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Understanding South Asian Residential Preferences in Glasgow: Neighbourhood Attachment and Suburbanisation

JENNIFER LEIGH MCGARRIGLE

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

**Department of Urban Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Glasgow**

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the residential preferences, patterns and mobility of South Asian homeowners in Glasgow. Ethnic concentration and the nature of segregation have been heralded as a problematic aspect of today's European city. Despite the mass migration of the majority population to the suburbs minority ethnic groups have maintained their position in deprived urban areas, usually in core settlement areas in the inner city. More recently, however, there is evidence of a small-scale migration of minority groups to the suburbs, about which we know less. Although, much has been written about the housing conditions and segregation of minority ethnic groups, less has been written about their housing careers, residential mobility, and preferences. This thesis attempts to address these limitations in our knowledge and to enhance our understanding of the residential location and preferences of South Asian households. To fully explore these objectives the research adopts a triangulated approach; combining a quantitative study using census data of both the residential location and concentration of South Asian groups in the study area and in-depth interviews with migrating South Asian households. The major findings of the research show that over the past ten years Greater Glasgow has seen changes in the residential location of its South Asian population; the results of the census analysis detail the maintenance of both residential differentiation and continued concentration in the inner city as well as evidence of dispersal to traditionally white suburban areas, areas adjacent to the core and in-between areas. The processes underlying these changes are shown to be dynamic and complex, encompassing elements of choice and constraint and reflecting negotiated choices. Cultural expectations, religious observance, financial constraint and limited housing options interact with choice in sustaining ethnic clustering in the inner-city. On the other hand we see the spatial ramifications of changing cultural practises, social aspirations and economic opportunity for a selected group of movers. Although ethnicity and religion play a continuing role in shaping the residential choices of the South Asians interviewed, these factors were not independent but interacted with individual/personal factors, class, economic status, gender, age, family issues and the dynamic nature of culture in determining locational needs and preferences. The South Asian population is shown to be differentiated from within. This suggests that the idea of a coherent 'Asian community' obscures differences and generates assumptions regarding residential behaviour and 'in-group' identities not matched in the empirical data presented here.

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Table of Contents

List of Figures	i
List of Tables	ii
1. Introduction.....	1
2. Processes of Settlement: Residential Segregation and Ethnic Clustering	11
Introduction	11
Spatial Segregation: Defining the Concepts.....	12
Early Processes of Settlement: Changing Patterns and Practices.....	16
The Minority Population in Britain	24
Competing Explanations for Segregation.....	29
Politicisation of Segregation since 2000 in the UK.....	36
Conclusion.....	46
3. Urban Migration, Residential Mobility and Suburbanisation.....	47
Introduction	47
Defining the Suburbs.....	48
A Brief Overview of the Growth of the Suburb in Britain.....	52
The Social Life of the Suburbs.....	53
‘Why people move’	56
Conclusion.....	60
4. Methodology.....	62
Introduction: Research Aims and Objectives.....	62
A Triangulated Approach.....	67
Stage One: Quantitative Study of the Glasgow Metropolitan Area	69
Stage Two- Qualitative Phase	81
Conclusion.....	101
5. Through the National Lens to the City: The Housing Position and Experiences of South Asians in Scotland and Glasgow	103
Introduction	103
South Asians in Scotland and Glasgow.....	104
Minority Ethnic Populations in Scotland	105
The Minority Ethnic Population in Glasgow.....	112
Housing Conditions	117
Tenure Patterns in Glasgow.....	119
Housing Purchase and Finance.....	130

Housing Need, Preference and Location	132
Conclusion	135

6. South Asian Settlement in Glasgow: Changing Patterns of Residence

.....	137
Introduction	137
Clustering in the Inner City: Localised Change	138
Moving Out: Suburbanisation and New Locales.....	147
Local Neighbourhoods and Microscopic Clusters	158
Relative Distributions: Segregation, Isolation and Exposure.....	162
Case Study Areas.....	164
Conclusion	189

7. The Role of the Neighbourhood in Residential Choice and Re-

location..... 192

Introduction	192
Moves between Neighbourhoods: Paths through the City	193
The Role of the Area of Core Settlement	195
The Suburbs: Aspirations, Identity and ‘peace and quiet’	201
Conclusions	207

8. Housing, Households, Families and Safe Places 210

Introduction	210
The Family, Proximity, Space and Changing Cultural Ideas	211
Housing Issues.....	216
Safety and Area Reputation.....	221
Conclusion	227

9. Residential Outcomes: Settling in or Moving on Again?..... 230

Introduction	230
Settling in: Privacy or Inclusion?	231
The Social Environment, Safety, Fear of Crime and Lifestyle	243
Future Aspirations	250
Conclusion	257

10. Conclusions..... 260

Introduction	260
Patterns of Relocation.....	262
Motivations and Resources.....	265
The Role of the Core Settlement Area and Community.....	280

Drawbacks of the Research	287
Future research	288
Policy Implications	291
Appendix One - Semi-structured Interview Schedule (core residents).	293
Appendix Two - Semi-structured Interview Schedule (suburban residents)	297
Appendix Three - Contact Letter	301
Appendix Four - Coding Categories.....	302
Appendix Five - Parent Nodes	305
Appendix Six – Codes used to identify and analyse South Asian names in Nam Pehchan	306
References.....	308

List of Figures

Figure 4.1 Case Study Areas.....	77
Figure 4.2 Migration flows within and between areas of core settlement and the suburbs (moves of interviewees).....	98
Figure 5.1 Glasgow Neighbourhoods.....	113
Figure 6.1 Distribution of South Asian population (percentage of total postcode sector population), 1991.....	139
Figure 6.2 Glasgow Neighbourhoods.....	140
Figure 6.3 Distribution of South Asian population (percentage of total postcode sector population), 2001.....	143
Figure 6.4a Proportionate change in the South Asian population as a percentage of postcode sectors total population, 1991- 2001.....	145
Figure 6.4b Proportionate change in South Asian population as a percentage of postcode sectors total population, 1991- 2001, (Close View).....	146
Figure 6.5 Distribution of the Pakistani population (Postcode Sector), 1991.....	152
Figure 6.6 Distribution of the Pakistani Population (Postcode Sector), 2001.....	153
Figure 6.7 Change in distribution of the Pakistani population as percentage of Postcode Sector, 1991-2001.....	154
Figure 6.8 Distribution of the Indian population (Postcode Sector), 1991.....	155
Figure 6.9 Distribution of the Indian population (Postcode sector), 2001.....	156
Figure 6.10 Change in distribution of the Indian population as percentage of postcode sector, 1991-2001.....	157

List of Tables

Table 4.1 South Asian population of the area of study at council area level and percentage of national population, 2001.....	71
Table 4.2 Interviewee Characteristics.....	93
Table 5.1 Scottish Population by Ethnic Group, 2001.....	106
Table 5.2 Age profile by ethnic group, all people, Scotland, 2001 (Percentages).....	106
Table 5.3 Tenure and Ethnicity in Scotland, 1991 (Percentage of households).....	108
Table 5.4 Tenure by Ethnicity in Scotland, 2001 (Percentage of Households).....	108
Table 5.5 Household structure by ethnic group of people in household (Percentages).....	109
Table 5.6 Occupancy rating by ethnic group by Household Reference Person (Percentages)..	110
Table 5.7 BME population in Scotland's major cities, 1991-2001 (Percentage).....	111
Table 5.8 Tenure by Ethnicity in Greater Glasgow, 2001 (Percentage of Households).....	119
Table 6.1 Postcode sectors with over 10% of the total population comprised of South Asians, 2001.....	159
Table 6.2 Clustering within neighbourhoods (Postcode sectors with largest South Asian percentage of total population), 2001.....	160
Table 6.3 Clustering in neighbourhoods (postcode sectors with highest proportionate increase in South Asian population 1991-2001).....	161
Table 6.4 Indices of Dissimilarity Greater Glasgow, 1991-2001 (Postcode sector).....	163
Table 6.5 Index of Segregation for Greater Glasgow by South Asian ethnic group, 1991-2001 (Postcode sector).....	164
Table 6.6 Ethnic Populations in Case Study Areas, 1991 and 2001.....	166
Table 6.7 Population by ethnicity, Strathbungo/Pollokshields.....	167
Table 6.8 Age Structure (Percentage of all people), Strathbungo/Pollokshields.....	168
Table 6.9 Tenure (all people), Strathbungo/Pollokshields.....	168
Table 6.10 Accommodation type (all people), Strathbungo/Pollokshields.....	169
Table 6.11 Occupancy rating (by household), Strathbungo/Pollokshields.....	169
Table 6.12 Household amenities (by household), Strathbungo/Pollokshields.....	169
Table 6.13 Social grade (all persons over 16), Strathbungo/Pollokshields.....	170
Table 6.14 Qualification by ethnic group, all people aged 16-74 (percentages), Strathbungo/Pollokshields.....	170
Table 6.15 Economic Indicators, Strathbungo/Pollokshields.....	171
Table 6.16 Population by ethnicity, Woodlands.....	173
Table 6.17 Age Structure (Percentage of all people), Woodlands.....	174

Table 6.18 Tenure (all people), Woodlands.....	174
Table 6.19 Accommodation type (all people), Woodlands.....	175
Table 6.20 Occupancy rating (by household), Woodlands.....	175
Table 6.21 Household amenities (by household), Woodlands.....	175
Table 6.22 Social grade (all persons over 16), Woodlands.....	176
Table 6.23 Qualification by ethnic group, all people aged 16-74 (percentages), Woodlands...176	
Table 6.24 Economic Indicators, Woodlands.....	177
Table 6.25 Population by ethnicity, Bearsden East.....	179
Table 6.26 Age Structure (Percentage of all people), Bearsden East.....	179
Table 6.27 Tenure (all people), Bearsden East.....	180
Table 6.28 Accommodation type (all people), Bearsden East.....	180
Table 6.29 Occupancy rating (by household), Bearsden East.....	180
Table 6.30 Household amenities (by household), Bearsden East.....	180
Table 6.31 Social grade (all persons over 16), Bearsden East.....	181
Table 6.32 Qualification by ethnic group, all people 16-74 (percentages), Bearsden East.....	181
Table 6.33 Economic Indicators, Bearsden East.....	182
Table 6.34 Population by ethnicity, Giffnock	183
Table 6.35 Age Structure (Percentage of all people), Giffnock	184
Table 6.36 Tenure (all people), Giffnock.....	184
Table 6.37 Accommodation type (all people), Giffnock.....	184
Table 6.38 Occupancy rating (by household), Giffnock.....	185
Table 6.39 Household amenities (by household), Giffnock.....	185
Table 6.40 Social grade (all persons over 16), Giffnock.....	186
Table 6.41 Qualification by ethnic group, all people aged 16-74 (percentages), Giffnock.....	186
Table 6.42 Economic Indicators, Giffnock.....	186
Table 6.43 Percentage of South Asian buyers in study areas, 1991-2001, with breakdown by religious origin of name.....	188
Table 6.44 Percentage of South Asian buyers in study areas, 1991-2001, with breakdown by language origin of name.....	189

1. Introduction

Processes of urban change and growth in Britain have seen the population take flight from the inner city with suburbanisation representing the most significant part of this urban de-concentration. Kramer (1972) refers to suburbanisation as a ubiquitous process that represents the formation of a new urban landscape in which the outward movement of people, amenities, industries and institutions from the urban core create an extended city. Outward migration to the suburbs has often signified social aspiration and has been seen as an indicator of social mobility resulting in what Pacione (2001:84) refers to as the 'modern message of difference'. As outward movement from the city gained momentum in the post-war period the working classes suburbanised and a large proportion of public sector residents through slum clearance programmes were re-housed on the periphery as well as the inner-city. This exodus from the inner city concentrated deprivation and left many inner city neighbourhoods in decline.

Contrary to this 'exodus' minority ethnic groups often settled in inner city areas. The literature on this topic relates minority ethnic movement into poor housing in the inner-city to the economic and social conditions in which their early migration was rooted (Phillips and Karn, 1991; Smith, 1989; Peach, 1998; Miles, 1982). These conditions were characterised in terms of their labour market position, often in unskilled job opportunities to meet labour shortages, were they acted as a 'replacement population' for the upwardly mobile majority population. This has been further complicated by difficult-to-access council housing and a weak position in the market. Despite their reasonably long history of settlement in Britain the residential differentiation of South Asian households, in areas of core settlement in the inner city, has been maintained. It is only in recent times we have seen the small-scale movement of some South Asian households into the suburbs. It is with both these patterns of residence, inner-city clustering and suburbanisation, that this thesis is concerned.

These residential patterns, of course, have a wider political context. In an era when social exclusion is a major policy concern, increased emphasis has been placed upon understanding its determinants and the dynamics of isolation from mainstream society. In the light of this it is important that the in-group dynamics of the South Asian

community are understood in order to address both the deficits in our knowledge of minority ethnic residential behaviour and choices and the limitations in the evidence base of existing policies and political debates. Past literature has focussed more on the housing conditions and segregation of minority ethnic groups and much less on exploring minority ethnic housing careers, mobility and residential preferences. Although minority ethnic residential mobility has been given attention more recently (Phillips *et al*, 2003; Ozuekren and Van Kempen, 2002; Bowes, Dar and Sim, 2002) to the best of our knowledge, and apart from some sparse evidence on South Asians in Glasgow in the 1970s and 1980s, this thesis is the first attempt to address this topic recently and in depth in Scotland; therefore, it tackles an important gap in the Scottish and indeed wider literature.

In drawing attention to factors shaping residential preferences and current patterns of residence some insight is provided into the degree to which minority ethnic groups are able to achieve their residential aspirations and the extent to which changing processes represent convergence or divergence with the majority population. In addition, (although represented in small numbers before) due to the relatively recent moves of more South Asian households into the suburbs, the emphasis in the literature has been on ethnic concentration areas rather than on processes of dispersal. Thus we need to know how and why the latter occurs; first ensuring that theories of minority ethnic migration and mobility are accurate; and second to understand the socio-political implications of new modes of migration and mobility for exclusion and patterns of urban inequality.

Often assumptions of best practices in housing have been made without an attempt to facilitate the views of minority ethnic groups themselves. With the backdrop of the increasing South Asian population in Scotland (although much smaller than in England) and the commitment of the First Minister, Jack McConnell, to encourage immigration to Scotland through the 'Fresh Talent Initiative' (Scottish Executive, 2002a) in response to population loss, it is increasingly important that minority ethnic groups are able, if they aspire to, to achieve the same social and spatial profiles as the ethnic majority. Moreover, as this research suggests, suburbanisation is an emerging preference amongst many South Asian households living in central city locations. This also has implications

for the Scottish Executive's agenda for Social Justice (Scottish Executive, 1999), especially within their neighbourhood policy, which is committed to empowerment, neighbourhood satisfaction and the reduction of inequalities.

Furthermore, enhancing our understanding of minority ethnic patterns of settlement and the factors underpinning these is important in terms of its contribution to wider political debates. Since 2001 questions relating to ethnic clustering and socio-spatial segregation have moved to the forefront of media and political discussions (Phillips, 2003). Concerns relating to the so-called separatist tendencies of South Asian and specifically Muslim groups, reported as being evident spatially, in schools and through deep cultural differences, has characterised government responses to the 2001 riots in northern English towns and developed into a fully fledged policy direction in the form of the Community Cohesion agenda (The Independent Review Team, 2001). Subsequently with political rhetoric shifting to a more restricted form of multiculturalism and espousing integration and cohesion there is a danger that the actual housing and residential preferences of minority ethnic groups has been eclipsed in the policy debate. The move towards a more assimilationist position in public policy in general is characterised both by a commitment to integration based on shared values and a common sense of Britishness and by the pledge to limit immigration which is portrayed as a instigator of hostility and intolerance toward settled minority ethnic groups (Back *et al.*, 2002, Robinson and Reeve, 2006). Implicit within this stance and indeed the concern with the residential segregation of minority groups, expressed within the community cohesion agenda, is that cultural diversity will be tolerated providing identities and values are not at odds with dominant norms and values. The politicisation of segregation and dominant representations of particularly Muslim identities, exacerbated in the light of responses to Islamic extremism, have been based on isolationist discourse central to which is the accusation that British Muslims have withdrawn from participation in British society (Phillips, 2006). The responsibility for integrating has thus been shifted on to the individual and actual settlement patterns of South Asians, the processes underpinning them and the diversity within this group have been obscured.

In response to the aforementioned the main aim of the research was *to enhance our understanding of the residential location and preferences of South Asian households*

and their members in the Greater Glasgow owner occupied housing market: assessing to what extent suburbanisation is emerging as a significant residential preference and considering the wider implications for understanding these preferences on Scottish and British urban contexts.

From this central aim emerged more specific research objectives, developed along the lines of particular themes pertinent in the literature and to address particular gaps in our knowledge:

Patterns of Re-location

- To what extent through house purchase in the private market do South Asian households relocate from core community clusters to suburban locations?
- In areas of relocation is there evidence of re-clustering along the lines of ethnicity?
- How does the extent of relocation to suburban locations compare with levels of movement within core settlement areas or into areas adjacent to traditional minority ethnic settlement areas?

Motivations and Resources

- What are the push and pull factors influencing the decision to remain in core settlement areas, move into them from elsewhere or relocate to a suburban location?
- Are residential preferences reflective of the house buyers' assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of remaining spatially concentrated or of dispersal?
- What influences do members of South Asian households perceive the residential environment to have on life-style and quality of life?
- To what extent do social class, occupation, material resources and stage in the life course enable or constrain suburban relocation?

The Role of the Core Settlement Area and Community for Suburbanites and Core Settlers

- To what extent do core areas continue to attract new populations; reverse movers and new migrants?
- What influence does residential dispersal and suburban relocation have on community ties and social networks?
- Is community attachment or membership achieved in the new suburban neighbourhood and/or retained with the core settlement area?

This research focuses solely upon owner occupiers for four important reasons. First, that the predominant tenure in suburban areas is owner occupation. Second, South Asian groups, the subject of this research, are over-represented in owner-occupancy in Scotland, like the rest of the UK, for reasons described in the ensuing literature review. Third, to conduct a study of minority ethnic mobility in the private rented sector would prove to be much more difficult due to the problems associated with records of tenancy for this sector, (we use records of sales to track movers to interview), furthermore, there is less private rented accommodation in suburban areas. Finally Scotland specific research has tended to focus on the social rented sector, which is less about choice, with less research undertaken in the owner-occupied sector.

The research focuses on the South Asian population, defined as, in line with census categorisations, Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi and Other South Asian. Although still small in number, under 20,000 in Glasgow City, the South Asian population is the largest minority ethnic population, with the Pakistani and Indian populations being the dominant groups. There has been a significant growth in the Pakistani population in the last two census periods. Furthermore recent anecdotal evidence from Glasgow has pointed to the dispersal of some of the South Asian population to the suburbs, of which the extent and explanations of are unknown.

In order to address the main research question and objectives it was necessary to adopt a triangulated approach. For this reason there were two main phases to the methods adopted to explore this phenomenon; first, the quantitative phase provided a picture of South Asian residential location in Greater Glasgow and uncovered changing patterns of

residence, shedding light on questions regarding concentration and dispersal; second, the qualitative phase, comprised of in-depth interviews with over forty South Asian home-owners in four case study areas in the Greater Glasgow conurbation, complemented the quantitative stage by providing detail and insight into the processes and causal factors underlying patterns of residence.

The quantitative phase was based on an analysis of the 1991 and the 2001 censuses and a mapping of changes in the ethnic geography of Greater Glasgow. Indices of segregation, exposure and dissimilarity were calculated to give broad indicators of segregation and integration across the metropolitan area. Finally, this phase involved sampling using data from the Land Value Information Unit, a unique dataset that records housing transactions in Scotland. A name analysis software, Nam Pehchan, was used to extract the names of South Asian house buyers from this data to identify potential interviewees who were then contacted by letter in four case study areas.

Preliminary interviews were carried out with key actors in the South Asian community in Glasgow. There were several objectives to the interviews: first to verify the areas of core ethnic settlement in the city; second to explore the processes behind the patterns of residence revealed in the study of the census; and, third to get advice on the best way to approach the interviews. Preliminary interviews were also carried out with a few South Asian home-owners before the main phase of interviews to pretest the interview schedule. Finally, 40 in-depth interviews with South Asian households were conducted in four case study areas, two suburban areas and two areas of core settlement.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured as follows.

Chapter Two – Processes of Settlement: Segregation and Ethnic Clustering presents a review of the literature on residential processes and patterns of settlement of previous immigrant streams into the UK focusing mainly on people who moved from the Caribbean, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. It is important in the light of changing geographies, outlined in the chapter, and current debates to understand the processes that have sustained and underpinned the residential segregation of minority ethnic

groups in British cities in predominantly deprived inner city areas. As well as exploring the processes underpinning and maintaining the residential patterns of these groups competing explanations for segregation are reviewed. Traditional debates centred upon the choice constraint model of explaining segregation are reviewed in the light of new perspectives that see these elements as interactive and highlight diversity and differences as central components to any explanation of segregation. The politicisation of segregation and the role of social identity as an explanation of segregation in more recent times and responses to this are also discussed.

Chapter Three – Urban Migration, Residential Mobility and Suburbanisation presents a review of the literature on residential mobility, the suburbs and suburbanisation. This chapter examines definitions of the suburbs exploring their role, development and form in the urban area from a historical perspective as well as exploring the meanings of suburban change and the socio-cultural values and aspirations associated with the massification of suburbanisation. Life-style, psychological and behavioural approaches to understanding suburban living are also considered in the light of the diversification of the suburbs. The discussion turns more generally to the models in the literature explaining residential mobility and the factors that instigate residential change in order to understand more general explanations of patterns of changing residence.

Chapter Four – Methodology, presents the methodological framework used to conduct the fieldwork. The chapter begins by grounding the research questions and objectives in the literature. The methodological design and approach is discussed in response to the specific aims of the research. The methods adopted are presented in a step-by-step account, which provide the reader within a detailed chronological overview from the rationale of the study through the quantitative stage of the research to the methods used and experiences in the field to the analysis of the data.

Chapter Five – Through the National Lens to the City: The Housing Position and Experience of South Asian Groups in Scotland and Glasgow provides a review of the Scottish literature relating to minority ethnic groups and housing/neighbourhood issues, the literature is updated when out of date with our own analysis of the 2001

census to provide the reader with a more current picture. An overview of the South Asian population nationally is presented to provide context for both the Scottish literature reviewed which in the majority pertains to Glasgow and our own study on the ethnic geography of Glasgow, presented in Chapter Six. The discussion in the chapter gives insight into the background of early and traditional patterns of South Asian settlement in Scotland. The Scottish literature concentrates in the majority on tenure patterns, specifically the social rented sector and issues relating to access, dwelling types and housing condition. There is less on residential choice, housing careers and settlement patterns of minority ethnic groups, a gap that this thesis attempts to bridge.

Chapter Six – South Asian Settlement in Glasgow: Changing Patterns of Residence

presents the findings of the census analysis which provide an up-to-date study of the ethnic geography of Greater Glasgow documenting changing patterns of residence including changes in inner city concentration areas and patterns of dispersal. The census data, from 1991 and 2001, is visualised using maps. This serves to bridge some of the gaps in the literature identified in the previous chapter. In addition, indices of segregation, concentration and exposure are presented here which allow us to comment broadly on the distribution of the South Asian population across the Glasgow study area. This chapter also provides a rationale for the selection of the four case study areas in which the qualitative fieldwork is conducted providing descriptive profiles of these neighbourhoods based on analysis of census data and the Register of Sasines. Thus Chapter Five and Six present a comprehensive narrative of South Asian groups in Scotland from the national level, to the city level to the small scale of the neighbourhood, drawing on the literature and our own analysis of secondary data, to provide context and background for the interview data examined in the following three chapters.

Chapter Seven – The Role of the Neighbourhood in Residential Choice and Re-

location is the first of three chapters based on an examination of the qualitative interviews. This chapter presents detailed discussion on the role of neighbourhood factors, the neighbourhood context and place in influencing residential mobility. Beginning with an outline of the different types of moves the respondents made between neighbourhoods and the routes through the city along which the migrating

households moved. This chapter also explores the role that the area of core settlement plays in residential decisions, in attracting new residents and retaining old ones as well as the role it plays and the meaning it is imbued in the lives of suburban movers. Sequentially, the findings of this chapter enable us to consider neighbourhood factors that have seen suburbia emerge as a residential preference for South Asians. The role of different explanations in the literature of residential segregation is explored and the presence of choice, constraints and a clear negotiation and interaction between the two uncovered. The discussion considers the effects of issues relating to cultural obligations, religion, family, constraint, housing need, identity, socio-cultural and socio-economic factors on household decision making processes and mobility. More generally it enables us to comment on the meaning attributed to and the diverse experiences and strategies involved in residential processes.

Chapter Eight- Housing, Households, Families and Safe Places, presents a discussion of three issues found to be decisive in shaping the residential motivations of the interviewees; the role of family, the impact of housing issues and perceptions of safety. This chapter considers the role that the family plays in residential motivations and decisions including the traditional family structure and importantly how this is changing, familial obligations and generational roles. It also considers the often complex relationship between household composition and housing needs, which leads to the consideration of housing issues which may influence residential choice such as space and overcrowding, housing condition, affordability and house type. As well as structural needs, a critical feature addressed in the housing literature specific to minority ethnic groups has been the importance of safety in contributing to housing outcomes, thus its relationship with location and its influence on where people live is considered allowing us to comment on the racialisation of space in the city.

Chapter Nine – Residential Outcomes: Settling in or Moving on Again? This chapter differs from the previous two chapters in that it explores the outcome of residential decisions and moves rather than the motivations shaping them. The ease of settling in and the respondents sense of inclusion in their new area (be it core area or suburb) are explored. In addition, this chapter provides discussion based on qualitative evidence of the interviewees experiences of transition between, in some instances, two

very different areas, the interviewees thoughts on their move, their satisfaction with the new area and the extent to which it met their aspirations and expectations. This chapter also examines the impact of the new area on the respondents' quality of life and lifestyle as well as considering future residential plans and aspirations. Furthermore, the extent to which community attachment and a sense of belonging is achieved in the suburbs is discussed considering its role in overcoming some barriers that have been documented as maintaining clustering relating to hostility and fear of harassment.

Chapter Ten – Conclusions, summarises and draws together the main findings of the thesis. It provides clear discussion based around the research questions outlined at the beginning of this chapter and discusses the relevance of the findings in relation to current policy debates. The findings of this thesis shed new light on several important issues relating to debates on integration, community cohesion and social identity, including the role of place and interpretations of community, ethnicity and culture. Critically, the findings also show residential segregation to be less straight forward than has been previously assumed in policy debates. Finally policy implications and directions for future research are outlined.

2. Processes of Settlement: Residential Segregation and Ethnic Clustering

Introduction

In spite of the lengthy history of settlement in Britain, minority ethnic groups are still disproportionately represented in deprived urban areas. The processes shaping patterns of segregation have been well documented in the literature relating to both constraints of institutional discrimination, prolonged disadvantage and weak positions in the labour market on one hand and on the other the attractions of the core as a place that maintains ethnic ties and protects against outsider hostility. The existence of segregation need not always be seen as negative *per se* but rather its continued association with deprivation, poor housing, and marginalisation in the labour market. Phillips (1998) argues that there are forces for minority ethnic exclusion *and* inclusion at play, producing differential outcomes for different minority ethnic groups and within each group individual experiences vary according to gender, age, class and personal resources.

Although given little attention in the 1990's issues related with segregation and minority ethnic clustering came to the forefront of political and media attention after the 2001 disturbances in the northern English mill towns, adding new dimensions to the debate. In particular, discourse has been isolationist and government responses have been based around desegregation in terms of mainstreaming values and promoting spatial mix. This has propelled questions related to the causes of and factors that sustain segregation to the forefront of debate once more.

This chapter attempts to address some of these issues, beginning by defining spatial segregation, considering its perceived advantages and disadvantages and discussing the most common methods by which it is measured. The processes underlying patterns of segregation will be considered in the second section as will actual patterns of spatial concentration and the changing ethnic geography of the UK in the third section. The fourth section outlines and discusses the competing explanations for residential segregation. Finally, the last section considers the politicisation of segregation post 2000.

Spatial Segregation: Defining the Concepts

Johnson *et al.*, (1981) define spatial segregation as the residential separation of groups within the broader population, when some areas show an over-representation and other areas an under-representation of members of a group. Spatial divisions between groups cannot be explained in simple terms but rather occur due to a complicated matrix of forces. The interpretation of spatial segregation is underpinned by the assumption that there is a mutual relationship between spatial distance and social difference. Of course, this could be between rich and poor groups, not only ethnic populations. Residential segregation is seen simultaneously as a measure of and an influence upon social distance (Murdie and Borgegard, 1998), cohesion, community participation, integration (Independent Review Team, 2001) and inclusion. Thus the value in researching segregation lies in the study of the social significance of people living apart, considering the social, economic and cultural effects. As Parks (1926:26) writes,

‘In society we not only live together, but at the same time we live apart and human relations can always be reckoned with more or less accuracy in terms of distance.’

To some extent, however, with increasing mobility and movement between diverse spaces in our daily lives this assumption might be reckoned with.

Advantages and Disadvantages

Spatial segregation in its most general sense has been assumed as negative, justified by the contention that it is representative of lack of choice and opportunity in the housing market and in other domains. Pacione (1997) and Van Kempen and Ozuekren (1998:1634) write of the existing ‘negative image among the urban populace’ of residents of segregated areas relating it to the segregation of the urban poor and their treatment as the ‘underclass’. Assumptions are made that negative types of behaviour and beliefs will be, ‘reinforced by the social milieu’ (Van Kempen and Ozuekren, 1998:1633). Thus areas become stigmatised and experience hostility (Pacione, 1997). Sennett (1970) asserts that segregated areas can lead to the absence of empathy between groups, thus further legitimising fear and hostility (Van Kempen and Ozuekren, 1998).

Despite these negative factors Peach (1998) questions the traditional premise of research on segregation contending that there are positive and negative factors present. Phillips (1998) argues that there are forces for minority ethnic exclusion and inclusion at play. Clustering may have many positive outcomes. For Phillips *et al.* (2003) these are evident in extended social and cultural relations and the associated sense of belonging, whilst Pacione (1997) contends that the segregation of minority ethnic groups has led to the formation of a strong sense of community and that the notion of community can act as a coping mechanism against inequality and discrimination and as a shield from hostility. Pacione draws here on the importance of place for both individuals and communities; solely negative views of segregated communities fail to recognise the positive support networks provided by people in similar situations. Van Kempen and Ozuekren (1998:1635) highlight the benefits of clustering in nurturing social contacts that can lead to the, 'preservation of a culture that is not based on the norms and values' of the wider society. Religious institutions and particular shops are often essential in preserving culture. The concentration of minority ethnic groups allows these to exist and remain economically viable thus overcoming to some extent marginalisation in the labour market. Nonetheless, these aforementioned authors also recognise that there is a relationship between residential segregation and hostility, deprivation, poor housing, and marginalisation in the labour market.

Measures of Segregation and Concentration

There are long-standing debates and considerable controversy over the best way to measure segregation. Measurements of segregation are often linked conceptually to five different dimensions of segregation - unevenness, exposure, centralisation, clustering and concentration. This is largely a result of Massey and Denton's review paper (1988) and confirmed more recently in Massey *et al.* (1996). Although there is an ongoing debate, sometimes termed the 'index wars', regarding which index might provide the best measurement of spatial segregation, the two most commonly used indices in both the US and Europe are the index of dissimilarity (ID), a measure of evenness and the index of isolation (P*), a measure of exposure.

The index of dissimilarity is a measure of evenness which measures the distribution of minority and majority groups across sub areas of a city (for example if all of the sub

areas of a city were found to be 90% white and 10% black the black population would be considered to be evenly distributed). It measures the percentage of a minority population that would have to move to create an even distribution by computing the sum total in a larger area of the differences in the relative populations in sub areas. A figure of '0' would denote no pattern of segregation, since the distribution is exactly the same or equal between the two groups being compared. A figure of '1' indicates total segregation, where the residential distribution between the two populations being compared is totally uneven. In-between these two values an Index of Dissimilarity (ID) less than 0.4 is considered low, 0.4-0.59 moderately high, and 0.6-0.69 high and above 0.7 is considered very high.

$$ID = \frac{1}{2} \cdot \sum_{i=1}^k |x_i - y_i|$$

k = the total number of sub-areas in the city

x_i = the proportion of the city total of the x population in area i

y_i = the proportion of the city total of the y population in area i

The index of dissimilarity is measured as half the sum of the difference between the proportions of the two populations living in each individual K areas of the city (Peach and Rossiter, 1996:112).

There are key weaknesses that have called the reliability of this measure into question. First, it only measures two groups at a time, so when there are more than two groups it is a less reliable indicator. In this sense it may be good for cities where there are only two ethnic groups, however, most cities today are multiethnic. Second, is the problem of scale since the index is aspatial it measures the degree of segregation, but not its spatial patterns. For instance, if the measured ID is 0, which denotes no segregation, then it could mean that half of a sub-area is black and the other half white, however we are unable to tell if the black and white residents are mixed or if they are each occupying a separate half of a particular sub-area. Furthermore, scale may result in erroneous comparisons being made between studies using different spatial units. A further weakness relates to the impact of compositional variance; if the total population size of

the sub areas being employed decreases, the segregation index tends to increase (Stearns and Logan, 1986). Gorard and Taylor (2002) describe this in more detail and point out that, although an unlikely scenario, if the number of the black population changes as a proportion of the city population but in such a way that the relative distribution of the black population remains unchanged then the ID varies, suggesting that segregation is higher when in fact the distribution has not changed the black population has simply grown (what is known as compositional invariance).

In line with this Gorard and Taylor (2002) suggest another measure of evenness – the segregation index, which separates the overall change/growth of the population with changes in its distribution. The segregation index computes the difference between the city wide proportion of a particular group in a subarea and the city wide proportion of the total population living in the same subarea. Rather than comparing two populations or pairs of groups in a subarea together, as the ID does the segregation index (IS) compares the city-wide proportion of the minority in each at subarea with the proportion of the total city-wide population in the subarea. So rather than being symmetric the index is asymmetric as it only deals with the distribution of the minority ethnic group.

$$S = 0.5 * \sum (|A_i/A - T_i/T|).$$

A_i = number of the minority group in the subarea

A = the total number of the minority group in the whole area

T_i = the total population in the subarea

T = the total population in the whole area

Indices of exposure or isolation measure the degree of potential contact between minority and majority group members within the area of the city that they live, so it is dependent upon the extent to which they live in the same sub-area of the city. This differs from measures of evenness as it attempts to measure the ‘experience of segregation’ rather than being based on an assumption of ideal distribution (Massey and Denton, 1988:287). The most commonly used measure of exposure is P^* , an interaction index. This measures the potential exposure of the minority group with the majority group (Peach *et al*, 1996). P^* is also used to ascertain the group from whom and to whom the exposure is directed, it differs from measures of evenness as it takes into

consideration the size of the groups being compared, as there will be greater probability that a member of a smaller group will come into contact with a member of the larger group (Pacione, 2001).

$$P^* = \sum \{(x_1 / X)(y_1 / t_1)\}$$

X = the total number of group X in the city

x_1 = the total number of group X in a given subarea i

y_1 = the total number of group Y in a given subarea

t_1 = the total population in a given subarea

(Peach and Rossiter, 1996:126).

Simpson (2005) highlights the fact that measures of isolation, based on proportions of ethnic groups, are at a loss to assess changing levels of segregation over time because different populations are growing at different rates.

Early Processes of Settlement: Changing Patterns and Practices

The early migration of minority ethnic groups was primarily due to a short supply of labour in the U.K. Their position in the labour market and the subsequent restructuring of the economy has influenced their presence in poor housing in decaying inner city neighbourhoods. Furthermore, this has been complicated by difficult-to-access council housing, discrimination in renewal policies and the weak position of minority ethnic groups in the housing market, compounding to determine current spatial patterns. At the present time although many live in poverty and are still disproportionately represented in deprived areas, and in weak labour market and low socio-economic positions there are clear variations between ethnic groups pointing to differential achievements and trajectories.

The Labour Market and the Changing Economy

Phillips and Karn (1991) and Phillips (1998) argue that segregation patterns in Britain reflect both the material and ideological conditions that existed at the time of South Asian and Afro-Caribbean migration. The expanding industrial economy in post-war Britain was threatened by a labour shortage which immigrants from the New

Commonwealth and Pakistan were recruited to fill. This 'replacement population' (Peach, 1998:1658) represented and indeed facilitated white prosperity and upward social mobility. Miles (1982) refers to the racialised division of labour that emerged as minority ethnic workers were placed in jobs that had ceased to hold any attraction for the white population. These employment opportunities tended to comprise low skilled jobs in the textile industry. Thus the majority of early immigrants in the 1950s settled in industrial textile towns, in the East Midlands and Northwest England. In Scotland at this time South Asians were encouraged to fill public sector vacancies, working mainly on trams and buses in Glasgow. In the 1960s job opportunities in growing industries such as motor manufacturing became available leading to new concentrations of minority ethnic groups in towns such as Luton (Bowes and Sim, 2002a). These types of employment were conducive to clustering in inner-city areas where housing was less expensive and of poor quality (Peach, 1998). In due course the inner city, as highlighted by Phillips and Karn (1991) functioned as a constraint to spatial (and social) mobility and represented an obstacle to social and economic advancement. Direct labour recruitment programmes from specific areas in the New Commonwealth led to the further clustering of ethnic minorities from the same locales (even villages) with similar religious and cultural affiliations (Phillips, 1998). These clusters became ethnic centres that maintained the social, cultural and economic life of the immigrants. This emerging pattern of ethnic segregation in deprived areas was further reinforced by white suburbanisation.

The demand for labour was not to last; Peach (1998: 1659) argues that the position of the majority of minority groups at the bottom end of the economy has rendered them particularly vulnerable to downturn in demand, leading them to be negatively impacted by the economic restructuring that has taken place since the 1973 oil crisis and the subsequent 'jobless' economic recovery. In the same vein, Musterd and Ostendorf (1998) argue that closely related to the processes of residential segregation are the effects of the economic restructuring of society and its subsequent impact on integration and fragmentation. Some groups in society have not shared in rising incomes and wealth, rather Lee (1998) argues that social polarisation has increased as a result of the economic, demographic, social and welfare restructuring taken place since the mid 70s. This restructuring can be explained by the 'drive' toward flexible labour markets which

has resulted in long term unemployment or insecure employment leading to polarisation and exclusion (Somerville, 1998).

Unemployment has traditionally been higher for minority ethnic groups than for the white population, in the early 1990s the rates of unemployment for young minority ethnic men were overwhelmingly high. The unemployment rate for white persons between 18-19 years old in the 1991 census was 17.1% whereas Bangladeshi and Indians experienced an average rate of 27%, and Pakistanis an average of 40%. In general terms high rates of unemployment have been maintained as shown in a recent Cabinet Office report, *Ethnic Minorities in the Labour Market* (2003). In 2002 the white unemployment rate was 4% whilst for all minority ethnic groups taken together it was 8%. Unemployment rates for the Black Caribbean and Black African population were 10% and 11%, respectively. For the Asian population overall the unemployment rate was 5%, but this hides variation between groups; for the Pakistani group it was 8% and for the Bangladeshi group, 11%, with Indian groups faring well. The Cabinet Office report shows that, with the exception of Indian and Chinese men, very high unemployment rates have persisted for minority ethnic groups over a long period of time. In 1992, the unemployment rates for Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Black Caribbean men were 15 to 20% higher than for their white counterparts. This disparity had decreased by 2002, but it was still high being around 10 to 15%; similar disparities are reported for women. In short this is evidence that, 'the economic tide that had drawn immigrants to Britain's inner cities ebbed and left many members of the minority communities stranded in a workless environment' (Peach 1998:1661). This has and continues to have obvious effects on spatial concentration and deprivation. Phillips (1998:1685) argues that ethnic minorities who sustained now declining industries in the 1970s and onwards became 'casualties' of their early geography as economic restructuring caused job losses in the manufacturing regions of Britain. Thus many have found themselves stranded in owner-occupied properties (see below) in inner-city areas in industrial decline.

Housing, Housing Policy and the Housing Market

In this section we shall review past evidence on the house experience of ethnic minorities and its interaction with public policy, looking in turn at immigration and

welfare, social housing allocation, private housing and urban renewal. The early distribution of new migrants mirrored the structure of unskilled job opportunities, affording them little power in the housing market (Phillips and Karn, 1991). Their disadvantaged position reflected inequalities in different domains specifically the interaction of the labour market with the housing system (Smith, 1989). In effect Smith (1989) argues that British housing policy has denied minority ethnic groups full access to property and welfare rights. Indeed, previous research has shown that minority groups were even unaware that full welfare rights, including entitlement to social housing, as stipulated in The Nationality Act of 1948 accompanied full citizenship. Smith (1989) contends that central to the racial differentiation of residential space was the decision not to link immigration with housing policy after the Second World War. She concedes, however, this is more likely to be a result of unanticipated outcomes of housing policy and the omission of minority ethnic needs rather than a defined policy objective. In the same vein she points out that the dominant assumption was that general solutions to housing would benefit white and minority groups, thus, minority ethnic need was undistinguished from the consensus definition of housing needs in general. Thus lack of co-ordination between immigration and housing policy meant that immigrants did not benefit from urban restructuring, losing out on welfare rights associated with social renting or the economic help of subsidised ownership (Smith, 1989; Sarre *et al.*, 1989).

Earlier studies on race and housing in Britain have analysed and documented inequalities in council housing related to issues of differential access, treatment and quality of properties allocated when compared to white applicants (Smith, 1989; Sarre *et al.*, 1989; Phillips, 2005). This has been described as being a result of an ageing stock and the incomprehensiveness of modernisation as well as overt discriminatory practises (Smith, 1989, Sarre *et al.*, 1989). The ability of local authorities to house minorities has met additional difficulties with the restructuring of the social rented sector. The right to buy policy introduced in the 1980's further hampered the possibility of minority ethnic groups finding appropriate housing as larger good quality housing most suitable to minority ethnic needs have been most likely to sell. Residualisation of the housing stock led to the majority of general housing allocations being made in less popular estates. It was more likely in these circumstances that minority ethnic households were reluctant

to accept offers of accommodation due to fears of racial harassment and isolation (Ratcliffe, 2002). Furthermore, ethnic monitoring in local authority housing allocation has been accused of being both ineffective and inconsistent (Bowes and Sim, 2002).

Despite these significant downfalls and overt discriminatory practises, that have served to limit the housing options of minority ethnic groups, Harrison (2005) argues that practises and policies within the social housing sector have developed to become manifestly different from those documented in the earlier classical studies up to the end of the 1980's. He argues that practise environments in the UK are '*probably more developed in terms of equality, monitoring and diversity practise than in some of the other large EU countries*' (Harrison, 2005:15). He observes that overt discriminatory practises are unlikely to occur in social renting in the UK today due to two factors, firstly the decision making environment is much more regulated and monitored and secondly the onset of new initiatives including, to name a few, strategies for Positive Action, mentoring schemes and the development of BME housing associations. Nonetheless there are clear downfalls and possible new forms of discrimination in this sector that require a note of caution here, Harrison specifically refers to the possibility of discrimination in areas relating to young people and housing and the control of anti-social behaviour. In the same vein there is high representation of BME tenants in poor quality neighbourhoods and less is known about state of repair and thus the quality of dwellings minority ethnic groups are living in (Phillips, 2005). Furthermore Phillips (2005:37) highlights the fact that performance by housing providers continues to appear 'patchy' as well as pointing out new ethnic equality issues related with stock transfer and choice based lettings and changing needs related both to new household formation and the growing numbers of refugees and asylum seekers.

