedberg, R. 2000. You can't take it with you? Immigrant assimilation and the portability of human capital. *Journal of Labor Economics*, **18**, 221–51.
- Frisbie, W. P., Cho, Y. and Hummer, R. A. 2001. Immigration and the health of Asian and Pacific Islander adults in the United States. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, **153**, 372–80.
- Gardner, K. 1992. International migration and the rural context in Sylhet. *New Community*, **18**, 3, 579–90.
- Gardner, K. 1993. Desh-bidesh: Sylheti images of home and away. *Man*, **28**, 1–15.
- Gardner, K. 1995. *Global Migrants, Local Lives. Travel and Transformation in Rural Bangladesh*. Clarendon, Oxford.
- Ghuman, P. A. S. 2000. Acculturation of South Asian adolescents in Australia. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, **70**, 305–16.
- Ginn, J. and Arber, S. 2001. Pension prospects of minority ethnic groups: inequalities by gender and ethnicity. *British Journal of Sociology*, **52**, 3, 519–39.
- Gordon, M. M. 1964. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Grewal, I. and Nazroo, J. 2001. Assessing ethnic inequalities in quality of life. *Economic and Social Research Council 'Growing Older' Research Programme Newsletter*, **2**, 5.
- Hasselkus, B. R. 1978. Relocation stress and the elderly. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, **32**, 10, 631–6.
- Hatch, J. 1973. Estate Agents as Urban Gate-Keepers. Paper presented to the British Sociological Association, University of Stirling, Stirling, Scotland.
- Helweg, A. W. 1986. Indians in England: a study of the international relationships of sending, receiving and migrant societies. In Rao, M. S. A. (ed.), *Studies in Migration: Internal and International Migration in India*. Nomhar, Delhi, 363–400.
- Hermans, J. J. M. and Kempen, J. G. 1998. Moving cultures: the perilous problems of cultural dichotomies in a globalizing society. *American Psychologist*, **53**, 10, 1111–20.
- Hiro, D. 1992. *Black British, White British: A History of Race Relations in Britain*. Paladin, London.
- International Labour Office 1990. *International Standard Classification of Occupations: ISCO-88*. International Labour Office, Geneva.

- Jackson, J. S. and Sellers, S. L. 2001. Health and the elderly. In Braithwaite, R. and Taylor, S. E. (eds), *Health Issues in the Black Community*, 2nd edition. Jossey Bass, San Francisco, 81–96.
- Jackson, J. S. and Antonucci, T. C. 1994. Survey methodology in life-span human development research. In Cohen, S. H. and Reese, H. W. (eds), *Life-span Developmental Psychology: Methodological Issues*. Erlbaum, New York, 65–94.
- Jones, P. N. 1970. Some aspects of the changing distribution of coloured immigrants in Birmingham, 1961–66. *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers*, **50**, 199–219.
- Jones, P. N. 1979. Ethnic areas in British cities. In Herbert, D. T. and Smith, D. M. (eds), *Social Problems and the City*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 158–85.
- Jones, T. 1993. *Britain's Ethnic Minorities*. Policy Studies Institute, London.
- Kalka, I. 1990. Attachment to the mother country: image and reality. *Ethnic Groups*, **8**, 249–65.
- Karn, V. 1997. *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*, volume 4, *Employment, Education and Housing Among the Ethnic Minority Populations of Britain*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
- Kee, P. 1995. Native-immigrant wage differential in The Netherlands: discrimination? *Oxford Economic Papers*, **47**, 303–17.
- Keenan, P. 1998. Residential mobility and low demand: a case history from Newcastle. In Lowe, S., Spencer, S. and Keenan, P. (eds), *Housing Abandonment in Britain: Studies in the Causes and Effects of Low Demand Housing*. Centre for Housing Policy, University of York, York, 35–45.
- Khan, A. F. 1991. International migration and the 'moral' economy of the Barani peasantry. *Pakistan Development Review*, **30**, 4, 1087–100.
- Khanum, S. M. 1994. We Just Buy Illness in Exchange for Hunger: Experience of Health, Healthcare and Illness among Bangladesh Women in Britain. Unpublished PhD thesis, Keele University, Keele, Staffordshire.
- Khanum, S. M. 2001. The household patterns of a 'Bangladesh village' in England. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, **27**, 3, 489–504.
- Kinnon, D. 1998. *An Overview of Canadian Research on Immigration and Health*. Discussion Paper prepared for Health Canada 'Metropolis' Project Working Group, Ottawa, Canada.
- Leclere, F., Jensen, L. and Biddlecom, A. E. 1994. Health care utilization, family context, and adaptation among immigrants to the United States. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, **35**, 4, 370–84.
- Leffler, A. 1992. Gender and race effects on employment, prestige, segregation and earnings. *Gender and Society*, **6**, 3, 376–92.
- Lomas, G. and Monck, E. 1975. *The Coloured Population of Great Britain*. Runnymede Trust, London.
- Mahmood, R. A. 1995. Emigration dynamics in Bangladesh. *International Migration*, **33**, 3–4, 699–728.
- Manthorpe, J. and Hettiaratchy, P. 1993. Ethnic minority elders in the UK. *International Review of Psychiatry*, **5**, 2–3, 171–8.
- Markides, K. S., Liang, J. and Jackson, J. S. 1990. Race, ethnicity and aging: conceptual and methodological issues. In Binstock, R. H. and George, L. K. (eds), *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, 3rd edition. Academic, New York, 112–39.
- Maynard, M. 2002. Studying age, 'race' and gender: translating a research proposal into a project. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, **5**, 1, 31–40.
- McGuire, G. and Reskin, B. 1993. Authority hierarchies at work: the impact of race and sex. *Gender and Society*, **7**, 4, 487–506.
- Miles, R. 1982. *Racism and Migrant Labour*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Modood, T. and Shiner, M. 1994. *Ethnic Minorities and Higher Education*. Policy Studies Institute, London.