On a national level the 2001 census shows Black-Caribbean and Bangladeshi households to be well represented in either local authority housing or in housing associations (40% and 48% respectively). Phillips (2005:34) however highlights that differential treatment has resulted in a restricted range of housing options meaning these groups are currently disproportionately represented in unpopular declining inner-city neighbourhoods. In line with this, although South Asian households have been over-represented in low cost owner occupied homes there is evidence that, despite a

preference for owner occupation, social housing may become a vital source of housing or a transitional option for young Asian households (Ratcliffe *et al.*, 2001; Phillips, 2005). This is mainly due to issues of affordability and changing household formations, highlighting the need for continued improvements within this sector.

Research by Ratcliffe *et al* (2001) on South Asian access to the social rented sector in Bradford provides more recent insight into why tenancy levels of particular South Asians groups in council housing are so low providing a useful comparison with older analyses of this sector. The South Asian respondents felt there was a stigma related to living in social housing and to living in the areas in which the housing was located, namely estates with bad reputations seen to be crime ridden. The undesirability of these areas was further exacerbated by the fear amongst minority groups of abuse, racist harassment as well as postcode discrimination. Furthermore, it was a problem for South Asians if housing was located too far away from family, community and places of worship. As in past research lack of knowledge of how to apply and engage with the system was found to be an inhibiting factor. In addition, the study uncovered a suspicion of the working of the points system of council housing and the belief that there was discrimination against minority groups, sometimes related to past negative experiences, and a limited desire to really want to house them. There were also fears about the cost of, particularly housing association, housing, and concerns about the size. There are clear barriers that need to be addressed in this sector despite the obvious advancements.

The difficulties associated with housing allocations, residential requirements, locations and perceptions (Van Kempen and Ozuekren, 1998) have traditionally left minority ethnic groups with two choices: the declining private rented sector or owner occupancy (Phillips, 1998). Research suggests that access to both was hampered by direct and indirect discrimination on the part of landlords and estate agents, often leaving minority ethnic groups with limited options in the housing market (Ratcliffe, 2002). Phillips and Karn (1991) argue that the role of the market contributed to disadvantage since normal market mechanisms worked to keep areas white through inflated prices. Sarre *et al* (1989) draw attention to the weak position that minorities held when considering the attributes needed to compete in the housing market, including obstacles such as low

socio-economic capital, language barriers, access to information and influence over providers. This was reinforced by racist practices such as red-lining perpetrated by private market institutions building societies, estate agents and landlords, often moves were restricted to private exchanges between those living in the inner city. Thus distinct ethnic clusters developed leading to residential segregation, poverty and increased inequality. The experience of owner occupancy, shown both in recent and earlier research, has been a difficult one for minority ethnic households with many struggling to meet costs beyond their means.

There is more recent evidence as in social housing that these early factors that have shaped processes of settlement have begun to change for some. This is largely due to the fact, as Phillips (2005) explains that information and access to finance has improved, traditional barriers created by private institutional discrimination and 'gatekeepers' have been lowered and some households have experienced a rise in their income. Despite this Phillips *et al.* (2003) found that whilst agents are unlikely to engage in overt discriminatory practises, some agents still had influence over where minority groups lived as they used racialised stereotypes and had a racialised view of the housing market. In terms of processes of settlement the aforementioned lowering of barriers can be best seen by the suburbanisation of some minority ethnic households (Ratcliffe, 1996; Phillips *et al.*, 2003; Phillips, 2005). On the other hand, revealing the varied experiences of minority ethnic homeowners, there is clear evidence of households continuing to be trapped in disadvantage and poverty. Phillips (2005) refers to the fact that the English House Condition Survey (1996) found twice as many minority ethnic people owning poor housing than white households. Similarly across all tenures levels of overcrowding remain high amongst the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups as highlighted in the 2001 census with 21% and 39%, respectively, living in overcrowded conditions compared with only 4% of white British (Phillips, 2005). Similarly ONS statistics from 2000 revealed almost 25% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi households as living in unfit dwellings compared to 5% of white and around 6% of Indian households (Phillips, 2005:28).

Turning to urban renewal, Rex and Moore (1967) conducted research into clearance schemes in Birmingham in the 1960s, they found that local authority officials feared a

white backlash if minority ethnic households were rehoused in new property. The Housing Act 1974 introduced housing renewal in place of clearance; poor areas were designated as Housing Action Areas or General Improvement Areas which now included minority ethnic areas (Ratcliffe, 2002). However Ratcliffe shows that minority ethnic areas did not necessarily benefit first; due to a lack of information, few knew that their home was in a HAA or a GIA, without this information they could not apply for and receive grants for renovation. Secondly, under Section 11 funding in the 1966 Local Government Act, minority ethnic housing officers were employed to liaise between minority ethnic areas and the local authority. However, this was largely unsuccessful; as work was prioritised and as funds were limited minority ethnic groups generally did not benefit. Therefore generally minority ethnic households did not feel the benefits of investment (Ratcliffe, 2002). Ratcliffe (2002) refers to hidden discriminatory practices in service delivery and renewal policies. He argues that if urban renewal policy had led to investment on the basis of need then there would be clear evidence of minority ethnic communities benefiting, rather on the contrary he argues that the 'trickle down' process did not occur due to racialised policies at the local level. It is worth noting, however, that tensions within urban regeneration programmes still exist though in contrast to the past it is now often the white majority which resents the allocation of renewal funding to ethnic minority owners, as reported in relation to the disturbances in northern towns in 2001 (Independent Review Team, 2001).

Today both policy and practice is considerably different from the earlier periods discussed above. Harrison (2005) highlights how the understanding of minority ethnic needs and experiences, reflected in specific policies and legislation, has changed considerably over the last decade and a half. He describes the movement beyond assimilation through different stages, including the development of anti-racist strategies based around monitoring and restricting direct or overt discrimination to the focus on tackling racial inequalities, to work on equal opportunities that promoted specific codes of practise and investigation. Furthermore, he argues that several factors have led to this, 'agenda gradually becoming more complex' (2005:62) moving on to give prominence to issues related to institutional racism within housing bodies, and recognition of the diversity within minority groups and the need for cultural sensitivity

in service provision, aspects feeding into the multicultural agenda that developed in the UK.

The Minority Population in Britain

The non-European minority ethnic population in the UK grew rapidly in the post war era. In 1951 the population numbered 80,000 growing by 1961 to 500,000, 1971 to 1.5 million increasing further in 1981 to 2.2 million. The majority of primary migration occurred between 1948 and 1974. Since then, most growth in this population is due to natural increase as over half of the Caribbean and Pakistani population in Britain are U.K. born (Peach, 1998). Between 1981 and 1991 the total U.K. population grew by 2.5%, and Rees and Phillip's (1996) analysis of the 1991 census found that minority ethnic groups were responsible for more than two thirds of this growth, growing to 3.3 million (representing 5.5% of the total population). Rees and Butts (2004) study of ethnic change, which unfortunately only covers England, over the period between 1981 and 2001 shows the BME population to have grown rapidly, by 41% between 1981 and 1991 and by 39% between 1991 and 2001. As a percentage of the total English population BME groups grew from 4.6% in 1981 to represent 8.6% in 2001.

The ethnic composition of England, and indeed Scotland, based on 2001 census data is more varied than ever before as Rees and Butt (2004:174) state there has been 'a dramatic increase in ethnic diversity in all regions'. The 2001 census in England reveals the largest BME group to be Indian, followed by Pakistani, White Irish, Black Caribbean, Black African, Mixed Ethnicity, Bangladeshi and finally Chinese (Rees and Butt, 2004). This differs from Scotland, as will be discussed later, where the Pakistani population is by far the largest with the Indian population third behind the Chinese. Rees and Butt (2004) point out that it is highly likely that the white British group is decreasing, as in Scotland, and that immigration from Australasia, Europe and North America is preventing a decline in the overall white population. The Black population is growing rapidly, especially the Black African group who grew by 141% in the period between 1991 and 2001 (Rees and Butt, 2004). The South Asian population in England doubled over the period from 1981-2001, growing as fast as the Black group as a whole but not as fast as the black African group. The growth in the Indian population slowed

between 1991 and 2001 to 27%, (in the decade before it was 38%), due to ageing, lower immigration and fertility. The Bangladeshi group has been growing rapidly, due to continued immigration and its young highly fertile age structure, but its growth also slowed between 1991 and 2001 to 76% whereas between 1981 and 1991 it had grown by 96%. The Pakistani group has grown less than the Bangladeshi group but its growth has risen from 43% between 1981 and 1991 to 56% between 1991 and 2001 (Rees and Butt, 2004).

As in the early post-war period, the highest minority ethnic concentrations according to the 1991 census were located in the most prominent urban areas of the country mainly in the industrial North and the Southeast of England; it is only in these areas that the percentage of the minority ethnic population was more than 5.5% (the percentage of the national population) (Rees and Phillips, 1996). Rees and Butt (2004) show that this has remained so in 2001 and that minority ethnic groups remain concentrated in metropolitan areas. Yet they show a dramatic change, between 1981 and 1991 BME groups were concentrating into metropolitan areas whereas the decade later they were beginning to de-concentrate, in fact the relative growth of minority ethnic groups was higher in non-metropolitan areas than metropolitan areas. Between 1991 and 2001 the growth in non-metropolitan areas was 43% and 38% in metropolitan areas, a reversal of the previous trend between 1981 and 1991 where growth was 34% in non-metropolitan areas and 44% in metropolitan areas. Furthermore, in this period minority ethnic groups began to grow outside their core areas (Rees and Butt, 2004), but London remained dominant overall. The 1991 census, duplicating earlier patterns revealed that almost 25% of London's population was comprised of minority ethnic groups (Rees and Phillips, 1996). Again the 2001 census shows the London region as being particularly notable as housing more than 50% of England's BME population (Rees and Butt, 2004).

On a national level in 1991 the Indian population was found to be most highly concentrated in outer London and the West Midlands where it formed 5.6% of the local population: Indians were also prominent in West Yorkshire, but were below the national average in all other areas (Rees and Phillips, 1996). At local level (district), the highest concentrations of Indians were found in Leicester, Coventry, Wolverhampton, Blackburn, Bolton and Preston. In 2001, the picture in terms of locations remains

relatively unchanged and the largest concentrations of the Indian group are in East Midlands cities, most notably Leicester, and outer London as well as the West Midlands and inner London. Elsewhere the group continues to be under-represented. In the period between 1991 and 2001 the concentration decreased in all of the aforementioned places except outer London where it increased (Rees and Butt, 2004).

The Pakistani population is unique in that its distribution is not dominated by inner or outer London rather the highest concentrations were in the textile towns of West Yorkshire- Bradford and Kirkless, with further concentrations in the Northwest, Greater Manchester, Central Clydeside, Birmingham and the West Midlands. In 1991, for the first time Glasgow was represented among the top twelve districts with the largest populations of those who identified themselves as Pakistanis. There was a significant rise in the Pakistani population of Glasgow between 1981 and 1991, from 7,015 to 11,605, a percentage increase of 65.4% which was the largest percentage increase in Pakistanis of any UK district simultaneously was a 10% decrease in the white population of Glasgow, which was the largest decrease in any UK district (Rees and Phillips, 1996); there was continued growth in 2001 in the Pakistani population to 15,330 persons. In 2001, Rees and Butt (2004) show the Pakistani population again to have a low level of concentration in London, comparable to that of white groups and the total population, and most concentrated, as in 1991, in West Yorkshire and the West Midlands and over represented in Greater Manchester and the East Midlands. Increases in concentration occurred in Greater Manchester, Outer London and in non-metropolitan regions (Rees and Butt, 2004).

Of all minority ethnic groups the Bangladeshi population is the most highly concentrated in London. In 1991 44% of the Bangladeshi population in the U.K. lived in inner London, primarily in Tower Hamlets and Camden (Rees and Phillips, 1996). Rees and Butt (2004) confirm this again in 2001, with an overwhelming concentration in inner London (Tower Hamlets, Newham and Camden); in 2001 they are also over-represented in the West Midlands and Greater Manchester. Black groups constituted 13.5% of the population of inner London in 1991; it was only here and in the West Midlands that they were over-represented (Rees and Phillips, 1996). In 2001 this picture is somewhat different: the Black Caribbean group are over-represented in southern and

midland metropolitan regions, especially in London, however the inner London concentration is decreasing whilst the outer is increasing (Rees and Butt, 2004). Black Africans are over-represented in inner and outer London, again with concentrations decreasing in inner London and increasing in outer London, they are under-represented everywhere else (Rees and Butt, 2004).

Levels of Concentration: Indices of Dissimilarity

At a macro-scale minority ethnic groups have concentrated in England (Owen, 1992) which has likely remained the case in 2001. At the micro-scale, as Rees and Phillips (1996) highlighted there have been a variety of sub-national changes. In 1991, minority ethnic groups were primarily concentrated in declining metropolitan areas and under-represented in prosperous growth areas (Peach, 1998), however, Rees and Butt (2004) point to their decline in metropolitan areas and increase in non-metropolitan areas in 2001. Undertaking a micro-scale analysis Peach (1996) calculated the ID and IS for the ten ethnic groups in the 1991 census both at the ward and enumeration district for major centres of settlement in the U.K. Segregation was higher for enumeration districts than for wards which he illustrates using the Chinese in London and Birmingham as an example. In both cities the Chinese had low levels of segregation at ward level but very high levels at enumeration district level. Thus Peach suggests that across the city the Chinese were well distributed however at a finer scale they appeared in a series of clusters. Unfortunately this study, at the time of writing, has not been repeated using 2001 data at the finer scale for the UK. However, Rees and Butt (2004) calculated the ID based on the division of the country into 20 metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions for 2001 but is not comparable with Peach's earlier study due to the differing scales used.

Peach (1996) found the Bangladeshis to be the most highly segregated ethnic population in the U.K at ward level. He found IS levels of 93 in Sheffield and Leeds, 89 in Leicester and Bradford, and 83 in Manchester. The Bangladeshi population was highly segregated from every other ethnic group, not only the white population. The lowest ID measured for Bangladeshis was with the Pakistani group, however, he notes this was expected as they were once of the same nationality (Peach, 1996). Peach contends that segregation from all ethnic groups indicates that Bangladeshis have chosen to live

separately, rather than being forced to as a result of constraints. The Pakistani population was also highly segregated, having high rates of segregation from most other ethnic groups as well as the white population. Peach (1996) measured ID levels of 78 in Birmingham at enumeration district level and 76 in Greater Manchester. The lowest rate of ID measured with any group was with the Indian population in Manchester (ID 69) and with the Bangladeshi population in Birmingham ID 51. The index of dissimilarity showed that at this time the Pakistani population had changed the least (in terms of levels of concentration) excepting the 'Black-Other' group (Rees and Phillips, 1996). There was a significant decline in concentration levels for the Afro-Caribbean population; they were mainly concentrated in Greater London and Birmingham where the Index of Segregation was 49 and 48 at enumeration district level. Between the 1961 and 1991 census the levels of concentration for this population decreased significantly (Peach, 1996). Rees and Phillips (1996) attribute this to a process of suburbanisation. Levels of segregation among the Indian population were found to be lower than those for black groups (Peach and Rossiter, 1996).

Although there was a trend of declining ID and IS levels for Afro-Caribbeans in London and for the Indian population in local settlement areas, Rees and Phillips (1996) maintain that little redistribution had occurred among other South Asian groups, between 1981 and 1991, despite high levels of population growth. In their analysis they found that Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups, when compared with the white population, had ID and IS levels that had increased between 1981 and 1991 by between 2 and 9 points, thus their distance and levels of concentration from the white population had increased. The authors maintain that this was due to two factors, first increases in minority ethnic populations added to areas of traditional concentration; and, secondly due to the significant movement of whites from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas. The authors concluded that there was clear evidence between 1981 and 1991 of a widening spatial gap between most minority ethnic groups, with the exception of Indians and Afro-Caribbeans.

As referred to in the previous section there is clear evidence of minority ethnic groups advancing and making achievements in the housing market. This was reflected by evidence from the 1991 census of a small scale local de-concentration of minority

ethnic groups. Ratcliffe (1996) presented evidence of more affluent members of the Black Caribbean and Indian groups relocating outward from their traditional clusters. Similarly small scale local authority reports in Scotland show some dispersal of minority ethnic groups to the suburbs (Glasgow City Council, 2000). Similarly research conducted in Bradford and Leeds by Phillips *et al.* (2003) showed a localised dispersal of South Asian households and evidence of suburbanisation into more affluent neighbourhoods.

To go back to Rees and Butts (2004) study on England, highlighting again the fact that their calculations cannot be compared with the above ward and enumeration district figures due to scale, a clear drawback accentuated in the literature of indices on segregation. In 1981-1991 the ID increased for all groups and in 1991-2001 it decreased or had a lesser increase than the period before. The ID decreased amongst Black Caribbeans, Black Africans, Indians, Chinese and other Asians and increased slightly amongst Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Other Groups. Dorling and Rees (2003) found that when each ethnic group was compared with the rest of the population the White group experienced an increase in the ID whilst most other ethnic groups experienced a decrease suggesting that BME groups are spreading out whilst whites are further spatially polarised.

Competing Explanations for Segregation

As Ratcliffe (2004) points out and as inferred from the past two sections, differences in housing market positions and settlement patterns suggests that explanations of segregation will not be straightforward. Over the past forty years there have been many attempts to explain patterns of residential segregation amongst minority groups. Most have seen it as resulting from constraints faced by migrant groups, in terms of economic inequality and institutional discrimination and/or from choices made reflecting culture-based clustering trends (Ratcliffe, 2004). The more pragmatic contributions to this debate have attempted to balance both ideas and recent literature has tended to emphasise the interaction of both choice and constraint in determining residential segregation. Several authors have given credence to the idea that structural constraints operate in conjunction with agency and have a dialectical relationship (Harrison and

Davis, 2001; Ratcliffe, 2004) creating what Phillips terms 'bounded choices' (2003:47). Similarly the diversity amongst and within minority households has produced divergent tendencies and outcomes leading to the focus in more contemporary literature on the importance of diversity and other forms of difference in explanations of segregation (Ratcliffe, 2004). This debate in general has become increasingly politicised in recent years in the UK and issues relating to segregation have moved up the political agenda along with a shift in some circles towards the idea that particular minority ethnic groups have formed separate social identities reflected spatially and in other domains to resist integration into the mainstream. Each of these sometimes contested and often interrelated explanations of segregation will be discussed in the following section.

Choice and Constraint

Ratcliffe (2004:66) states that '*in essence this (choice constraint debate) is a reworking in a substantive context of the structure-agency dualism*'. Those favouring choice based explanations argue that individual actors make informed or rational choices about where they want to live, normally related to aspects of their ethnic and cultural backgrounds. More recently, as a sub set to the choice argument, some contemporary debates have focused on the so-called separatist tendencies of particular minority ethnic groups in an attempt to preserve social, ethnic or religious identities contrary to those of the mainstream- this will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. On the other side of the debate it is argued that structural factors such as racism and discriminatory policies or more recently cultural factors (religious or family obligations) constrain or limit housing choices for minority groups.

Housing choice theorists have attributed much to the role of ethnicity in determining where minority ethnic groups live. Dahya (1974) referred to the spatial concentration of minority ethnic groups as *voluntary segregation*, which occurs through a process of rational choice. He illustrates this by arguing that the Pakistani community in Bradford created an 'ethnic village' to withdraw from British culture reflecting their identification with their homeland. Since their primary objective was not to stay permanently but to earn money to send home, it was a rational choice to live in cheap inner city housing as expenses were minimal. Given this, clustering with those of a similar culture and with the same language and dietary requirements was reasonable. Although he recognises the

existence of discrimination and racism, he does not see them as having a direct effect on minority ethnic housing choice. This perspective was echoed more recently in Lewis (1994) and the importance and predominance of agency in this debate highlighted by Ballard and Ballard (1977, cited in Ratcliffe 2004). O' Loughlin and Glebe (1984) form a similar argument contending that if external factors of constraint were dominant then immigrants would be segregated as a whole from the 'host' community instead of which there is purposeful ethnic grouping, i.e. clear decisions on the part of minority ethnic individuals to live together.

In contrast proponents of the constraint theory of segregation attribute little significance to the idea of 'voluntary segregation'. They argue that the spatial pattern of minority ethnic groups reflects the white population's preference for the isolation of minorities, both socially and spatially, rather than the preferences of the minority ethnic population itself (Sarre *et al.*, 1989). Furthermore, this is dictated by their weak position in the housing market and low socio-economic position, exacerbated by fear of harassment and reinforced by discriminatory practices in housing institutions, leaving little other option than to buy low cost housing in poor neighbourhoods. This is illustrated in an early 'classical' study by Rex and Moore in 1967 in Sparkbrook in Birmingham. The authors highlighted the external or structural forces that placed restrictions on the housing options of minority ethnic groups through discrimination in the allocation of social housing and the denial of mortgages to buy homes through processes of red-lining. This led to the use of high interest loans to buy large Victorian houses or 'lodging houses' in disrepair and thus resulted in high rental costs for the tenants. Sarre *et al* (1989) highlight that although the same inequalities are faced by disadvantaged members of the white population, minority ethnic groups accrue added disadvantage due to their racial status sometimes referred to as 'ethnic penalties' (Harrison 2005:18-20). In line with this Smith (1989) points out that culture alone cannot be used as an explanation for segregation because were people able to make decisions over where to live they would not choose to cluster in deprived areas.

'Bounded Choices': Dialectical Relationships and Diversity

Later contributions have emphasised the dialectic relationship between the two elements of this debate focusing on the fact that the realities of people's experiences reflect

elements of both choice and constraint and indeed elements of inclusion and exclusion. This interplay of structural constraints and agency or choice on the part of the individual has been seen as being increasingly complex with the importance of aspects of difference and diversity within minority ethnic groups being given due recognition.

Phillips (2003:47) concedes that it is likely that patterns of settlement, rather than being an expression of self or voluntary segregation, are rather a reflection of '*bounded choices*'. Cultural autonomy, and clustering to preserve this, is a resource for those who cannot speak the language and for new immigrants, though her work (Phillips *et al.* 2003) also shows that this can also be a constraint for some (related to religious and cultural obligations). Yet at the same time tendencies to segregate may also be a defence mechanism in response to hostility or other exclusionary processes. Many other authors have pointed out the factors that make living in an ethnic cluster attractive as well as highlighting the fact that these patterns of residence are also a response to wider exclusionary forces (Tomlins *et al.*, 2002; Ozuekren and van Kempen, 1998; Phillips, 1998; Peach, 1998; van Kempen and Ozuekren, 1998).

Important ways of understanding and analysing the complex realities of processes of settlement and residential clustering/segregation of minority groups have been highlighted by several authors. The central theme in Ratcliffe's (2004) recent book is the recognition of the dialectical relationship between social agency and systematic processes. He argues that elements of both sides of the debate are not static but change over time due to both general social change and policy or legal interventions (p.68). He illustrates this using several examples such as improvements in discriminatory practises in public and private institutions, changes in the market including an increase in home ownership in general as well as demographic, socio-economic and generational changes within the minority ethnic population itself. Although the choice constraint model of explaining segregation allows us to include the role that difference within minority ethnic groups such as class, age/generation, gender and economic position has on processes of settlement, Ratcliffe (2004:68) argues that the analysis is too static. He asserts that the actor is assumed to be rational and rigid whereas in reality decision-making processes are normally '*negotiated choices*'. Furthermore he highlights the fact that the structural constraints may often be '*empirical (or even empiricist) abstractions*'

(2004:68). Rather he makes the case for a more dynamic form of analysis that considers the two-way interactive or dialectic relationship between the agent and aspects of structure.

This is expanded upon in more depth within the structure-agency framework by Harrison and Davis (2001:9) whose analytical approach rather than prioritising structure in one domain and agency in another is about 'patterns of effects' and how they persist and change over time and space. The central theme they address within this is 'difference' (specifically in relation to disability, gender and ethnicity) exploring how this is both regulated and responded to by the welfare state. They further the idea of diversity by developing the idea of difference within difference in that individuals have strategies and experiences that are more complex than the differentiations between broad categories of difference such as social class, 'race' and gender. Furthermore they draw attention to the fact that actors negotiate their identities, may occupy more than one position and have more than one affiliation, thus experiencing housing in different and complex ways. The authors express this succinctly in the following way, '*diversity of household experiences, strategies and identities occurs alongside or within a broader and persisting pattern of differences*' (2001: 8-9). These differences are seen as being more than choices or expressions but are rather regulated and developed through structural processes and may even be socially constructed. Similarly structures or structural constraints may indeed be influenced or changed by the choices and conduct of the individual actors, highlighting what Ratcliffe (2004) and Sarre *et al.*, (1989), building on Giddens theory of structuration, describe as a two-way interactive process.

Economic Factors and Occupational Class as Spatial Constraints

The labour market is often used as a barometer gauging minority ethnic advancement. Generally assimilationist arguments link integration with socio-economic advancement. The assumption is that as minority ethnic groups demographically mature and as younger people do better in education and move into better employment, spatial sorting will become based on social class rather than ethnicity or 'race'. Phillips (2003:45) argues that socio economic advancement is a central component of facilitating and explaining models of desegregation and dispersal. She acknowledges that although there is no clear cut relationship between class and ethnicity that there are nonetheless some

systematic effects. The 2001 census indicates varied experiences between minority ethnic groups in Britain some being more represented in higher occupational categories. Indians are well represented in professional or managerial jobs; this has been correlated with signs of dispersal from areas of traditional settlement to mixed neighbourhoods and suburban areas. On the other hand Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are significantly under-represented in both skilled manual jobs and in professional occupations. Four fifths of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis have incomes below or at the national average, in comparison to a quarter of whites (Strategy Unit, 2003); some of these differences reflect differentials in achievement levels.

Recent work on intergenerational social mobility by Platt (2005) reveals transitions between parent's social class and children's to be highly differentiated according to ethnic group. Some groups fared much better than others; Indians did better than all other groups studied, whilst there was a particularly low instance of mobility amongst the younger Pakistani and Bangladeshi generation. Patterns of higher class retention across generations were also stronger for Indians, white non-migrants and white migrants, whilst weaker for African Caribbeans and Pakistanis, indicating that class does play a role in outcomes yet that the extent to which ethnicity matters is particularised by group. Ethnicity appears to be particularly salient for Pakistani groups as a determination of their social and occupational class. They are less likely than their white counterparts of the same class origins to be successful, even with higher levels of qualifications they do not have the same occupational rewards as white groups, on top of this they experience greater risks of unemployment (Platt, 2005:35). Platt (2005:35) accentuates the fact that 'particular ethnicities matter'. Differential patterns in education and labour market participation would rationally lead to differential patterns in housing. Phillips (1998) argues that this fragmented picture of occupational progress correlates accordingly with the changing local geographies for Indians and African-Caribbeans, the over-representation of Pakistanis in deprived owner occupied housing areas, Bangladeshis in the social rented sector and the growing spatial divide between minority groups. Therefore the relationship between socio-economic class and segregation seems clear as marginality in the labour market can easily be translated into marginality in the housing market. Despite this it is important to note as highlighted by Phillips (2003:45) that social class or economic status does not fully account for

changing patterns of ethnic settlement as fear of harassment, social and cultural ties as well as family obligations keep economically successful households in the ethnic cluster.

For the majority population there has been an association between class and tenure, however, the correlation between the two is inversed for Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups, as home ownership rates are higher among the semi-skilled and unskilled minority ethnic working class than among those of similar social class in the white population. This has been explained in the literature by market constraints and differential access to other types of housing. Ratcliffe (1996) contends that if social class is a salient factor in housing tenure with ethnicity being less significant, then younger generations could be expected to associate more closely with the white population of similar social class; resulting in less spatial segregation and a move toward becoming more segregated along class lines. Phillips (2005) drawing on 2001 census results maintains that we may be witnessing a move toward a closer relationship between socio-economic status and the housing choices of younger minority ethnic households with UK born heads. Previously, Phillips (1998) highlighted the differential economic progress experienced by minority ethnic youths. Black Caribbean youths are progressing more than their elders which can be correlated with their outward movement from inner city London. On the other hand, high unemployment rates have been maintained amongst Pakistani and Bangladeshi youth. The evidence of a move toward equalisation of class and tenure patterns highlights the importance of stressing the limited options in the housing market for the growing minority ethnic youth that are unemployed and facing the growing risk of poverty. Furthermore, Ratcliffe (2004:33) cautions the fact that 'race' and ethnicity have tended to take preference over class and social stratification as a mono causal explanation of segregation.

Politics of Identity: Cultural Barriers and Separatist Tendencies

There has been a more recent shift in contemporary debates, especially those of the current Labour government, who have turned to focus on the separatist tendencies of particular minority ethnic groups (related strongly with Islam) as the causal and sustaining factor of social, cultural and residential segregation. The 'so-called parallel lives phenomenon' (Ratcliffe, 2004:69) argues that in an attempt to preserve social,

ethnic or religious identities, which are contrary to those of the mainstream, particular minority groups have self-segregated and created cultural barriers as a strategy to resist integration. Segregation, along with the groups seen to maintain it has been problematised as it is perceived to result in subgroups that are at odds with the dominant moral order (Robinson, 2005), reflecting a particular failing of multiculturalism. The background and the policy and ideological underpinnings of this turn in rhetoric and policy will be discussed in-depth in the following section.

Politicisation of Segregation since 2000 in the UK

Issues of race and ethnicity have come to the forefront of political and media attention over the past few years. In Labour's early term this was mainly in the context of their commitment to multiculturalism and in line with an inclusion, equality and diversity agenda (Harrison, 2005). There have been several central debates on these issues in response to specific events, from the Stephen Lawrence report that brought issues of racism, violence and institutional discrimination into the light, to the Parekh Report (Runnymede Trust, 2000) which debated belonging in a multi-cultural society. Ethnic segregation *per se*, however, was not at the forefront of government debates or intervention throughout the late 1990s, in fact housing was not mentioned in the Parekh Report (2000), but with the 2001 riots that took place in disadvantaged areas in northern English towns it was propelled onto the agenda. Several reports were commissioned to examine and make recommendations on issues related to the disturbances. The reports drew attention to the self-segregation of minority groups whereby communities were described as living, working, and socialising separately (Independent Review Team, 2001:9). The response of the government altered somewhat from their previous commitment to multiculturalism with the launch of the community cohesion agenda. Furthermore, political and media debates were not slow to question the commitment of British Muslims to participating in British society as a cause of the disturbances. This rhetoric combined with responses to September 11 and the more recent London bombings has to some extent shifted the focus from the exclusion and deprivation that may exist in these communities on to their so called 'voluntary segregation'. This choice based explanation represents to some extent a shift of responsibility from the government to the minority community itself. As Amin (2002b:2) writes;

‘...More recently, however, the tone has turned decidedly frosty. Yes, the street confrontations a year ago in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford served to remind the nation of continuing problems of ethnic discrimination and deprivation, but they have also led to unashamed questioning of the cultural and national allegiances of British Muslims.’

Background and Overview of the Community Cohesion Agenda

The 2001 disturbances have been attributed to several factors; namely the frustration amongst young minority ethnic youths; their vilification by the local media; the role of right wing political activity; tensions over policing; competition over the allocation of funds in regeneration programmes; poor services; the dearth of shared spaces; poor communication; and the political culture that glorified community leaders (Robinson, 2005; Harrison, 2005; Amin, 2002; Ouseley, 2001). Official reports and the media tended to represent the riots as an ‘Asian problem’ (Robinson, 2005) which was particularly poignant during a time of increasing Islamophobia after 9/11.

In response to the disturbances the government established an interdepartmental ministerial group on public order and community cohesion and commissioned a community cohesion review team led by Ted Cante as well as several local and national reports. The Home Office published the various reports, Cante (Independent Review Team, 2001), Ouseley (2001) (which was actually commissioned before the disturbances) and their own report, at the same time on 11th December 2001. Later in 2002 the Burnley Task Force report was to come. Rather than questioning the vilification of Asian youths and isolationist discourse of the media on what was termed the ‘race riots’ the reports emphasised the separatist tendencies and ‘drift toward self-segregation’ of Asian groups as being central to the fragmentation of the local communities and the conflict (Ouseley, 2001: foreword) . The most frequently quoted illustration of this appears in the Cante report where it is asserted that separate educational facilities, social and cultural networks and language as well as physical divisions mean that, ‘many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives’ (Independent Review Team 2001:9). It is worth noting that no detailed consideration of the relationship between residential segregation and ethnic separation in other socio-spatial domains has been provided.

The tenor was decidedly alarmist and despite little evidence (Robinson, 2005) residential segregation and its associated ills was dubbed as a process that urgently needed reversed (Ouseley, 2001). The isolationist discourse employed in the reports, whilst problematising minority ethnic segregation, marked this as a difficult task complicated by the resistance of minority ethnic communities to mix, ‘the fact that it is mainly self-segregation makes the task all the more challenging’ (Ritchie 2002:4). Thus community cohesion was launched as a clear challenge to segregation in all its supposed forms, outlined as the development of a shared vision and common goals across the divided communities as a means to help micro-communities gel into an integrated whole (Robinson, 2005).

Whilst primarily giving voice to choice based explanations as contributing to the formation of separate ethnic communities, the Cattle report also concedes that some choices are not made freely but are a result of negative factors such as poverty and threats of violence. In particular, housing (both policy and provision) was highlighted as being a causal and a constraining factor in the segregation of the communities in question and as being key to diffusing these patterns and leading to more mixed environments in other domains. The Cattle report recommends that future housing schemes should be ethnically mixed through a review of housing agencies’ allocation processes. The report urges the formation of more, ‘ambitious strategies to provide more mixed housing areas and to provide supportive mechanisms for minorities facing harassment and intimidation,’ whilst simultaneously taking into consideration the problem of low demand housing and the effects of poverty and deprivation and the fostering of contact between communities (Independent Review Team 2001: 43). Harrison (2005:83) provides a useful summary of some of the Cattle reports 67 proposals: development of area plans to improve community cohesion; the development of programmes to promote understanding within and between BME communities and white communities; limitations placed on the ‘faith intake’ in schools; and thematic and needs based funding allocation avoiding separate funding for different sections of the community.

In lieu of the various reports and recommendations community cohesion became a clear policy concern mainstreamed by central government through the development of the

Community Cohesion Unit (CCU) within the Home Office, the goal of which is to support and develop good practise and act as an advisory board on creating more cohesive communities. A cohesive community as defined on the CCU website (and in the Cantle report) has four elements;

- i. There is a common vision and sense of belonging for all communities.
- ii. The diversity of people's different backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated and positively valued.
- iii. Those from similar backgrounds have similar life opportunities.
- iv. Strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods.

A short time later in 2003 the Community Cohesion Pathfinder Programme was launched, 14 pathfinder areas and 14 shadow pathfinder areas were developed, jointly funded by the Home Office and the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, to deliver a range of different initiatives and programmes that would promote cohesive communities and to develop best practise guidelines for local authorities. In addition community cohesion action plans were developed by different governmental departments (Robinson 2005). Despite central government activity, local authorities shouldered the responsibility of community leadership and the implementation of the community cohesion agenda, following the general trend of New Labour strategy of community leadership and local responsibility. In 2004 a consultation process was developed as a first step to establishing a government wide strategy for community cohesion and race equality (Home Office, 2004). The report highlights challenges that must be tackled, specifically, 'the impact of exclusion (inequality, p.15) and racism, the rise in political and religious extremism and segregation that can divide our communities' (Home Office 2004:3). The report alongside the aforementioned issues addresses the need to create a shared identity and citizenship that goes beyond the legal definition and promotes a sense of belonging and pride in being British based on shared values and rights and responsibilities (Home Office, 2004:8). Reiterating the earlier reports it also again refers to the role of choice or the separatist tendencies of minority communities in developing cultural and social barriers and subcultures of difference (Home Office 2004;16, Harrison, 2005:84). A sequel to the first Cantle report was also published in 2004, *The End of Parallel Lives?*, although, there was continued emphasis on the

desegregationist and isolationist speak of the previous report there was also an encouraging move toward recognising the importance of linking the equality and the community cohesion agenda to respond to disadvantage (c.f. Harrison, 2005:86) to some extent echoing the Home Office report.

Community Cohesion: Conceptual Roots and the Wider Policy Environment

It is therefore clear that the community cohesion agenda rapidly developed into a key policy concern. Yet before the 2001 disturbances little was known of its theoretical or conceptual moorings considering it was a concept that had sprung up without clear ancestry in either policy or theoretical debates (Robinson, 2005). Robinson argues that, 'conceptually speaking, it represented an empty vehicle into which the preoccupations of public policy were poured' (2005:1415). The lack of clarity and contested nature of some of the central ideological assumptions and evidence upon which this agenda is based is symptomatic of broader ambiguities in new Labours stance on multiculturalism, equality, citizenship and community.

Again drawing upon Robinson's recent paper, community cohesion, he argues, was actualised by drawing on discourses of both communitarianism seen as a means to restore social cohesion and moral order and changes in New Labours stance towards multiculturalism. The definition of community cohesion in the Cattle report (as outlined in the last section) adopts precisely the description of the different elements of a socially cohesive society as presented by Kearns and Forrest (2000). Kearns and Forrest make the point that socially cohesive communities, due to the strong social ties that 'glue' them together, could potentially 'withdraw' or constitute a defence from wider society resulting in division or tension within wider areas. This was adopted in the Cattle report as a conceptual springboard to assert the need for micro-communities that may well be socially cohesive, to gel together with other micro-communities through commonalities and shared vision (Robinson, 2005). More generally this is in line with New Labours emphasis on rights, civic responsibilities and participation in other domains (such as the New Deal programmes).

In this sense, in the context of the influence of communitarianism, communities themselves 'are commonly charged with the responsibility for being the arbiters of

moral worth' and places where people learn 'civilized behaviour' as highlighted by Back *et al* (2002: 448). Yet there is ambiguity between this stance and multiculturalism: when dominant moral values are not homogenous or mono-cultural as in multi-ethnic or multi-faith communities then the local is not considered to exemplify accepted forms of citizenship or cultural values. To the contrary as Back *et al* express, the community, 'rather than the arbiter of moral worth, becomes a battleground of competing ethics' (2002:448). The Government's approach represents a clear move away from pluralism in public society to the idea that there is a dominant model of citizenship or moral mores to be adhered to in the public sphere with diversity demoted to the private sphere (Back *et al*, 2002; Mitchell, 2004; Robinson, 2005). This accentuates a clear tension between community cohesion and multiculturalism, that sums up New Labour's more restrictive multiculturalism. Robinson comments, that segregation is problematised in this environment as it is seen to produce communities that are separated socially and culturally from the mainstream moral and value system (2005:1417). This so-called separatism has been represented officially as being a clear failure of multicultural policy (Phillips, T., 2005). Illustrated further by the allegations at the core of claims of self-segregation as Phillips states, 'central to this assertion is the claim that people of South Asian origin, particularly British Muslims, are failing to be active citizens by withdrawing from social and spatial interactions within wider British society' (2006:25).

The idea that the public sphere should, rather than 'achieve diversity', be neutral (with cultural difference being relegated to the private sphere) is contested by Mitchell (2004:648) who argues that at the core of this neutrality or dominant moral order lies the nation, in the same vein Robinson (2005:1418) refers to the 'hegemonic position occupied by a particular notion of Britishness'. Further problems with this public-private split are highlighted by other authors, such as the transcendence of the two domains by particular aspects of peoples lives such as the role of the church and Islam (Robinson 2005); the lack of emphasis on social inequalities as those who do not 'opt in' to the dominant cultural values are liable to be excluded (Mitchell, 2004; Ratcliffe, 2004) and the unquestioned 'cultural exclusions' of white Englishness (Phillips, 2006; Amin, 2002a).

Several authors have documented the ambivalent and contested nature of 'multi-cultural Britain'. On one hand there has been the promotion of diversity and difference, and very positive steps taken toward embracing, or some would argue managing, diversity and tackling institutional discrimination. On the other hand, however, there have been moves back towards 'assimilation-speak' seen through the introduction of citizenship tests and Blunketts call for South Asians to speak English in the home as well as in the public sphere and oaths of allegiance for new migrants (Phillips, 2006; Harrison *et al.*, 2005, Ratcliffe, 2004; Back *et al.*, 2002). Harrison (2005:87) referring to the current political environment as being 'post-multicultural', warns that the 'clock may have been turned back at a national level' at a time when the diversity agenda appeared well developed. Although he is careful to reiterate the fact that at the grassroots level this is somewhat different and more positive with the practice environment still being informed by the diversity and equality agendas. Ratcliffe (2004) also highlights the importance of grassroots activity in contributing to a more inclusive society. The shift towards local responsibility and community leadership in New Labours policies on racial equality is underlined by Back *et al* (2002) who also highlight the degree of self-government involved, in which individuals are responsible for participating and integrating themselves.

This appears to be a trend more generally across several European states, the US and Australia, where a discourse of failing multiculturalism is accompanied by a decentralised responsibility for integration, the onus falling upon the responsibility of the individual (Mitchell, 2004). Phillips (2006:37) argues that although demands for ethnic assimilation are 'more muted' than in the past and 'diluted by the language of neoliberal multiculturalism' that the implication is still the same as – British Muslims are expected, under the responsibilities of citizenship, to 'opt-in' to multi-cultural Britain. Mitchell (2004:645) construes this as a new technology of knowledge/power in neoliberal regimes of governance that constitutes the individual as free-thinking, yet in reality there is little choice as those who 'opt-out' are cast as individuals not willing to participate in wider social life and are liable to be excluded from citizenship rights. In this sense, notions of multiculturalism in Britain today, reinforced by the community cohesion agenda, are to some extent an exercise of power from the top to control or contain diversity and difference, especially relating to Islam.

Community Cohesion and 'Self-segregation': Contested Concepts and the Evidence-base

At the heart of the community cohesion agenda there also lies some fundamental assumptions that have subsequently been contested in the literature. First and most obviously is the central assumption that South Asian groups self-segregate. There are two aspects that need to be tested in order to validate this claim, first, is the evidence relating to actual settlement patterns and second is the lived experience and locational preferences of minority ethnic households. There is clear evidence from both the 1991 and 2001 censuses that, although at a national level residential patterns have more or less been maintained, there have been significant moves by ethnic minorities on a local scale away from most of the major conurbations (Phillips, 2003). Evidence suggests that the well documented history of minority ethnic clustering in deprived areas in the inner-city is prevailing, but alongside this there are clear patterns of dispersal and suburbanisation out of the traditional areas of core settlement, although selective (Phillips, 2006; Peach, 1998; Phillips, 1998; Rees *et al*, 1996). Phillips *et al* (2003) and Phillips (2006), studying South Asian mobility in Bradford and Leeds also report evidence of moves across lesser distances to the areas surrounding traditional ethnic clusters not only as a means to find better housing but as a means, 'to occupy a social, cultural and spatial position on the margins of the community, which affords some freedom from perceived social strictures and conventions' (2006:35). Simpson (2004) shows from research in Bradford that the prevailing concentration of South Asians in inner-city neighbourhoods is best explained by a mixture of immigration and natural growth, rather than as a scenario of population inertness. He also shows that there are fewer 'mono-racial' areas in Bradford in 2001 than in 1991 and that for both white and South Asian households the overall trend was to move out of the city. Johnston *et al* (2002) also show that contrary to the existence of ghettos in Britain the majority of minority ethnic groups live in areas where the white British population is the majority.

Modood *et al* (1997a) conducted a national survey in which they found that over half of the Bangladeshi and Pakistani respondents would be willing to live in areas where they would be the minority. Phillips *et al* (2003) (also cited in Phillips 2006) also reported a general readiness amongst the Muslim respondents in their sample for social mixing beyond the traditional areas of settlement providing that they did not feel threatened.

The positive aspects of minority ethnic settlement have been overlooked as discourse has often demonised these areas and constructed them as problem areas. This has been further exacerbated by the war on terror and has led to a media emphasis on ethnic clusters and religious centres as possible breeding grounds for Islamic insurrection. The responses or reactions to the clustering of ethnic groups in these areas assume a unique and homogenous lived experience. Amin (2002) highlights the problematic nature of seeing these areas as places of fixed identities; he argues that the ethnicisation of the identities of non-white people impedes the identification of or indeed interrelation *with* other sources of identity formation such as class, gender, age, consumption and education. Phillips builds on this by further placing emphasis on the fact that British Muslim identities are constantly negotiated: she argues that the self segregation debate, 'understates the permeability of the boundaries between socio-cultural and religious groups' as well as the diversity of their strategies of interaction and identifications (2006:30). Evidence presented in the academic literature, relating to both residential patterns, preferences and experiences, negates the suggestion that particular minority ethnic groups (specifically British Muslims) wish to separate and retreat from British society whether through space or constructs relating to social identity.

Second, despite a long history of documentation in the literature of the processes that have led to and sustained minority ethnic segregation or clustering the discourse and debates surrounding the community cohesion agenda pay little attention to the constraints that minority ethnic groups face in both residential choice and housing outcomes. As Phillips (2006:29) comments, 'it may be argued that the political discourse of self-segregation seriously underplays the power of structural constraints (economic and structural racism) and popular racism to shape minority ethnic housing and neighbourhood choices'. On the other hand the differences and diversity of strategies adopted within the minority ethnic population to deal with the challenges they face also counter oversimplified explanations related to self-segregation. Robinson (2005:1420) highlights the fact that rather than representing passive agents minority ethnic groups can devise strategies of resistance, accommodation and avoidance to deal with obstacles that influence their housing outcomes, which can therefore be seen as more than a result of the housing system. He uses this point to illustrate the fact that

there are naiveties related to the idea that housing interventions are able to promote residential integration.

The third contested concept central to the community cohesion agenda is the notion that residential mixing is the solution to fostering a socially integrated society. Robinson (2005:1423) points to the ties between this reasoning and contact theory, which puts forward the idea that mixed racial contact will reduce negative stereotypes. Putnam (2000) for example suggests that multi-racial social ties can create bonding capital, as a result of common interests that lead to the sharing of resources and support as well as helping to ease tensions and create understanding and relations (bridging capital) (Emerson *et al.*, 2002). Robinson (2005:1423) points out, however, that contact theory assumes that particular conditions, unlikely in everyday life, exist before positive attitudinal and behavioural changes take place: contact should be intimate and orientated towards a shared goal; be between equal status partners; and take place in an environment in which integration is institutionally sanctioned. Phillips (2006) suggests, drawing upon evidence from Bradford, which reveals the racialisation of space due to fears of racism and harassment that the conditions for residential mixing and fostering subsequent notions of common identities may not currently be in place.

There are other clear inherent oversights in this assumption, as placing people together even if successful may not necessarily led to increased social interactions. Amin (2002:963) points out the fact that there are mixed neighbourhoods in different British cities that are, 'riddled with prejudice and conflict between Asian, White and African-Caribbean residents' and that attempts to engineer ethnic mixing have resulted in resentment and white flight in the past. Amin (2002:969) argues that housing estates and urban spaces in general are not 'structured as places of interdependence'; rather, contact is not enough, and the best places for generating cultural exchange are those where engagement between people is compulsory through common activities, such as the workplace, schools colleges etc. The somewhat coercive proposals to 'mix' neighbourhoods may represent a further structural constraint placed upon minority housing options. Robinson *et al.* (2004) found that housing managers had real concerns related to what they felt was the use of coercion and preferred to focus more on the widening of housing choices. Phillips (2003:47) also highlights the importance of

widening locational choices in response to the 'bounded choices' of minority ethnic groups.

Conclusion

Minority ethnic segregation and its causation is complex and dynamic, it is related to early patterns of settlement, labour market opportunities, socio-economic position and discrimination faced in different domains. Explanations of segregation are not straight forward rather varying dependent on ethnic group, economic and social class, position in the labour market and education alongside other differentials including different household strategies. Although there is evidence of changing patterns with different trajectories and levels of achievement visible between different ethnic groups there is still continued disadvantage and evidence that housing and neighbourhood choices made by particular minority ethnic groups are often constrained. Despite previous positive advancements in the policy arena relating to equality and diversity in different domains, the issues relating to minority ethnic groups and segregation have become increasingly politicised in this climate of restricted multiculturalism in the UK. Emphasis has been placed upon the separatist tendencies of minority ethnic groups, particularly Muslims, to maintain distinct social and cultural identities as a means to resist integration which has to a large extent taken the emphasis off social inequalities and placed emphasis on the role of the individual actor to opt in to the norms of British society leading to new and difficult debates on citizenship and belonging.

3. Urban Migration, Residential Mobility and Suburbanisation

Introduction

Suburbanisation signifies a specific form of urban de-concentration. Kramer (1972) refers to it as a ubiquitous process that represents the formation of a new urban landscape in which the outward movement of people, amenities, industry and institutions from the urban core create an extended city. The suburbanisation process is not as selective as traditionally may have been assumed as contemporary suburbs are not homogenous in population composition or limited to the middle classes. The reality is that only 15% of the population live in areas with a population density high enough to be classed as inner city, the average English person lives at a low density (20 people per hectare compared to 50 for the inner city) (Schoon, 2001). As the economic and social bases of the suburbs have grown in the past one hundred years so has the diversity of suburbanites.

From its mass uprising the suburb has never failed to incite controversy as middle to high income dwellers left the city for the suburb it has been regarded as a contributing factor to the acceleration of social polarisation and segregation. The ecological development of the suburb has been correlated with new behaviours pertaining to the suburban 'way of life' based upon social conformity, competition and upward social mobility (Fishman, 1987). As once the rural idyll was upheld as a model form of living in opposition to the corrupt and congested city, the diversity of the city and its cultural allure was favoured over mass-produced suburbia by its critics (Thorns, 1972). These negative connotations have, through the uncovering of diversity and heterogeneity in the suburbs, been contested as the 'suburban myth' (Gans and Berger, 1972). This chapter will attempt to give a broad overview of the process of suburbanisation and the social values and aspirations associated with its growth as well as also considering the residential mobility literature more generally.

This chapter is structured as follows. The first section considers definitions of the suburbs in terms of their role and location in the city and considers ways of measuring and defining residential areas and the traditional models depicting the expanding city.

The second section provides a brief overview of the origin and growth of suburbs in Britain. Following from this, the third section considers the social and cultural representation of the suburbs in the literature. This begins to answer questions associated with reasons for moving to the suburbs, which is expanded upon in the fourth section by drawing attention to the more general models of residential mobility presented in the literature.

Defining the Suburbs

The pattern of population dispersion outside the city to the suburbs emerged almost as early as the city itself (Mumford, 1961). Suburbs are not a modern phenomenon, but rather a historic part of city life, visible even in the early Egyptian city. The urban values associated with the suburb have, however, changed over time; the *suburbe*, for example, in the pre-modern English city defies the assumptions associated with the modern suburb. Historically, cities were built assuming that the core would house the elite in close proximity to work and that the poorest including immigrants would be housed in the urban periphery beyond the city walls (Fishman, 1987). The *suburbe* was defined between the fourteenth and mid-eighteenth century as, ‘a place of inferior, debased, especially licentious habits of life’ (OED, cited in Fishman, 1987:23); in the pre-modern city a prostitute was contentiously referred to as a ‘*suburbe sinner*’ (Fishman, 1987:23).

Of course the suburbs are no longer seen as inferior in the modern British city, albeit work conducted for JRF highlighted their decline (Gwilliam *et al.*, 1999). Fishman (1987) argues that the emergence of suburbia in the modern city and its transition from the pre-modern form reflects a change in urban values that goes beyond the reversal of core and periphery to include the disentangling of work and residence and the association of the suburb with a suburban ‘way of life’. In the early twentieth century there were suburban communities emerging around many central cities in Northern America, Western Europe, Japan and Canada (Rothblatt and Garr, 1986). The influence of technology, rising real incomes, the growth in consumer power, innovative transport networks, industrial de-concentration, intensified demographic pressures on the city and

planning policy has accelerated and in many cases made the vigorous post-war growth of the suburbs viable.

The suburb in its modern form can primarily be defined as an outlying residential area adjacent to and usually economically and culturally dependent upon the central city; despite being situated outside the city it is considered part of the urban agglomeration as a whole (Rothblatt and Garr, 1986). Drawing on Thorns (1972), Clapson (1998) outlines three defining characteristics of suburbs; although located beyond the centre of the city they still lie within the metropolitan area; the urban geography of the suburb is intermediate between the city centre and the surrounding rural area; and is within commuting distance of the city centre. Johnson et al (1981:33) define the suburb as being 'usually residential or dormitory in character, being dependent on the city for occupational, shopping and recreational facilities'. Despite common points of reference it is obvious from discussion in the international literature that definitions of the suburbs are culturally specific.

For instance in the US context Palen (1995) questions traditional definitions, arguing that definitions of suburbs that assume economic and cultural dependence upon the city are out of date. He contends that the suburb is emerging as a self-sufficient new central district with employment, cultural and social attractions and amenities being situated in the suburban area, which is no longer sub to the central metropolitan area. In Britain, however, there is still considerable dependence on the inner city for employment, recreation and shopping. Unfortunately, however, there are few recent studies of the characteristics of British suburbia. Again the suburbs of Continental Europe are different, with Paris being the primary example in the literature, housing the working classes, immigrants and the poorer groups in society, leaving the inner space for the economically advantaged. The diversity of the suburbs means that any attempt to define or classify them is met with difficulties. Pacione (2001:83) contends that rather than attempting to classify the suburbs they should instead be viewed as 'dynamic entities with a diversity that reflects their role in the post-modern city'.

Measuring the suburbs

Identifying residential areas and sub-areas within the city and outside the city boundary has been a long-term challenge for urban geographers throughout the past century. Urban definitions are an important basis for any description, analysis or social profiling of the internal structure of the wider metropolitan area and the surrounding non-metropolitan areas that employ some form of dependence on the urban conurbation. Bourne (1982:57) writes that most governments use, 'some definition of the concept of the 'extended' city as a consistent basis for measuring the spatial extent of urban development'. He contends that any definition, statistical measurement or description encompassing residential areas must seek to include the suburbs as they are the 'living space' and often the 'market place' for a vast number of 'urban residents'.

Empirical studies conducted in 1920's Chicago focusing on the city's socio-spatial organisation produced the influential model that correlated territorial organisation and the distribution of the population with social behaviour, this theoretical approach became famously known as urban or human ecology. The 'Chicago School's' urban ecologists defined geographical areas not only by considering the 'physical individuality' of an area but also by the cultural characteristics of the people who live in the area (Pacione, 2001:349). The aim of the urban ecologists definition of what they termed the 'natural area' was to provide an empirical analysis but one that combined with it a description of the reality of urban life as experienced by residents. Its hypothetical framework led to the correlation of social distance and residential proximity as it referred to a human ecology i.e. the relative patterning of the city with areas of relative social homogeneity (neighbourhoods) (Thomlinson, 1969:9). Urban ecological theorists attribute the evolution of the city as being a result of competition influenced by an ecological impetus of invasion and subsequent succession by individuals, households and communities rather than a consequence of government planning or control. Urban change is produced by the invasion of areas that urge previous occupants and purposes out leaving space for new populations and land usage.

Burgess developed a further ecological model, the Burgess growth model, centred upon the hypothesis that the spatial organisation of the city develops in concentric zones (Burgess, 1924). The Burgess model stressed, as classical urban ecology, that there was

no random dispersal in the urban area, but a clear pattern of spatial and social ordering based explicitly on competition through which he contended cities grew (Burgess, 1924). In the industrial city the most valuable land, relating to higher land use, was the city centre in which the central business district was located, thus less intensive uses were pushed out. Moving toward the periphery land use decreased as did land value. As, what became, suburban land was less valuable, affordability increased meaning single family homes on larger plots of land became economically viable (Palen 1995). Palen (1995:17) highlights the, 'inverse relationship between the value of land and the economic status of those occupying it'. This concentric zonal hypothesis has underpinned many assumptions regarding the relationship of the suburb to the central city (Palen, 1995).

The urban ecological model has more recently been criticised by those subscribing to neo-Marxism models of political economy. Proponents of this paradigm allege that patterns of urban change and spatial organisation are not a result of economic competition but are purposefully planned by government officials and business elites to incite private profit (Pacione, 2001). Thus Feagan and Parker (1990) argue that suburban growth continues due to the intentional decisions of elites (developers) to 'disinvest' in cities. Logan and Mortloch (1987) argue that real estate developers and planning officials are interested only in creating a good business environment through the attraction of new residents in order to secure rising house prices and increasing land value. Fishman (1987:25) reinforces this idea when he argues that added to the, 'strong cultural impetus to suburbanize', was an equally strong economic motive in the form of cheap land that could be turned into prosperous building sites.

The urban ecology method was influential and formed the basis for more in-depth statistical methods that defined areas through the use of more extensive social indicators. Pacione (2001) argues that the main weakness identified in the urban ecology 'natural area' definition was that the typifying of social areas was based on a very limited number of key variables that were not informed by theory or wider social change. With the same objective Shevy and Bell (1955) used a multivariate analysis that was informed by a theory of social change. They used three 'constructs' as indicators of social change; social rank and economic status; urbanisation and family status; and

segregation and ethnic status. Using measures of each they standardised each of the individual indices adding them together to produce a score on an index of 1 to 100, forming a construct score for every census tract in the city. Thus they ended up using these scores to produce sixteen typologies so that each area in the city could be classified. Factorial ecology, developed in the 1960s employed more variables than that employed by Shevy and Bell in their social area analysis and used more rigorous mathematical procedures. Rather than select constructs based on deductive theory, factorial ecology selects constructs inductively, by exploring a data set (Pacione, 2001). By measuring a more extensive set of variables a smaller set of diagnostic factors are identified. The factors deduced are composed of multiple correlated variables. Once the factors are scored and then mapped it is possible to observe areas delineated by their social and demographic characteristics. Often suburban locations are identified using this technique through observation of tenure and type of house, by the density of the area or by the distance from the city centre.

A Brief Overview of the Growth of the Suburb in Britain

Between the eleventh and eighteenth century suburbs in Britain developed in two ways; first, to accommodate the villas and country houses of wealthy city dwellers and professionals with careers in the city, and secondly to house the urban poor, composed mainly of immigrants and traders (Thorns, 1972). Thorns (1972) highlights the increasing importance of the upper class suburb in the eighteenth and nineteenth century which was situated at greater distances away from the city. Thompson (1985:2) refers to the, 'decisive social upgrading' that changed the economic and social characteristics of the suburb from being a, 'mere dumping ground for the unfortunates unable to live in town houses', to a much sought after residential area. With the rise of the Romantic Movement cities were progressively considered undesirable and the impetus to leave grew, so that select suburbs emerged as exclusive places to live. The exclusiveness of suburban living was perpetuated by limits to transport, with accessibility being viable only for those who owned carriages. Industrial city centres became increasingly reserved for commerce, meaning the nineteenth century suburban dweller commuted via carriage from home to work (Clapson, 1998).

Later, initially in the inter-war period and after in the post-war period suburbs were to grow rapidly, namely due to development in transport and communications, increased housing need and land shortage in the city centre which led to the necessary utilisation of land on the urban periphery. The extent of post-war suburbanisation in the U.K. was evident through the decline in population densities from the inner cities, continuing throughout the century. Post-war suburban growth was based on the premise of urban dispersal as the answer to the problems of the inner-city; industrial de-concentration was encouraged in order to lessen population densities (Clapson, 1998:39). The building of local authority housing and slum clearance led to significant suburban expansion. The majority of English and Scottish cities were extended by these types of suburbs. Clapson (1998:33) argues that these early peripheral council estates arising mainly in answer to working class housing needs and from a desire for improved housing, 'laid the legislative foundations of post-war housing developments'. Private building prior to this was specified as being largely middle class; however, during this period the economic and social base of the suburb began to expand. The establishment of building societies led to a growth in mortgage lending and a subsequent rise in owner occupation, mortgage deposits fell from around 30% to 5% meaning that the most affluent of the working classes could afford to partake in the housing market (Thorns, 1972). Thus the suburb emerged during the last century as the dominant residential form representing rising prosperity and changing urban values.

The Social Life of the Suburbs

Despite evidence of early suburban development in the industrialised world it was not until the late nineteenth century that suburbia emerged as a model of the 'good-life' becoming a desired alternative to city residence (Rothblatt and Garr, 1986). The suburb and its association with pastoral life and traditional family values dominated Anglo-American planning ideology and it came to be seen as an ideal in residential terms. Prominent authors when writing about the attractiveness of the suburbs have pointed to the dominance of the 'housing needs and aspirations of the family' (Champion, 2001:148), as well as to the provision of 'closer contact with nature' and an increased sense of privacy (Harris and Larkham, 1999:10; Mumford, 1961). In her recent study of English culture, Fox (2004:209) also argues that 'our love-affair with our homes and

gardens is ... directly related to our obsession with privacy'. Many would say that this 'love-affair' was particularly suburban.

Harris and Larkham (1999) assert that depictions of the suburbs place emphasis not only on the retreat from the city and city life but from wider economic and political engagement. Furthermore, they argue these depictions of suburban living describe a gendered dimension with emphasis placed upon the male breadwinner family. The stereotype sees the male commuting to work, playing a greater role in public whilst the suburbs provided the female with private space both to raise her children and to focus on home improvements in line with what Newby and Turner (1999) refer to as the 'suburban taste' that arose with the mass consumption of design. This ideal has encapsulated, if at times a little unfairly, the white Anglo-American middle-class dream. In reality, however, the suburbs have evolved into a symbol of success and status which to some degree continues to inform cultural and social aspirations associated with the child rearing stage in life.

Subsequent to discussions of the suburban ideal, writers and critics have emphasised the suburban way of life as being devoid of culture. In popular culture the suburb has been represented satirically depicting elegant families playing the role of new suburbanites adhering to the contrivances of the suburban social network and moral commons. An obvious example being Rockwell's depictions of the suburbanites mingling with cocktails around the poolside and barbecuing on the manicured lawn. The extent to which suburbanites believed in or were committed to this new image or 'way of life' was satirised in films like *The Graduate*. Later we were to see the same conformity disrupted in, amongst others, *American Beauty*.

Academic literature added to the process of maligning suburbia and its facilitation of the suburban way of life. Mumford (1961) subscribed to the idea that suburbia was socially and aesthetically void; contrary to creating a new synthesis he contended it was the physical representation of the further deterioration of a dysfunctional society (Baxandall and Ewen 2000). Relationships were drawn between architectural and behavioural conformity, with the suburbanite being characterised as the mass-produced man Fishman (1987) argued that suburbia was an expression of burgeoning values, a

monument to the bourgeoisie, based on mass production, consumption, conformity and compliance;

‘However modest each house might be, suburbia represents a collective assertion of class, wealth and privilege as impressive as any medieval castle. Most importantly suburbia embodies a new ideal of family life, an ideal so emotionally charged that it made the home more sacred to the bourgeoisie than any place of worship’ (1987:21).

He argues that suburbia is an explicitly exclusive ‘cultural choice’ of the Anglo-American middle classes based on alienation and self-segregation (Fishman, 1987:24). In many aspects this is evident when economic status and ‘race’ are considered, as self-segregation, white flight and institutional discrimination fuelled the growth of the white American suburb. Although recent trends in black suburbanisation render it as a significant demographic pattern and this represents advancement of black groups in the housing market, early work by Dorbiner (1963) and more recent work from Palen (1995) suggest that, rather than being an endorsement of increased racial integration and equality, this movement is a sign that black groups have become differentiated by class. Pacione (2001) substantiates this presenting evidence of the growing class divide within the black population. In 1990 the median income of blacks in America was only 56% of that of whites, but the income of black middle-class families were 84% of those of their comparative white counterparts. Black suburbanisation, then, is symptomatic of increasing black polarisation in American cities, leaving the most disadvantaged further isolated and excluded in marginal ‘outcast ghettos’ (Pacione, 2001:371). Similarly in the UK suburbanisation has largely been a white phenomenon with only very recent emergence of small-scale and selective minority ethnic suburbanization.

Dispelling the Myth

Blaxandall and Ewen (2000) argue that there is little evidence that being a suburban dweller is conducive to a certain way of life. Thorns (1972) draws attention to the heterogeneity of the suburban dweller and argues that lack of research throughout the twentieth century resulted in the adoption of stereotypes. Gans (1972:33) building on his famous study of the Levittowners questions the mutual exclusiveness of the concepts of the city and suburb and the extent to which spatial organisation, residential

location and other ecological concepts are useful for explaining behaviour and ways of life. He argues that social phenomena cannot be understood entirely as a consequence of the ecological environment. Contending rather that such explanations fail to add meaning to legitimate choices which although influenced by the socio-economic and political environment, can only be understood according to individual characteristics. He argues that ways of life are functions of class and life-style rather than of environmental factors of the neighbourhood, concluding that, 'the sociologist cannot therefore speak of an urban or a suburban way of life' (1972:48). Furthermore, despite the assumed exclusivity of suburbia, the suburbanisation process is not as selective as traditionally may have been assumed; contemporary suburbs are not limited to the middle classes.

'Why people move'

Thus the degree to which suburbia represents a way of life can be contested but the symbol of achievement associated with low density living in pleasant surroundings is still prevalent in forming an impetus to move; leading us in this section to consider the residential mobility literature more generally. The residential mobility literature has been influenced by seminal works in the 1950s and 60's. Broadly, residential mobility studies can be classified into three types; area studies; household studies; and motivational studies, but in most cases a study will encompass all three of these factors.

In the 1960's Lee developed a model that has shaped how we talk about residential mobility and migration today. He contended that certain characteristics of the place of origin act as push factors, encouraging the individual to migrate, whilst simultaneously attributes of the new residential neighbourhood act in unison as pull factors, attracting individuals to the new location. Further to this he acknowledges that some processes of migration have restrictions placed on them to do with other factors than just push and pull forces. For instance, he uses the example of the restriction of cultural or language differences. Champion *et al* (1998) contend that the push and pull factors of the area of origin and the new location are perceived in different ways and are influential in varying capacities depending upon the population sub group.

Among early attempts at theorizing or explaining residential mobility, one of the most influential was Rossi's (1955) 'Why Families Move' which saw movement as a result of rational decisions based on personal and environmental factors. In his study Rossi used three modes of analysis: characteristics of mobile and stable areas; the characteristics that distinguished mobile from stable households; and the reasons given by households for making particular moves. He found mobility potential to be related to the age of the head of household, number of persons in the family and tenure preference. Rossi found that the social characteristics of the mobile related very significantly with the family's stage in the life cycle; and he shows the major function of mobility to be the process by which families adjust their housing to the housing needs that accompany life-cycle changes. Rossi found mobility to be greatest in the period when families are experiencing greater growth, with younger people being more mobile. Migrating households took into consideration housing needs, space, neighbourhood context, and costs more so than journey to work or distance from friends and relatives; so overall he found mobility decisions had less to do with social networks. He concluded that specific pull factors to a new home included a desirable amount of space, particular dwelling design features and dwelling location. In terms of areas he concluded that areas with greater population mobility are so because of the type of housing on offer; small dwellings were not suited to expanding families. Furthermore, he also found that the more moves made in and out of an area the less inter-personal ties people had and the more likely people were to think the area was unattractive. Perhaps then the perception of quality of a neighbourhood changes as people move out. As may have been expected the stronger a person's ties with an area or the longer they have lived there the more likely there were to be aware of the amount of mobility there.

Wolpert (1966) built on this by developing a systematic behavioural theory of how environmental factors interacted to encourage people to move. He argued that residential mobility is a response to socio-economic conditions. He measured both structural opportunities and individual determinants to determine the households' ability to fulfil their residential aspirations. He contends that even if an individual makes a negative evaluation of their surroundings, this may not be a sufficient condition for residential change; rather people may adjust to this in ways that may diminish their inclination to move. Thus he introduced the notion of a 'threshold effect', whereby a

negative evaluation must be of a particular strength before the household begins to think about moving. He also stressed that an evaluation of the community makes the most significant contribution to the process of deciding to migrate and that the absence of community ties is what allows people to migrate often. His key conclusion as was other researchers such as Speares (1974) that a key component in any decision to move was the evaluation of the community, and that satisfaction with the area was significant when it interacted with expecting to migrate.

Later studies moved on to consider the urban neighbourhood (which included the community) in more depth than was done previously. Lee *et al* (1994) conducted an interesting study on the neighbourhood context and residential mobility. They built on an earlier study by Fernandez and Kulik (1981) that found features of neighbourhoods and local areas significantly influence residents' life satisfaction. The main research objective was to explore which properties of urban neighbourhoods determine whether inhabitants move or stay. This was in response to the fact that the traditional focus in the residential mobility literature has been on the prominence of housing need as determined by life cycle, so that the effects of the neighbourhood context have been underemphasized as determinants of mobility. Although, Rossi (1955) undoubtedly emphasises the impact of stage in the life-cycle on propensity to move he does actually conclude that the socially mobile are concerned more with neighbourhood location and prestige.

Lee *et al* (1994) admit that a number of previous studies had documented or implied that the neighbourhood had effects on migration but mostly to do with neighbourhood deterioration. They criticised these studies for not taking into consideration all aspects of the neighbourhood context which might potentially affect mobility. For instance they assert that there is a duality of community context where the residents' more subjective perceptions of their neighbourhood and community (which may be temporal) are just as important as the objective characteristic upon which much of urban research is based. In conclusion Lee *et al* (1994) confirm that life-cycle/housing circumstances are important factors influencing mobility behaviour (older, home owning and longer length of residency reduces mobility). This is supported by recent work conducted on the determinants of migration flows in England by Champion *et al* (1998). Lee *et al* (1994)

also found that aspects of the neighbourhood context play a role in mobility decisions, but interestingly that only one of the subjective neighbourhood measures had an impact on mobility, namely the residents perceived level of turnover in the neighbourhood which was different from actual mobility.

Other studies on propensity to migrate, albeit not directly concerned with suburbanisation, are relevant due to the focus upon the factors that compel households to leave deprived neighbourhoods in the inner-city in search for a more desirable or suitable location. Mumford and Power (1999) outline an extensive range of factors that influence people's movement from inner-city neighbourhoods mainly those suffering from low demand housing and depopulation. They argue alongside the aforementioned push factors that lack of job opportunities relating to low income, poverty and demoralisation increase the impetus to relocate outside of the city. Champion *et al* (1998) argue that labour markets have a significant influence on people leaving the city as industry and institutions have increasingly decentralised. Mumford and Power (1999) found that the unpopularity of an area, a poor quality environment and accelerated decay can lead to a low value being placed upon the neighbourhood by the residents therefore weakening the 'sense of place' and leading to a gradual breakdown of social stability. They also concluded that indicative of the desire to relocate was the failure of mainstream services most significantly education.

Simultaneously, the impetus to move out of inner city neighbourhoods was fuelled by the desire to 'flee' the inner city, availability of employment, accessibility to improved services namely education and easy access to and availability of housing supplies outside the inner cities. These destinations represented a better standard of living and quality of life therefore the attractiveness of a place emerges as a significant factor in forming the aspirations of households in the inner city. Champion *et al* (1998) argue that environmental factors are hugely important push and pull factors in understanding why individuals move out of the city. They contend that individual aspirations to fulfil their desire for and perceptions of a 'good quality of life' are undeniably linked to the desire to be as close as possible to the countryside. They assert therefore that push factors include the social and environmental deficits of the city in comparison to the country. Champion *et al* (1998b) argue that amongst the array of reasons that inform

decisions to move out of the city two appear most significant; first the advantages of living in an attractive neighbourhood; and second the search for a different type of community and lifestyle than that of the city.

Champion *et al* (1998b) cite a study undertaken by MRAL (1995) of people moving house, in which emphasis is placed on reasons for leaving their neighbourhood. The results found that 67% of people moving from busy overpopulated urban areas did so for environmental reasons including traffic related concerns such as congestion, mentioned by 39% of respondents and poor parking facilities mentioned by 17%. Crime was a push factor for 20% of respondents and street disturbances and troublesome neighbours for 12%. Concerns around the quality of an area for bringing up children was a determinant for 26% and the poor standard of local schools was a push factor for only 8% of the sample population. Champion (1999) highlights the greater impact that migration from inner-city neighbourhoods is having upon the *composition* of the population rather than the number of residents in the area. He accentuates the fact that the 'exodus' from the city is biased towards those with higher socio-economic status, underlining material resources, class and occupation as important explanatory variables and drawing attention to changing the nature of the inner city areas. In the same vein is the fact that peoples 'ability' to migrate is affected by their personal circumstances which at times may be constraining (Champion *et al*, 1998b).

Conclusion

The suburb has emerged as the dominant location of urban residence in UK cities. The mass exodus from the city has been associated with social achievement and has become an aspiration. The influence of technology, innovative transport networks, industrial de-concentration, intensified demographic pressures on the city and planning policy has accelerated and in many cases made the rigorous post-war growth of suburbia viable. There is a clear bias in the literature on the suburbs towards documenting the actual processes (economic, social and political) that made their growth viable and their social role but less information on the actual volume and extent of suburbanisation in Britain. Each of the aforementioned processes and the continued attraction to suburban areas has contributed to the emergence of different types of suburbs reflecting the need to expand the kind of imagery that should be associated with suburbia. This is illustrated through

the emergence of the working class suburb, the growth of black suburbanisation in the US, and by evidence of suburbanisation amongst Britain's minority ethnic population. The extent to which moving to suburbia represents a search for the 'good life' appears to remain significant, despite concerns about suburban decline and recent innovations to encourage people to move into the inner city. Keeping this in mind it is important to explore whether minority ethnic individuals share the same aspirations for status and lifestyles of the white majority and if they see these things as attainable in the suburbs.

Furthermore, the residential mobility literature suggests that push and pull factors for house moving have changed over time, with more recent emphasis on the pull of better services and better environments rather than on household/life-stage factors in creating a move. It also suggested, however, that these factors vary for particular groups, so we need to know about motivations for minority ethnic household/individual movers. For example, do minority ethnic households move to get space for family growth as for the white majority, given their past experience of living at higher densities (which could suggest not)?; does distance to family and friends matter more for ethnic minorities (the literature suggest this is not important for white movers) given our knowledge about close communities and extended families in areas of traditional minority ethnic settlement?; are motivations for better housing and improved services, particularly education significant pull factors (as they are identified for the majority population) given minority ethnic over-representation in the inner city?

4. Methodology

Introduction: Research Aims and Objectives

The previous chapters through detailed reviews of the literature served both to contextualise the current study and to develop the research questions and objectives that this thesis seeks to address. The current chapter advances to discuss the methodological framework that was developed to explore the aims and objectives of the research. At this point, however, before outlining the research methods, it seems appropriate to revisit the aims of the research discussed in the introduction and consider how these were derived from the literature.

The established literature on settlement patterns of minority ethnic groups in the UK clearly points to their disproportionate representation in ethnic clusters which are normally also deprived or run down areas in the inner city. This pattern has been attributed to several factors including the pull of the ethnic core, structural barriers and discrimination as well as fear of harassment. More recently, as documented in Chapter 2, the settlement patterns of the minority ethnic population which previously represented a more static geography have begun to change with evidence of dispersal on a local level to locales where they were previously absent, particularly traditional white middle class neighbourhoods and a growth in non-metropolitan areas (Robinson, 2005; Rees and Butt, 2004; Phillips *et al*, 2003; Ratcliffe, 1996). This is significant as it suggests that some of the factors maintaining residential clustering or the characteristics and factors influencing the choices of individuals are changing. This trend, of dispersal out of the inner-city has been suggested to be occurring in Glasgow amongst the South Asian population (Glasgow City Council, 2000), however, to date it has yet to be researched in-depth, which is also the case at the time of writing for ethnic geographies, patterns of settlement and neighbourhood choice in general. The main research question seeks to address this gap in our knowledge through *enhancing our understanding of the residential location and preferences of South Asian households and their members in the Greater Glasgow owner occupied housing market: assessing to what extent suburbanisation is emerging as a significant residential preference.*

As a subset to this main research question additional research objectives along the lines of three particular themes pertinent in the literature have been developed:-

Patterns of re-location

The first (see below) relating to wider *patterns of relocation* and residence across the city region enables us to contextualise suburbanisation as well as explore the wider ethnic geography of Greater Glasgow. A key feature of the residential location and choice of South Asian groups as highlighted in the literature is that of clustering, but it is not known whether households are re-clustering in the suburbs. This will be explored as a means to understand the different components of settlement, and to explore the links between clustering and the preservation of culture and safety in a different neighbourhood context as well as determining if these aspects still matter in shaping residential choice. Moves to the areas adjacent to the areas of core settlement were also highlighted in Phillip *et al's* (2003) study of Bradford as an important way to access better housing and to overcome particular constraints relating to social and familial obligations, thus this is an element that will be explored in the research as a potential driver of mobility. Furthermore, movement within the area of core settlement may be important as this may be an expression of choice.

Thus our main research objectives relating to patterns of relocation are as follows:

- To what extent through house purchase in the private market do South Asian households relocate from core community clusters to suburban locations?
- In areas of relocation is there evidence of re-clustering along the lines of ethnicity?
- How does the extent of relocation to suburban locations compare with levels of movement within core settlement areas or into areas adjacent to traditional minority ethnic settlement areas?

Motivations and Resources

Chapter 3 sets out some of the main factors in the residential mobility literature that have been used to explain the triggers that compel people to move. To a large extent minority ethnic groups have been excluded from these more general discussions of residential mobility, partly due to the fact that they tended to live in inner-city clusters

and research on minority ethnic groups focused on explaining this phenomenon of clustering or segregation (this is less so in the US literature). The current research, however, tries to bridge this gap between these two bodies of literature and seeks to assess the degree to which broader motivations documented in the general residential mobility literature are reflected in the mobility decisions of minority ethnic groups whilst also assessing the degree to which ethnicity matters.

In line with these issues arising from the literature a key subset of research objectives related to *motivations and resources* has been developed (see below) to explore the central factors that compel South Asians to move into or live in areas that other members of their ethnic group live or to suburbanise. Recent political debates have brought segregation to the forefront of discussion; elements of this debate have clearly problematised ethnic clusters and sparked debates over the negative aspects of segregation, yet there are few studies in the literature or evidence in public debates that draw on the perspective of the minority ethnic individual on this issue. A key objective is to address the extent to which an assessment of clustering or dispersal is reflected in residential decision-making. Similarly, referring back to the chapter on segregation, it is important to consider if minority ethnic groups are attracted to the suburbs as a means of socially and spatially integrating, as this has implication for the self-segregation debate. This also gives opportunity to explore the explanations of minority ethnic segregation in the literature relating to personal choices, barriers and constraints and social identities.

The general literature on suburbanisation and out ward movement from the inner city highlights the importance of moving out to improve living conditions and environments, to access better job opportunities and schools, to accommodate changes in the life-cycle and to meet general housing needs as well as being a result of low worth and a weakened sense of place having developed in the inner-city neighbourhood. It also suggested, however, that these factors vary for particular groups, so we need to know about motivations for minority ethnic households. There are certain questions that arise from the literature on majority motivations that raise questions given our knowledge of minority ethnic settlement to date, such as whether or not minority ethnic households move to get space for family growth as for the white majority, given their past

experience of living at higher densities (which could suggest not). Also the literature suggests proximity to family and friends is not important for white movers yet given our knowledge about close communities in areas of traditional minority ethnic settlement it is significant to explore if this is important for minority ethnic groups. Importantly, motivations are clearly related to increasing resources and aspirations the extent to which neighbourhood choice for South Asian groups reflects these factors relating to quality of life and is reflective of advancement and differentiation in other domains will be explored, as well as the role that ethnicity plays.

Thus, our specific research questions relating to the motivations and resources of ethnic minority households are as follows:

- What are the push and pull factors influencing the decision to remain in core settlement areas, move into them from elsewhere or relocate to a suburban location?
- Are residential preferences reflective of the house buyers' assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of remaining spatially concentrated or of dispersal?
- What influences do members of South Asian households perceive the residential environment to have on life-style and quality of life?
- To what extent do social class, occupation, material resources and stage in the life course enable or constrain suburban relocation?

The Role of the Core Settlement Area and Community for Suburbanites and Core Settlers

In debates about explanations for segregation reviewed in Chapter 2, living in an ethnic cluster has been highlighted as having positive and negative consequences, although the arguments put forward about the pros and cons of segregation are often not well founded on research evidence. The benefits of clustering are said to relate to the preservation of culture, the defence it provides against hostility, the social and cultural capital that can be developed there and the role that the community and social networks play as important resources. The extent to which these benefits are still sought and realised in the context of growing ethnic dispersal and suburbanization have yet to be

researched. The final subset of research objectives developed relates to *the role of the core settlement area and community for suburbanites and core settlers* (see below). Assessing the attractiveness of and attachments to the ethnic cluster in the light of new residential patterns is important to enable us to understand the changing dynamics within the areas as a result of mobility amongst its population. The impacts that population turnover and new forms of mobility have on close knit neighbourhoods may be significant as suggested in Rossi's early seminal study (1955). The extent to which the core area may continue to attract new migrants and new populations and the degree to which needs are met and choices are able to be realised within the area, are important bearing in mind the well documented evidence in the literature of poor housing conditions and lack of housing choices (Sarre *et al.*, 1989; Phillips, 2005), will be explored. Furthermore, the extent to which community attachment and a sense of belonging is achieved in the suburbs is important in overcoming some barriers that have been documented as maintaining clustering relating to hostility and fear of harassment. In line with the role that the core plays in attracting new populations it is also important to understand its role for those who leave and the extent to which it continues to be an important place to preserve identity, give support and meet particular needs. This may also give some insight into the influence that particular ethnic amenities and social networks have on residential choice. Understanding strategies of interaction in the new suburban areas is important to respond to the discourses that have portrayed South Asian groups as insular and isolationist. In line with desegregationist proposals linked with the community cohesion agenda, it is important to understand if residential mixing actually results in more cultural understanding or indeed social interaction and if these new mixed neighbourhoods become places of engagement.

- To what extent do core areas continue to attract new populations; reverse movers and new migrants?
- What influence does residential dispersal and suburban relocation have on community ties and social networks?
- Is community attachment or membership achieved in the new suburban neighbourhood and/or retained with the core settlement area?

To fully explore these research objectives it was necessary to have two phases to the research. The first phase was a study (using census data and interviews with key actors) of both the residential location and concentration of South Asian groups in the Greater Glasgow conurbation. The second phase, using qualitative methods (in-depth interviews in four case study areas) focused upon understanding both residential preferences and the factors underlying the current residential location of South Asian home owners. The quantitative approach facilitated the qualitative approach: to answer the main research question a qualitative approach was indispensable however the significance of the phenomenon being researched could only be seen within the wider patterns of South Asian residence established in the quantitative stage of the research.

The chapter is structured as follows. The first section provides a brief justification of the mixed method approach adopted. The second section, in seven key steps, outlines the metropolitan level study. The third section outlines the qualitative phase of the research from sampling and developing the interview schedule through to the final stage of analysis and writing up.

A Triangulated Approach

In order to define both the changes in South Asian residence and the processes and factors shaping these changes, a triangulated or 'mixed methods' approach was adopted, combining quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative and qualitative approaches are often assumed to be polar due to their contrasting epistemological, ontological and methodological foundations (Barbour, 1998). Qualitative studies are traditionally considered to be subjective and ungeneralisable whereas quantitative approaches are generally seen as being more objective, value free and 'scientific'. On the other hand however qualitative studies could also be said to be in-depth, illuminating and engaging while quantitative studies are potentially positivist, simplistic and unreflective of the complexity and means of social life. Cicourel (1964) as paraphrased in Silverman (1997:32) contends that, 'the choice of purely mathematical logic can neglect common-sense reasoning, instead of considering the social construction of meaning it uses a set of *ad hoc* procedures to define, count and analyse its variables.' Silverman (1997)

challenges such assumptions arguing that there are no principled grounds for adopting a qualitative or quantitative approach; rather, if the specific research questions call for it both methods can compliment each other. Similarly, Seale (1999) sees quantitative methods as being useful to fill gaps in knowledge that may arise from a purely qualitative approach, serving to provide a more general picture. Proponents generally argue that the, advantages of the quantitative approach correspond to the disadvantages of the qualitative approach and visa versa (Miller, 2003).

Validity is proven in the natural sciences by the replication of findings, and in social sciences triangulation is often adopted to replace this technique of validation (Bloor, 1997). This is based on the assumption that using different methods will reduce the chance that findings generated are at the mercy of measurement biases (Bloor, 1997). Seale (1999) reiterates this point by conceding that through the employment of different methods the biases of one will be cancelled out. He compares it to, taking two bearings to discover your position on a map. The strength of using triangulated methods lies in the use of multiple viewpoints to establish robust, valid and reliable assessments using techniques from different paradigms.

On a more cautionary note Bloor (1997) warns that contradictory findings can create problems. Despite this he argues that if the findings from both methods do not corroborate each other then usually they can still be compared rather than concluding they are mismatched. In the same vein, Dowell *et al* (1995) contend that contradictions do not pose a threat but rather serve as an opportunity to refine theories as the research question is considered in different ways meaning researchers can undertake more complex analyses. A triangulated approach can be useful to force explanation to be more adequate and capable of accounting for contradictions.

A purely quantitative approach to the question of ethnic segregation or clustering would be, whilst providing detail on the distribution of the ethnic population, unable to explore the factors underlying these processes and patterns of settlement. Thus after establishing the ethnic geography of Glasgow through quantitative analysis, qualitative research was required to investigate the causal factors of these patterns of residence.

Stage One: Quantitative Study of the Glasgow Metropolitan Area

This stage served as a vital foundation to the research, as it provided up to date information on the broader ethnic geography of the Greater Glasgow conurbation over the 1991-2001 census period, enabling patterns of residential differentiation, concentration and changing patterns of South Asian residence to be identified, whilst also giving indication of possible changes after 2001. The aims of this stage were: to explore the extent to which South Asian households were relocating from core community clusters to suburban locations; to look for evidence of re-clustering along the lines of ethnicity; and to compare the extent of relocation to suburban locations with levels of movement within core settlement areas or into areas adjacent to these traditional areas. This stage of the research acted as a context and foundation to the second phase of the research by providing a clear picture of actual patterns of residence. This phase of the research was timely as the analysis began the week after GROS (General Register of Scotland) released the necessary census data for 2001. There were six steps to this phase of the research, each discussed below: -

Step One: Area of study

The first step of the metropolitan study was to define the boundaries of the relevant study area. This was defined as Glasgow City itself and the six surrounding council area districts- East Dunbartonshire, West Dunbartonshire, North Lanarkshire, South Lanarkshire, East Renfrewshire and Renfrewshire. To assess the extent to which South Asian households were suburbanising the study boundary was drawn at the periphery of the council areas that surround Glasgow City; the suburbs are located within these areas. Beyond these council area areas the South Asian population is known to be extremely small, suggesting that few have moved from the urban area into rural areas.