- Modood, T., Berthoud, R., Lakey, J., Nazroo, J., Smith, P., Virdee, S. and Beishon, S. (eds) 1997. *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage*. Policy Studies Institute, London.
- Moriarty, J., Sin, C. H., Brockmann, M., Butt, J. and Fisher, M. 2001. Quality of life and social support among people from different ethnic groups. *Generations Review*, **11**, 4, 8–9.
- Morris, H. S. 1968. *The Indians in Uganda*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.
- Naik, S. 2001. *Education: A Beautiful Tree – Part 1*. Reprinted by the Society for the Integrated Development of the Himalayas, Mussoorie, Uttarakhand, India. Available online at <http://www.indiatogether.org/education/opinions/btree.htm>
- National Statistics Online 2002a. *Ward Profile for Spark Hill*. Available online at http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/ward_profile.asp?gor=F&la=ooCN&ward=GJ&ord=AN
- National Statistics Online 2002b. *Ward Profile for Hall Green*. Available online at http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/ward_profile.asp?gor=F&la=ooCN&ward=FK&ord=AN
- National Statistics Online 2002c. *Ward Profile for Billesley*. Available online at http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/ward_profile.asp?gor=F&la=ooCN&ward=FD&ord=AN
- Office for National Statistics 1996. *Social Focus on Ethnic Minorities*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
- Ogbu, J. U. 1994. From cultural differences to differences in cultural frames of reference. In Greenfield, P. M. and Cocking, R. R. (eds), *Cross-Cultural Roots of Minority Child Development*. Erlbaum, Hillsdale, New Jersey, 365–91.
- Owen, D. 1993. *Ethnic Minorities in Great Britain: Housing and Family Characteristics*. Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.
- Owen, D. 1994. *Ethnic Minority Women and the Labour Market: Analysis of the 1991 Census*. Equal Opportunities Commission, Manchester.
- Patel, N. 1993. Healthy margins: black elders' care – models, policies and prospects. In Ahmad, W. I. (ed.), *'Race' and Health in Contemporary Britain*. Open University Press, Buckingham, 114–34.
- Peach, C. 1990. Estimating the growth of the Bangladeshi population of Great Britain. *New Community*, **16**, 4, 483–91.
- Peach, C. (ed.) 1996a. *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*, volume 2, *The Ethnic Minority Populations of Great Britain*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
- Peach, C. 1996b. Does Britain have ghettos? *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, **21**, 216–35.
- Pharoah, C. 1995. *Primary Health Care for Elderly People from Black and Minority Ethnic Communities*. Studies in Ageing, Age Concern Institute of Gerontology, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
- Phillips, D. A. 1987. The rhetoric of anti-racism in public housing allocation. In Jackson, P. (ed.), *Race and Racism*. Allen & Unwin, London.
- Phillips, D. A. 1988. Race and housing in London's East End: continuity and change. *New Community*, **14**, 3, 356–69.
- Phillips, D. 1998. Black minority ethnic concentration, segregation and dispersal in Britain. *Urban Studies*, **35**, 10, 1680–702.
- Piore, M. 1979. *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labour and Industrial Societies*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Portes, A. and Rumbaut, R. 1990. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. University of California Press, Berkeley, California.
- Portes, A. and Sensenbrenner, J. 1993. Embeddedness and immigration: notes on the social determinants of economic action. *American Journal of Sociology*, **98**, 6, 1320–50.