There are two key studies that support the identified geography of the study area. A study on competitiveness and cohesion in Glasgow and Edinburgh by Bailey *et al* (1999) defined the Greater Glasgow region as being the area made up of Glasgow City and the ten adjacent former district councils (Strathkelvin, Monklands, Motherwell, Hamilton, E. Kilbride, Eastwood, Renfrew, Clydebank and Bearsden and Milngavie). This definition of the region was justified as housing market analyses and travel to work

data showed this area to be a single functional region. Although not exactly my study area because there were significant changes in administrative boundaries in Scotland in 1996, it was broadly adopted on the basis of simplicity and data availability. The ten former districts surrounding Glasgow City were in many cases either amalgamated or extended to create the new unitary authorities mentioned above. The new council areas cover a slightly wider area than Bailey *et al's* definition of the Greater Glasgow region. Glasgow City as a unitary authority is now smaller than in 1991 due to a loss of parts in the south-east of the city to the new authority of South Lanarkshire, and does not include some of the more affluent suburban areas (Giffnock, Newton Mearns, Clarkston and Bishopbriggs), which are now included in the surrounding local authority districts.

A more up to date study on City Boundaries for the Scottish Executive (CRU 2002) drew similar conclusions on the city region. Again this was justified by housing market area and Travel to Work Area (TTWA) data. The report shows that although Glasgow's housing market area does not mirror exactly the council areas chosen for the current study, in broad terms it covers a large part of all of the six council areas and a very small part of East Ayrshire. The report also found that the TTWA covered the aforementioned council areas in part and also a much smaller proportion of Ayrshire, Stirling and Argyll and Bute, where the South Asian population is very small. TTWA's were a useful guide in selecting the study area as they provide an indication of those who live outside the city but access it by a daily commute to work.

Population of the study area

As can be seen from Table 4.1 a large percentage of Scotland's South Asian population live in the study area, namely, fifty nine percent. Forty percent of these live in Glasgow City. Two other council areas in the study area have South Asian populations above the Scottish average, namely, the suburban council areas of East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire. This is significant in terms of our concerns with suburbanisation. The three other council areas in the study area have South Asian populations below the Scottish average.

Table 4.1 South Asian population of the area of study at council area level and percentage of national population, 2001

	ALL PEOPLE	INDIAN	PAKISTANI	BANGLADESHI	OTHER S. ASIAN	TOT S. ASIAN	S. ASIAN %	% S.ASIAN OF NATIONAL POP.
Scotland	5062011	15037	31793	1981	6196	55007	1.09	Na
Glasgow City	577869	4173	15330	237	2020	21760	3.76	39.6
East Dunbartonshire	108243	1533	504	38	192	2267	2.094	4.12
East Renfrewshire	89311	686	1769	13	153	2621	2.93	4.8
North Lanarkshire	321067	527	1756	19	213	2515	0.78	4.6
Renfrewshire	172867	461	497	8	103	1069	0.62	1.94
South Lanarkshire	302216	536	968	29	165	1698	0.56	3.08
West Dunbartonshire	93378	103	180	1	43	327	0.35	0.59
Total								58.73

In terms of the different South Asian groups identified by the census, 66% of all of those who classified themselves as Pakistani on census night in Scotland lived in the study area and 53.3% of those who categorised themselves as Indian. Only 17.4% of those who categorised themselves as Bangladeshi lived in the area, as did 46.6% of those who categorised themselves as Other South Asian.

Step Two: Census Data

Spatial Units of Analysis

Results from the 2001 Census are available for a wide range of geographies these range from the smallest area, Output Area, to the largest area, Scotland. In the current study three key spatial units of analysis were used: council area, postcode sector, and output area. The main building blocks for Census areas are output areas. All higher geographies are built from these units. OAs aggregate exactly to council areas but not necessarily to any other type of area; sometimes higher areas are created using a 'best fit'. An index or a look-up table is available which provides a link between the OA and the 'higher' areas to which the OA belongs, enabling users to aggregate OA level Census results to "higher" areas, such as Council areas or other user defined areas.

Special postcode sectors are created for Census output to ensure that sectors conform to a minimum size threshold due to confidentiality and do not cross Council Area

boundaries. Postcode sectors that cross council areas are split and each treated as a postcode sector in its own right. Then as described above OAs are assigned to postcode sectors. Counts of the number of households with residents and the number of residents in each postcode are generated during processing. These headcounts are used to create the Output Areas. The Council Area is the main area for 2001 output; these are new areas which were created in 1996 following a review of the local government structure in Scotland. There are 32 Council Areas in Scotland. They are groupings of contiguous electoral wards that are contained within a boundary defined by statute.

The change in the boundaries of the council areas in 1996 created some difficulties regarding the comparability of 1991 and 2001 data. For the purposes of this research it was important that the extended council area districts in 2001 were, to the greatest extent possible, comparable with 1991. In order to ensure this, I recreated the new unitary council area boundaries in the 1991 data by postcode sector. A check was also carried out to ensure that postcode sectors between the two censuses had not changed beyond comparison by mapping the 1991 postcode sectors on to the 2001 postcode sectors. There were some changes in the postcode sectors, however those with South Asian populations had changed very little and were largely comparable. Several postcode sectors in the 2001 data had been split across new council area boundaries and had to be re-calculated in order that they were comparable with the 1991 definitions.

In the study area there were 239 postcode sectors, the majority of which had over 1000 people with the largest containing 19,000 people. These were built in 1991 with 13,781 OAs and in 2001 with 12,723 OAs. For the purposes of this research we used 2001 definitions of council areas and 1991 postcode sectors.

Limitations of the data

As with all census data it must be reiterated first that all figures are population estimates and that comparisons over time are affected by several key factors, the first being changes made to population bases, since the 1991 census is estimated to have underenumerated the Scottish population by 2.2%. The undercount was not spread evenly across all parts of the country or different socio-economic groups. This affected the uniformity of the statistics produced and highlighted the issue of coverage. On top of

this a later study revealed that the post-enumeration survey had failed to measure the degree of under-enumeration or its level of uniformity accurately (Diamond *et al* 2002:295) (there is no indication, however, of how this relates to the minority ethnic population counts). Thus extra caution was taken to enlarge coverage of the 2001 Census. The main initiative was the One Number Census (ONC) project that specifically measured under-enumeration, by adjusting all census counts (i.e. the individual level data) for under-enumeration using population estimates. Despite these efforts there remains some degree of under-enumeration in the 2001 census. A report from GROS (2003) to the Scottish Parliament stated that it is not appropriate to compare the 2001 Census results directly with the 1991 Census as the 2001 Census had a higher degree of population coverage than the 1991 Census. The report specifies that a more useful comparison would be that of percentage distributions rather than a comparison of counts.

Other factors affecting comparisons over time are changes in the wording of questions asked or changes in the definition of variables/response formats used. Between 1991 and 2001 the ethnic categories used changed slightly with the addition of a mixed ethnic group category. In addition, with pressure from the CRE, the white category was subdivided to include an Irish tick box. This also led to the inclusion of White Scottish, White British and Other White. These changes, however, had little effect on the South Asian categories used in the current study. As referred to previously, changes to spatial units used for the publication of results also affect comparisons, which was a key concern of the current study. This is discussed more fully in step three.

'Race' Statistics, the Census and the Ethnicity Variable

In addition to the aforementioned limitations, some cautions need to be emphasised with regards to the ethnicity variable in the census. An ethnic group question was included for the first time in the Scottish census in 1991. The main purpose stated by GROS was to provide bench-mark information to tackle racial discrimination. There are several caveats that we must be aware of when dealing with ethnic or 'racial' categories in statistics and empirical analysis in general. Categories are set in advance in the survey design process, so ethnic categories, although selected in the data collection process by the respondent, cannot be thought of as having a fixed cultural definition that is

generalisable, nor exhaustive of a persons expressed self-identity (Simpson, 2004). The dynamic nature of culture, including processes of transculturation, and the role which these ethnicities actually play in reality in forming a person's identity cannot be measured easily by the use of what are simple and fixed ethnic categories. As Simpson (2004) points out, ethnic categories are often linked to attributes that are proxies for ethnicity. Sometimes they are related to colour, for instance, the categories of 'White' and 'Black' whereas other times they are more related to country of birth or geography, for instance, 'White Irish', 'Pakistani' and 'Indian'. The ethnic question in the Scottish 2001 Census mixes colour and geography together as well as racial and cultural factors. For example, the African tick-box was included under the Black section of the ethnic question (categorised by colour) whereas the Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese tick-boxes were included under the Asian section (categorised geographically) (GROS, 2003). Despite this and although being reductive the ethnic categories are the best we have for the purpose of the research.

Step Three: Spatial Patterns

The primary aim of this stage of the research was to organise the census data into a format comparable between the 1991 and 2001 census in order that we could identify patterns of settlement. The first stage in this step was to compile the output areas that covered the study area in 1991 and 2001. The study area in 1991 was constructed by output area using a look up table that matched the postcode sectors in the area with the output areas that made them up. The same was done for 2001 and the data was matched (using the look up table) to 1991 postcode sectors using output areas. This was time consuming due to the very fine geographical scale of the output area, however, it ensured greater accuracy for comparability. Output areas unfortunately could not be compared between 1991 and 2001 as they had changed significantly with 1000 more in the study area in 2001 than there had been in 1991 but higher geographies were compared and could be constructed as the same. Nonetheless, the output area data was very useful later to look at the concentration of South Asians within the case study areas. The key issue here was the granularity of scale to reveal, first, important differences in segregation and, second, to ensure a robust method for enumerating South Asian residents in relevant districts.

Once the data had been adjusted to ensure comparable spatial units, a comparison was made between the population by ethnicity in 1991 and 2001. This analysis was done first at postcode sector level but used reagggregated output areas to make sure the data was accurate. The South Asian (classified in the census as Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian and Other South Asian) areas of concentration were identified in 1991 and changes in these areas (proportionate growth and decline) were uncovered by analysing the 2001 census. Proportions of the population were then calculated in order to identify population shifts and areas of new growth. This resulted in a detailed overview of the city structure by ethnicity. From the cross-sectional census data it was not possible to infer changes in location, as population shifts may not be made by the same people. For instance, if the Pakistani population decreased in the inner city and the suburban proportions increased clearly it could not be suggested it were the same people who moved as such an inference is muddled by people making other moves and by births and deaths. Rather, I am looking at two snapshots of density, despite this I have confidence in interpreting these patterns of movement from the census as the qualitative data was used to look at the nature of the population flows inferred from the census data.

Following the census analysis South Asian residence in Glasgow was mapped using MapInfo. Maps with boundaries at council area level were downloaded from UK Borders and altered (cookie cut using a specific function in MapInfo) to the study area. Unfortunately, the local authority areas could not be compared between 1991 and 2001 due to the change in their geography. The census data was then used to produce several maps, some with actual population totals, others with proportionate population totals and others representing proportionate change. This step was perhaps the most illuminating of the census analysis as when the data was visualised it revealed changes that were not so easily identified from the numerical dataset.

Step Four: Calculation of Segregation, Concentration and Exposure Indices.

The next stage, continuing with the use of the census data, was to measure concentration or degrees of evenness and exposure for each of the South Asian groups from the majority white population using segregation indices at the extended city level (Glasgow City and the surrounding districts). Three indices were calculated. The first

was the index of dissimilarity (ID). This is the most commonly used measure of segregation and measures the degree of evenness that exists between the residential distribution of two groups or two populations (Peach, 1996). The second was the segregation index (IS), also a measure of evenness. This index was proposed as an alternative in a recent paper by Gorard and Taylor (2002) to the index of dissimilarity, in the light of their discussion of the weaknesses of traditional measures. Finally, exposure was measured using a P* Index, providing an interesting comparison with my qualitative study on social networks and community ties as it measures interaction and therefore to some extent integration between two groups. For a full explanation and discussion of these indices see the section in Chapter 2 on '*Measures of Segregation*'.

Step Five: Identification of core settlement and suburban case study areas.

From the analysis of the census and mapping of patterns of concentration and dispersal in the city, four case study areas were identified. The purpose of identifying the case study areas was to explore the factors shaping the ethnic geography of the Greater Glasgow region through an in-depth qualitative study. After identifying some potential case study areas pre-selection observational visits were made to these areas. Two inner city areas with established South Asian communities and religious and cultural infrastructures were chosen using the following criteria; their identification as ethnic cores in the literature and social history studies of Glasgow; their high percentage of South Asian residents when compared to other areas in the city; and their developed community infrastructures.

The analysis of the census revealed very different population changes to the north and south of the River Clyde, with population loss in the ethnic core to the north and growth in the core area to the south. In order to understand the processes behind this a core area was chosen in each part of the city. To verify this selection, preliminary interviews were carried out with four key actors who worked in city centre mosques and multicultural centres. The responses of the interviewees coincided with previous literature and the population study. Interviews were also carried out with some residents in the core areas to try to explore peoples' sense of where the suburbs were and where they thought people were moving to.

The suburban areas were chosen primarily on the basis of having higher than average proportions of South Asian residents. The selection of these areas was not difficult as there were relatively few suburban areas with significant numbers of South Asian residents and these were easily identified from the earlier mapping exercise. Other factors also influenced the suburban case study selection. First, their location outside the city boundary, second, the results of visits made to ensure the robust selection of case study areas and third, the accounts of suburbanising movements given by the initial discussions with key actors. As with the areas of core settlement a suburban area was chosen in the west of the city, north of the River Clyde and one in the south of the city.

Figure 4.1, Case Study Areas

North	
Core	Suburb
Woodlands	Bearsden
Strathbungo/Pollokshields	Giffnock

South

Step Six: Sampling using the Land Value Information Unit (LVIU) property sales data (Sasines) and Nam Pehchan (South Asian name-finding software)

The bridging step between the quantitative and qualitative phases of the research was the extraction of South Asian names from Glasgow's property sales database, as the basis for contacting prospective interviewees. The property sales database is compiled by and held at the Land Value Information Unit at the University of Paisley. Access was gained for a period of time to the Register of Sasines through the LVIU. This register is unique to Scotland and is the most comprehensive source of data recording property transactions. It is compiled by extracting information (addresses, dates, sale prices and names of transacting parties) from the Register of Sasines (which holds title deeds) and the Land Register (which holds titles) provided by the Registers of Scotland and attaching it to full postcodes and transaction codes. Data was extracted from the LVIU

database, for each of the four local case study areas from 1991 to the end of 2003 (at the time of obtaining the data this was the most recent available).

The primary objective was to identify South Asian people who had bought a house in each of the case study areas over the study period to then use as a sampling framework. To do this a name analysis computer programme called Nam Pehchan developed by Bradford City council was used. Nam Pehchan can be used for the identification and analysis of South Asian names. It is possible to match both surnames and up to two forenames using the programme. It also identifies the specific religious and language origin of the name as well as matching it with gender. The programme can be run against any list of names in electronic tabular format. In this instance the names of all of the buyers in each case study area from the LVIU database were transformed into four files (a separate one for each area) that contained only text and end of line markers (the format specified for used in Nam Pehchan). This was then uploaded into the Nam Pehchan programme, the column or position of the name elements in the database was then selected. The programme was then run, which proved to be very straightforward as long as the text was in the right format. The names in the file are matched against a lookup database that is searched for all elements of the names. If no element of the name is matched against the lookup table then the name is presumed not to be South Asian. The level of the match is also given in the results table; no match is denoted by 0; one stem or suffix match by 1; more than one stem or suffix match by 2; one full name by 3; two or more names by 4; and 5 denotes a definitive match on any element of the name. Each element in the lookup table is also matched with religion, language and gender. The final result is presented in an output file. The result for each name is represented by four single character codes, if a name is not matched or identified as being South Asian then '0' appears beside it. Alternatively if the name is matched then the four character codes that appear beside it will tell us the following: -

1. The level of match – presented between 1-5 as described above (see appendix 6)
2. The language with which the name is associated – there are 13 language codes (see appendix 6)

3. The religion with which the name is associated – there are 6 religion codes (see appendix 6)
4. The gender of the name (see appendix 6)

For example, if the character codes 5, U, M, and C appear beside a name then it is inferred that there is a definitive match on the name (5) and that the name is associated with the Urdu language (U) and is Muslim (M) but that the gender (C) could not be determined from the name.

This output provided a database of South Asian names and addresses which was used later as a sampling frame to contact the interviewees. One hundred names were extracted from this new database of South Asian names over different years from each case study area; this created a new list of four hundred names. One hundred names for each of the four case studies may appear a lot when the goal was to conduct 10 interviews in each area; however, at this point there was no sense of how high or low the response rate would be. Religion was used as a proxy to distinguish between Indian and Pakistani households; this was primarily due to the fact that there was also reliable census information relating to ethnic group and religion whereas this was not the case with language. To identify potential Indian respondents, names associated with the Sikh and Hindu religion were selected and to identify potential Pakistani respondents names associated with the Muslim religion were identified. This is justified by the fact that the 2001 census revealed the Indian population in Glasgow to be in the vast majority Sikh or Hindu, 51% and 24% respectively, 4.4% are also Muslim with affiliation to all other religions being below 3%. The Pakistani population was shown in the 2001 census to be 84% Muslim with affiliations to all other religions being below 1% (Source 2001 census: authors own analysis). This was a proxy measure and not always accurate, for example, two of the interviewees whose names were related to the Muslim faith were not Pakistani but Kashmiri.

Nam Pehchan is estimated to be almost 97% accurate by Bradford City council (Nam Pehchan programme instructions, Bradford City Council). Harding *et al* (1999) and Fieldhouse *et al* (2006) both assert Nam Pehchan to be highly reliable. Some have

questioned this contending that there are quite high misclassifications of names (Cummings *et al.*, 1999). Cummings *et al* (1999) found in their study that tested Nam Pehchan 1 (not 2 which was used in the current study), that 36.8% of all names identified by Nam Pehchan on a disease register were false positives and that 9.5% not identified were indeed South Asian names and concluded that it was not good to use Nam Pehchan as a single strategy. Nam Pehchan 1 focused more on names related with the Urdu speaking Muslim population of Bradford and less on Hindi and Gujerati names. However, the second version of Nam Pehchan that was used in this study has an updated name directory that has been expanded using names from throughout Britain rather than just Bradford to widen the places in which Nam Pehchan could be used, and has been extended to cover more non-Muslim names. Furthermore, names and their religious associations were checked by a panel of language specialists. Nam Pehchan 2 has greater precision due to the fact that it can now assign names with one or two languages and religions meanings thus it is more flexible (Fieldhouse *et al*, 2006). Nanchchal *et al* (2001) contend it is the most reliable method for identifying South Asian names. However, this does not guarantee precision and any study using Nam Pehchan must be aware of the possibility of the misclassification of names (Fieldhouse *et al*, 2006). Furthermore, it would be inaccurate to assume that the names database fitted Glasgow as well as it did Bradford, despite the wider coverage of Nam Pehchan 2. There may be clear caveats if one tried to enumerate or map the population in Glasgow using Nam Pehchan.

There are several other points of caution that should be raised. It must be remembered that the language and religious origin of a persons name does not automatically denote their culture. One cannot assume that the language or religious origin of a name means the individual speaks that language or practises that religion. This had specific impacts on my research as in one case the spouse of the prospective interviewee contacted was white Scottish and of a different religion, similarly, several interviewees had chosen not to practise the religion of their ancestors, making it necessary for myself as a researcher not to make assumptions but to explore the background of each interviewee individually. Furthermore, there were several instances where the buyer was not resident,

especially in Woodlands the core in the west end of the city where several properties were rented to students.

When designing the research a further stage was planned in which the property transaction data from the LVIU would be used to track individual moves within the core settlement area and to the suburbs and to examine the housing market. This was thought possible due to the existence of a postcode of origin variable which gives the full postcode of the place that the buyer used to live. Unfortunately, at the time of conducting the research the postcode of origin variable was only available electronically for a very short period of time over the study period; when application to use the data was made this was not stated by the data holders. The postcode of origin variable is currently being slowly updated from microfiche. It was out of the remit of the work of this thesis to input the data directly as this would have taken at least several months. This proved to be a specific drawback for this research as the availability of the origin variable would allow individual moves to be tracked throughout the city. We have seen from this research the success of using Nam Pehchan on the data set and furthermore with the use of the postcode of origin variable it would be possible to track South Asian owner-occupiers as well as examining housing market activity between neighbourhoods within the city. This would be worthwhile to do over a long period of time and would give insight into the actual flows of South Asian households at the individual level and the places that people lived before suburbanising, moving to the core or to the areas adjacent to the core. Furthermore it would also be possible to determine whether people were re-clustering in the suburbs; by matching longitude and latitude data with the postcode data it would be possible to see how far or close South Asian households live from one another in their new location. These research goals could be realised in the future with available funding.

Stage Two- Qualitative Phase

As can be seen the quantitative research provided a means of contextualising the major research questions and identifying key case study areas where further in-depth qualitative analysis, namely semi structured in-depth interviews, could then be used to dig deeper into the motivations and rationales of household migration from and to these areas. Ten interviews were conducted with house movers in each of the four case study

areas identified from the metropolitan level study, 40 interviews in total, this seemed a reasonable number of interviews given the time available after conducting the quantitative phase. This phase of the research had six main steps, which are now described in detail.

Step One: Ethical Issues

Ethical approval was sought and given by the Faculty of Social Sciences, at the University of Glasgow. A detailed form was completed describing the purposes of the research proposed, its aims and objectives and the design and methodology of the research. Ethical considerations involved mainly the confidentiality concerns of having a database of extracted South Asian names (a password was created to the file) and issues involving informed consent from the interviewee (especially when the interviewee had poor English).

Step Two: Building contacts and interviews with key community actors

Whilst choosing the case study areas in the quantitative phase of the research, it was important to define core areas and suburban areas in the city. In order to validate the choice of the earlier case study selection and the patterns of South Asian residence (from the mapping of census data) interviews were conducted with key community actors. This gave supplementary information that backed up the inferences made about patterns of settlement and changes within areas from the census. Two interviews were conducted with Imams in local mosques, one with a representative of the Sikh temple, and one with a University professor who was also the director of an international Muslim radio station broadcast from Glasgow.

The style of these interviews was open and conversational; rather than using a schedule broad topic areas were used to generate discussion. As well as verifying the choice of the case study areas and confirming patterns of movement the conversations were initiated to receive advice on how to conduct the interviews with sensitivity. The responses from these interviews verified previous literature and the population study. Instructions were given regarding appropriate appearance and behaviour (to keep hair and arms covered and to wear shoes that could be easily removed when entering an interviewee's home). Specific advice was also given regarding interactions with men,

especially older men, taking into consideration cultural differences in the roles of women. Advice of this nature was given by the key actors in the Muslim community and less by the representative of the Sikh temple. The key actors also read the interview schedules for the core and suburban residents, though none of the interviewees advised any changes to be made.

Step Three: Development of semi-structured interview schedule

The literature highlights several considerations that helped in the design of the interview schedules. The principal concern was the importance of being clear about the purpose of the interview in order to ensure the questions asked in the survey would elicit the kind of information desired. This involved revisiting the literature reviews, the research objectives and thinking about the patterns of residence inferred from the census analysis. Furthermore, it was important to work on the suitable wording of questions to make sure they were easily understood and unambiguous, however, as with the question order to some extent this was flexible and as needed was adapted to suit the individuality of each respondent. The initial drafts of the schedules were long, which meant questions had to be collapsed together and prioritised. To test that each of these specifications were met some preliminary interviews were carried out, described in the next step.

During the primary stages of designing the schedule the broad aims and objectives of the research were translated into topic areas. In addition to these topic areas other specific issues, which had arisen from the metropolitan level study and called for more investigation and explanations were added. Two interview schedules were needed; one for residents in the areas of core settlement and one for suburban residents (see Appendix One and Two). There were general themes to be explored in each.

The themes to be explored in the interviews of the core residents were:

Housing histories; the role of constraint or choice in current housing location; motivations and rationale determining preferences and location; attraction of the core area/neighbourhood satisfaction; pull factors influencing reverse movers from suburbia;

social networks; future residential aspirations and the role of individual differentials on residential opportunities and preferences.

The themes to be explored in the interviews of the suburban residents were similar, with some additions:

Housing histories; motivations and rationale determining preferences and location; pull factors to suburbia; push factors from previous neighbourhood; neighbourhood satisfaction; relationships/access with/to the core area and the established ethnic community; integration into the suburban area; future residential aspirations.

These themes were then translated into five areas around which the interview schedule was structured. The first, which was common to both, was *housing histories*. The main aim of this was to characterise the respondents past residential and housing histories in order to place their current residence and future aspirations in a life context. This also provided information on past household structures, the means by which they had moved, chosen and financed their current home. The second area, also common to both, focused on *residential motivations*, which explored the push and pull factors attracting and repelling people to and from their past and current place of residence. This area also explored factors that had made a move possible and others that had inhibited or constrained preferences from being achieved. In discussing the pull factors of the current area of residence it was also possible to raise questions surrounding peoples' sense of safe, desirable and hostile places in the city, and thus of residential areas that were considered open to them. The third area looked at *views on current neighbourhoods*. This addressed issues of both neighbourhood satisfaction and dissatisfaction and the residential outcomes of the interviewees' choices. This, as the last area, also provided an opportunity to probe for details relating to other members in the household and for the influences that age, class, occupation, resources and ethnicity had on residential location and preferences.

Each of these areas were addressed in both schedules, however the fourth area in each schedule was varied around issues relating to *community and social networks*. In the schedule for the residents of the area of core settlement the fourth area considered *the*

role of the core. The aim was to explore the attraction of the core and the extent to which and, indeed, why it attracted new migrants and reverse movers from the suburbs whilst retaining long term residents. Questions were added that explored reasons behind neighbourhood attachment and the nature of social networks in the area. It also aimed to explore the influence residential dispersal and suburban relocation had on community ties and social networks and to get a sense of the relationship between those who had suburbanised from the core (from the perspective of the person who had remained). This also aimed to elicit information surrounding the perceived motivations behind suburban moves, again, from the perspective of the interviewee who had remained in the core.

The fourth area addressed in the suburban schedule explored the development of *community attachment* or membership in the new suburban neighbourhood and examined the extent to which people had settled in and had a sense of belonging. Also, the purpose of this area was to examine the extent to which attachments and ties were retained with the core settlement area and the established community there. This was important in considering the degree to which people felt included in their new neighbourhood, whilst perhaps still being accepted in the core area.

The fifth area, included in both of the schedules, was *future aspirations*. This was important as it aimed to explore people's ideal residential locales and housing even if they thought they would not be able to realise them. It aimed to elicit information regarding future changes in people's residence relating to different differentials and needs. It also aimed to explore the household decision making process (which was often complex), barriers to achieving these preferences or any future opportunities that may help to realise them.

Step Four: Preliminary Interviews

Before conducting the interviews with the forty South Asian homeowners the interview schedules were tested with three preliminary interviews to expose any ambiguities in the questions or in their meanings, poor wording, unusual concepts or jargon and to test for length. Rather than simply asking the respondents to take part in the interview they were also asked to comment on their reactions to the questions, concepts and wording used in the interview and to pass overall comments on the experience. Their responses

led to some adjustments being made to the original interview schedule. Two of the respondents said that the interview was too long and that there were too many questions. In the preliminary interviews I also felt as though I was rushing to complete the interview, instead of being relaxed and conversational it was perhaps a little hurried, which in turn had an impact on the comfort of the interviewee and the ease with which they spoke. Time was then spent editing the questionnaire from thirty-five questions to twenty-six questions. The only ambiguity that arose was involving the word 'neighbourhood', although the respondents understood what it meant they interpreted in different ways, one respondent thought that the neighbourhood included the whole district, so this word was changed to 'area'. This was interpreted by the interviewees as being the local vicinity. The preliminary interviews also helped to devise a very helpful list of probes to use in the actual interviews.

Step Five: Contacting Interviewees

After creating the database of South Asian names of movers from the Register of Sasines, one hundred people from each case study area were selected representing both Indian and Pakistani households using religion as a proxy (as explained in step 6 of the quantitative phase of the research). All of these potential interviewees were contacted by letter (see Appendix 3). The letters were sent in four phases by case study area a few weeks before I was going to interview in each area. Letters were sent to the first area in April 2004.

The letter specified that interviews should be conducted with someone who was key in making household decisions, rather than the head of the household, as there was a possibility that, for example, a son could have been decisive in making housing decisions, as was indeed the case in a few households. The letter (Appendix 3) informed the recipient of the period in which the interviews would be taking place in their neighbourhood. It stipulated that I *might* call on them, as there would be people who may not be called upon before the list of one hundred people contacted (in each case study area) was exhausted. There was also an opt-out option, by which the recipient of the letter could telephone, write or email to say they did not want to take part in the research. Only one person who was suffering from cancer called to say they did not want to take part in the research. Three others called to arrange a time for an interview.

Included in the letter was an information sheet about the research that broadly outlined the objectives of the research. Consent forms were not used as it was felt that conducting the interview was consent enough without the signing of a form that recorded the names of the interviewees and further compromised confidentiality. The lists of addresses were kept in a file with a password.

In addition to contacting prospective interviewees by letter other contacts were made with people in the core areas. A substantial amount of time was spent at Radio Ramadam, since many local people from Woodlands called there in the afternoon. I also shopped at the local shops and talked to the shop-keepers and owners. Through the contacts made with the key actors I also attended several events and a dinner at the mosque. This helped greatly in getting to know people in the case study areas and in building trust with interviewees as I was familiar with different aspects of the area and some of the people who lived there. Most of the interviewees were house movers rather than stable residents in the core to reflect the fact that the interviewees have made a clearly observable choice, whether constrained or not.

Step Six: Complementary Snowball Sampling

Although the main means of sampling was purposive (identifying South Asians and contacting them directly) there was a degree of uncertainty as to how well this method would work. So by way of precaution, in the event that it was unsuccessful, contacts were built with key actors so that snowball sampling could be used if needed. Snowball sampling involves identifying respondents who are then used to introduce the researcher to other potential respondents. The essence of snowball sampling contradicts the conventional concept of quantitative sampling. As Atkinson and Flint (2003:275) write, snowball sampling treads, ‘an uneasy line between the dictates of replicable and representative research design and the more flowing and theoretically led sampling techniques of qualitative research, snowball sampling lies somewhere at the margins of research practice’. They continue, however, by making explicit the advantages it offers for contacting more difficult-to-access populations and more impenetrable social groupings. Usually there are two reasons why snowball sampling may be used. First, as an ‘informal’ method to reach a target population for more explorative and qualitative

based research and second to trace individuals who have been difficult to reach and enumerate in surveys (such as household surveys) so inferences can be made (Atkinson and Flint, 2003:275). One of the main benefits of snowball sampling is the scope that it provides to find respondents when some degree of trust is needed to make contact and when the group of potential respondents is few in number. Being introduced to a respondent by someone they know is effective in building trust more quickly and a form of personal verification.

When conducting the preliminary interviews with the key actors I asked them if they knew any households in the core areas or in the suburban cases study areas who may be interested in speaking with me if my other sampling method was unsuccessful. Two interviews with reverse movers (see figure 4.2) from the suburbs were conducted through contacts from the key actors as it proved difficult to obtain interviews with these households (a problem that I would not have encountered had the postcode of origin variable been available in the Sasines data) and a further interview was generated by a contact given to me by one of these interviewees. It was more difficult to find willing interviewees in Bearsden as many people said they were busy. Four interviews were therefore conducted in Bearsden using a snowballing approach, asking key actors and interviewees who I had contacted directly if they knew anyone who would be willing to be interviewed. However, due to the overall success of the purposive sampling method this method of snowball sampling was not exploited any further. Building contacts with key actors proved to be exceptionally useful, not only in identifying those interviewees that it had been hard to find (reverse movers from the suburbs) but it also provided information about the community and provided verification and credential for me as a researcher. This provided not only important authentication but also helped to build a sense of rapport with some of the interviewees who I had contacted through purposive sampling, directly by letter, as we knew people in common. In this instance, although overall sampling using the database of South Asian names was successful, snowball sampling acted as a complimentary strategy to obtain interviews with a hard to identify group and with a more resistant group. Overall, seven of the forty interviews were generated by snowball rather than purposive sampling.

Step Seven: Conducting the Interviews

As mentioned in the last step contact with the residents was phased by area. Two weeks after the first phase of letters were sent to Pollokshields the interviewing began (May 2004). I aimed to interview during the day or later in the evening, after dinner, following the advice of the key actors, as mosque school ran from 3.30-6.00pm. Also, on Fridays I only contacted Indian interviewees as for Muslims Friday is a holy day. Often, in the first visit the purpose of the research was explained to supplement what had been outlined in the letter and another time was arranged for the actual interview. Personal contact before the actual interview was very beneficial in fostering a sense of rapport with the interviewees.

Responses to the research varied greatly between case study areas. People most eager to be interviewed were in Strathbungo/Pollokshields and Giffnock. In Woodlands it took a much longer time to arrange interviews. In Bearsden, I relied somewhat on a snowballing approach to find some of the respondents and contacts made through the key actors as many people I called on in the area were too busy to be interviewed.

The Nature of the Interviews

Although the topics to be addressed in the interviews were specified using a topic guide, the questions were open-ended making the interviews discursive and providing the interviewee with the opportunity to develop what they were saying in their own way and depth. It was clear in some instances that some interviewees, especially those living in the core, felt as if the interview gave them an opportunity to discuss sensitive issues, such as the burden of family and cultural responsibilities and obligations, that they had been unable to broach with their family and neighbours. This made being an outsider beneficial.

One of the most distinct benefits of using semi-structured interviews in the research was that they could be adapted to individual interviewees, a benefit highlighted by Leonard (2003). For instance the building of rapport between women that I interviewed and older men called for a different approach. When interviewing the older men it was necessary to make questions more specific to encourage them to elaborate as in the first instance they were most likely to give very general and vague answers. However, with

more specific questions they were able to provide richer detail. These interviews took more time.

The open format also enabled me to seek clarification as well as confirmation of the interviewees' response and importantly to clarify any ambiguities or misinterpretations of the questions, this was particularly important when the interviewee had language difficulties. In the two cases where people could not speak English fluently another member of the household translated. One male interviewee had arrived in Scotland a few years before and had difficulty understanding questions so a simplified version was asked eliciting less detailed answers and at some points his younger son had to translate. This had an impact upon the richness of the data as time was spent on translation and the more complex processes of decision making were not properly explored in the interview.

All of the interviews were long, ranging in length between one and a half and three hours, and included many stories about the family that deviated to varying degrees from the schedule, (even one that was conducted in the small kitchen of a corner shop). Hence it was necessary both to leave plenty of allowances for improvisation but, also, to draw the interviewees back to the broad topics on the schedule. It was unusual for an interviewee, especially Pakistani interviewees, to let me leave without some form of additional socialising, usually, eating or drinking something, sometimes this even included dinner. One interviewee from Kashmir taught me how to make a traditional Kashmiri fish dish after the interview had finished. Several times I was invited back for dinner and entertained as a special guest. This meant that the interviews were time consuming and sometimes a couple of visits to each house were made so as not to offend and to show my appreciation, so no more than two interviews could be arranged in one day.

Often, in a Muslim household women retired if an interview was taking place with a man. An effort was made to talk to women when possible, in fact in transnational marriages when the woman was born in Britain she often steered the housing decisions and I was shown to her when I called to the house rather than the man. The household was barely ever a fixed unit or at least one that matched with my notion of a household

and an important part of each interview was actually trying to work out who lived in the house and their relationship to one another. During many of the interviews in the core there were many interruptions as relatives visited unexpectedly or phoned, giving a sense of the closeness of social and family ties in the area.

Some social researchers, for instance Hyman (1954), argue that the demographics of both interviewer and interviewee should be matched. Primarily, he focused on 'race' arguing that if interviewees were black and the interviewer white the answers of the respondents would be inhibited. Of course there is only a certain extent to which the interviewer has control over this as certain characteristics are fixed and matching researchers with similar background and appearance as interviewees is costly, however, less definitive characteristics such as dress and manner can be changed. In line with this, it was felt before beginning the interviews that certain respectful gestures be made and cultural sensitivities adopted. There were times, however, when the interviewees were confused about my religious and cultural identity by my behaviour. For instance, several times when I covered my hair, a few interviewees assumed I was Muslim. This produced the opposite effect than that initially intended as the interviewees thought it was strange that I should adopt particular cultural behaviours which were not my own. These incidents lead to me feeling that I had somehow belittled cultural practises by partaking and not understanding or subscribing to the reasons underpinning them. In response to this a more open approach was taken with most of the interviewees; I acknowledged my position as student who was eager to understand more of their culture and religious background.

An important aspect in conducting the interviews was the timing of when the actual interviews took place; it was important to assess whether or not events that took place around the same time influenced respondents. In line with this it was clear that the closeness of the interviews in this study to the trial of two young Asian boys for murdering a white youth in the neighbourhood may have had an effect on the interviewees' feelings about their neighbourhood and the youth of the community. Similarly, it may have influenced the feelings toward the area and community of those households who had moved out of the area.

Recording of Interviews

Permission was asked of the interviewees to record the interviews at the time of the visit. Thirty-five of the interviews were recorded and pseudonyms were used to label the cassettes, to ensure confidentiality as promised to the interviewees. The recordings were also kept locked in a secure drawer. Some interviewees wanted the actual taped interview back after the interview had been transcribed as they were worried about issues of confidentiality. The remaining five interviewees were not comfortable with having the interview taped. In these instances detailed notes were taken substantially increasing the length of the interview.

Interviewer Reflexivity

There was a danger, highlighted by Williams (1989) that categorisations of different ethnic groups adopted in the quantitative stage of research may have been used as a frame of reference in the qualitative stage. Williams (1989) refers to the 'danger of homogenisation' in studies of 'race' and ethnicity, where the use of terms like 'South Asian', 'Pakistani' or indeed 'White' do little to acknowledge the diversity of individuals experiences, culture and history. Rather a conscious approach to both recognise and explore the diversity and dynamism within and between cultures was adopted; this involved the questioning of my own preconceptions related to the respondent's ethnicity, religious background and culture. The aim was that the outcome of the qualitative interviews would be presented to the research audience with accountability to challenge any pre-existing or traditional assumptions based on lack of knowledge and lack of consultation with South Asian groups themselves.

Whilst undertaking the research it was necessary to possess an awareness of the potential influence that my personal characteristics may have had upon interviewees and indeed the limitations of my personal understanding of the interviewee's traditions and beliefs. It was also important to be aware of the possibility of producing gender biased research, considering any cross-cultural differences in roles of women.

The Interviewees

As mentioned previously there were forty interviews carried out in four case study areas. Of these interviewees thirteen were female, twenty-four were male and three were

carried out with married couples, one of which was a mixed marriage between a Pakistani doctor and a white Scottish nurse. There were more Pakistani than Indian respondents, twenty-seven and thirteen respectively, which was reflective of their population size. In terms of religious background, although several did not practise, the largest number with twenty-nine were Muslim, seven were Sikh and four Hindu. The table below provides a summary of the characteristics of the interviewees: -

Table 4.2 Interviewee Characteristics

Interviewee	Characteristics
1	A Pakistani Muslim, female, aged 26, who lived with her extended family (parents, uncle and aunt and children) in a small 4 bedroom flat in an area of core settlement. All of the children of age were attending university. This interviewee studied computer sciences and worked in the family business. The main source of income for this household was the family convenience store which was located outside of the area. The family had one car and had recently moved from another area of core settlement.
2	A Kashmiri Muslim, male, aged between 30 and 40 who had recently moved from India. Currently unemployed and receiving benefit but looking for a job. English not fluent. Lived in a one bedroom flat in an area of core settlement with his two children. Had moved straight from Kashmir to the core. Did not own a car
3	A Pakistani Muslim, male aged between 30 and 40. Recently moved from another Scottish city to an area of core settlement. Educated to masters level in a Scottish university and had a prominent job working amongst the Muslim community in the area in which he lived. Lived in a spacious flat with his wife and 3 children and his parents in law. The household had one car.
4	An Indian Sikh, male, aged between 30 and 40. Moved within the core out of the extended family home into a two-bedroom flat with his wife and two children. Works in retail in an ethnic business in the city centre. The household had one car.
5	A Pakistani Muslim, female, aged 29. Had moved 5 years previously within the core area with her extended family (three generations including 7 children) to a four bedroom flat. Married and not working at present, helping at home. The two main earners in the family were taxi drivers. The household had two cars.
6	An Indian Muslim, couple, aged between 40 and 50. Moved within the core area 10 years ago. Own a struggling business (convenience store) in a satellite town outside Glasgow. Live with their child in a one bedroom flat. Had one car.
7	A Pakistani Muslim, female, aged between 30 and 40. Had recently moved from the suburbs back to an area of core settlement where she had grown up. A housewife with three children living in a spacious flat. Her husband was from Pakistan

	and worked in the commercial sector. They had one car.
8	A Pakistani Muslim, female, aged between 20 and 30. The household had moved several years previously to a larger flat within the core. The interviewee had moved in the meantime from the north of England to marry one of the sons of the household, she subsequently had children. The household housed 2 generations and three married couples. The females did not work at present and the three males had manual jobs. The household no car.
9	A Pakistani Muslim, male, aged 18 and currently attending college. The interviewee's parents had moved straight to the core from Pakistani before he was born had moved between the two countries since then. The household was comprised of a single family. The main earner of the household was a religious worker/teacher in the community with a degree level education. The household had no car.
10	An Indian Sikh male, aged between 60 and 70. Had moved from India straight to the core when his children were young. Now has grown up children who live in the suburbs. Moved with his wife and son's family within the core to a better quality flat. The interviewee has a service sector job for public institution. The household had one car.
11	A Pakistani Muslim male, aged between 60 and 70. Lived in a core area of settlement for 30 years. A retired bus driver. Now lives with his two children, their spouses and 4 grandchildren in a three bedroom flat. The main source of income for the household is his pension and his sons-in-laws incomes, both of whom work in an ethnic provisions shop in another area of core settlement. The household did not have a car.
12	A Pakistani Muslim, male, aged between 50 and 60. Had moved between core areas to be closer to a particular mosque where he did voluntary work at the Koran school. Lived in a single family household with his wife, his children had moved away to the north of England to be married. He was not currently in employment and did not own a car.
13	A Pakistani Muslim, male, aged between 20 and 30. Lived in an extended family household in an area of core settlement. He was in the process of moving to another area of core settlement (with lower house prices than the current area) with his pregnant wife and their two children, as the family home was overcrowded. The main source of income was from the fathers pension (a retired shopkeeper), the interviewee who was a trainee solicitor and another son who worked in an administrative position in the public sector. The household had one car.
14	A Pakistani Muslim, male, aged between 30 and 40. Had recently moved from an area outside of Glasgow back to the core to be closer to religious facilities and family. Currently lived in a two bedroom flat with his wife and five children. He worked in the

	voluntary sector as a carer. The household had no car.
15	An Indian Hindu, male, aged between 60 and 70. He lived in the core with his wife, they had recently moved to a smaller flat. His grown up children and grandchildren lived in the suburbs. He was a retired restaurateur. The household had no car.
16	A Pakistani Muslim, male, aged between 60 and 65. He had lived in the core for 20 years and recently moved to another flat to escape damp which was causing illness in the family. He lived in a three bedroom flat with his wife, two children, their spouses and grandchildren. He was a retired train worker, who currently did voluntary work within the community and was very politically active. The main source of income for the household was the interviewee's pension and the income of one of his son-in-laws who was a taxi driver. The household had one car.
17	A Pakistani Muslim, female, aged between 20 and 30. The interviewee was single and a doctoral student. She lived with her parents and four siblings in an area of core settlement, where they had lived, in a 3 bedroom flat, for 17 years. The main income of the family came from the fathers pension (a retired shop keeper) and the income of one of the sons who was a trainee doctor, the other children were in university. The household had one car.
18	A Pakistani Muslim, female, aged 40. The interviewee's husband had moved from Pakistan 10 years previously to marry her and they had lived with her family in the core. The family had recently moved from the extended family household a few streets away to a two bedroom flat. The household income was from the extended family business, a convenience store outside of the area of core settlement. The household had no car.
19	A Pakistani Muslim, female, aged between 20 and 30. The interviewee lived in an extended family household in an area of core settlement with her husband's parents, his two brothers and their wives. She was the mother of two young children. The family owned three central Asian supermarkets in an area of core settlement in which most members of the household worked, including the women. The household had two cars.
20	An Indian, Sikh, male, aged between 40 and 50. Divorced and living alone in the core. Had moved from social housing in a peripheral area to the core a few years ago. Educated to masters level and worked in the public sector. Had no car.
21	A Pakistani, Muslim, male, aged between 50 and 60. Had moved straight to the suburbs from a northern English city to be close to his two children who had married into families in Glasgow. Had a local confectionary shop and lived with his wife in a small house. Had one car.
22	A Pakistani Muslim, couple, aged between 20 and 30. They lived in a small two bedroom terraced house in the suburbs with their two children and nearby their extended family. The main wage earner was an IT support worker whose wife was training to be a

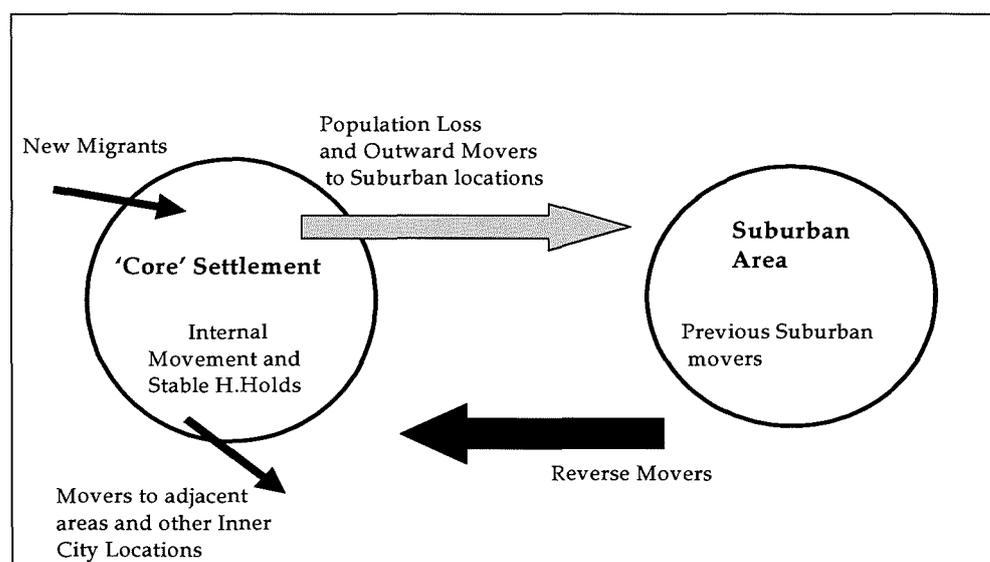
	teacher. The household had one car.
23	A Pakistani Muslim, male, aged between 30 and 40. He had moved from the extended family household in an area of core settlement to the suburbs. He lived in a semi-detached three bedroom house with his wife and two children. He was a computer programmer and was the sole wage earner. The household had one car.
24	A Pakistani Muslim, female, aged between 55 and 65. Recently widowed had moved from an expensive villa on the periphery of the core to a small semi-detached three bedroom house in the suburbs. The main household income was the pension of the deceased and equity from their previous home. The three children were studying at university. The household had one car.
25	An Indian Hindu female, aged between 30 and 40. She had moved several years previously from the core area, where her family live, to a three bedroom house in the suburbs with her husband and two children. The main household income comes from the family's restaurant in the city centre. The household had one car.
26	A Pakistani Muslim male, aged between 50 and 60. He had moved from the core with his parents and children to a four bedroom house in the suburbs. The main family income was from three thriving shops in two middle-class areas in the city. The household had three cars.
27	An Indian Sikh couple, aged between 50 and 60. The couple lived alone in a large four bedroom family home, where they moved to five years previously from the prosperous west end of the city. Their children, both doctors lived in other UK cities. The main earner was a surgeon. The household had two cars.
28	An Indian Hindu male, aged between 40 and 50. He had moved form the core to the suburbs 10 years previously and had recently upgraded his suburban semi-detached home to a detached one. He lived with his wife and three young children. The interviewee was a university lecturer. The household had one car.
29	A Pakistani Muslim female aged between 20 and 30. She had moved to the suburbs with her father and siblings recently. Her extended family had followed and lived close by. The household income was from her father's job as a taxi driver and her brother who had a well paid professional job. The household had two cars.
30	A Pakistani Muslim, male, aged between 30 and 40 and single. He was in the process of moving out of the extended family home but currently lived with his parents and married brother in a spacious home in the suburbs. The main income was from the family business which consisted of several shops in villages outside of Glasgow. The household had three cars.
31	A Pakistani Muslim male, aged between 30 and 40. He had recently moved to the suburbs from an area of core settlement with his parents, married sibling and children. The household

	income was the pooled resources of the male family members who worked in a wholesale business in the core area. The household had one car.
32	A Pakistani Muslim male, aged between 35 and 45. He had recently moved out of the extended family home in the suburbs to another house in the same area with his wife and 3 children. The interviewee worked in his father's retail business in an area close by and was a small-scale real estate investor in the middle east. The household had one car.
33	An Indian Hindu female, aged between 40 and 50. When she had initially moved to the suburbs over 10 years before, she, her husband and child shared a home with her sister's family. Recently they had bought another house a few streets away. The extended family owns a post office. The household has one car.
34	An Indian Sikh male, aged between 50 and 60. He had moved from the core to the suburb 8 years previously with his wife and three children. Two of his children had moved to other areas in the city. The interviewee had a professional managerial job. The household had one car.
35	A Pakistani Muslim female, aged between 50 and 60. The interviewee had moved from the core area to the suburbs 9 years before with her children. The house was overcrowded as two of the sons had recently married. One son worked as a manager in a large private company and the other as a manual labourer. The household had two cars.
36	A Pakistani Muslim male and Scottish Catholic woman, aged between 40 and 50. They had moved to the suburbs from an area close to the area of core settlement 6 years ago, before both their children were born. The male was a doctor and the female a nurse and travelled to work outside of the city. The household had two cars.
37	A Pakistani Muslim woman, aged between 50 and 60. She had moved 5 years ago from the core to the suburbs to a very large opulent six bedroom home. Currently lives alone with her husband until weekends when her children return home from university. The household had two cars. The main income came from the family's very successful wholesale business that supplied Asian goods all over the country.
38	A Pakistani male, aged between 60 and 70. He had moved from another UK city straight to the suburbs with his wife and two sons to the home of his brother. He was a retired manual worker. The household had one car.
39	An Indian Sikh male, aged between 20 and 30. Lived in a single family household in the suburbs with his parents and siblings. The interviewee was a student of medicine. The main earner was his father who worked in a professional managerial job in the financial sector. The household had one car.
40	An Indian Sikh female, aged between 40 and 50. She had moved

to the suburbs over 10 years ago and lived in a semi detached three bedroom house with her husband and child. The interviewee worked in IT support and her husband in a professional occupation. The household had one car.

The following table is a schematic representation of the flows of the interviewees.

Figure 4.2 Migration flows within and between areas of core settlement and the suburbs (moves of interviewees)



Step Eight: Transcription and Analysis

Twenty of the interviews were transcribed personally and twenty by a professional transcription service. In hindsight it was a luxury to transcribe the interviews personally as it allowed for reflection and a deeper insight into the data, which was key in the process of analysis. In the end it was necessary to listen to the tapes transcribed by the professional service several times before they were as familiar as the others that had been personally transcribed. The transcription process took a couple of months and long hours as most of the interviews took over an hour - the longest three hours.

NVivo, a qualitative software package, was used as an aid to analyse the data. It was thought that NVivo would be a useful tool as the interviews were long generating a large amount of data that needed to be organised in an effective way. There are distinct benefits and drawbacks to using software for the analysis of qualitative interviews.

NVivo has been designed to store, easily retrieve and to manipulate qualitative data, in a textual format. It provides us with a practical way of organising and analysing the data without detracting from the requirement in qualitative research of building theory and accounts. It must be highlighted that software packages are not in themselves methods; they merely provide a framework for and a practical way of organising data as well as tools for analysis. They are only useful as a practical means alongside the methodological and theoretical underpinnings of the research and cannot be a substitute for learning data analysis methods (Weitzman, 2000). In this instance using NVivo was a useful organisational tool and fast way to extract and search the data according to themes and labels that had been attributed to it. The speed and the organizational qualities of NVivo were especially useful due to the importance of what Weitzmann (2000:813) calls 'poking around in your data' for a more inductive approach. It was also very useful to store aides memoires and keep organised notes and ideas as the analysis process began to unfold.

Despite its benefits there were some drawbacks to using NVivo; without continuous reading of the individual transcripts it was easy to search for themes and nodes across all of the interviews stored in the NVivo database project, but to lose a sense of the context in which individuals were speaking. This is the case more so with NVivo than paper based methods as NVivo extracts lines of texts adhering to a particular node/code meaning that particular quotes were not presented within the text of the interview. This potentially created susceptibility to over generalise and to lose the separate voices in their appropriate contexts.

To begin with, once the interviews were successfully transcribed and checked, attributes were created for each of the interviewees. These were age, gender, ethnic group, religion, place of residence, household type, family status and previous place of residence. These attributes were an aid to searching the text and analysing responses according to specific interviewee characteristics as relationships started to develop between particular categories and attributes. The interviewees were given pseudonyms at this stage to ensure complete confidentiality and the NVivo project was stored in a computer that could only be accessed with a password.

There were several different stages to recording ideas and developing the themes arising from the interviews. First, extensive personal notes were made on the qualitative data whilst transcribing. These notes were early thoughts on the interviews and were cumulative, including the experience of the actual interview process. They also began to identify the main themes arising from the interviews, which formed the basis for analytical coding categories that were used later in the coding process.

Secondly, coding categories were developed whilst working through the interviews. At this stage although the analysis was led, to a certain extent, by the content of the data (free form coding was used i.e. whilst reading through the text, parts of it were categorised by what appeared to be important, rather than attaching already developed coding categories) the research questions and the rationale behind the development of the interview schedules were also used to guide the reading and analysis of transcripts. As Schmidt (2000:254) notes,

‘The researchers own theoretical prior knowledge and the research questions guide his/her attention in the reading of the transcripts. The aim is to note, for every single interview transcript, the topics that occur and individual aspects of these which can be related - in a very broad sense – to the context of the research question(s)’.

Furthermore, Schmidt (2000:254) highlights the importance of taking, ‘account of the openness of the interviews’, rather than simply using the, ‘formulations from the questions that were asked but considering whether the interviewees actually take up these terms, what the terms mean to them, which aspects they supplement, which they omit and what new topics, which are not foreseen in the guide, actually turn up in the collected data’.

The coding was done using mainly a free form method as themes arose, rather than rigidly following distinct analytical categories that had been previously devised. Care was taken, however, to ensure that the coding developed uniformly throughout the analysis of the interviews. To ensure this, it was necessary to make detailed notes providing a rationale for each of the codes within the overall main aim of the research. A third set of memos were written that linked specific pieces of text and codes together.

This was useful where themes overlapped and led to the building of a more cohesive sense of the overall findings of the interviews. In a sense despite the breaking down of text with the use of coding categories the memos were useful in the retrieval of text and helped in networking, linking and finding relationships between different codes or concepts.

Perhaps the most difficult stage in the analysis was refining and editing the coding categories that had been created as the data was rich and there were multiple labels or codes attached to it (over one hundred). An early version of the coding categories is appended (see appendix four). To move to the next stage of analysis these free codes (referred to as free nodes in NVivo) were collapsed into broader nodes and then transferred into 'tree' nodes, organising them into overall themes and giving them a coherent structure. Tree nodes are nodes that are hierarchically organised in such a way that makes them meaningful for the research objectives and the voices of those interviewed, some of these tree nodes were pre-defined from the research questions and aims before this process. In each tree there is a parent node and several codes nestle under each of these (the parent nodes are appended, see appendix five). This brought greater clarity and structure to the analysis and facilitated the writing process, although ongoing. Reports were generated from each of the free nodes that made up the tree nodes, these were read in detail. Searches were also conducted, most commonly keyword searches relating to specific themes as they arose in the analysis process and node reports created according to different interviewee attributes. This was done throughout the writing and analysis process as certain questions and curiosities began to arise around particular themes. The search tools were used to uncover any more material that supported or contradicted different interpretations of the qualitative data.

Conclusion

The adoption of a triangulated approach to the research was a logical response to the different nature of each of the research objectives and provided a valid assessment of the both the residential location of South Asians in the Greater Glasgow metropolitan area, and the causal factors driving these patterns of residence. The use of techniques from quantitative and qualitative paradigms allowed patterns of residence that could only be inferred from the study of the census to be confirmed *and* explained by the

qualitative interviews. Thus a clear strength of the methodological framework is its validation and robustness arising from the complementary viewpoints and techniques from both quantitative and qualitative paradigms.

There were clear challenges in the research process relating mainly to comparability between the 1991 and 2001 censuses, however, this was largely resolved through the rebuilding of geographies of 'best fit' using the smallest geographical unit of output. There were also difficulties gaining access to the Register of Sasines, which greatly held up the research process. This data set proved when used with Nam Pehchan, however, to be an extremely effective way of tracing South Asian homeowners. Although it was expected that problems might have arisen in gaining access and consent to interview people, contact with prospective interviewees was largely met with enthusiasm. There were aspects of the interviews that challenged the advice given by the key actors and that provided in the literature regarding issues around cultural sensitivities and the necessity of matching interviewee and interviewer characteristics. This is an interesting methodological consideration and perhaps a useful addition to the literature.

5. Through the National Lens to the City: The Housing Position and Experiences of South Asians in Scotland and Glasgow

Introduction

People from South Asia have lived in Scotland since the late nineteenth century though their settlement is commonly regarded as a more recent phenomenon. The South Asian population at this time was very small, not growing substantially until after the Second World War. There has been a focus for many years in England and in the US on the experiences of minority ethnic groups in housing, location, education, employment and other services. However, it is a slightly more recent research phenomenon in Scotland. Prior to the late 1980's and early 1990's there was a scarcity of research that considered minority ethnic communities, this may be partly due to what some authors have referred to as a lack of racialisation of the political process since 1945 in Scotland (Hopkins, 2006; Miles and Dunlop, 1987). There are perhaps dangers in using research from the U.S. and even the rest of Britain to inform or explain the position of minority ethnic groups in Scotland. Miles (1993) argues that the majority of research conducted in the U.S. has focused upon the African American experience and is of limited relevance for those who migrated to Scotland from South Asia. The experience of minority ethnic groups in Scotland and the rest of Britain may generate some useful comparisons, however, this must be seen within a wider framework of difference between the two countries, in the legal and housing systems and in the composition of the minority ethnic population. There has also been a long-standing perception in Scotland, relating to Scottish nationalism, that Scotland is distinguished from the race-relations problems seen to exist in England. This idea of 'Scottish tolerance' has often contributed to the notion that racism, or racist practises, are not perpetrated north of the Border (MacEwen *et al.*, 1994; Maan, 1994; Audrey, 2000), however, an overwhelming body of recent research has challenged these assumptions. The housing experiences of minority ethnic groups in Scotland are significant to gaining an understanding of patterns of minority ethnic settlement and housing aspirations. This chapter begins by providing an overview of the national picture in Scotland and moves to outline the housing experiences of minority groups in Glasgow at the city level.

South Asians in Scotland and Glasgow

Migration to Scotland from Asia has its origin in the British Empire. As trading relations developed between Scotland and India, Scotland's industry prospered often at the expense of the Indian economy. Audrey (2000) illustrates this process with reference to the development of the jute trade in 1830 where jute was shipped from India to Dundee's looms leaving Bengali hand weavers without their livelihood. However, the first main juncture in the process of migration from South Asia to Scotland was the later recruitment of Indian seamen by companies like Glasgow's East Indian Sea Company and Anchor Line (Maan, 1992). Subject to frequent harsh treatment, unequal labour conditions and pay, many exited ships and took temporary and some permanent residence in the UK. The Glasgow Corporation funded the opening of a home in 1930 to house these men and there was also a variety of seamen's hostels near the docks. Furthermore, as poverty became rampant in India the number of Indians migrating to Scotland increased.

Despite this early migration, by 1940 there were still only 400 Indians in Glasgow who mostly owned or rented from other members of this group in the Gorbals, an inner city locale on the south bank of the River Clyde (Maan, 1992). Although they formed a community they were not a homogenous group (Maan, 1992): 35% were Sikh and 65% were Muslim (Audrey, 2000). Audrey (2000) draws attention to the fact that these differences become increasingly apparent in 1947 during the time of repartition when India was granted independence and the new state of Pakistan was formed as some of those previously categorised as Indian were subsequently re-categorised as Pakistani. At this stage there was large-scale migration to Britain and between 1950 and 1960 the number of South Asians in Scotland rose from approximately 600 to 4,000. Audrey (2000) contends that whilst demand for labour was a pull to migrate to England this was not so for Scotland as many of Scotland's indigenous population emigrated throughout this period due to Scotland's economic decline. This may be a slight misrepresentation as other historical research shows that there were in fact labour shortages in some of the unskilled occupations in Scotland at this time.

Unlike England's direct recruitment from the New Commonwealth, recruitment happened in Scotland through already established immigrants passing word home of any opportunities and through internal migration from England to Scotland. The majority of South Asians were employed in factories or the transport industry. In the 1960's and 1970's a process of family reunion occurred making it necessary to obtain larger properties. These were bought outside the Gorbals, mainly due to slum clearance at the time. After this the numbers of immigrants decreased in line with changing immigration legislation, which made a distinction between the Old and the New Commonwealth, opposition towards immigration from the latter was given credence by both Labour and Conservative policies. The previous minority ethnic inhabitants of the Gorbals spread to Govanhill, Pollokshields, Garnethill/Woodside or to the West End (Kearsley and Srivastava, 1974). New areas of family settlement began to emerge as permanent residential locations with cultural amenities and places of worship were established locally.

Minority Ethnic Populations in Scotland

Over the past twenty years minority ethnic groups have grown as a percentage of the total population in Scotland. Two percent of the Scottish population according to 2001 figures are now from a minority ethnic group compared with 1.3% in 1991. Scotland's minority ethnic population as a whole increased by 62.3% between the 1991 and 2001 censuses, the South Asian population increased by 41% and the white population by 0.5%, whilst the total population, for Scotland, increased by 1.3%. Table 5.1 shows that those categorised as Pakistani are the largest minority ethnic, or non-white group, followed by Chinese, Indian and those categorised as having Mixed Ethnic background. It should be noted that even when combined, the minority ethnic groups in Scotland comprise a very small proportion of the total population (2%). What can be very broadly viewed as the South Asian population, those categorised as Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi and other South Asian comprise over 50% of the total minority ethnic population.

Table 5.1 Scottish Population by Ethnic Group, 2001

Ethnic Group	Population Total	% of Total Population	% of BME Population
White Scottish	4,459,071	88.09	Na
Other White British	373,685	7.38	Na
White Irish	49,428	0.98	Na
Other White Background	78,150	1.54	Na
Pakistani	31,793	0.63	31.27
Indian	15,037	0.3	14.79
Bangladeshi	1,981	0.04	1.95
Chinese	16,310	0.32	16.04
Other South Asian	6,196	0.12	6.09
African Caribbean	1,778	0.04	1.75
Black African	5,118	0.1	5.03
Other Black	1,129	0.02	1.11
Any Mixed background	12,764	0.25	12.55
Any Other background	9,571	0.19	9.41
Total Minority Ethnic population	101,677	2.01	100
Total Population	5,062,011	100	Na

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 5.2 Age profile by ethnic group, all people, Scotland, 2001 (Percentages)

Ethnicity	Under 16	16-29	30-49	50-64	65-74	75 and over	Total
White Scottish	20	17	29	15	12	7	100
White British	10	19	34	18	11	8	100
White Irish	5	20	30	18	16	11	100
Other White	14	30	32	11	7	6	100
Indian	23	29	31	11	4	2	100
Pakistani	33	28	28	8	2	1	100
Bangladeshi	31	27	30	8	3	1	100
Other South Asian	28	25	34	8	3	2	100
Chinese	22	32	32	8	4.5	1.5	100
Caribbean	18	24	39	11	4	4	100
African	23	30	39	4	3.5	.5	100
Black Scottish	30	23	26	10	6	5	100
Mixed B/ground	44	27	18	5	3.5	2.5	100
Other Ethnic	22	26	42	7	2	1	100

Source: 2001 Census Authors own analysis

Age profile

Minority ethnic groups in Scotland have a much younger age distribution than those who categorised themselves in the white groups (see Table 5.2). The percentage of the South Asian population represented in the age groups under 50 and most especially under sixteen are between a fifth and a third more than the percentage of the white

group represented in the younger age groups. In line with this the percentage of the South Asian population over 50 is one half to a third lower than that of the white group. The decline in the proportion of the white population is particularly marked in the younger age groups whilst the proportion of the population in the younger age groups from minority ethnic backgrounds has grown considerably (Scottish Executive, 2004).

Economic activity

The 2001 census, as in 1991, showed self-employment to be relatively high amongst the South Asian ethnic groups: 36% of the Pakistani group, 26% of the Chinese population, 23% of the Bangladeshi group and 21% of the population classified as Other South Asian were self-employed (Scottish Executive, 2004). Economic inactivity is also high amongst these groups, being highest among the Pakistani and Other South Asian categories. Significantly the census revealed a relationship between economic activity and household tenure (Scottish Executive, 2004). The self-employed were represented predominantly in owner occupancy and were more likely to own their homes outright or to live in unfurnished accommodation in the private rented sector. Economic inactivity was high in the social rented sector, which is less representative of minority ethnic groups as they still remain under-represented in this sector but was also high in households who owned their accommodation outright, compared to its low level among households buying their house with a mortgage or a loan (Scottish Executive, 2004).

Tenure Patterns

Tenure patterns according to ethnicity appear to have changed quite significantly in the ten-year period between 1991 and 2001. From the 1991 census (see Table 5.3), we can see that minority ethnic groups were disproportionately over-represented in owner-occupancy. In contrast, however, over three times as many white households lived in social rented housing as did South Asians. These findings have informed and are reflected in the majority of Scotland specific studies conducted throughout the 1990's. Between 1991 and 2001 the percentage of all households owing their own home rose by 12% from 52% to 64% a trend matched by white households. Interestingly, however, the proportion of Indian, Chinese and Pakistani households represented in the owner occupied sector has fallen and is now in line with both the percentage of all households and the percentage of white households represented in the sector (See Table 5.4). Non-

owning South Asian households do not appear to have shifted to the social rented sector as may have been expected on the basis of research that reported an increasing willingness of the Pakistani population to make applications for the social rented sector (Bowes et al 1997b; Kearns 2002). Rather there has been a substantial increase in the number of South Asian households residing in the private rented sector, doubling over the ten year period, most likely due to affordability reasons, the difficulties associated with social renting (concerns about locations and long waiting lists), and fear related with its location. The proportion of South Asian households in the private rented sector in 1991 was 10%, increasing to 25% of all Indian households and 21% of Pakistani households.

Table 5.3 Tenure and Ethnicity in Scotland, 1991 (Percentage of households)

	All people	White	Black	South Asian	Chinese	Other
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Owner Occupied	52	53	43	77	71	50
Private Rented	6	5	24	10	14	27
Housing Assoc.	4	3	5	2	1	4
Local Authority	34	35	25	10	13	17
New Town/ Scottish Homes	4	4	3	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: 1991 Census in Third *et al* (1997:9).

Table 5.4 Tenure by Ethnicity in Scotland, 2001 (Percentage of Households)

	All People	White	Indian	Pakistani	Chinese	Other
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Owner Occupied	64	64	65	63	65	42
Rented from Council	23	23	6	10	9	18
Other Social Rented	5	5	4	6	4	8
Private Rented/ Free	8	8	25	21	22	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

This substantial increase in the private rented sector and decrease in the proportion of those in owner-occupancy may reflect constraints, as reported by Third *et al* (1997a)

who found minority ethnic households found it more difficult to gain access to the owner occupied sector. This may be indicative of financial limitations rather than discrimination by gatekeepers and financial institutions. The rise in the proportion of white households in owner-occupancy and the increase in property prices may have priced lower income minority ethnic groups out of the market, causing them to be pushed into private renting. On the contrary this may signal real preferences, as Third *et al* (1997a) reported that 25% of minority ethnic owners interviewed said they would have preferred not to have become a home owner when they first bought their house. Despite this a considerable proportion of the same survey respondents would have preferred to rent public housing as an alternative as opposed to private renting which was noted in the same survey as the least favoured sector.

Household Structure and Occupancy

There are significant differences in household structure by ethnicity. Table 5.5 shows household structure by the number of families per household. The definition of a family as used by the census is:

“...a group of people consisting of a married or cohabiting couple with or without child(ren), or a lone parent with child(ren). Cohabiting couples include same sex couples. The 2001 Census question asks for the relationship of each person in the household to every other member (except in large households). This enables the identification of concealed families (second or subsequent families in a household), families containing stepchildren and the relationship between families (living within one household)’ (GROS 2001).

Table 5.5 Household structure by ethnic group of people in household (Percentages)

	White	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi and Other South Asian	Chinese	Other
0-Couple/Lone Parent families	23.7	14.4	5.2	15.2	18.6	22
1-Couple/Lone Parent family	75.3	76.5	79.8	79.7	78.7	77
2-Couple/Lone Parent families	1	7.5	12.7	4.6	2.6	1
3-Couple/Lone Parent families	0	1.6	2.3	0.5	0.1	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Scottish Executive, 2004

The variables in the first column of Table 5.5 refer to the number of families in a household. The first, 0-Couple/Lone Parent, refers to a household with no family resident, so would include individuals who live alone or with someone who is not a relative as classified by the census. 1-Couple/Lone Parent family refers to a household with one family as defined by the census classification but may also include ungrouped individuals such as a parent or sibling. 2-Couple/Lone Parent family refers to a household with two families resident and 3-Couple/Lone Parent family refers to a household with three families resident. There are almost half as many single person households in the South Asian group as in the white group and at the other end of the spectrum, there are over seven times as many South Asian households who are multiple family households than in the white group, with Pakistanis most likely to be represented in multi-family households.

Again, there are disparities in occupancy ratings according to ethnic group. The occupancy rating is worked out by relating the actual number of rooms in a household to the number of rooms needed by that household, which is calculated based on the ages and relationships between the household members. If the occupancy rating is 1 or 2+ or more this indicates that there are more rooms in the house than are strictly needed by the household. If the occupancy rating is 0 this indicates that the actual numbers of rooms is equal to the number that is needed, whereas a negative rating is indicative of less rooms than are required (GROS, 2001). Table 5.6 shows the Pakistani and Other South Asian group to have the highest proportion of households living below the occupancy rate (31%) whereas the White group has the lowest proportion (12%). It is also evident that over half of the Indian group have more rooms than they require under the official standard, as do half the Chinese and over forty percent of the Pakistanis and Other South Asian group.

Table 5.6 Occupancy rating by ethnic group by Household Reference Person (Percentages)

Ethnic group	+2 or more	1	0	-1 or less	Total
All people	28	23	26	23	100
White	37	27	24	12	100
Indian	33	21	24	22	100
Pakistani and Other South Asian	24	19	26	31	100
Chinese	27	23	26	24	100
Other	22	24	29	25	100

Source: 2001 census, analysis Scottish Executive, 2004

Urban Concentrations

Glasgow has the highest percentage of its population comprised of black and minority ethnic residents of any other local authority area in Scotland (see Table 5.7). At national level 2% of the population is black or minority ethnic whereas minority ethnic groups in Glasgow City comprise 5.5% of the population. Similarly, Glasgow's South Asian population is 3.76% compared to 1.09% of the whole of Scotland. During the decennial census period from 1991 Glasgow's South Asian population increased by 1.5% of the total population. There are few other areas at local authority level that have a black and minority ethnic population that exceeds the national average and as expected these local authority areas are, in the majority, comprised of the major Scottish cities. Apart from the cities of Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen the only other two local authority areas in which the South Asian population exceeds the national percentage of South Asians are the Glasgow suburban local authorities of East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire whose South Asian populations are 2.1% and 2.93%, respectively, of the total population.

Table 5.7 BME population in Scotland's major cities, 1991-2001 (*percentage*)

	1991		2001		2001
	BME % of total population	South Asian % of total population	BME % of total population	South Asian % of total population	% of national South Asian population
Glasgow City	3.2	2.3	5.5	3.8	39.6
Edinburgh City	2.4	1.2	4	1.8	14.8
Dundee City	2	1.3	3.7	2.3	6.2
Aberdeen City	1.5	-	2.9	1	3.7
Stirling City	0.9	0.4	1.5	0.5	0.9
<i>Scotland</i>	<i>1.25</i>	<i>0.7</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>1.09</i>	<i>Na</i>

Source: 1991 and 2001 censuses, authors own analysis

To conclude this brief overview relating to age structures, housing situations and household formations by ethnic group we can summarise by saying that the South Asian groups have a much younger age profile than the white majority. Also differences in tenure are notable with levels of Indian and Pakistani households owning their own home decreasing in line with the White group but remaining significantly higher than other minority ethnic groups, especially black groups. In a similar vein, social rented accommodation is the least likely tenure in which South Asian groups live whilst ethnic minority use of the private rented sector has grown

significantly. In terms of multiple occupancies and household composition the Pakistani groups are most likely to live in multiple family households and in overcrowded dwellings. The South Asian population is also concentrated in the main metropolitan areas particularly in Glasgow City (40%), followed by Edinburgh City (15%).

The Minority Ethnic Population in Glasgow

The minority ethnic population in Glasgow is predominantly Pakistani in origin, young and expanding (Binns, 2002). There was a significant rise in the Pakistani population of Glasgow between 1981 and 1991, from 7,015 to 11,605, by 65.4% likewise between 1991 and 2001 the Pakistani population rose substantially to 15,330 a 32 percent increase. 4,160 persons from an Indian origin are resident in Glasgow, only 280 who classified themselves as Bangladeshi, 2,020 'Other South Asian', 3,876 Chinese, 1,790 people classified in the 'Black' categories, 2,022 from mixed backgrounds and 2,000 from 'other ethnic groups'.

Traditional Settlement Patterns

Traditionally the ethnic geography of Glasgow has had a crescent shaped distribution, spanning from the South side of the city across the river Clyde intersecting the inner city to North Glasgow and spanning out to the West of the city (Dalton and Daghlian, 1989; Kearns, 2002). Notably there has been an absence of minority ethnic groups in the East End working class areas of the city and the suburban public sector housing schemes (Dalton and Daghlian, 1989). The core areas of settlement in Glasgow where most of the minority ethnic groups have tended to settle are: Pollokshields and Govanhill, on the south side of the city, and Woodlands/Charing Cross and Garnethill on the north side (Dalton and Daghlian, 1989; Kearsley and Srivastava, 1974), see Figure 5.1.

These core areas were shown in the past to be residentially stable, for instance, Dalton and Daghlian (1989) found that the majority of the population had lived in their homes for an average of 12 years. More recent evidence presented in the next chapter would suggest that these areas are becoming more dynamic. These core areas have offered a number of positive features in attracting new households and retaining well-

established ones including the availability of tenement property that was at one time cheap to buy. Furthermore, due to the cultural, social and economic support networks that have developed in these areas over the last thirty years (Scottish Executive, 2001); and the areas' proximity to amenities and easy access to work, schools and community facilities. High minority ethnic presence in these areas is also reflective of the barriers they have faced in gaining access to high status, high cost housing and to public housing (MacEwen *et al*, 1994). There is also an active private rented market situated in these areas (Scottish Executive, 2001), attracting in-movers.

Figure 5.1 Glasgow neighbourhoods



Since the late 1980's and early 1990's minority ethnic households have begun to establish themselves in Glasgow's middle class suburbs of Bishopbriggs, Bearsden and Milngavie to the north of the city and Newlands and the Eastwood suburbs (Giffnock and Thornliebank) to the south (see Figure 5.1), but to date the literature although limited suggests the populations of these districts were very small (Dalton

and Daghlian, 1989; Binns, 2002). More recently evidence of an expansion can be seen, from the established core areas into adjacent post-code sectors (Binns, 2002). There is also evidence that minority ethnic households have begun to establish themselves in localities such as Parkhead and Dennistoun in the East End of the city which, until recently was not a location with any minority ethnic residents. This evidence of a small spread across the city to areas previously uninhabited by minority ethnic groups may represent a growing confidence amongst the population. Despite this, evidence from both the 1981 and 1991 censuses suggests that core settlement areas have become denser and have remained residentially stable for South Asian families (Dalton and Daghlian, 1989; Kearns, 2002).

Traditional Settlement Patterns by Ethnic Group

There has been a significant degree of separation between the various minority ethnic communities in the city. Results from a study undertaken by Glasgow City Council in late 1980's (Bowes *et al*, 1990a) and similar results elicited in a study by Dalton and Daghlian (1989) revealed that; 66.4% (two thirds) of the Chinese population in Glasgow lived in Garnethill and Woodlands; 73.7% of the Sikh Community (mostly Indian population) also lived in Garnethill and Woodlands; whilst 67.2% of the Pakistani Muslim community were concentrated south of the river. Although with the results from the 1991 census we see this has already started to change with the Indian population being more dispersed and having decreased in number in the Garnethill and Woodlands areas (the core settlement areas to the north of the river). Dalton and Daghlian (1989) contend that this pattern of spatial differentiation has been maintained throughout the post-war period. Current patterns will be explored in the ensuing chapter.

There have been few studies conducted in these neighbourhoods; however, a recent study by Berce-Brathko (2001) attempted to undertake a culturological analysis of Garnethill providing interesting detail of the dynamics of the neighbourhood. Garnethill is situated in Glasgow's inner city and has undergone substantial social change in the past thirty years. Originally it was inhabited by the middle-classes but subsequent to their flight from the area and its rehabilitation it is inhabited mostly by South Asian and Chinese households. The population of the area is comprised of 37%

of white households and 63% of Asian households of which half are Chinese and half Indian and Pakistani (Berce-Brathko, 2001), it must be noted that this study is done on a very small scale, reflecting the high percentages. The area is known locally as Chinatown due to the presence of Chinese cultural amenities. There has been an ongoing expansion of the Chinese indoor market located near by which is a central meeting place and now encompasses a temple for worship. The Chinese living in the area make their income primarily from the catering and restaurant business. Berce-Brathko found that a large number of elderly people in the community, especially women, despite many having lived in Scotland for over 20 years were unable to speak English, limiting social interaction to within their ethnic group. The survey uncovered that 83% of the Chinese sample had a strong sense of belonging to the area and appreciated living there despite the overcrowded nature of most dwellings. Simultaneously, however, 76% felt that the neighbourhood was neglected. In his analysis Berce-Brathko concluded that neighbouring was strong and social relations highly developed but found that there was no obvious desire to extend this to other ethnic groups. Those interviewed about their housing aspirations intended to remain in the area.

The Indian and Pakistani population in Garnethill numbered approximately 1,200 at the time of Berce-Brathkos study. The majority of this group when surveyed aspired eventually to move to areas in the South of the city such as Shawlands or to more affluent suburbs, of which Bearsden was cited; generally those interviewed wanted to move to areas they considered to be more 'respectable'. Only 32% identified strong ties with the area or place and 63% felt that it needed to be upgraded. Community ties and the social network within this group appeared to the author to be stronger than in the Chinese community. Support between people was more pronounced stretching to financial and business help and to other matters surrounding daily domestic and religious life. The study found that cultural and social patterns among the South Asian groups were formed mainly on the basis of their regional and local place of origin, meaning that they tended to mix exclusively within their own communities. The younger generation were more inclined to adapt to the other cultures around them; the study says little about this, nor about the significance of the younger generations' upbringing and education in Scotland. Berce-Brathko argues from his analysis that the

South Asian groups are attached locally primarily due to property ownership thus contradicting to some extent prior research that outlines the pull factors of core settlement areas and the agency of cultural choice for living in the area. The case study leaves questions unanswered, as it fails to explore the relationship between the desire to move and its impact on the strong social networks or the relationship between a strong sense of community amongst the members and neighbourhood satisfaction.

The Scottish people surveyed identified very strongly with the area, taking pride in its history and conservation. The majority of respondents said they were satisfied with the dynamics and ethnic make up of the population providing that their spatial and cultural identity was not 'threatened'. Nonetheless they showed resentment and frustration towards those members of the minority ethnic communities who had not learnt English and towards those who dressed differently, some also expressed disdain at smells from the kitchens of minority ethnic households. These feelings of hostility triggered by the reproduction of or assertion of difference of language, dress and social mores in public coincides with Modood and Werbner's (1997) definition of cultural racism. These issues were not explored further, this study being mainly descriptive; however, it is useful in its depiction of the differential ethnic experiences and attempts to understand the implications of cultural and ethnic differences for the neighbourhood as experienced by the various ethnic groups.

Household Structure

The average size of households in Glasgow in 1991 was 2.4 persons whilst the average size of minority ethnic households was 4.6 persons (Scottish Office, 1991). This has changed substantially over the decennial census period as the average size of white households is 2 persons and 3.2 persons for minority ethnic households (Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis). A survey conducted by the Scottish office in 1991 revealed significant variation between ethnic groups for example 20% of Sikh (mostly Indian) and Muslim (mostly Pakistani) households were comprised of 7 or more individuals compared with only 3.1% of Chinese households (Scottish Office, 1991). The same survey found that 60% of the white group had two or fewer members; comparably the same was true for only 22% of Indian and Chinese

households and only 7% of the Pakistani group. Research by MacEwen *et al* (1994) found that only 7% of the white group were made up of two or more family units in comparison to 22% of the Indian community, 25% of the Pakistani community and 13% of the Chinese community. The same survey revealed that minority households were more likely to be comprised of combinations of adults and children and less likely to contain only adults over 55 (3% as opposed to 31% for white households), yet they were far more likely to contain individuals from all three age bands (MacEwen *et al*, 1994). The 2001 census shows that there is a continuing higher incidence of over-occupancy related to the larger minority ethnic household size. In Glasgow 43% of the minority ethnic population live in houses with occupancy rates of -1 or less, they are twice as likely to live so than white households, 26% of whom live in homes with occupancy rates of -1 or less (Source: 2001 Census authors own analysis). This shows overcrowding to be a continuing problem and highlights the extended nature of minority ethnic households.

Housing Conditions

There has been less research conducted in Scotland than in some other parts of the UK regarding the position of minority ethnic households in relation to housing conditions. Research undertaken in the late 1980's and throughout the 1990's has provided us with some suggestion of the housing conditions within which minority ethnic groups live. A survey conducted by the Glasgow City Council in the late 1980's established a correlation between poor tenement property in predominantly inner-city locales and Asian settlement (Bowes *et al*, 1989). Later research undertaken by Third *et al* (1997a) also reported a preference amongst the survey respondents to live in tenement properties due to their larger size. MacEwen *et al* (1994) found that minority ethnic households in Glasgow were disproportionately over-represented in property that was in severe disrepair. Despite this Third *et al* (1997b) reported that minority ethnic households were less likely to have carried out repairs to their home, possibly reflecting financial limitations.

Littlewood and Kearns (1998) undertook a more engaging study to specifically address housing conditions as experienced by minority ethnic households. Research

was undertaken in five community based housing association areas of operation, within inner city Glasgow, where there was a presence of both minority ethnic and white households living in Below Tolerable Standard housing. Over 25% of occupants of BTS housing in the inner city were from minority ethnic backgrounds. The majority of these were found to be concentrated in owner occupied dwellings in the inner city. Pakistani households were found to be markedly over-represented in the number of BTS households being ten times 'more prominent as inner-city BTS occupants than they were city residents' (Kearns, 2002: 248). The authors reported that Pakistani and Indian households used BTS housing in the long-term and were more likely to use it as a family home in the child rearing stage of life (Littlewood and Kearns, 1998), whereas on the other hand, other minority ethnic and white households were most likely to live in BTS housing in transitional periods or in the earlier stages of their housing career. The study uncovered evidence suggesting that tenure choice was constrained by a lack of large affordable accommodation to suit the larger household size. This caused frustration amongst some respondents who had aspirations to move to social rented accommodation.

Minority ethnic households in Glasgow were more likely to experience multiple housing and socio-economic problems than the white households surveyed. One third of minority ethnic households had serious problems with affordability and were in arrears with housing payments. This was acute for Pakistani households as 40% of the survey respondents were experiencing difficulty whereas only one fifth of the white survey group had incurred problems with more general costs. Kearns (2002) points to the seriousness of the situation faced by Pakistani households as despite the difficulty they incurred in meeting payments they still had the highest rate of owner occupation.

Furthermore, Littlewood and Kearns (1998) found that dwellings occupied by minority ethnic households were more likely to fall below tolerable standards due to reasons of lack of amenity and disrepair, whereas for white households it was more likely due to underground instability as a result of past mining activity. Pakistani households were more likely to live in property that lacked amenity. Overcrowding was the most acute housing problem faced by minority ethnic groups; more than two thirds of those surveyed were experiencing overcrowded living conditions compared

to less than one third of white households. This was more of a problem in households where there were dependent children and is accounted for in the report by extended family living. More survey respondents from the white population identified lack of amenities and overcrowding as a problem than minority ethnic respondents. Kearns (2002) suggests that this may indicate a lack of awareness among minority ethnic respondents that their property is in fact substandard.

Tenure Patterns in Glasgow

Tenure patterns in Glasgow are not entirely consonant with wider patterns in Scotland; several variations can be observed (See Table 5.8). The overall total proportion of households in owner occupancy is substantially lower than the countrywide proportion at 56% of all households. However, the proportion of minority ethnic households in owner occupation is higher, as has been the trend in the past. In particular, 71% of Indian households in Glasgow are in owner-occupation, higher than the national rate of ownership for this group. The number of households in private rented accommodation is not consistent with the countrywide proportion for these same groups.

Table 5.8, Tenure by Ethnicity in Greater Glasgow, 2001 (Percentage of Households)

Tenure	All people (%)	White (%)	Indian (%)	Pakistani (%)	Chinese (%)	Other (%)
Owner Occupied	56	56	71	64	64	35
Council	26	26	6	8	11	23
Other Social Rented	9	9	5	7	5	10
Private Rented/ Free	9	9	18	21	20	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: 2001 Census authors own analysis

The proportion of minority households in the council sector continues to be very low, perhaps the causes determining this documented in the literature continue to be prevalent. The traditional reasoning has centred around the suggestion that minority ethnic tenure patterns are the result of choice informed by cultural preferences (Dahya, 1974) or that they are determined by long-standing discrimination in the

allocation processes of local authority housing (Bowes *et al* 1997a; Henderson and Karn, 1987; Bowes *at al* 1989). Discrimination on the grounds of 'race' is known to have been perpetrated against minority ethnic groups in housing by local authorities, housing associations, estate agents, housing officers and building societies as well as other financial institutions. However as made explicit by Bowes *et al* (1997b), whilst acknowledging the limitations upon housing choice it is also vital to recognise the agency of the social actor in influencing housing choice. The remainder of this section seeks to explore the private rented sector, the social rented sector and in owner occupancy.