- Qureshi, T. 1998. *Living in Britain, Growing Old in Britain: A Study of Bangladeshi Elders in London*. Centre for Policy on Ageing, London.
- Rapoport, A. 1978. Culture and the subjective effects of stress. *Urban Ecology*, **3**, 241–61.
- Ratcliffe, P. 1996. *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*, volume 3, *Social Geography and Ethnicity in Britain*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
- Redfield, R., Linton, R. and Herskovitz, M. J. 1936. Outline for the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, **38**, 149–52.
- Rees, P. and Phillips, D. 1996. Geographical spread: the national picture. In Ratcliffe, P. (ed.), *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*, volume 3, *Social Geography and Ethnicity in Britain*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 23–109.
- Rehman, H. 1999. *Inequalities in the Health of Black and Minority Ethnic Groups*. Health Education Authority, London.
- Rex, J. A. and Moore, R. 1967. *Race, Community and Conflict*. Oxford University Press, London.
- Richardson, K. and Curbishley, P. 1999. *Frequent Movers. Looking for Love?* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.
- Richmond, A. 1993. Reactive migration: sociological perspectives on refugee movements. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, **6**, 7–24.
- Ritch, A. E., Ehtisham, M., Guthrie, S., Talbot, J. M., Luck, M. and Tinsley, R. N. 1996. Ethnic influence on health and dependency of elderly inner city residents. *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, **30**, 3, 215–20.
- Robinson, V. 1992. Move on up: the mobility of Britain's Afro-Caribbean and Asian population. In Stillwell, J., Rees, P. and Boden, P. (eds), *Migration Processes and Patterns*, volume 2. Belhaven, London, 271–91.
- Robinson, V. 1996. Inter-generational differences in ethnic settlement patterns in Britain. In Ratcliffe, P. (ed.), *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*, volume 3, *Social Geography and Ethnicity in Britain*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 175–99.
- Rogler, L. H., Cortes, D. H. and Malgady, R. G. 1991. Acculturation and mental health status among Hispanics: convergence and new direction for research. *American Psychologist*, **46**, 6, 585–97.
- Rose, E. 1969. *Colour and Citizenship*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Race Group 1980. *Britain's Black Population*. Heinemann, London.
- Salant, T. and Lauderdale, D. S. 2001. Measuring culture: a critical review of acculturation and health in Asian immigrant populations. *Social Science and Medicine*, **57**, 71–90.
- Saunders, P. A., Copeland, J. R., Dewey, M. E., Gilmore, C., Larkin, B. A., Phaterpekar, H. and Scott, A. 1993. The prevalence of dementia, depression and neurosis in later life: the Liverpool MRC-ALPHA study. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, **22**, 5, 838–47.
- Schaafsma, J. and Sweetman, A. 2001. Immigrant earning: age at immigration matters. *Canadian Journal of Economics*, **34**, 4, 1066–99.
- Scharf, T. 2002. Researching disadvantage amongst older people belonging to ethnic minority groups. *Economic and Social Research Council 'Growing Older' Research Programme Newsletter*, **4**, 5–6.
- Scharf, T., Phillipson, C., Smith, A. and Kingston, P. 2002. Older people in deprived areas: perceptions of the neighbourhood. *Quality in Ageing: Policy, Practice and Research*, **3**, 2, 11–21.
- Silveira, E. R. T. and Ebrahim, S. 1998. A comparison of mental health among minority ethnic elders and whites in East and North London. *Age and Ageing*, **27**, 3, 375–83.
- Sin, C. H. 2004. Sampling minority ethnic older people in Britain. *Ageing & Society*, **24**, 2, 257–77.
- Smith, A. 2000. Quality of life: a review. *Education and Ageing*, **15**, 3, 419–35.

- Smith, S. 1989. *The Politics of 'Race' and Residence: Citizenship, Segregation and White Supremacy in Britain*. Polity, Cambridge.
- Solomos, J. and Back, L. 1995. *Race, Politics and Social Change*. Routledge, London.
- Tran, T. V. 1990. Language acculturation among older Vietnamese refugee adults. *The Gerontologist*, **31**, 1, 94–9.
- Tran, T. V., Fitzpatrick, T., Berg, W. R. and Wright, R. Jr. 1996. Acculturation, health, stress, and psychological distress among elderly Hispanics. *Journal of Cross-Cultural The Gerontologist*, **11**, 2, 149–65.
- West, J. and Pilgrim, S. 1995. South Asian women in employment: the impact of migration, ethnic origin and the local economy. *New Community*, **21**, 3, 357–78.
- White, S. C. 1992. *Arguing with the Crocodile: Gender and Class in Bangladesh*. Zed, London.
- Woollett, A., Dosanjh, N., Nicolson, P., Marshall, H., Djhanbakhch, O. and Hadlow, J. 1995. The ideas and experiences of pregnancy and childbirth of Asian and non-Asian women in east London. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, **68**, 65–84.
- Woollett, A. and Dosanjh-Matwala, N. 1990 *a*. Pregnancy and antenatal care: the attitudes and experiences of Asian women. *Child Care, Health and Development*, **16**, 63–78.
- Woollett, A. and Dosanjh-Matwala, N. 1990 *b*. Postnatal care: the attitudes and experiences of Asian women in east London. *Midwifery*, **6**, 178–84.

Accepted 29 January 2004

Address for correspondence:

Vanessa Burholt, Deputy Director,
Centre for Social Policy Research and Development,
Institute of Medical and Social Care Research,
Ardudwy, Holyhead Road,
University of Wales, Bangor, Gwynedd, Wales LL57 2PX.
E-mail: spsooc@bangor.ac.uk