Private renting

The private rented sector is probably the most under-researched sector in Scotland with regards to minority ethnic groups and housing. Results from the 1991 census showed that there were a larger proportion of minority ethnic households represented in the private sector than the percentage of the population as a whole with the Chinese having the highest representation. Bowes *et al* (1997b) maintain that the higher proportion of minority ethnic groups sharing facilities or without basic amenities can be attributed to their over-representation in the private sector. However, other research revealing evidence of below tolerable standard in the owner-occupied sector (Littlewood and Kearns, 1998) questions this. Research conducted in the mid to late 1990's in Govanhill (Dalton and Hampton, 1996) revealed a substantial increase of minority ethnic groups in the private rented sector. Recent census figures as highlighted in the previous section show a marked difference in tenure patterns according to ethnicity and an increasing trend of private renting, doubling since the previous census. It is possible that this may signify a shift in housing choices of the minority ethnic households, however this is surprising in the light of research, mentioned earlier, conducted by Littlewood and Kearns (1998) that reported that 48% of the Pakistani respondents resident in the private rented sector expressed a desire to change tenure to the social rented sector. This may indicate that current distribution amongst minority ethnic groups is a result of constraint, but the issue merits more research.

Research conducted in the 1990's by Wainwright *et al* (1994) found that almost all immigrants rented privately on their arrival to Scotland. They also found that minority ethnic groups' experience of the private rented sector was in general unsatisfactory, with specific difficulties in relation to the condition of the housing, the attitude of the landlord and the level of rents. Among the group surveyed housing standards were poor, none of the respondents had central heating and several expressed concern regarding the expenses that heating the house would incur. The most severe cases relayed experiences of being exploited by landlords.

Little is known about the current experiences of minority ethnic groups in the private rented sector if indeed their increased presence reflects housing preferences or constraint in accessing the owner-occupied sector or indeed the social rented sector. The Scottish Household Condition Survey (1996) rendered the private rented sector the worst tenure excepting the local authority sector for dampness and condensation and for energy efficiency. Research reveals a correlation between this sector and Below Tolerable Standard housing it is possible that this may be related to the age of the buildings themselves (GCC, 2002). More generally there has been recent evidence that the sector is improving in Glasgow. Since the de-regulation of rents in 1989 the private rented sector that had previously been in long-term decline began to grow and expand, with a 50% increase in the number of properties rented between 1991 and 2001 (GCC, 2002). The location of the private rented stock in Glasgow is predominantly inner city with the largest concentrations being in Pollokshields, Govanhill/Mount Florida, Shawlands, Langside and the West End, amongst which include areas of core minority ethnic settlement in the city. Despite earlier findings, the Local Housing Strategy for Glasgow City Council (2002:8) maintains that there has been, 'a substantial improvement in physical conditions overall'. This has largely been attributed to the appendage of a substantial amount of property to the upper end of the market, improvement by landlords, BTS treatment in Housing Action Areas, improvement and repair grants and the purchase of poor quality property by buyers who wanted to renovate. Overall this suggests that the sector has become more desirable, however, more research must be conducted to ascertain the impact this is having on the growing representation of minority groups in the sector.

Local Authority Housing

MacEwen *et al* (1994:22) argue that housing policy since 1980 has eroded both the 'fiscal and political autonomy of local government' through a series of events including the mandatory sale of council housing and cuts in new stock. This has severely curbed the capability of public housing in promoting access and racial equality, mainly due to suitability, as the size and characteristics of available stock is not appropriate for minority ethnic needs. Within the core areas where minority ethnic households have traditionally settled there is very little social rented housing of that which does exist is disproportionately occupied by white tenants. Much of Glasgow's public housing stock has been primarily situated in peripheral schemes, which have not been popular with minority ethnic applicants due to their perceptions of neighbourhood safety, and indeed amongst other applicants. Wainwright *et al* (1994) found that a key element in the experiences of minority ethnic groups in social renting involved racial harassment and violence which tended to steer their housing preferences toward owner occupation. The same study also uncovered that harassment was prevalent in private housing. As is characteristic of the rest of Britain, minority ethnic groups are seriously under-represented in social housing shown by the small percentage in council lets, which has actually fallen from 141 or 2% in 2000/2001 to 82 or 2% in 2001/2002 (this figure also represents refugees and asylum seekers, which is problematic in itself as a useful indicator) (GCC, 2002).

In the council and other social rented tenures there are a higher proportion of minority ethnic applicants than tenants, with the proportion of minority ethnic applicants being much lower for the Council than for housing associations (Binns, 2002). Bowes *et al* (1990b:526) contended in earlier research that there appeared to be a relatively 'positive orientation' towards council housing by the younger generation of the Asian population in Glasgow. Yet they also found that this, along with the wider involvement of the South Asian population in local authority housing, was curbed by a lack of knowledge of the system. In their survey only 42.8% of the sample had acquired knowledge of what qualifying for a house involved. Half of the Pakistani sample had some knowledge but knowledge was low amongst the Chinese and Indian communities were only 30% had any knowledge. Only 14% of the sample had

previously applied to council housing this was highest amongst the Pakistani community and lowest among the Indian and Chinese community.

Supply of Local Authority Housing

As outlined by the Scottish Executive audit (2002), policies that affect the supply of public housing have a significant bearing on the potential success of allocation policies in providing access to housing that is both desirable and suitable. The low rates of new building and simultaneous sales of council housing has resulted in the decline of quality and quantity of dwellings that minority ethnic groups have finally been considered for. In short the lack of new building and the small size of existing apartments with the majority of larger accommodations being sold under Right to Buy is creating a mismatch between existing stock and minority ethnic needs (MacEwen *et al*, 1994). Bowes *et al* (1990b) contend that the lack of stock with larger rooms is constituent of indirect discrimination under the terms of the Race Relations Act 1976 and the more recent Race Relations Amendment Act, 2000. Binns (2002) draws attention to a recent survey by Glasgow City Council that found ethnic minority applicants for council housing most commonly to be families in need of larger accommodation due to increases in the number of children. The same survey presented evidence in line with the national study to suggest that the majority of those still waiting for council housing (which was in fact the majority of the minority ethnic applicants), despite emerging evidence of increased willingness to apply, were often unsuccessful due to the profile and location of the stock.

Access and Allocation of Council Housing

In a city with a significantly high proportion of council housing, the low proportion of minority ethnic tenants is especially poignant. Bowes *et al* (1990b) strongly support the findings of Henderson and Karn (1987) who contend that minority ethnic households are effectively excluded from council housing as a result of discrimination in the allocation process. Legislation in both England and Scotland gave local authorities autonomy to develop both their own allocation policies and criteria upon which individuals' eligibility is determined (MacEwen *et al*, 1994). Evidence from previous studies outside Glasgow suggests that were there is discretion in an allocations system on the part of the housing authority it tends not to be used to favour

minority ethnic applicants (Henderson and Karn, 1987). This may be less so now, however, does not appear to be a practice only of the past as South Asians continue to fare badly in accessing council housing.

Bowes *et al* (1990b) conducted a study examining council housing from the consumer's point of view, seeking to determine the extent of people's knowledge and their attitudes and experiences of council housing services in Glasgow. The study found that the system of allocation in Glasgow seems to be coping poorly with the housing aspirations of Asians. They found that many minority ethnic applicants were allocated housing quite far away from family, friends, local amenities and places of worship due to a lack of sufficient points. Bowes *et al* (1990b) argue that this is due to the discriminatory nature of the points system itself, as it prioritises waiting time over housing need. Their findings were not particularly encouraging: over 50% of respondents stated that families in council schemes 'were isolated and subjected to harassment' (1990b:525); 45.3% 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that 'officials did not treat minorities fairly'; 43.8% agreed or strongly agreed that the housing offered to minority ethnic families was poor. The views of the Pakistani respondents were more negative than the views of the Indian and Chinese groups: 47.4% had difficulties in the process of applying for council housing; 50% of these respondents said they had difficulty obtaining information; 42.1% had difficulty completing forms and reading leaflets; whilst others had difficulty obtaining accommodation in the area of their choice.

Changes in policy and practice, however, over the past ten years have led to the emphasis in research being shifted from discriminatory allocation policies on to policies that have bearing upon the type of dwellings offered to the minority ethnic households. The process of matching applicants to suitable housing has become increasingly difficult as stock has become more varied in age, design and condition. Assumptions have been made about what constitutes appropriate accommodation and also about the locale in which the dwelling is situated as deemed best to suit minority ethnic needs. These judgements on the part of housing officers have been based upon both stereotypes and an assumption of the preferences of minority ethnic households, perhaps ironic in a time when housing policy aims to promote choice (Bowes *et al*,

1997a). MacEwen *et al* (1994) maintain that this is in some measure due to the pressure placed upon housing officers to fill vacancies quickly and also to the fear of problems arising if minority ethnic households are placed in white areas and the associated difficulties in managing such a situation. In an attempt to avoid such problems the general trends of the allocation process has been to offer places to minority ethnic groups in older estates that have a relatively higher prevalence of other minority ethnic tenants.

MacEwen *et al* (1994) drawing from Henderson and Karn's study of Birmingham in the late 1970's argued that emphasis should be placed upon policy implementation rather than upon formal housing policy as discrimination is more notable in the actual allocation process than in legislation. To some extent this was enforced in the Race Relations Amendment Act, 2000. Attempts to diffuse the problems associated with the allocation process have included such strategies as the training of staff to increase their awareness of stereotypes; increased ethnic monitoring; prosecutions for those perpetrating harassment; active equal opportunity programmes; and anti-racist agendas. Many of these strategies were made mandatory with the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000, in which active inspection of public bodies is used as an incentive to increase the accountability of local authorities. Employment of more staff from minority ethnic backgrounds (who are still underrepresented in public sector employment) aiming to close language barriers has been pursued to try to empower minority ethnic groups. To date there has been no clear evaluation of the outcomes of these measures in the Scottish literature.

Housing Associations

Scotland's housing associations in comparison with England have in the past been accused of being slow and resistant in placing issues surrounding fair access for minority ethnic groups onto their agenda (MacEwen *et al*, 1994). Sim (1991) highlighted the deficiency of the Scottish Federation of Housing Associations (SFHA), stating that it has adopted a 'colour blind' approach to its work even when it is present in areas of high minority ethnic settlement. He maintains that any initiative was left to the Housing Corporation (later to be Scottish Homes now Communities Scotland) in Scotland. In response to English published guidance for equal access and

good practice in 1982, Scottish housing associations began to develop a stand-alone code of practice in 1986 but this was rejected and instead incorporated into ongoing reviews on housing management practice. Sim (1991:40) asserts that this is reflective of the long-standing notion that there is 'no problem' in Scotland.

Access and Allocation

The geographical scope that major housing associations have had in terms of potential to target minority ethnic groups is significant; however, the measure of opportunity and actual successful outcomes is severely imbalanced to the detriment of minority ethnic applicants. Previous studies on this sector in the 1980s and 1990s have elicited examples of institutional discrimination in housing associations spanning from actual allocations criteria, lack of awareness and knowledge, waiting list exclusion policies, and waiting times to local connection points (Mac Ewen *et al* 1994). Glasgow-specific research has uncovered specific areas of bad practice with regard to access: for example, eligibility criteria disadvantaged home owners, which is significant as 7 out of 10 of the minority ethnic residents in Glasgow's inner city areas at the time of this study were home owners, this has decreased since then to around 6 out of 10. Furthermore, many were in need of re-housing due to the state of disrepair of their homes and problems of overcrowding; evidence suggests that this is still true (Littlewood and Kearns, 1998; Kearns, 2002). Also, advertising and marketing were found to be inefficient and exclusionary often being informal and by word of mouth. This compounded with discretionary allocations based on local connection points rather than need limited the chances of minority ethnic households becoming tenants (Dalton and Daghlian, 1989; MacEwen *et al*, 1994; Bowes *at al*, 1990b). A further study conducted for Scottish Homes in 1994 found that minority ethnic interviewees perceived access to housing associations to be restricted, which may have an effect on confidence in even making an application. Further criticism has been made of housing associations with respect to special needs, as many such applicants have experienced multi-faceted discrimination on grounds of ethnicity and special requirements (Scottish Office, 1991). Subsequently, the law changed to take such issues into account with the Housing (Scotland) Act, 2001 that promotes equality of opportunity based on need, stipulating that landlords must ensure they take into account the 'needs and circumstances of all relevant groups, including, for example, information for

disabled people on the availability of suitable houses and adaptations' (Scottish Executive, 2002b:4). It was also amended that local authorities and RSL's give reasonable preference in housing allocations to those living in below tolerable conditions, occupying overcrowded houses or have large families.

The Glasgow Housing Association

The Glasgow Housing Association (GHA) is now the largest social landlord in Glasgow as a consequence of the stock transfer of council housing. Management of the stock is planned to be devolved to 78 Local Housing Organisations (LHOs) each of whom are responsible for race relations and equal opportunities in their representative areas (Binns, 2002). The GHA has developed an Equality Action Plan that has a built in capacity to take whatever action is necessary to guarantee equal access and equal treatment. Precisely how this is working in implementation remains to be seen as little recent research has been conducted and only time will tell in terms of the effect of the housing associations new capacity. The LHOs are obliged to adopt the same equal opportunities policy. Members and managers are obliged to undergo a training programme in order to implement this. A 'BME' Tenant Participation group has been established with the aim of recruiting minority ethnic representatives. Glasgow's Local Housing Strategy, 2002 (Binns, 2002) stipulates that all LHOs should ensure that all tenants are treated equally and that there is access to all ethnic groups, regardless of the presence of minority ethnic households in their respective areas. The principal reason being that until minority ethnic groups are assured that they can be secure outside of core settlement areas then they, 'will not gain equal access to improved housing in many parts of the city' (2000:13). Binns outlines recent proposals made in a Local Housing Strategy Options Appraisal Seminar (October 2002) which was aimed at specifically improving services for minority ethnic households in Glasgow. He lists the four main strategies for inclusion in the Local Housing Strategy:

- All agencies, which own or manage social rented housing should ensure that all staff undertake racial awareness training as part of their Equality Action Plan;

- City-wide social landlords should set appropriate targets for each area of the city to increase BME residence;
- BME- targeted budgets should be ring fenced within development funding programmes, and;
- Glasgow City Council should support the establishment of a BME- led housing association, to act either as a landlord, a service provider for other social landlords, or in both capacities.

Other proposals subsequent to the four listed above and deemed most important included positive action to increase minority ethnic employment in public agencies, the development of an outreach team to recruit management committee members and a drive to ‘equality proof’ allocation offers to ensure that minority groups are made offers in appropriate areas or that they are not penalised for refusing offers in areas that they consider lacking in security (Binns, 2002).

The Local Housing Strategy also asserts that the urgency for the GHA to make its services accessible to minority ethnic households is greater considering there are more minority ethnic households applying than to council housing and due to the breadth of stock transfer. Scott (1999) undertook a study evaluating the performance of housing associations in terms of race equality and found that those associations that had undertaken some form of ethnic monitoring had a rise in the number of minority ethnic tenancies (despite increasing in absolute terms there had been a fall in percentage terms due to stock transfer). Scott also reported, however, that minority ethnic representation on management committees had diminished.

Owner Occupation

The vast majority of the minority ethnic population is represented in the owner occupied sector. However, evidence from both England and Scotland indicates that minority ethnic buyers find the process of becoming and remaining an owner occupier extremely challenging. These challenges primarily relate to: racial discrimination by gate-keepers; limited financial capacity; limited awareness of different types of housing; multiple deprivation; frequency of mortgage arrears; limited mobility; and both indirect and direct discrimination.

Tenure structures between ethnic groups in Glasgow are contrasting, as previously mentioned; with almost 70% of the South Asian population are living in owner occupied housing compared with 56% of the white population. The literature provides overwhelming evidence to suggest that minority ethnic groups in Glasgow show a preferential orientation toward owner occupation (Wainwright *et al* 1994; Bowes *et al* 1997b). Bowes *et al* (1990b) reported that 70% of minority ethnic respondents from their survey sample preferred to own their own home. A more recent study conducted by MORI (2000) reports that this is the case due to the security it is perceived to afford. Pawson *et al* (1996) found the same preference in research they conducted in Leith (Edinburgh).

Adding another dimension Bowes *et al* (1997b) argue that, in line with a large body of literature south of the border, despite a preference for owner occupancy, choice for individuals from a minority ethnic background is substantially constrained. They argue that the preference to live in owner occupied housing may be reflective of the limitations associated with gaining access to housing in the social rented sector. Research undertaken by Third *et al* (1997a) indicates that a substantial proportion of minority ethnic respondents (33%) were forced into owner occupation despite preferring an alternative. More than twice as many minority ethnic owners in the sample as white respondents say that they had 'not very much' or 'no choice at all'. Thus in some sense it is asserted that the shortcomings of the Scottish social rented sector has led to the attraction of owner occupancy as the only viable tenure for many minority ethnic households. In the same vein, research conducted for Scottish Homes (MORI, 2000) negates any correlations that may be assumed to exist between the over-representation of minority ethnic groups in the owner occupied sector and high household income. Like others the research also concludes that any move into owner occupied housing is done so without full knowledge of other alternatives. As a result they conclude that many households are trapped in owner occupancy when social renting may have proved more advantageous.

Indeed, evidence from prior research suggests that the experience of owner occupancy for many is an arduous one. Kearns (2002) found that the incidence of problems such

as over-crowding, affordability and lack of amenities is significant amongst the minority ethnic population in inner city Glasgow. Third *et al* (1997a) found that one in three respondents from their survey sample, owning their own homes in Glasgow, lived in over crowded conditions compared to one in fourteen in the white sample. Minority ethnic homeowners are more likely to live in homes below the tolerable living standard in terms of disrepair and lack of amenities (MacEwen *et al*, 1994; Kearns, 2002). Kearns (2002) notes also that BTS housing is used as 'long-term family accommodation' whereas people from the ethnic or white majority use it on a short-term basis only. High proportions of minority ethnic households have difficulties in both arranging mortgages and in the upkeep of their payments leading to mortgage arrears (Kearns, 2002). Thus the extent to which owner occupation benefits minority ethnic households can therefore be rendered questionable. Despite this, the key findings from the Scottish Homes survey contradict their earlier discussion of these issues as the consensus of the respondents was that owner occupancy was their tenure preference (MORI, 2000).

Housing Purchase and Finance

Research conducted in Scotland by Third *et al* (1997a) found that more households from the minority ethnic population than other groups lived in the immediate locality prior to purchasing the house that they now lived in. This could either be demonstrative of financial limitations and the need to stay in the inner city area where housing is cheaper therefore not a desired end, or of the desire to live in a cluster with other members of the ethnic group in close proximity. Third *et al* (1997a) conclude that movement into owner occupation is done so within a system of structural constraints. Constraints in this instance were not only limited to lack of alternatives to owner occupancy but included the limitations and difficulties experienced by minority ethnic groups in accessing owner occupancy.

There is substantial evidence in the Scottish literature of direct and indirect discrimination within financial bodies. Bowes *et al* (1997a) maintain that particular areas, often those that are cheaper with poor quality housing, are red-lined by mortgage lenders. Conducive to these difficulties Third *et al* (1997a) reported

increased difficulties amongst minority ethnic groups in arranging mortgages, exacerbated by the fact that they are more likely than the white population to be self-employed. Earlier research by Wainwright *et al* (1994) established a significant correlation between housing experience and employment, emphasising the limitations that economic and employment factors placed upon housing situations and choices (Third *et al*, 1997b). They found that self-employed minority ethnic households were struggling as many had invested the majority and sometimes all of their available assets into their business leaving them with a meagre income. Those who managed to gain access to home ownership were often unable to sustain their home after purchase.

Scottish research has uncovered evidence of a minority ethnic housing sub-market within the South Asian community (23% of South Asian owners and only 2% of white owners bought their home from a South Asian vendor). Third *et al* (1997a) also reported that minority ethnic house buyers were more likely than members of the white population to have known the person from whom they bought their house attributed to informal local networks. A further study of Pakistani tenure preferences in Glasgow conducted by Bowes *et al* (1997b) reported that formal methods of searching for housing were much less likely to be used rather personal contacts and word of mouth constituted the most common way of finding a house, as mentioned previously in the same locality. Furthermore, the authors assert this an example of agency on the part of the Pakistani sample in overcoming lack of access to formal networks and institutions. In a similar vein, Dalton and Hampton (1996) found evidence of community workers who were acting as intermediaries between minority ethnic groups and the social rented sector to overcome the barriers of lack of trust of official networks and lack of translated information. This is a role with potential for expansion to enhance minority ethnic access to formal networks in house buying. Third *et al* (1997a) also reported that a greater proportion of the white population found it easier than the minority ethnic population to find suitable housing that was affordable. Overwhelmingly the aforementioned research reveals owner occupancy as leading many minority ethnic households into greater disadvantage (MORI, 2000).

Scottish research in this area lacks a focus upon the experiences of different occupational classes. Research undertaken by Fenton (1977) in Manchester of a small

group of South Asian households who suburbanised in the late 1970's elicits differential experiences to those often characterised by constraints. The household characteristics of the minority ethnic households, including income, were similar to those of the white population in the area. The respondents bought their homes using estate agents and newspapers and financed them using loans from building societies paying only a small deposit. Fenton (1977) concluded that, excepting the significance of the increased prices South Asians paid for equivalent housing, there were few differences between the two populations. This may have been an early indication of the growing class differentiation within minority ethnic groups.

Housing Need, Preference and Location

Recent research seeking to uncover minority ethnic housing need and preference has overwhelmingly uncovered that propensity to move, self-assessed housing need and household preference is determined by a fine balance between space and location (Dalton and Hampton, 1996; Bowes *et al*, 1997b; Sarre *et al*, 1989). The need for both large and reasonably priced accommodation has emerged frequently in past research. Studies conducted in Scotland have related the importance of space not only to the traditionally bigger household size and the subsequent tendency for minority ethnic households to be over-crowded but also with the need in Muslim households for separate facilities for men and women (Bowes *et al*, 1997b). Dalton and Hampton (1996) noted the importance of having a private kitchen so as to provide space in which women could socialise whilst men socialised in the main reception room.

Bowes *et al* (1997b), reiterating Sarre *et al's* (1989) earlier work, established the presence of a trade off between a particular home and a particular area. In most instances areas that were perceived as being unsafe were avoided even if the highest quality and most desirable homes were located there. Wainwright *et al* (1994) conducted research that highlighted the correlation between neighbourhood problems and racism in Scotland, and thus a high premium was placed upon safe residential areas for minority ethnic households. Areas that were perceived to be safe, in the same study, tended to be those with a prevalence of other minority ethnic households. Despite the prevalence of close proximity to family and friends informing residential

preference, a survey for Scottish Homes (MORI, 2000) reported a higher importance being placed upon proximity to community facilities. Contrary to this Third *et al* (1997a) reported a preference among 23% of their South Asian sample to live independently from their family. These findings can be compared to a recent study by Phillips *et al* (2003) conducted in Bradford and Leeds which found the younger generation and a number of female respondents felt constrained by the close-knit nature of the ethnic community in the core. Slightly less than a fifth of respondents thought that a preference to live out with the core community locale would be informed by the desire for increased privacy and independence. Some respondents also noted that this could only be achieved after intense negotiations with their family and others maintained that they could not move due to cultural obligations despite a preference to do so (Phillips *et al*, 2003). Thus in conjunction with the traditional descriptions of constraints, cultural constraints are coming to the fore in constraining residential preference in the opposite direction.

Littlewood and Kearns (1998) found that although levels of neighbourhood dissatisfaction were higher among white groups the margin was very narrow. In contrast, however, more minority ethnic households than white households said they had a desire or need to move home, yet less had undertaken any course of action to do so. Neighbourhood dissatisfaction (classified as a need in the survey) was the need that was associated with the most significant level of desired mobility. Kearns (2002:259) contends, albeit with a cautionary note against any over assertion of the importance of the core neighbourhood in the light of increased mobility, that this 'indicates how important the neighbourhood context is for residential satisfaction among ethnic minorities'. Three earlier studies (Bowes *et al*, 1989; Wainwright *et al* 1994; Third *et al* 1997a) indicate that the neighbourhood was more significant as a determinant of housing choice and satisfaction for minority ethnic households than white households. Bowes *et al* (1989) also reported that neighbourhood satisfaction was related to 'good neighbours' and 'unfriendly neighbours' as being the most significant determinant of locational preference. This point is of interest as earlier we discussed the case of Pakistani and Indian households residing in Garnethill, although a high dependence on neighbouring households and the local social network was noted so too was a pronounced desire to move from the neighbourhood to the South

Side of Glasgow or to more affluent suburbs (Berce-Bathko, 2001) . This calls into question the previous long-standing models of residential satisfaction; Kasarda and Janowitz's (1974) model contended that residential satisfaction is dependent upon social networks, social interaction and close proximity to relatives, which they link to length of residence. It appears that one may need to separate the neighbourhood from the neighbours in any future analysis of neighbourhood satisfaction in order to ascertain the impact of environmental and structural factors and individual determinants.

It is not clear from past research in Scotland to what degree the neighbourhood context in which minority ethnic people desire to live and subsequent neighbourhood satisfaction is dependent on the residential environment, neighbourhood attributes, socio-economic and class factors, presence of other ethnic minorities or other background variables. Residential satisfaction may be met by the presence of other minority ethnic groups so long as there was an absence of harassment as suggested by several studies. If the association of neighbourhood dissatisfaction and a high desire to move is indicative of the importance of the neighbourhood for residential satisfaction then this calls into question the desire for cultural clustering as for those in areas of core settlement the desire to move may be a move toward dispersal, this is unclear and merits future research.

Scottish studies concerned with housing aspiration have been few, although a survey by MORI (2000) for Scottish Homes revealed the foremost desire among minority ethnic respondents was for a large home (preferably more than four bedrooms). The house type that was considered most desirable was detached houses followed by tenement flats. Future housing aspirations also included a desire to remain in the owner occupied sector (MORI, 2000). Respondents also indicated aspirations to own a home on the outskirts of the city, and maintained that acquiring a larger house with a garden would act as an impetus to move. Three quarters of the respondents intended purchasing their next property through a mortgage lender. These factors combined with aspirations to move to the outskirts of the city may indicate an increase in purchasing power, which could possibly be linked to economic achievements in the labour market or a better negotiation position than in the past.

In terms of preferred areas for potential relocation in Glasgow, those mentioned by respondents were Bearsden, Giffnock, Newton Mearns, Bishopbriggs and Milngavie; these areas are middle class, predominantly owner occupied, suburbs. Other suburbs of the city were mentioned albeit less frequently: Jordanhill, Newlands, Anniesland and Kelvindale. The main constraints mentioned in realising these aspirations were financial and the fear of stereotypes. These findings are similar to those of several studies in England, which have correlated occupational advancement and changing settlement patterns (Ratcliffe, 1996; Phillips, 1998). Alongside this Phillips *et al* (2003) also reported that a larger portion of the economically successful minority ethnic than white households remain in the inner core areas due to fear of harassment, family obligation or cultural ties. Due to absence of research it is not possible to make inferences about the Scottish situation. Nonetheless, these aspirations are significant as they indicate the emergence of a preference among some of Glasgow's minority ethnic community to move out of the inner city to the suburbs.

There were considerable differences in housing aspirations by age in the Mori survey. Middle aged and elderly respondents were more likely to express a preference to remain in the core inner city areas of settlements to be close to amenities, due to the presence of a social network and for reasons of security. Alternatively those respondents aged between 25 and 30 were more likely to want to move out of the inner core settlement areas and were comfortable with living in 'mixed' areas (Mori, 2000). Different housing aspirations within the minority ethnic community are not surprising but significant in terms of their future spatial distribution and the characteristics of the population remaining in the inner city.

Conclusion

The Scottish literature paints a picture of an expanding and generally young minority ethnic population. There remain particular gaps in the Scottish literature. These include a lack of research on the housing careers, preferences and future aspirations of minority ethnic groups, the factors and motivations influencing residential choice and mobility. Similarly there has been little research into the actual process of ethnic

clustering and neighbourhood attachment in these areas. Rather, the main body of literature has tended to focus on issues of tenure and housing condition.

There are other gaps in the knowledge base primarily relating to explanations for housing tenure and the role of the neighbourhood that we do not know or understand from the existing research. Regarding the issue of tenure, we do not know why there has been a rise in private renting among the minority ethnic population and whether this is due to rising prices in the owner occupied sector, rising standards in the private rented sector or changing preferences among younger households. It is also unclear as to why there has been no expansion in social renting and whether previous constraints still apply. Or, indeed, if there is increasing interest in this sector now that the stock is being transferred from the council to GHA. There are also questions left unanswered regarding the attraction of owner occupancy for minority ethnic groups, if it is for the same reasons as for whites (financial security, freedom, etc.) or due to security in other terms, such as avoidance of harassment and threats to safety in other locations; and due to continued deficiencies in the social rented sector. In terms of explaining the role of the neighbourhood in shaping residential choices there is lack of clarity on how several factors mentioned in past research fit together. Is the neighbourhood a form of defence against harassment, prejudice and stereotypes? Are local moves within the neighbourhood due to the informal mechanisms involved in house purchase, related to the core community, or due to house price constraints? And furthermore is the neighbourhood particularly important for the above reasons or for reasons of wanting good neighbours (more than other returns from the neighbourhood such as status, investment returns, etc.).

6. South Asian Settlement in Glasgow: Changing Patterns of Residence

Introduction

Any comprehensive attempt to understand the residential preferences of minority ethnic groups must begin by defining actual residential locations and geographies and by identifying changes which these have undergone in recent years. The last chapter highlighted the gap in the Scottish literature regarding minority ethnic residential settlement, housing choices and preferences and set the scene by providing a summary of the housing experiences of minority ethnic households first with a brief overview at the national level then more in-depth at the city level. Evidence of localised settlement patterns and the question of whether they are changing have not been studied over the past 10-15 years in Glasgow; this chapter tries to address the gap in literature by analysing patterns of location and trends across the city region over the census period from 1991 to 2001. Other primary aims of this chapter are, first, to explore the extent to which South Asian households are relocating to or establishing themselves in the suburbs, which will lead us to discussions on the significance of and motivations behind residential dispersal in later chapters, second, to analyse how population shifts in the suburbs compare to changes within the core and within areas adjacent to the core; this will enable issues surrounding the continued attraction of the core and its neighbouring vicinities to be considered together with issues of constraint in terms of housing mobility. The area of study used in this analysis, as outlined fully in Chapter 4, is Greater Glasgow, i.e. Glasgow City and its surrounding districts, which encompasses the suburbs. After identifying changes in the ethnic geography this chapter will focus in at a smaller scale to look at neighbourhoods chosen as case studies in which qualitative research will be carried out with individual households. Thus in the previous chapter and the current one we have moved from Scotland to Greater Glasgow to the neighbourhood level.

The chapter is structured as follows. The first section draws attention to the traditional core areas of ethnic settlement, considers their geographical location in the city and details changes in these ethnic clusters over the decennial census period from 1991.

Section two concentrates on evidence of the wider dispersal and suburbanisation of the South Asian population across the study area. Section three explores settlement patterns at a smaller scale, at output area level, within the areas of greatest change and those areas that have the largest South Asian populations. In section four indices of dissimilarity, segregation and exposure are computed for each of the ethnic groups that make up the South Asian category. Section five in light of the census analysis outlines and provides a rationale for the case study areas.

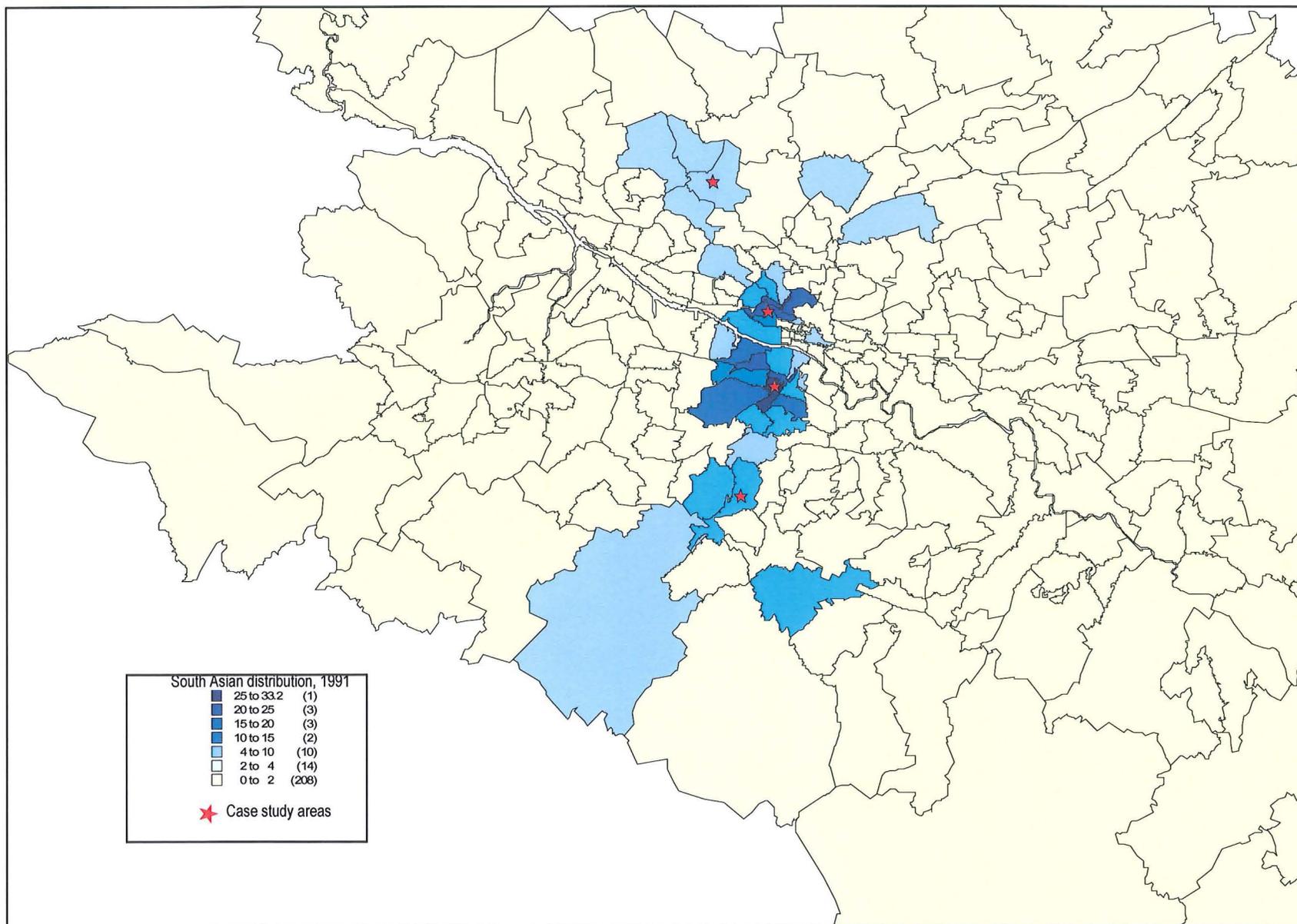
Clustering in the Inner City: Localised Change

South Asian groups in British cities have traditionally been found in inner-city clusters. A primary concern of this study is based on enhancing our understanding of processes of neighbourhood attachment to traditional areas of core settlement thus the main aim of the ensuing section is to detail the ethnic geography of Greater Glasgow and specifically document changes in these areas of core settlement in Glasgow's inner city, the representation of these areas in past literature was documented in the previous chapter. A second feature of this section focuses on population changes in areas adjacent to the area of core settlement that may indicate overspill from the core or localised patterns of dispersal, both issues that will be discussed later. Before commenting on any changes over the census period the 1991 geography will be detailed.

South Asian Distribution 1991

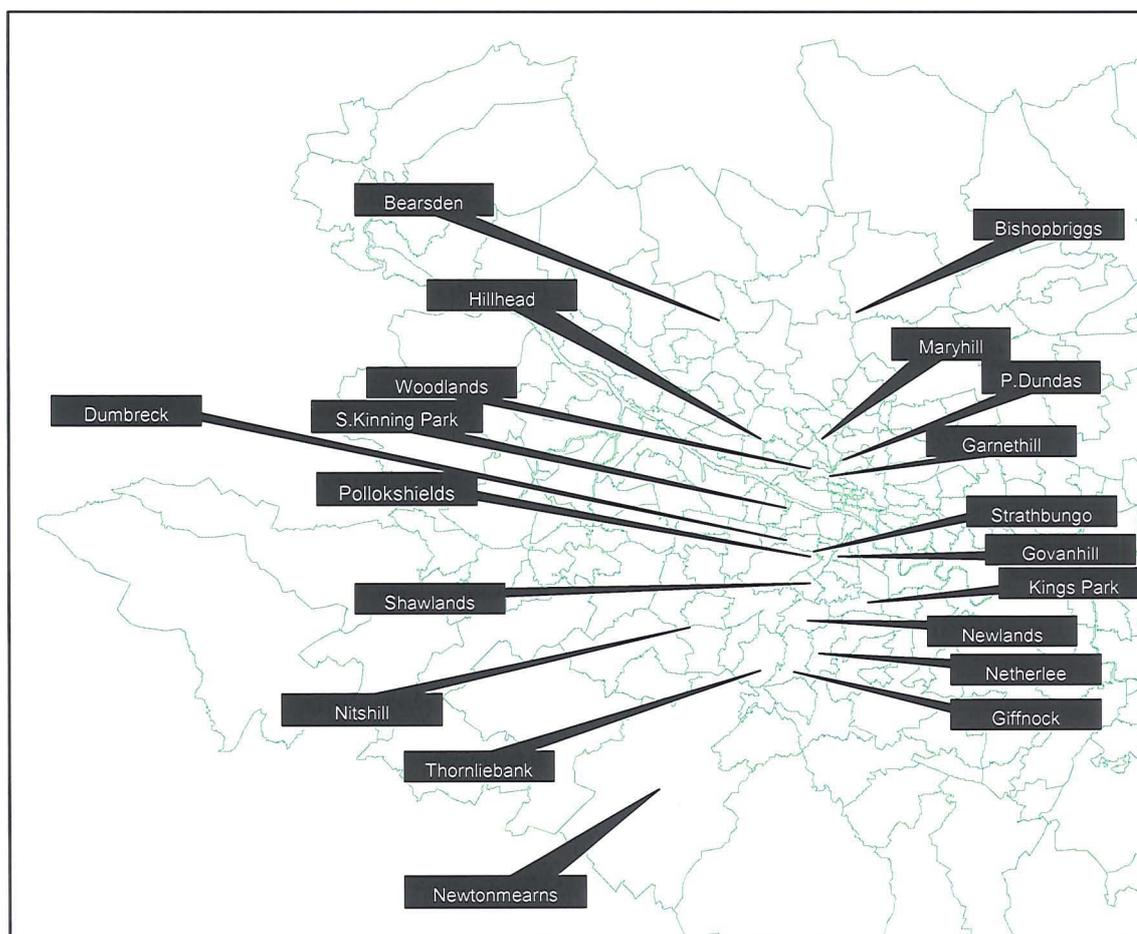
In 1991 the ethnic geography of Greater Glasgow (the study area), as seen in Figure 6.1, mirrors the pattern of that previously described in the literature presented in the previous chapter, spanning from the West of the city, broken by the River Clyde, through the inner city areas to the South of the city. Here focusing on the South Asian population, we see it to be predominantly centred in the areas surrounding the inner city to the West and the South of the city whilst also expanding to the neighbouring suburbs.

Figure 6.1 Distribution of South Asian population (percentage of total postcode sector population), 1991



The core settlement areas identified both from the literature and by their community infrastructures, which include numerous religious and cultural facilities, are easily located on the map as the areas with the highest proportion of South Asians of the total population. There are two main clusters of South Asian groups one on the South side of the River Clyde, in the area of Strathbungo and Pollokshields and one directly north in the West End of the city Woodlands, albeit the proportion of South Asians never exceeds 33% of an area's total population.

Figure 6.2 Glasgow Neighbourhoods



The area, in 1991, with the highest percentage of South Asians is the Strathbungo/Pollokshields area to the South of the river, representing slightly over 33% of the total population (predominantly Pakistani). The area with the second largest South Asian percentage of the total population, 24%, is the postcode sector east of Pollokshields and Strathbungo, Crosshill. Similarly the other postcode sectors neighbouring this area have between 5 and 15% of their populations comprised of South Asian groups.

To the north of the River Clyde in the West of the city the area with the largest south Asian population, 22%, is the postcode sector of G3 6 which is comprised of the areas of Woodlands and Garnethill. The main South Asian community infrastructure here is established in Woodlands rather than in Garnethill, and is the only area with a wide range of cultural facilities for Pakistani and Indian groups north of the river. Adjacent to Woodlands is Port Dundas with a similar absolute number and proportion of its population being comprised of South Asian groups, 20%. As with Pollokshields and Strathbungo in the South, several of the postcode sectors neighbouring Woodlands have between 5% and 20% of their populations comprised of South Asian groups namely the university area of Hillhead and Maryhill.

Outside both of the aforementioned areas, despite evidence of a small scale dispersal to the suburbs, especially to the suburbs of Bearsden and Milngavie in the West and the suburbs of Newlands, Giffnock and Newton Mearns to the South, no other areas have more than 5% of their populations comprised of South Asians, revealing this population, in 1991, to have been overwhelmingly resident in inner-city locales.

South Asian distribution 2001

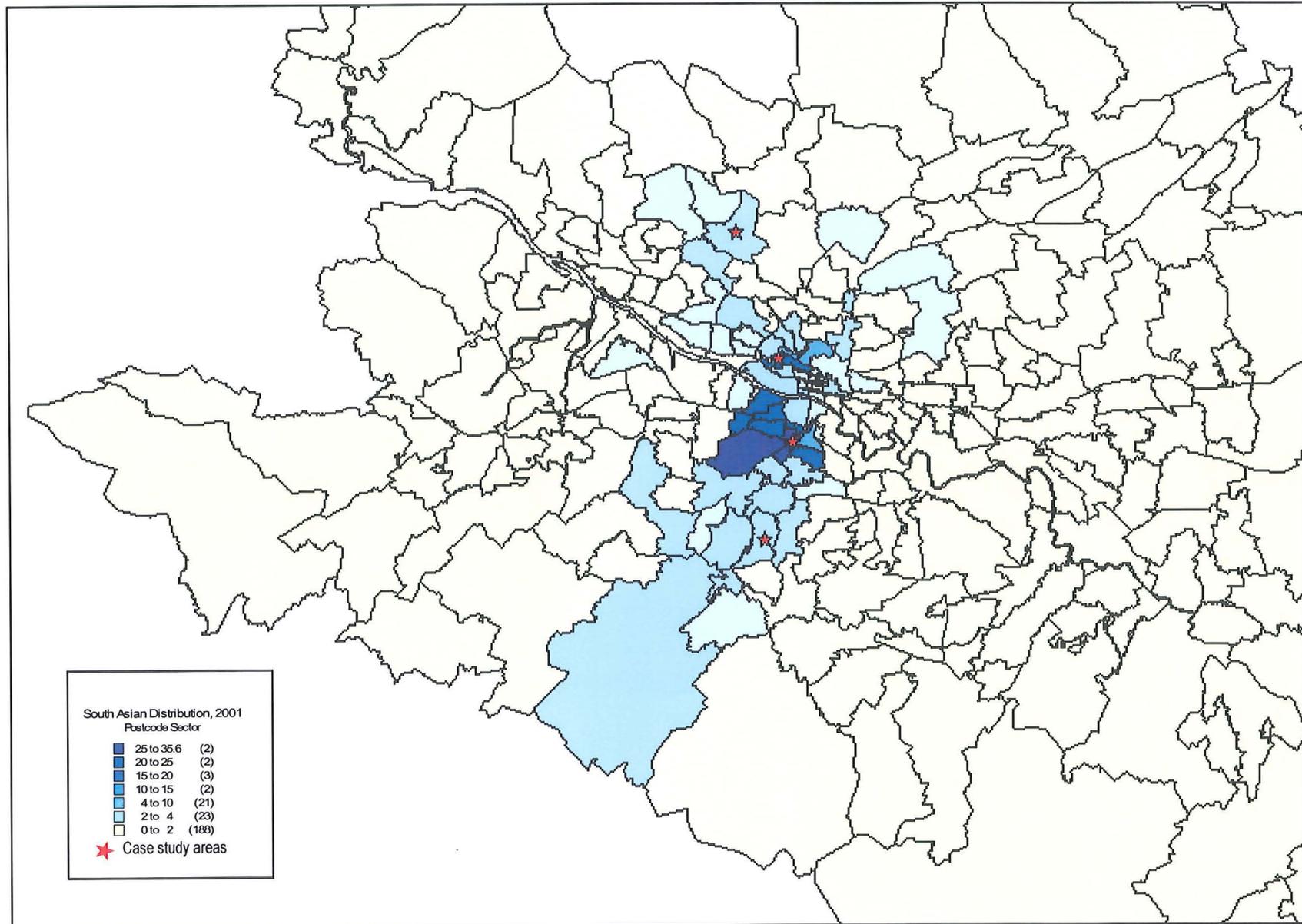
The 2001 census however revealed some interesting localised changes. The areas of core settlement that are often characterised as being static and concentrated are shown to be more dynamic than they traditionally may have been assumed to be, as we can see notable changes on a local level in each of the core settlement areas and in the areas adjacent to them. Additionally, when the South Asian group is further differentiated we see interesting patterns of population shifts.

As is evident from a comparison of Figures 6.1 and 6.3 the areas that had the highest proportion of their overall population comprised of South Asian groups in 1991 remained mostly similar. However, some interesting changes can be seen across not only the whole study area which will be discussed in depth later but also within the main ethnic clusters to the west and south of the city.

The core settlement area of Strathbungo remained the area in the city with the largest South Asian population in both absolute terms and as a proportion of the population, with a South Asian population in 2001 of almost 3,000 comprising almost 36% of the total postcode sectors population. However, the population growth over the study period was less than that of some of the surrounding localities at 300 persons, which represents a 2.5% growth in the South Asian proportion of the total population of the area. Thus, the area has remained stable rather than experiencing a large growth in its South Asian population. However, South Asian population changes are more apparent within the postcode sectors that are adjacent to and that border the Strathbungo area (See Figure 6.4). The area in the city with the largest proportional and absolute change in its population is Dumbreck where the South Asian population grew by almost 600 persons and by over 10% of the area's total population in the 1991 to 2001 census period. The total population here only grew by 50 persons, with the white population decreasing. Similarly in another adjacent postcode sector, Pollokshields East, the South Asian population grew as a proportion of the total population by over 9%. Other postcode sectors bordering Strathbungo like North Govanhill grew by 7%, whilst Crosshill grew by over 4.5% and Shawlands by almost 3%, as a proportion of the total population. Whilst the South Asian population grew in these areas in absolute numbers, the total population fell.

Interestingly, a very different picture is seen in the west of the city. Woodlands and Garnethill experienced a notable decline in the proportion of their population that is South Asian. The South Asian population only grew by 2 persons and with the overall population increasing by more than 1,000 persons the proportion of the total population that is South Asian decreased by 5%. Further change is revealed when the South Asian population is broken down into smaller ethnic categories, as the Indian population of this area decreased by 25%, suggesting that they have dispersed out of the area, whilst on the other hand the Pakistani population increased by 10% in absolute terms but this was only by 50 persons, overall the Pakistani population decreased by 2% as a proportion of the area's total population. This is a change that needs to be explored in more detail in the qualitative phase. A similar trend of population decline (Pakistani and Indian), can be noticed in the areas surrounding this traditional area of core settlement.

Figure 6.3 Distribution of South Asian population (percentage of total postcode sector population), 2001



Port Dundas, directly adjacent to Woodlands, an area whose South Asian population in 1991 was almost equal to that of Woodlands, experienced even greater population decrease over the study period, with its South Asian population falling by over 6% of the total population, in absolute terms by 200 persons whereas the total population grew by almost 1,000 persons. In Hillhead the South Asian population decreased by almost 3%, in Yorkhill by 2% and in Anderson by over 3%; each of these areas experienced absolute decreases in their South Asian populations in the context of an overall expanding total population.

Another interesting population change can be noted in the city centre. Previously, although resident in the inner-city, there was virtually no presence of South Asian groups in city centre areas. In 2001, however, there is a slight absolute increase in the numbers of South Asians resident in these areas. Interestingly, when the South Asian category is further differentiated it can be seen that it is all Indians represented in the city centre. Perhaps this is an area for future research that may touch upon the gentrification of particular areas in the city. Wider changes across the city's South Asian population can also be seen here as there has been a slight increase in numerous postcode sectors across the city, suggesting small scale dispersal to areas that previously had no South Asian population. The areas of growth to the north east of the core settlement area in the north are areas of social rented housing that have absorbed recent asylum seekers.

There are some interesting issues and patterns uncovered here that must be explored further. The reasons behind the population loss in the core area in the west of the city must be investigated as well as where the population has been resituated. There are also questions surrounding the growth in the core area and its surrounding areas south of the River Clyde as to whether this is in situ growth, overspill or new migrants from elsewhere in the city or from outside it.

Figure 6.4a Proportionate change in the South Asian population as a percentage of postcode sectors total population, 1991- 2001

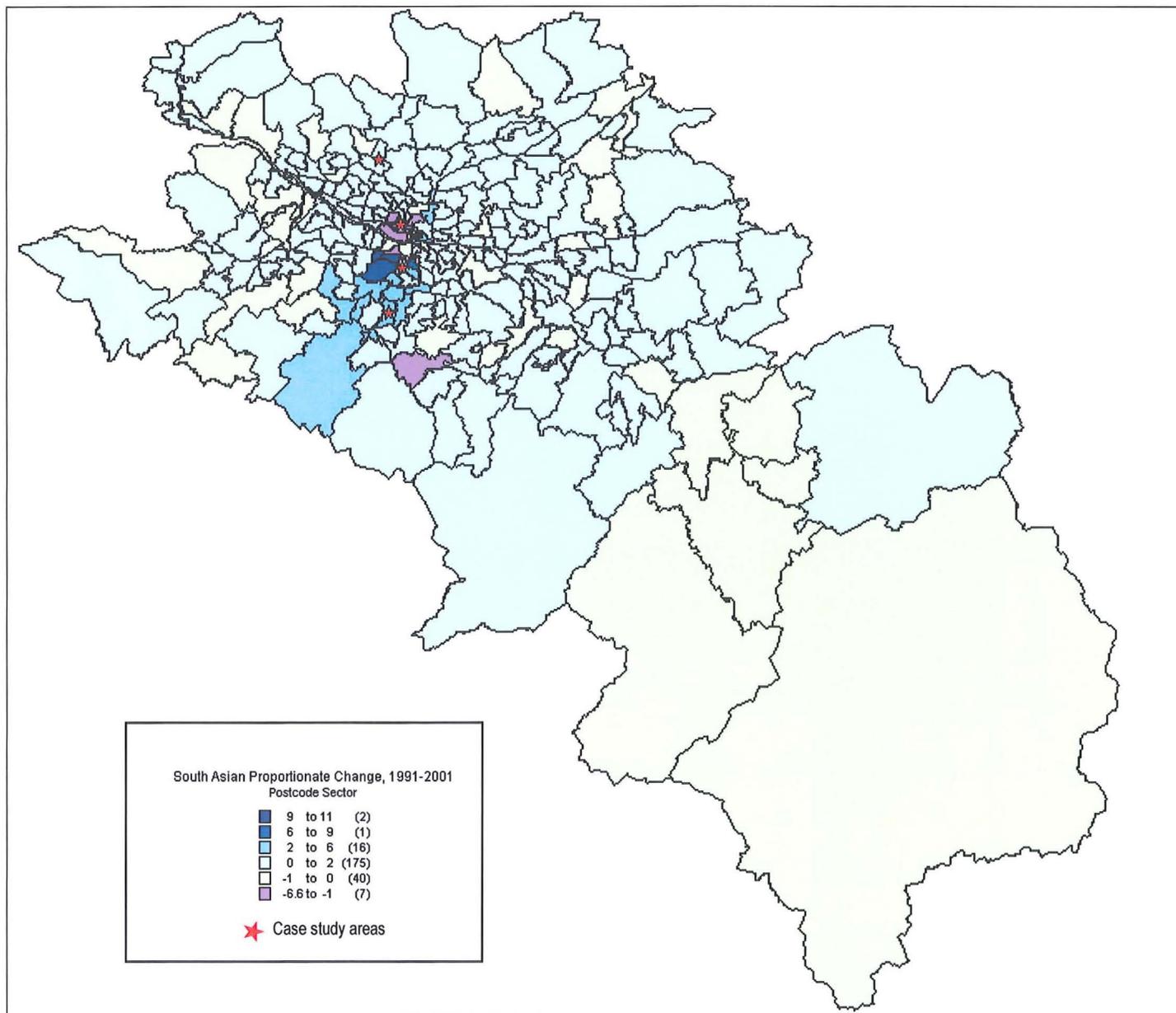
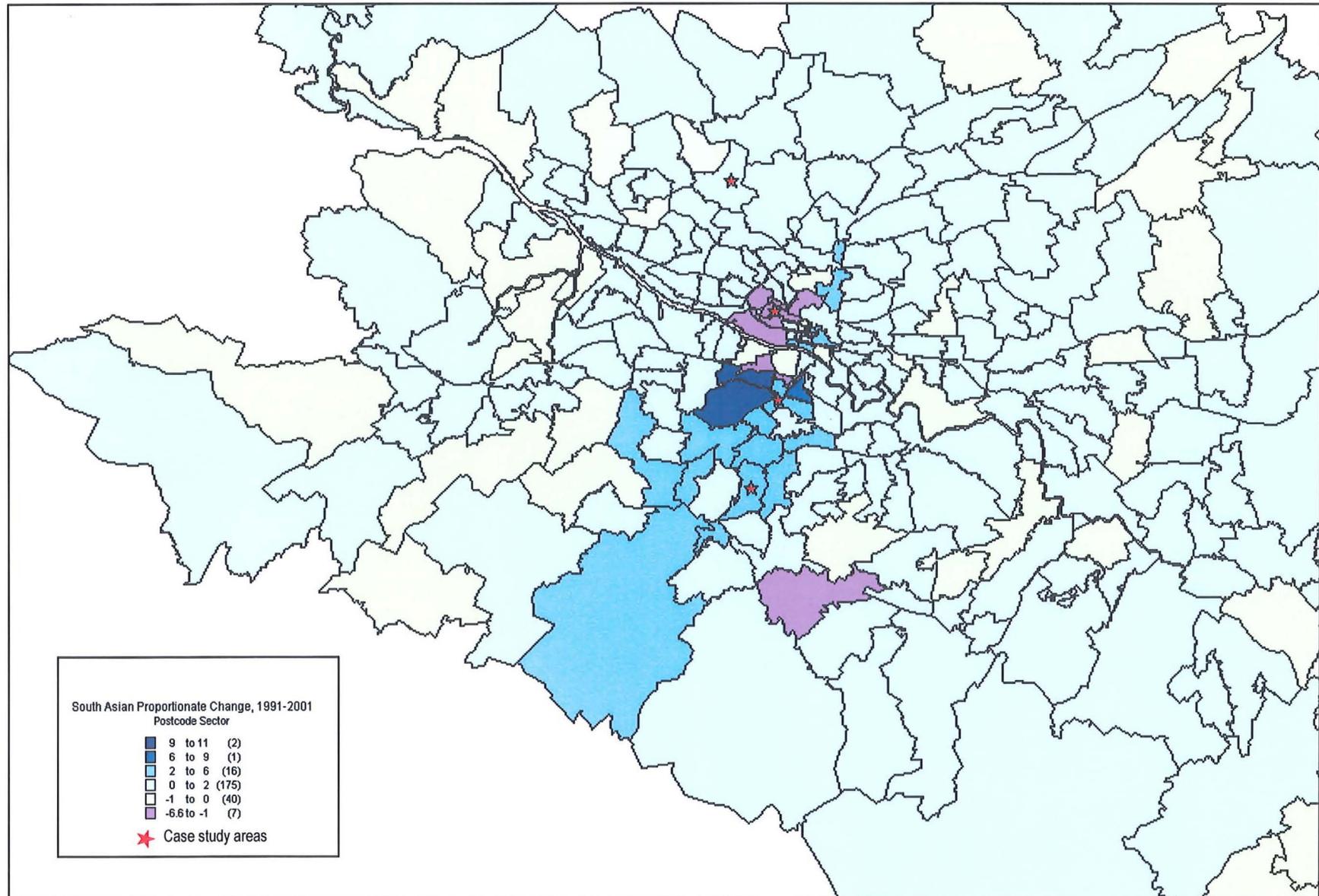


Figure 6.4b Proportionate change in South Asian population as a percentage of postcode sectors total population, 1991- 2001, (Close View)



Moving Out: Suburbanisation and New Locales

While the previous section looked at changes in the areas of core settlement this section considers evidence of suburbanisation and a wider dispersal across the city region of members of the South Asian population. As is evident from Figure 6.3 the South Asian population is slightly more dispersed throughout the study area in 2001 than it was in 1991; these changes represent a small proportion of the South Asian population but are significant none the less. We also see further growth in the majority of suburban areas that had South Asian populations in 1991 (See Figure 6.4a). Before, discussing changes in the ethnic geography over the study period, this section will begin by looking at the location of the South Asian population in 1991.

Suburban Settlement 1991

In 1991 the South Asian population could be seen to be represented in small numbers in a few of the suburbs of Glasgow. The suburbs in which South Asian households were resident in 1991 are clearly seen from Figure 6.1 to be those suburbs immediately adjacent (intermediate) to the core settlement area of Strathbungo/Pollokshields and just across the city boundary into East Renfrewshire in the South and in East Dunbartonshire to the West. Rather than there being evidence of longer distance relocations, moves, although representing some form of dispersal, were never too far away from the main ethnic clusters. The suburban areas with a notable South Asian population are those immediately adjacent to the ethnic core moving out of the city. Thus the trajectory of movement appears to be along the main transport routes out of the city that pass through the areas of core settlement.

The suburban areas with South Asian residents are primarily located in the local authority areas of East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire; this is unsurprising as both of these districts are the only non-city local authority areas that have a South Asian population above the national average. The suburban areas to the South of the city in East Renfrewshire (Giffnock, Netherlee, Thornliebank and Newlands), and indeed those to the south of Strathbungo/Pollokshields, had the largest South Asian proportion of their total populations in 1991. These suburban areas are in the main

clustered together moving due south from the core area in the South. The suburban area with the highest proportion of its population comprised of South Asians, in 1991, was Thornliebank, almost 5%. Similarly the neighbouring suburbs of Newlands, Newton Mearns, and Giffnock had South Asian populations that were comparable in size to that of Thornliebank.

North of the river Clyde, travelling west from the core settlement area of Woodlands, the South Asian population was distinctly located in the four postcode sectors that make up the area of Bearsden, with the South Asian populations of each of these areas comprising over 3% of the total population (over 2% of this was comprised of people identifying themselves as Indians). There were a similar proportion of South Asian households in the postcode sectors between the main thoroughfare from Woodlands to the suburbs of Bearsden. In 1991 South Asian groups were also living in the northern suburb of Bishopbriggs, numbering almost 3.5% of the total population; this was the only suburban area that was along a different transport route out of the city than from an area of core settlement.

Suburban Settlement 2001

In 2001 there was little growth in the suburbs to the West, north of the river and notable population increases in the South. At this point it is not possible to speculate if the decline in population in the core in the West of the city (Woodlands) was due to movement to the southern core area and adjacent postcode sectors or to the suburbs. The growth in the suburbs to the West of the city into East Dunbartonshire was slight, being the area one would have expected households from Woodlands to move to, leaving it likely that some moved to the southern core or possibly to the East Renfrewshire suburbs on the South of the city.

South of the river, East Renfrewshire like East Dunbartonshire has a minority ethnic population that exceeds the national figure. In the East Renfrewshire suburbs (Newton Mearns, Giffnock, Netherlee, Thornliebank and Newlands) there was significant overall growth in the South Asian population, from slightly over 1,700 to over 3,100, a rise of 82%. The Pakistani population grew by 94% and the Indian population grew by 60% over the 1991-2001 period. Despite what may seem to be a

large growth in these populations, their proportion of the total population is still very small, as the South Asian population comprises 3% of the total population of East Renfrewshire. The Bangladeshi population still numbers under 20 and the Other South Asian category, newly added in the 2001 census numbers 210.

The suburbs that experienced the largest increases in their South Asian population were those where South Asians had already lived in 1991, all located in East Renfrewshire – see Figure 6.4b. Newton Mearns, has both the largest absolute South Asian population and experienced the largest absolute growth, 6.4% of the population categorised themselves as South Asian and 24% of the district's South Asian population live in the area. Giffnock, neighbouring Newton Mearns, had the largest proportionate change in the South Asian population and has the second largest absolute South Asian population in the district; the South Asian population is 7.5% of the total postcode sectors population, and 21% of the district's South Asian population live there. As can be seen from Figure 6.3 the suburbs moving south from the core settlement area of Pollokshields and Strathbungo have South Asian populations of between 5 and 10% of their total populations and experienced over 2% growth in the proportion of South Asian residents of their total populations. Evident from the 2001 map is the establishment of South Asians in the areas surrounding these suburbs; although the populations are small they represent dispersal to wider areas.

Overall, in East Dunbartonshire, in the period between 1991 and 2001, there was little change in the South Asian population, in absolute terms the increase was small, being less than 400 persons for the entire local authority, leaving the population at 2,300. However in proportionate terms the population change looks slightly different with the South Asian population increasing by 24%; the Indian population increased by 24%, the Pakistani population by 29%; but the Bangladeshi population decreased, being very small to begin, this may also be indicative of an undercount. Overall in this local authority area there appears to be little differentiation between Indian and Pakistani groups as regards the areas they reside in. These population changes are within the context of the total population of the district decreasing by 1%.

The four postcode sectors that make up the suburb of Bearsden, to the North West of the city saw slight change in their populations (See Figure 6.4b). The largest absolute growth was in Bearsden West, the population here is still small numbering 301 including the 87 person increase in the aforementioned period. Proportionately however, the South Asian population comprises slightly over 3% of the total population of the suburb, which is substantially higher than the national average. The largest proportionate growth occurred in Bearsden East (Kessington) where the South Asian population grew by 1.5% as a proportion of the total population to 5% (the largest proportion of the population of any locality in the district); absolute growth however is small numbering just over 80 persons. Thus, although South Asian households are still moving to these suburbs they are doing so in small numbers. Bishopbriggs, mentioned earlier as being the only suburban area with a significant South Asian population along a different transport route out of the city, remained stable with no population increase.

Settlement Patterns by Ethnic Group

The separate patterns of population change of the Indian and Pakistani groups can be seen in Figures 6.5 – 6.10. The ‘Other South Asian’ category and the Bangladeshi category are not represented here as they represent a very small fraction of the total group of South Asians. As is evident from the Figures 6.5 – 6.7 the Pakistani population in both 1991 and 2001 are predominantly resident in two localities: the areas of core settlement to the north of the river in the West End, mainly in Woodlands and the areas adjacent to it but more so in the south in Strathbungo and the surrounding areas. In 1991, Pakistanis are not represented by any more than 1% of the total population in any Western suburban area, whereas there are clear signs of suburbanisation to the suburbs on the south of the city into East Renfrewshire. In 2001 these population spreads are replicated, with increasing suburbanisation to the southern suburbs and a greater dispersal into adjacent suburbs on either side of the main southern axis route; south of the southern core area. The neighbourhoods of East Darnley, Darnley and Nitshill that had few Pakistani residents in 1991 emerge as having a significant rise in their Pakistani populations in 2001. The areas with a Pakistani population are very much clustered along a straight route south out of the city. There may be several reasons for this; first the journey to the core along one

route out of the city is an uncomplicated one, using familiar transport routes and the same bus services. Similarly, access to services and family in the core is convenient.

The Indian population is less concentrated in just the areas of core settlement alone and indeed comprise no more than 5% of any postcode sector in the Greater Glasgow study area: they are much more widely dispersed than the Pakistani population who comprise up to 32% of a postcode sector's population. From the previous map we can see that the Indian population has grown in the postcode sectors to the east of the northern core; this is due to a small increase adding to the small population that lives in Glasgow's recently gentrified city centre. The Indian population being less concentrated in the areas of core settlement are more represented in the suburbs (and indeed wide areas throughout the whole study area) and their proportional representation in the suburbs of Bearsden equals their proportional representation in the areas of core settlement. The Indian population comprises a greater proportion of the population in Bearsden than it does in the suburbs to the south that have the largest South Asian populations. There was little growth in the Indian population during the census periods in the southern suburbs. In the majority, the South Asian populations in the suburbs to the south are comprised of Pakistanis, who are only represented in the northern suburb of Bearsden in small numbers. This highlights a differentiated pattern of suburban settlement according to ethnic group within the South Asian category. The areas in which the Indian population grew the most over the decennial period were interestingly Crosshill (an area directly adjacent to the main core area in the south) and the newly gentrified areas of the city centre, although here the absolute numbers are very small.

Figure 6.5 Distribution of the Pakistani population (Postcode Sector), 1991

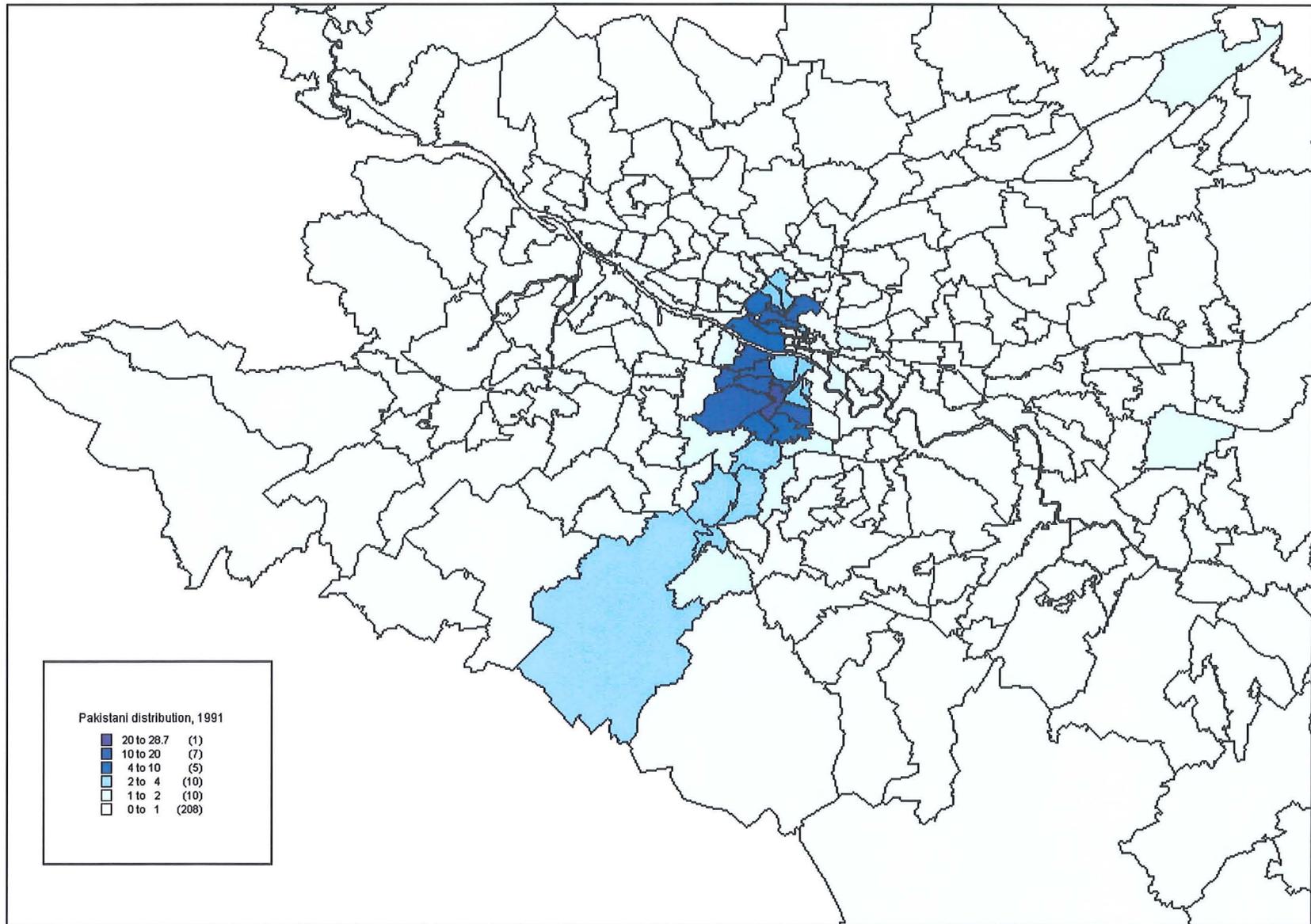


Figure 6.6 Distribution of the Pakistani Population (Postcode Sector), 2001

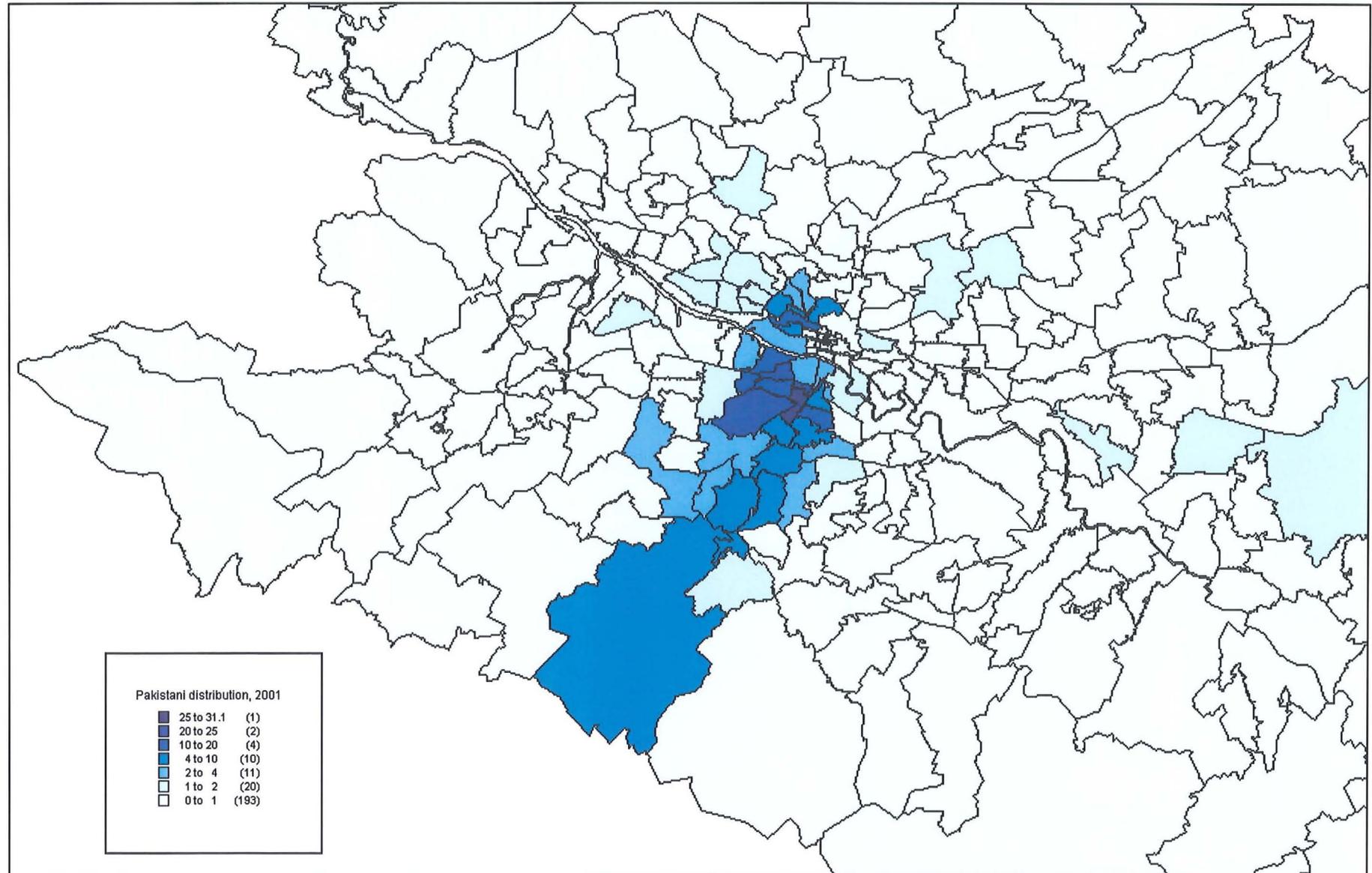


Figure 6.7 Change in distribution of the Pakistani population as percentage of Postcode Sector, 1991-2001

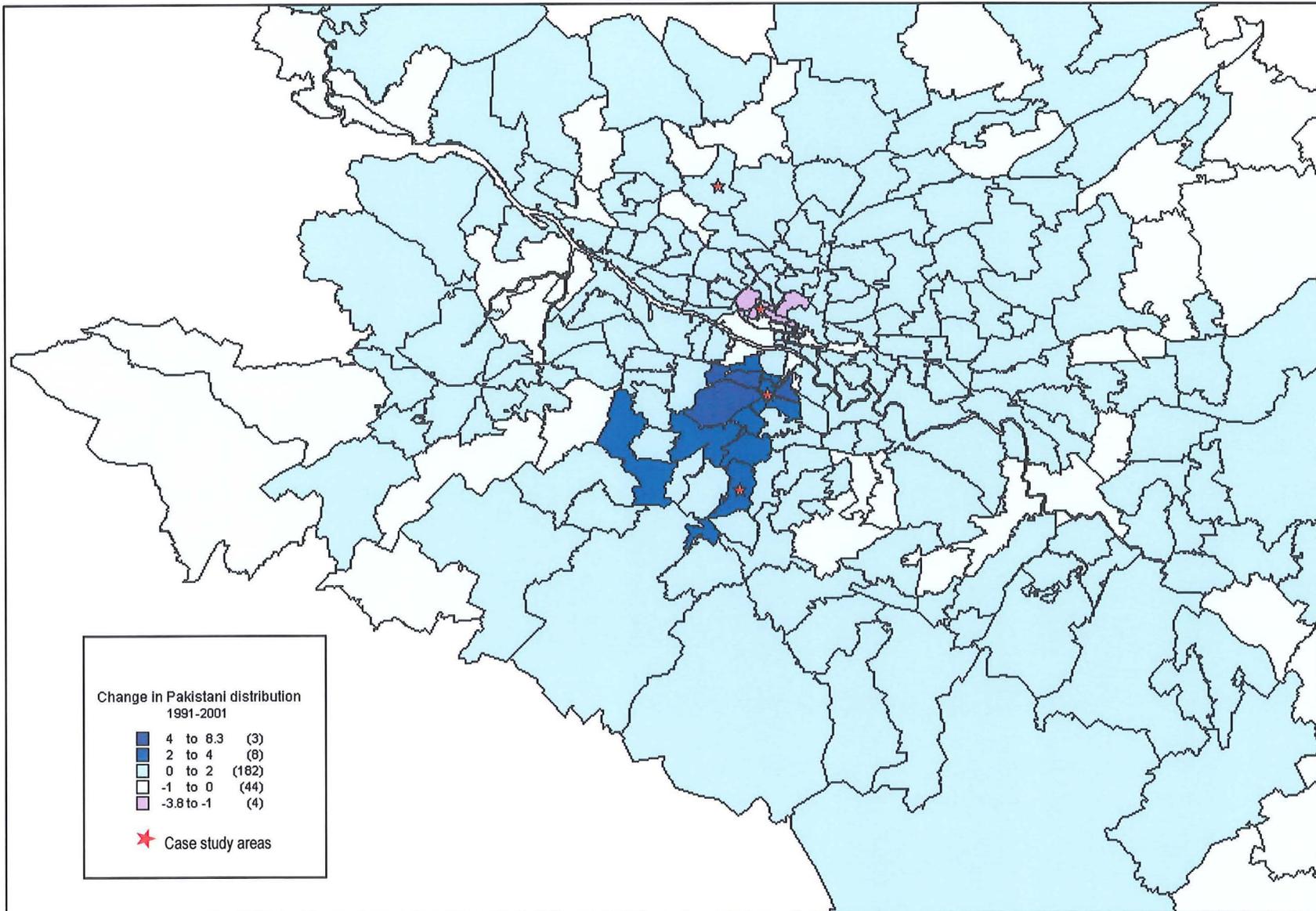


Figure 6.8 Distribution of the Indian population (Postcode Sector), 1991

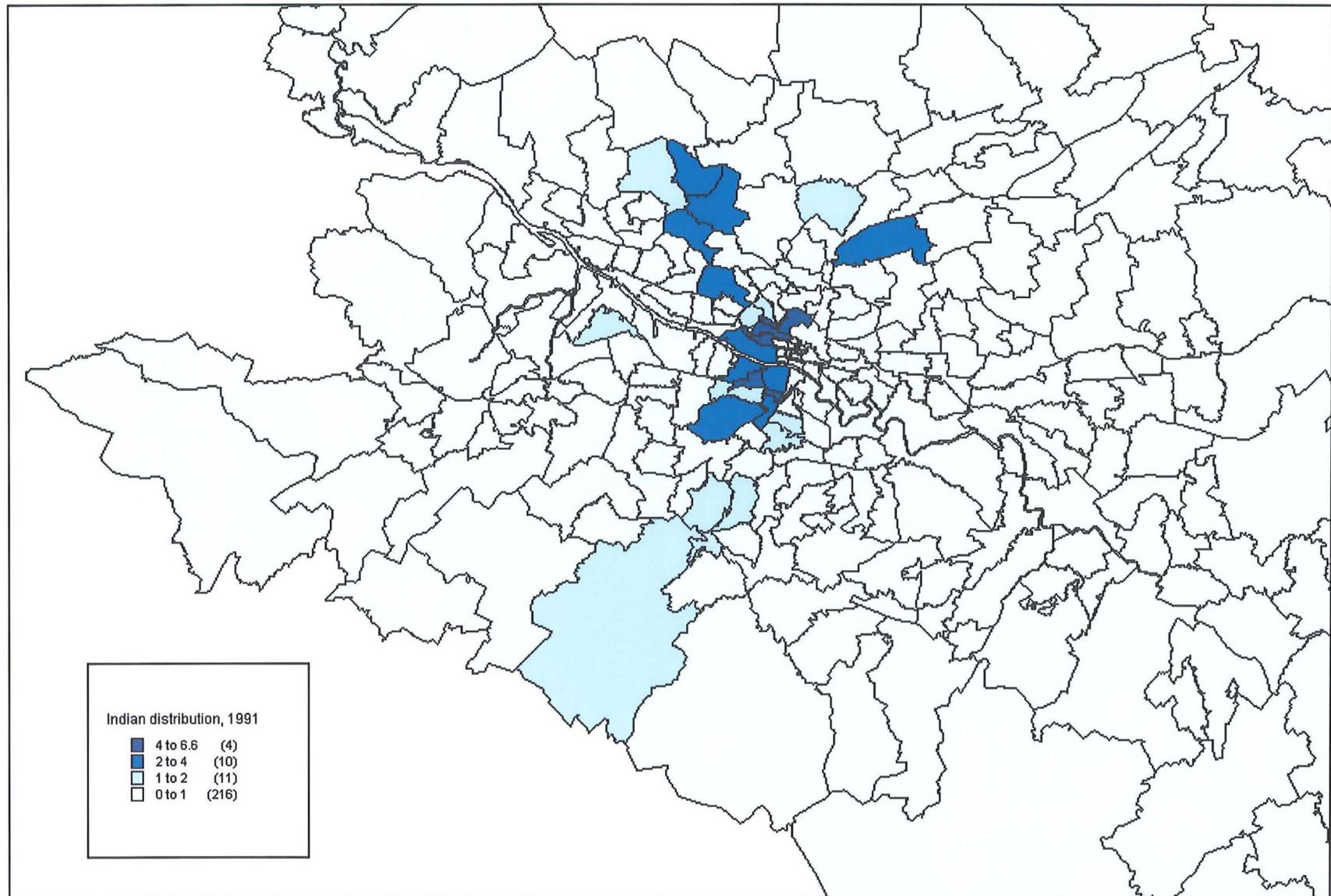


Figure 6.9 Distribution of the Indian population (postcode sector), 2001

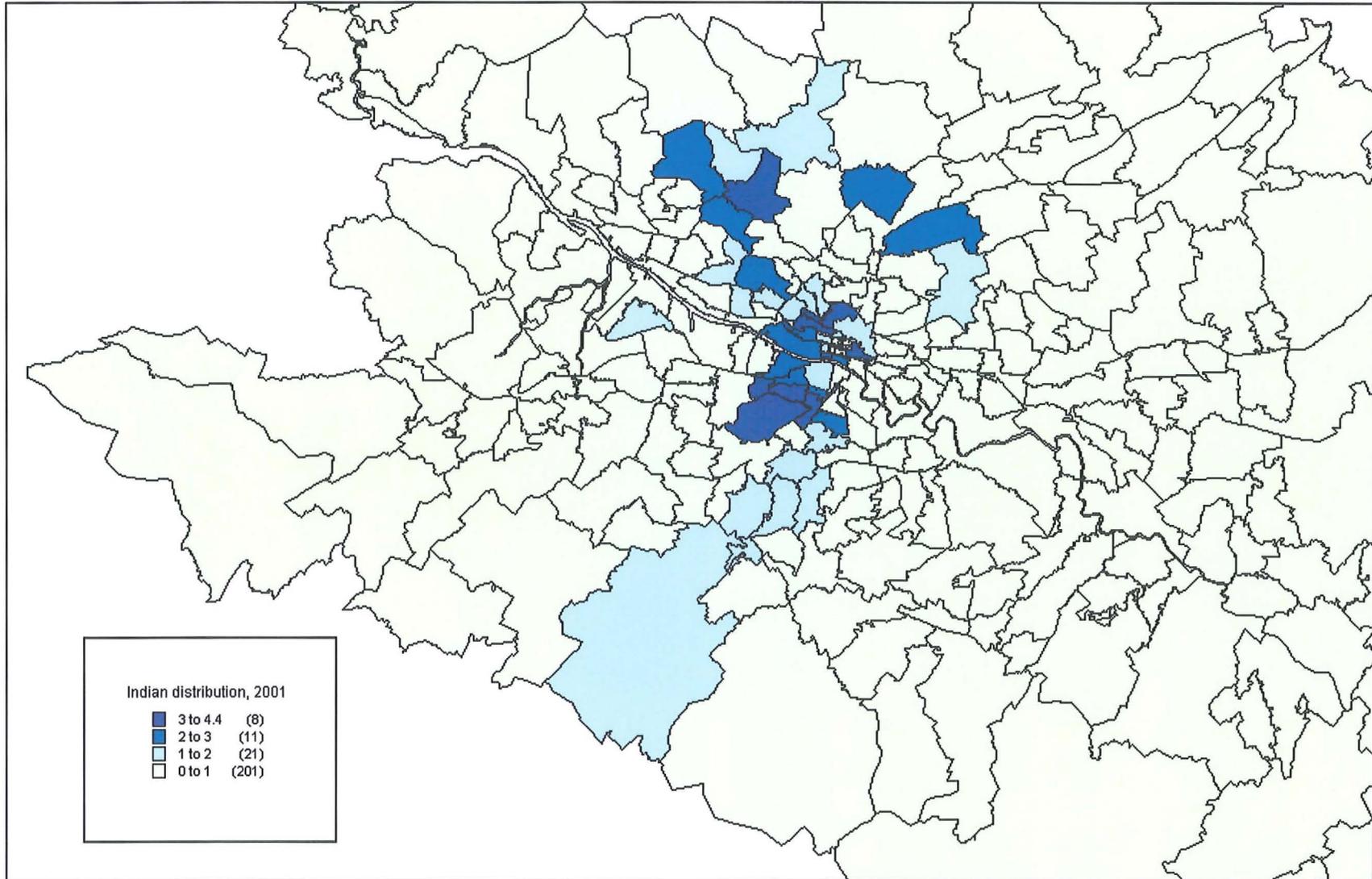
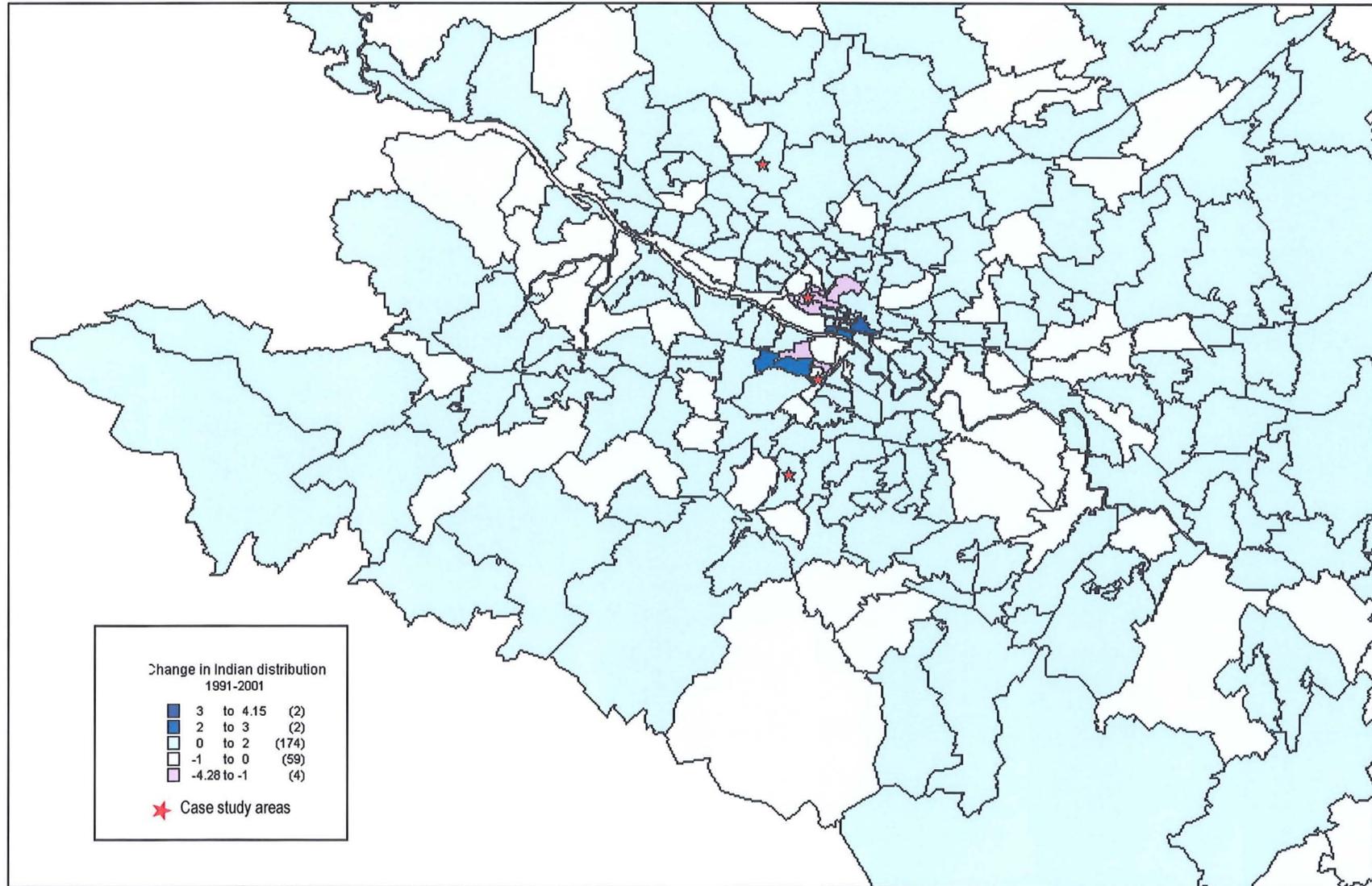


Figure 6.10 Change in distribution of the Indian population as percentage of postcode sector, 1991-2001



Local Neighbourhoods and Microscopic Clusters

In the context of changing patterns and shifting geographies across the city, including increasing ethnic clustering to the South of the city, population shifts in the north, clear evidence of suburbanisation and a wider dispersal on a very small scale to areas that in 1991 had no South Asian population, it seems appropriate to look at the populations within the areas of significant change over the census period at a finer scale. This provides the opportunity to explore evidence of re-clustering or concentration within these wider areas. This section will therefore look at the population spread at the smallest census area, the output area. Before looking at the areas that experienced more notable population change this section will look generally at the areas with larger proportions of their populations comprised of South Asians.

The South Asian population at output area, in 2001, are concentrated most within the ethnic clusters and areas of core settlement in the city rather than in the suburban areas or areas with a smaller number of South Asians, as may have been expected. However one might expect to see signs of re-clustering at output area in those areas where the South Asian population is small or established more recently. There are nine postcode sectors that have South Asian populations exceeding 10% of the total population (all of which are in the inner-city), shown in Table 6.1. In order to gain a more detailed picture of the extent of clustering at a very fine scale within each of these areas some descriptive analysis of the output areas that make up these higher areas will be undertaken.

These areas are mainly clustered in the area of Glasgow City to the South of the river and are predominantly in the master postcode G41 (Strathbungo/Pollokshields, South Kinning Park and Dumbreck) (see Table 6.1). There has been maintenance of these areas as areas of traditional settlement and levels of clustering on a finer scale within these postcode sectors are significant to understanding the extent of concentration, arguably more so than the index of segregation, as evenness and dispersal on a very local level can be observed.

Table 6.1 Postcode sectors with over 10% of the total population comprised of South Asians, 2001

LOCALITY	POSTCODE SECTOR	% South Asian
Strathbungo	G41 2	35.56
Pollokshields East	G41 4	25.28
S. Kinning Park	G41 1	22.93
Dumbreck	G41 5	22.88
Crosshill	G42 8	19.58
Woodlands/Garnethill	G3 6	16.92
N Kinning Park	G51 1	15.04
Port Dundas	G4 9	13.78
N Govanhill	G42 7	11.18

Table 6.2 details the percentage of each postcode sector's South Asian population that live in smaller output areas where South Asians comprise over 50%, 20%, 10%, 5% and 2% of the total output area population. As is evident the South Asian population in some of the above postcode sectors are more clustered than others at the level of output area. In three postcode sectors, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, South Kinning Park and North Kinning Park more than 40% of South Asians live in output areas where they are over 50% of the OA population. In seven of the nine postcode sectors, over 60% of the South Asian population is clustered in output areas in which they comprise over 20% of the OA population.

In Strathbungo 71.6% of the total postcodes South Asian population live in 25% of the output areas that comprise the sector, all of which are over 50% and up to 83% South Asian. In South Kinning Park an area adjacent to the core over half of the areas South Asian population (55%) lives in a single output area, making that area 73.6% South Asian. In fact, 82% of the postcode sectors South Asian population live in 30% of the output areas that comprise the postcode sector. In Crosshill, also adjacent to the core, the South Asian population is more dispersed throughout the output areas that comprise the larger area, 10% live in output areas where they are over 50% of the total population and 60.5% in output areas where they are between 20 and 50% of the

total population. In Dumbreck, the area with the most significant proportionate increase in the South Asian population over the census period, the South Asian population is slightly more clustered, with the vast majority living in output areas that are between 20 and 70% South Asian. In North Govanhill the South Asian population is spread more evenly throughout the postcode sector and only 10% of output areas have South Asian populations that exceed 20% of the total postcode sector populations. In Port Dundas, adjacent to the western core almost 50% of the South Asian population live in only 20% of the output areas, however the rest of the population are largely more dispersed throughout the area, none of the output areas are over 50% South Asian.

Table 6.2 Clustering within neighbourhoods¹ (Postcode sectors with largest South Asian percentage of total population), 2001

	LOCALITY	POSTCODE SECTOR	SOUTH ASIAN % OF POSTCODE SECTOR POPULATION	S.ASIAN POPULATION >50% OF OUTPUT AREA	S.ASIAN POPULATION >20 <50% OF OUTPUT AREA	S.ASIAN POPULATION >10%<20% OF OUTPUT AREA	S.ASIAN POPULATION >2%<10 OF OUTPUT AREA
Core	Strathbungo/ Pollokshields	G41 2	35.6	71.6	19.5	6.5	2.1
Core	Woodlands	G3 6	16.9	5.8	57.4	22.9	3.4
Adjacent	Pollokshields East	G41 4	25.3	22.7	58.8	12.1	6.4
Adjacent	S. Kinning Park	G41 1	22.9	55.2	27	15.9	1.8
Adjacent	Dumbreck	G41 5	22.9	33	40.6	20.6	5.7
Adjacent	Crosshill	G42 8	19.6	10.9	60.5	21.9	5.2
Adjacent	N Kinning Park	G51 1	15	43.9	24.6	18.8	12.1
Adjacent	Port Dundas	G4 9	13.8	0	43.1	42.8	13.9
Adjacent	N Govanhill	G42 7	11.2	0	28.8	46.2	24.8

Patterns of clustering to a lesser extent can be found in Woodlands where 20% of the output areas making up the postcode sector contain 63% of the South Asian population, and in North Kinning Park 68.5% of the South Asian population live in 20% of the output areas. However, no output areas are significantly higher than 50% South Asian.

¹Percentage of the postcode sectors South Asian population, living in output areas where South Asian populations are greater than 50%, 20%, 10%, 5%, 2% of the total population.

Table 6.3 details the same thing but for postcode sectors where the growth in the South Asian population was most significant between 1991 and 2001. Notably, all of the areas presented in Table 6.3 are in the south of the city, highlighting that the growth in the South Asian population has been greatest in a series of adjacent, intermediate and suburban areas moving south from the southern core area. Levels of concentration are, as would be expected, highest within the core area of Strathbungo/Pollokshields.

Table 6.3 Clustering in neighbourhoods² (postcode sectors with highest proportionate increase in South Asian population 1991-2001)

	LOCALITY	POSTCODE SECTOR	S.ASIAN % OF POSTCODE SECTOR POP.	S.ASIAN POPULATION >50%	S.ASIAN POPULATION >20%<50%	S.ASIAN POPULATION >10%<20%	S.ASIAN POPULATION >2%<10%
Core	Strathbungo/ Pollokshields	G41 2	35.6	71.6	19.5	6.5	2.1
Adjacent	Pollokshields E	G41 4	25.3	22.7	58.8	12.1	6.4
Adjacent	N Govanhill	G42 7	11.2	0	28.8	46.2	24.8
Adjacent	Crosshill	G42 8	19.6	10.9	60.5	21.9	5.4
Adjacent	Dumbreck	G41 5	22.9	33	40.6	20.6	5.7
Intermediate	Pollokshaws	G43 1	4.96	0	13.4	42.5	39.8
Intermediate	Kings Park	G44 4	3.8	0	0	39.2	55.7
Intermediate	Shawlands	G41 3	8	0	35.8	38.7	23.7
Intermediate	Netherlee	G44 3	4.04	0	0	50.8	27.3
Suburb	Newlands	G43 2	6.5	0	41.2	28.5	26.6
Suburb	Giffnock	G46 6	7.5	0	21.2	50.3	26.6
Suburb	Nitshill	G53 7	4.3	0	34.3	37.8	22.2
Suburb	Newton Mearns	G77 6	6.4	0	6.3	53.2	38.8
Suburb	Thornliebank	G46 8	2.98	0	26.8	15.7	50.2

² Percentage of the postcode sectors South Asian population, living in output areas where South Asian populations are greater than 50%, 20%, 10%, 5%, 2% of the total population, for postcode sectors with the most significant change in the South Asian population as a proportion of the total population (over 2% growth) between 1991-2001.

Levels of clustering within areas are also high within three of the four areas adjacent to the core, but are not as high as those in the core. Four of the five suburban areas have moderate clusters where over a fifth of the postcode sector populations live in output areas which are over 20% South Asian. Furthermore, the clustering of South Asians in output areas is often higher in the suburban areas than in the intermediate areas. In Giffnock the majority of the South Asian population, over 70% live in output areas that are between 10 and 50% South Asian whilst a third of the output areas have no South Asian population. In Newlands, over 40% of the South Asian population live in output areas in which they are between 20 and 50% of the output areas total population and in general the South Asian population appears to be slightly more dispersed throughout the postcode sector than in Giffnock. In Newton Mearns the South Asian population is less clustered at output area than in Giffnock with only 6% of the total population living in output areas where they are between 20 and 50% of the total population. The same is true of Thornliebank as over 50% of the South Asian population is present in output areas that have less than 10% of their population made up of South Asians.

Relative Distributions: Segregation, Isolation and Exposure.

After, previously, studying the ethnic geography of the city region at postcode sector level and briefly at output area, this section will turn attention to the relative distribution of the South Asian population across the study area as measured using standard segregation indices. The purpose of this is to compare the distribution of the different ethnic groups within the South Asian category both with each other and with the distribution of the white majority (all white groups are included). The index of dissimilarity, a measure of evenness, will first be computed, followed by the index of segregation and finally by levels of exposure.

Index of Dissimilarity

The Index of Dissimilarity was calculated for both 1991 and 2001 at postcode sector level across the Greater Glasgow study area. The measured level of segregation must be interpreted with caution as there are problems involved with comparing measures of segregation over time. Segregation is a dynamic process with numerous different

causes meaning it is impossible using measures alone to comment on social trends. For example, an increase in the level of segregation may simply be due to natural increase rather than continued clustering or migration into an area of concentration and may accompany a trend of slow dispersal. Therefore these indices can be regarded only as a snap shot in time and not as being reflective of the dynamic processes involved, meaning the difference between 1991 and 2001, although represented in the following tables, is not an accurate or reliable indicator.

Table 6.4 Indices of Dissimilarity Greater Glasgow, 1991-2001 (Postcode sector)

	1991	2001	Difference 1991-2001
White: S.Asian	58.1	53.8	- 4.3
White: Indian	59.5	52.5	- 7.0
White: Pakistani	64.0	59.1	- 4.9
White: Bangladeshi	79.5	64.7	- 14.8
White: Other Asian	56.3	49.7	- 6.6
Indian: Pakistani	42.7	38.9	- 3.8
Indian: Bangladeshi	62.4	35.2	- 27.2
Indian: Other Asian	44.0	35.7	- 8.3
Pakistani: Bangladeshi	71.1	49.8	- 21.2
Pakistani: Other Asian	44.8	44.9	0.1
Bangladeshi: Other Asian	64.7	45.5	- 19.2

Over the census period from 1991 we see the index of dissimilarity decline between the white group and all of the South Asian groups (Table 6.4). The highest segregation is amongst Bangladeshis; however, this is to be expected as they make up such a small proportion of the overall population. The Indian population has the lowest level of segregation from the white group. Levels of segregation decreased substantially between the Bangladeshi and the other South Asian groups. Overall the South Asian groups have moderately high levels of segregation from the majority white group, however this is falling, which would suggest some are becoming more spatially integrated.

Index of Segregation

The index of segregation was also computed at postcode sector for 1991 and 2001. Due to the fact that the index of segregation only measures the distribution of one group in an area compared to the total population levels of segregation between ethnic groups can not be computed. The index of segregation is slightly lower than the index of dissimilarity, which is to be expected as the total population of the area is taken into account. The Index of Segregation has been falling to a similar degree as the Index of Dissimilarity between whites and other groups, namely by 5-15 points over a ten year period.

Table 6.5 Index of Segregation for Greater Glasgow by South Asian ethnic group, 1991-2001 (postcode sector)

Ethnic Group	1991	2001	Difference
South Asian (total)	0.57	0.52	- 0.05
Indian	0.59	0.51	- 0.08
Pakistani	0.63	0.58	- 0.05
Bangladeshi	0.78	0.64	- 0.14
Other Asian	0.56	0.48	- 0.08

Index of Exposure

Exposure was calculated at postcode sector level for 1991 and 2001 using the Liebersons P* Index. The probability of a South Asian person meeting someone from another ethnic group in 1991 was 0.45. In 2001 the likelihood of a member of the South Asian group meeting a member of another ethnic category increased to 0.56, suggesting the probability of exposure between ethnic groups was greater.

Case Study Areas

The quantitative study of the census depicted the changing patterns of South Asian residence over the past ten years. Thus far it is only possible to speculate using past literature on the causal factors and motivations behind this changing and, of course for some, static residence. In order to address the main aim of the research, qualitative methods are needed to allow us to explore in-depth the factors influencing and

determining the ethnic geography of Greater Glasgow. To do this case study areas that capture these patterns of residence and changing trends will be selected using three criteria; first results from the census analysis; second the literature; and third the results of preliminary interviews with key actors in the South Asian community. The main concerns of this thesis are, to assess the extent and the drivers of suburbanisation and neighbourhood attachment, thus it was decided that two suburban areas and two areas of core settlement would be chosen as case studies.

In terms of areas of core settlement the literature identifies two main areas; Strathbungo/Pollokshields in the south of the city and Woodlands/Garnethill in the west of the city (Dalton and Daghlian, 1989; Audrey, 2000, Binns, 2002). These areas were verified as the main areas of core settlement of South Asians in the city by the interviews with key actors in the South Asian community (workers at the Mosque, Sikh temple and a main multi-cultural centre).

The analysis of the census showed interesting localised changes in these areas of core settlement and in the areas surrounding them. In terms of South Asian proportionate and absolute growth, it may have seemed obvious to select case study areas from the areas surrounding Strathbungo/Pollokshields in the south of the city. However, in order to understand neighbourhood attachment, clustering and the overall changing patterns of residence which included a diminishing South Asian population in Woodlands (the core area to the north), it was decided to choose a case study area to the north of the river Clyde and one to the south. Pollokshields/Strathbungo was chosen to the south of the river as it had the main community infrastructures in the area and the largest proportionate and absolute South Asian population. Woodlands was chosen to the north of the river Clyde due both to the changes occurring in the area and to the fact that it was still seen as a main core by the key actors owing to the cultural and religious infrastructure there.

The study of the census showed clear evidence of the beginnings of South Asian suburbanisation in 1991 with a notable increase in this trend in 2001. In 2001 the greatest proportionate and absolute increases in the South Asian population were in the suburbs to the south of the river in the local authority district of East

Renfrewshire, neighbouring Glasgow City. The South Asian population have established themselves in suburban areas surrounding those where they had already established themselves in 1991. The area to the south, in East Renfrewshire, with the largest change in the proportion of South Asians was Giffnock; the South Asian population there is now 7.5% of the total population. To the north of the river Clyde, in 1991, those South Asians who had suburbanised lived mainly in Bearsden. The largest proportionate growth occurred in Bearsden East (Kessington) where the South Asian population grew by 1.5% as a proportion of the total population to almost 5% (the largest proportion of the population of any locality in the district). Absolute growth however is small, suggesting, that although South Asian households are still moving to these suburbs they are doing so in small numbers.

Both of these areas were selected as case study areas; primarily due to the relative growth in the proportion of South Asians in the area. Further to this the interviews with the key actors suggested that there were flows of movement from the core settlement area in the south to the suburbs in the south and similarly between the core to the north of the river and the suburbs to the north west, hence one was chosen from each area to explore this further. The changes in the populations of the study areas over the study period can be seen in the following table:

Table 6.6 Ethnic Populations in Case Study Areas, (1991 and 2001)

Neighbourhood	Year	Total persons	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Other South Asian	Total South Asian	SA %
Woodlands	1991	3906	216	550	17	64	847	21,7
	2001	5017	162	603	15	69	849	16,9
Pollokshields/ Strathbungo	1991	7890	309	2260	8	35	2612	33,1
	2001	8211	271	2549	5	95	2920	35,7
Giffnock	1991	9455	97	306	0	5	408	4,3
	2001	9125	169	486	2	27	684	7,5
Bearsden	1991	6754	158	61	4	13	236	3,5
	2001	6398	194	90	7	26	317	5,0

This section will turn to provide some descriptives of each of the four case study areas including population, age structures, tenure and accommodation types, occupancy ratings, household amenities, car ownership, social grades, qualifications by ethnic group, amenities and services and house prices.

Strathbungo/Pollokshields

Strathbungo/Pollokshields is a largely residential area that lies around one mile south of the River Clyde and Glasgow's City centre, with the M77 motorway to its west and the M8 to its north. It is home to one of the most ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in Scotland (see Table 6.7) including small Chinese and Irish groups as well as South Asian and the largest and most established ethnic cluster in Greater Glasgow area. This is reflected by the well established 'ethnic' infrastructure in the area. The largest minority ethnic group resident in the area is Pakistani, followed by Indians. The population of the area has a very young age structure when compared to the Scottish average (see Table 6.8) with only 11.3% of the population being over 60 and 35% of the population being under 24. The median age of the area is 31, which is 7 years younger than the Scottish median age.

Table 6.7 Population by ethnicity, Strathbungo/Pollokshields

All people	8,211	Percentage of all people
White Scottish	4,278	52
Other White British	423	5.2
White Irish	181	2.2
Other White Background	244	3
Pakistani	2,549	31
Indian	271	3.3
Bangladeshi	5	0.07
Chinese	95	1.2
Other South Asian	60	0.7
African Caribbean	6	0.08
Black African	7	0.1
Other Black	4	0.05
Any Mixed background	49	0.6
Any Other background	39	0.5
Total Minority Ethnic population	3,089	37.6

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.8 Age Structure (Percentage of all people), Strathbungo/Pollokshields

Age	Percentage of all people
0-15	21.1
16-24	13.7
25-29	11.5
30-44	29.7
45-59	12.7
60-74	6.9
75 and over	4.4
<i>Population base</i>	<i>8,211</i>

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Housing

Strathbungo/Pollokshields is dominated by private housing (both owned and rented) with significant problems of overcrowding and lack of amenities. The tenure structure of the area differs considerably from that of Glasgow city³ (see Table 6.9). The predominant house type in the area is flats (specifically old tenement buildings), housing 87% of all residents (See table 6.10). One quarter of households live in overcrowded conditions (i.e. below the accepted bedroom standard, see Table 6.11) compared to 11.8% at the national level and 22% at the city level. Likewise, at the national level 61.6% of all households have extra space some 20% higher than in our case study area and indeed for Glasgow city as a whole. Furthermore, 25% of households in the area are without central heating (see Table 6.12). The average (median) house price of the area is £84,000, lower than the city average of £109,163 (GSPC), but ranging in price from, in some cases, under £20,000 to £395,000 (Source: Register of Sasines 2003, authors own analysis).

Table 6.9 Tenure (all people), Strathbungo/Pollokshields

Owned (%)		Social Rented (%)		Private rented (%)		Live rent free (%)
70.9		5.7		21.7		1.7
Of which: (Percent)		Of which: (Percent)		Of which: (Percent)		
Owned outright	27.4	Rent from council	26.4	Private l/lord/agency	92.3	
With mortgage or loan	71.3	Other Social rented	73.6	Other	7.7	
Shared ownership	1.3					
<i>Population base 8211 persons</i>						

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

³ The case study areas are compared to Glasgow City as opposed to the Greater Glasgow study area in this section.

Table, 6.10 Accommodation type (all people), Strathbungo/Pollokshields

Accommodation type	Percentage of all people
House/Bungalow	12.99
Flat/maisonette/apartment	87
Caravan/mobile accommodation	0.01
<i>Population base 8211 persons</i>	

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table, 6.11 Occupancy rating (by household), Strathbungo/Pollokshields

Occupancy rate*	Percentage of households
+ 2 or more	15
+ 1	27
0	33
-1	16
-2	9
<i>Base</i>	<i>3,467</i>

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.12 Household amenities (by household), Strathbungo/Pollokshields

	Percentage of all households	<i>Of which</i>	(%)
Households with central heating	75%	With shower/bath and toilet	99
		Without shower bath and toilet	1
		<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>
Households without central heating	25%	With shower/bath and toilet	93.5
		Without shower bath and toilet	6.5
		<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>		
<i>Base 3,467</i>			

Source 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Economic indicators, deprivation index, social grades and qualifications

The Strathbungo/Pollokshields area is generally one of relatively high qualifications and economic activity (compared to the city as a whole), although a lack of credentials is widespread within the South Asian community as a whole. Twenty-five percent of persons over 16 in the area are represented in the social grade AB compared to 14% at the city level (see Table 6.13). Likewise, there are almost half as many people represented in social class E in the area than at the city level. The educational qualifications of persons aged between 16 and 74 in the area are higher than the city level. Twenty-seven percent of the whole population have no qualifications (see Table 6.14) compared to 40.6% of the city population; similarly

34.7% have Group 4 qualifications, which is twice the percentage of the city population. However, these figures hide significant variations according to ethnic group as only 17% of the white group have no qualifications, which is half of the percentage of Indians (40%) in the area and one third the percentage of Pakistanis (52%).

Table 6.13 Social grade (all persons over 16), Strathbungo/Pollokshields

Social Grade ⁴	Percentage of all people over 16
AB	25.6
C1	33.5
C2	11.4
D	12
E	17.5
<i>Base</i>	6,352

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.14 Qualification by ethnic group, all people aged 16-74 (percentages), Strathbungo/Pollokshields

	All people	White	Indian	Pakistani and other S.Asian	Chinese	Other
% of pop. Aged 16-74	100	68	3	27	0.8	1.2
No qualification ⁵	27	17	40	52	42	18.3
Group 1	15.4	13	25	19	19	7.2
Group 2	14.9	17	9	11	4	30.9
Group 3	8	9	6	6	10	4.2
Group 4	34.7	44	20	12	25	39.4
<i>Base 6,112</i>						

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Likewise, twice as many white residents have group 4 qualifications than Indians and four times as many as Pakistani residents. The percentage of working age people who are economically active is 10% higher than the percentage for Glasgow City. The

⁴ AB: Higher intermediate managerial/administrative/professional

C1: Supervisory, clerical, junior managerial/administrative

C2: Skilled manual workers

D: Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers

E: On state benefits

⁵ Group 1: 'O' grade, Standard Grade, Intermediate 1 or 2, City and Guilds Craft, SVQ level 1, 2 or equivalent

Group 2: Higher Grade, CSYS, ONC, OND, City and Guild Advanced Craft, RSA Advanced Diploma, SVQ level 3 or equivalent

Group 3: HND, HNC, RSA Higher Diploma, SVQ Level 4 or 5 or equivalent

Group 4 : First Degree, Higher Degree, Professional Qualification

percentage of economically inactive people in the area is also 10% lower than that of Glasgow City although it is 10% higher than the Scottish average. The percentage of children in workless households is 43% higher in the area than is the Scottish average and the number of households with no car, 40.4% is also almost 20% higher than the Scottish average.

Table 6.15 Economic Indicators, Strathbungo/Pollokshields

Indicator	Percentage of people
Economically active*	65.6
Economically inactive*	34.4
Unemployment claimants*	3.3
Income support claimants*	13.1
Children in workless households	26.3
Households without a car**	40.4

Source: ScotPHO, 2004 and Census 2001

* All persons aged 16-74

** All households

The deprivation index for neighbourhoods in Scotland in 2004 was calculated at the scale of data zone (a new geographical area created in Scotland), an area significantly smaller (around 1/5th the size) than the areas described here (postcode sectors), thus the data zones were matched to the areas described here. The Scottish deprivation index (SIMD) brings together 31 different indicators which cover specific aspects of deprivation in the domains of income, health, education, employment and access, these indicators are weighted and combined to produce the overall SIMD score and then ranked in order of the most deprived, ranked 1, to the least deprived data zone in Scotland, ranked 6505 (Scottish Executive, 2005). The SIMD is not an absolute measure of deprivation but rather relative, so it cannot be used to determine how much more deprived one data zone is from another however it is possible to say one is more deprived than another. For instance the SIMD score for Strathbungo/Pollokshields is 30.00 (aggregated from data zone) whilst for Bearsden it is 3.8 it is not possible to conclude the Strathbungo/Pollokshields is 8 times more deprived than Bearsden but only that it is more deprived. Therefore, although the SIMD scores will be presented here the rank of each data zone relative to other data

zones in the country which make up the case study areas provides a more meaningful relative picture of their overall deprivation than a comparison of their score. There are 13 data zones that make up the Strathbungo/Pollokshields area; almost 25% of these are amongst the 15% most deprived data-zones in Scotland. There is variation between each as they are ranked between the 600th most deprived areas in the country to the 4421st out of 6505 in the country.

Amenities and services

The Strathbungo/Pollokshields area is well served for a wide range of amenities, with Asian specialist outlets/facilities in most sectors. In the areas immediate vicinity there are three mosques, a Sikh temple, a house of worship for all faiths operated by the Sikh community centre and the Islamic Academy of Scotland (a centre of excellence in Islamic studies and teachings). There are also two community centres, a youth centre and a multicultural centre in the area that provide classes in English and Urdu as well as other courses and specific activities for women. There is an ethnic minority enterprise centre that provides training and assistance in finding employment which also has a newly established bi-lingual support service for drug and alcohol users and their families. There are also Asian banks, an Islamic Relief charity shop, Asian grocery stores, 2 halal butchers, call centres with special rates to the Middle East and Asia, Bollywood DVD rentals, an Islamic education centre, a Koran school attached to the mosque as well as 14 Asian dress and jewellery shops attracting Asian women from all over Scotland. There are 25 restaurants, bars, and hot food takeaway shops in the area, 13 of which are South Asian restaurants or takeaways, 29 retail outlets dealing in office, electrical, telecommunication, D.I.Y, clothing, sports and musical goods, 5 estate agents, 2 florists, 1 launderette, 5 newsagents, 4 furniture/interiors shops, 14 hairdressers/beauticians, 2 chemists, 1 car dealer, 2 banks and 1 money lender, 2 GP surgeries, 1 opticians and 5 dental surgeries (Glasgow City Council retail database).

The area lies within the catchment area of two primary schools (one non-denominational and one Roman Catholic), one of which is over 90% Asian. There are a further three schools in close proximity to or within the area, and two nursery schools, however there is no pre-school day care. The area lies within the catchment area of two secondary schools. There is a library and a learning centre in the middle of

the area as well as a fashionable theatre on its parameter. The residents of the area are within 5 minutes driving time to a GP and a dentist and less than 30 minutes to a hospital (SPHO, 2004). There is also a social work office in close proximity to the area.

Woodlands

Woodlands is situated in the West End of the city lying to the east of Hillhead, to the west of the M8 and north of the city's park district. The University of Glasgow is situated on the fringe of the area, hence the reason for it accommodating a sizable student population. The area is thriving with ethnic business, bars and cafes. Its proximity to the M8 makes it a congested and busy thoroughfare. The area has been home to a sizeable South Asian population for over three decades. The largest minority ethnic group resident in the area is Pakistani, followed by Indian and Chinese. The population of the area has a young age structure when compared to the Scottish average with only 11% of the population being over 60 and 44% of the population being under 24; this will of course reflect the student population (see Table 6.17). The median age is only 27 which is 11 years less than that in all of Scotland.

Table 6.16 Population by ethnicity, Woodlands

All people	5,017	Percentage of all people
White Scottish	2,897	57.7
Other White British	517	10.3
White Irish	141	2.9
Other White Background	293	5.8
Pakistani	603	12
Indian	162	3.2
Bangladeshi	15	0.3
Chinese	166	3.3
Other South Asian	69	1.4
African Caribbean	5	0.1
Black African	36	0.7
Other Black	7	0.2
Any Mixed background	52	1
Any Other background	54	1.1
Total Minority Ethnic population	1,169	23.3

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.17 Age Structure (Percentage of all people), Woodlands

Age	Percentage of all people
0-15	11
16-24	33
25-29	13
30-44	22
45-59	10
60-74	7
75 and over	4
<i>Population base</i>	<i>5,017</i>

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Housing

The Woodlands area is dominated by rented housing (both social and private), has major problems of overcrowding, and yet has house prices around the level of the city average. Housing in the area is heavily influenced by the student market. The tenure structure of the area is contrasting to that of Glasgow City (see Table 6.18) and indeed Scotland. The number of all people living in the owner occupied sector is 20% lower than the national percentage at 42.7%. The number of people in private renting is three times the percentage of all people nationally, at 31% and 8% respectively, again reflecting the student population.

Table 6.18 Tenure (all people), Woodlands

Owned (%)		Social Rented (%)		Private rented (%)		Live rent free (%)
42.7		23.5		31.4		2.4
<i>Of which: (Percent)</i>		<i>Of which: (Percent)</i>		<i>Of which: (Percent)</i>		
Owned outright	33.9	Rent from council	18	Private l/lord/ Agency	89.8	
With mortgage or loan	62.7	Other Social rented	82	Other	10.2	
Shared ownership	3.4					
<i>Population base 5,017 persons</i>						

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

The predominant house type in the area is flats (specifically old red stone tenement buildings), housing 95% of all residents (see Table 6.19). Thirty-two percent of households live in overcrowded conditions compared to 11.8% at the national level and 22% at the city level. There are also half as many households with extra space as the national percentage and 10% less than the city wide percentage revealing

households in Woodlands to be more overcrowded than in Strathbungo/Pollokshields south of the river. Again, this is also likely to reflect at least in part the student residents. Fewer households in the area when compared to Strathbungo/Pollokshields are without central heating (see Table 6.21). The average (median) house price in the area is £110,300 (Source: Register of Sasines 2003, authors own analysis) compared to the city average of £109,163 (GSPC). Prices in the area ranged from £20,000 to £755,000.

Table 6.19 Accommodation type (all people), Woodlands

Accommodation type	Percentage of all people
House/Bungalow	4.9
Flat/maisonette/apartment	95
Caravan/mobile accommodation	0.1
<i>Population base 5017 persons</i>	

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.20 Occupancy rating (by household), Woodlands

Occupancy rate*	Percentage of households
+ 2 or more	10.3
+ 1	18
0	39.1
-1	21.5
-2	11.1
<i>Base</i>	<i>2,324</i>

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.21 Household amenities (by household), Woodlands

	Percentage of all households	<i>Of which</i>	(%)
Households with central heating	81	With shower/bath and toilet	98.5
		Without shower bath and toilet	1.5
		<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>
Households without central heating	19	With shower/bath and toilet	95
		Without shower bath and toilet	5
		<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>		
<i>Base 2,324</i>			

Source 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Economic indicators, deprivation index, social grades and qualifications

Woodlands contains a well qualified population group on the whole, though with high numbers of non-qualified South Asians. In economic activity terms, the area performs no better than the city overall. All persons over 16 in the area have higher representation in AB social grades, although not to the same extent as Strathbungo, than at the city level. Similarly, there are 10% less people represented in social class E in the area than at the city level (see Table 6.22). As in Strathbungo, the qualifications of the over 16 population is highly differentiated according to ethnic group with total figures covering disparities (see Table 6.23), although, there is less difference between ethnic groups than in Strathbungo/Pollokshields as only twice as many white residents as Pakistani residents in Woodlands have group 4 level qualifications (compared with four times as many in Strathbungo/Pollokshields). The disparity is wider when those with no qualifications are considered and is three times higher for Pakistani residents and two and a half times higher for Indian residents than white residents.

Table 6.22 Social grade (all persons over 16), Woodlands

Social Grade	Percentage of all people over 16
AB	23.6
C1	26.9
C2	8.6
D	17.7
E	23.2
<i>Base</i>	<i>4,166</i>

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.23 Qualification by ethnic group, all people aged 16-74 (percentages), Woodlands

	All people	White	Indian	Pakistani	Chinese	Other
% of pop. Aged 16-74	100	80	3.1	10.6	3.7	2.6
No qualification	21.4	16	39.8	48.4	47.2	17.4
Group 1	9.7	8.9	12	14.1	10.3	10.4
Group 2	28.1	31.8	12	11.1	16.4	22.6
Group 3	7.7	7.9	7.5	8.2	4.2	6.1
Group 4	33.1	35.4	28.7	18.2	21.9	43.5
<i>Base 4,292</i>						

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

The percentage of working age people who are economically active reflects the percentage for Glasgow City, 55.4%. The percentage of economically inactive people in the area, 43.5% also reflects that of Glasgow city yet it is 23% higher than the

Scottish average. The percentage of children in workless households is a significant 74% higher in the area than is the Scottish average, likewise the number of households with no car, 58.9% is also over 70% higher than the Scottish average. The index of deprivation score for Woodlands is 34.16. There are, however, significant variations in the 11 data zones that comprise this area, one is ranked the 59th most deprived data zone in Scotland, which lies within the 1% worst deprived data zones in the country, whilst the least deprived data zone in the area is ranked 3793rd out of 6505. Overall 36% of data zones are represented in the 15% most deprived data zones in Scotland.

Table 6.24 Economic Indicators, Woodlands

Indicator	Percentage of people
Economically active*	56.44
Economically inactive*	43.5
Unemployment claimants*	4
Income support claimants*	13.3
Children in workless households	32
Households without a car**	58.9

Source: ScotPHO, 2004 and Census 2001

* All persons aged 16-74

** All households

Amenities and services

The reasonably lengthy settlement of the South Asian population has led to a community infrastructure in the immediate vicinity which was developed to meet specific cultural and religious needs. The area is home to two Mosques, the headquarters of Radio Ramadam, The UK Islamic Mission, The Islamic Society of Britain, The United Muslim Organisation of Scotland, a Sikh temple and association centre and a Hindu temple. There are also 7 Asian grocery shops, a halal butchers, an Asian cash and carry, halal take away restaurants, and Asian silk and jewellery shops. The area has 31 cafes, bars, restaurants or takeaway restaurants, 2 confectioners, 6 hair dressers and beauticians, 14 grocery shops (in addition to the 7 Asian grocery shops), 11 office, photographic, electrical or communications shops, 2 sports/clothes shops, 2 alternative medicine centres, 3 furniture shops, 2 hotels, 2 travel agents, 2

opticians, 2 estate agents, 2 betting offices and 1 car dealer (Glasgow City Council retail database).

There are 7 primary schools in close proximity of the area; this includes 1 Gaelic school (the area falls within the catchment area of two of them). There are two additional special needs primary schools, one of which houses a language unit. The area falls within the catchment areas of two secondary schools, one of which is Roman Catholic and the other non-denominational. The area also has 5 nurseries and 2 pre-aged 5 day care centres. Proximity to health care is good in this area as all households are at least within a 5 minute drive of a GP surgery and a dentist and within 30 minutes drive of a hospital (SPHO, 2004). The area is in close proximity to three public libraries, one adult educational centre, a community centre with a well developed timetable of events for youth, the YMCA and an E-skills drop-in centre. There are no social work offices in the area. The area has access to all city centre amenities being within a 15-20 minute walk.

Bearsden East (Kessington)

Bearsden East is a suburb located to the north-west of Glasgow in the local authority district of East Dunbartonshire; it lies approximately 6 miles from the city centre. It is primarily a middle class commuter suburb; interestingly a recent survey by EuroDirect exploring the residential location of millionaires listed Bearsden as having the 7th largest number of millionaires of any postcode sector in Britain (EuroDirect, 2005). The population of the area is predominantly White Scottish, yet the percentage of minority ethnic groups is 6.2%, which is over 4% higher than the percentage of the Scottish population. The largest ethnic minority group in the area is Indian (see Table 6.25). The population of the area has an older age structure when compared to the two case study areas in the inner-city with 27% of the population being over 60 and 28% of the population being under 24 (see Table 6.26). The median age is 45 compared to 38 in Scotland as a whole.

Housing

The tenure structure of the area is markedly different to that of Glasgow City and indeed Scotland, as the vast majority, namely 96%, are living in owner occupied

housing, over 40% of which is owned outright. The house type is the opposite to that in the core areas of settlement with 89% of all people living in houses or bungalows. Only 2.1% of households are overcrowded and almost 90% of households have more space than they need (See Table 6.29). Similarly, less than 2% of households are without central heating.

Table 6.25 Population by ethnicity, Bearsden East

All people	6,398	Percentage of all people
White Scottish	5,447	85.1
Other White British	369	5.8
White Irish	93	1.5
Other White Background	93	1.5
Pakistani	90	1.4
Indian	194	3
Bangladeshi	7	0.1
Chinese	32	0.5
Other South Asian	26	0.4
African Caribbean	0	0
Black African	5	0.08
Other Black	1	0.02
Any Mixed background	16	0.2
Any Other background	25	0.4
Total Minority Ethnic population	396	6.2

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.26 Age Structure (Percentage of all people), Bearsden East

Age	Percentage of all people
0-15	17.4
16-24	11.1
25-29	2.9
30-44	17.9
45-59	23.8
60-74	17.6
75 and over	9.3
Population base	6,398

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

The average (median) house price in the area is £200,000 (83% higher than the Glasgow City average, reflecting both location and the predominance of houses over flats), with prices ranging between £40,000 and £1,100,000 (Source: Register of Sasines 2003, authors own analysis).

Table 6.27 Tenure (all people), Bearsden East

Owned (%)		Social Rented (%)		Private rented (%)		Live rent free (%)
96		1.7		1.8		0.5
Of which: (Percent)		Of which: (Percent)		Of which: (Percent)		
Owned outright	41.95	Rent from council	86.6	Private l/lord/ Agency	73.5	
With mortgage or loan	58	Other Social rented	13.4	Other	26.5	
Shared ownership	0.05					

Population base 6,398 persons

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.28 Accommodation type (all people), Bearsden East

Accommodation type	Percentage of all people
House/Bungalow	89.5
Flat/maisonette/apartment	10.46
Caravan/mobile accommodation	0.04

Population base 6,398 persons

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.29 Occupancy rating (by household), Bearsden East

Occupancy rate*	Percentage of households
+ 2 or more	69
+ 1	20.1
0	7.8
-1	2.2
-2	0.9
Base	2,463

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.30 Household amenities (by household), Bearsden East

	Percentage of all households	Of which	(%)
Households with central heating	98.1	With shower/bath and toilet	99.9
		Without shower bath and toilet	0.1
		<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>
Households without central heating	1.9	With shower/bath and toilet	100
		Without shower bath and toilet	0
		<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>		

Base 2,463

Source 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Economic indicators, deprivation index, social grades and qualifications

Bearsden East is an area of high social class and high qualifications. Ethnic minorities in Bearsden East also have more qualifications than those in the corresponding core settlement area of Woodlands. Almost 80% of people of working age in the area are represented in social grades ABC1, twice that of Glasgow City. In line with this there are two thirds less people represented in social grade E compared to the city level. In terms of qualifications we again see differences according to ethnic group in the area with two and a half times as many Pakistanis than white residents having no qualifications. This is again the case for those with the highest qualifications with around 15% more white residents having group 4 qualifications than Indian and Pakistani residents. However, it is also worth noting that compared to Pakistanis in the inner-north core settlement of Woodlands, Pakistanis in Bearsden East are much more likely to have the highest level (4) of qualifications. This contrast does not hold for Indians or Chinese.

Table 6.31 Social grade (all persons over 16), Bearsden East

Social Grade	Percentage of all people over 16
AB	45.2
C1	33.9
C2	6
D	4.9
E	10
<i>Base</i>	<i>5,221</i>

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.32 Qualification by ethnic group, all people aged 16-74 (percentages), Bearsden East

	All people	White	Indian	Pakistani	Chinese	Other
% of pop. Aged 16-74	100	93.8	3.2	1.7	0.6	0.7
No qualification	15.4	14.5	25.6	36.6	37	24.2
Group 1	15.1	15.6	17.1	14.7	22.2	10.3
Group 2	19.7	19.7	19.7	17.1	25.9	10.3
Group 3	7.7	7.6	9.9	2.4	3.7	6.9
Group 4	42.1	42.6	27.7	29.2	11.3	48.3
<i>Base 4,691</i>						

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

The percentage of working age people who are economically active is 10% higher than the percentage for Glasgow City (55.4%) and the two previous case study areas. The percentage of economically inactive people in the area is also 10% less than that

of Glasgow City and 3% less than the Scottish average. Less than 5% of children live in workless households, which 77% lower than the Scottish average. Car ownership in the area is very high, only 9% of all households do not own a car. The index of deprivation score for this area is 3.8, all the data zones that comprise this area are represented amongst the 15% least deprived data zones in the country.

Table 6.33 Economic Indicators, Bearsden East

Indicator	Percentage of people
Economically active*	65.9
Economically inactive*	34.1
Unemployment claimants*	1.3
Income support claimants*	3.3
Children in workless households	4.3
Households without a car**	9.4

Source: ScotPHO, 2004 and Census 2001

* All persons aged 16-74

** All households

Amenities and services

Bearsden has no formal places of worship for those faith groups other than Christian. There are two associations in the area for South Asian groups, one run by the council, The Minority Ethnic Forum in East Dunbartonshire, and one run by South Asian residents in the area, The Bearsden Asian Association, which provides education in Urdu and Arabic Studies in the local school hall. There are two primary schools and one secondary school in the area and a special needs school in the vicinity. There is also a language support team that operates in schools in the area to work with bilingual pupils. There are no libraries in the area but in close proximity. Proximity to health services is also good with all households being within five minutes drive of a GP and a dental surgery and within at least a 30 minutes drive to a hospital (SPHO, 2004). Bearsden has a small number of retail and service outlets including 3 supermarkets, three banks, property services, specialist clothes shops, an alternative health therapy centre, a few delicatessens and cafes, several take away restaurants and a limited number of restaurants.

Giffnock

Giffnock is an affluent residential commuter suburb located 5 miles south of Glasgow's city centre in the district of East Renfrewshire. The population of the area is 82% White Scottish, yet the percentage of minority ethnic groups is 8.5%, which is over 6% higher than the percentage of the Scottish population, a great part of the growth in the minority ethnic population of this area is due to suburbanisation of South Asian groups since 1991 (see Table 6.34). The area is also home to Scotland's largest Jewish community. The population of the area has a slightly younger age structure than that of Bearsden yet older than the two areas of core settlement, with 22.3% of the population being over 60 and 33% of the population being under 24 (see Table 6.35). The median age is 42 compared to 38 in Scotland as a whole and 45 in Bearsden.

Table 6.34 Population by ethnicity, Giffnock

All people	9,125	Percentage of all people
White Scottish	7,553	82.8
Other White British	395	4.3
White Irish	195	2.2
Other White Background	183	2
Pakistani	486	5.3
Indian	169	2
Bangladeshi	2	0.03
Chinese	62	0.7
Other South Asian	2	0.03
African Caribbean	3	0.04
Black African	5	0.1
Other Black	0	0
Any Mixed background	24	0.3
Any Other background	21	0.2
Total Minority Ethnic population	774	8.5

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Housing

The tenure structure of the area is almost wholly owner occupied, like that of Bearsden and contrasting to that of Glasgow City and indeed Scotland (see Table 6.36). Again, on a parallel with Bearsden 92% of people live in houses or bungalows.

In terms of space, 85% of households have more space than they need and less than 4% are overcrowded (see Table 6.38). As would be expected in an affluent area less than 2% of households are without central heating. The average (median) house price in the area is £175,000 (60% higher than the Glasgow City average), with prices ranging between £45,000 and £1,250,000 (Source: Register of Sasines 2003, authors own analysis).

Table 6.35 Age Structure (Percentage of all people), Giffnock

Age	Percentage of all people
0-15	21
16-24	11
25-29	2.9
30-44	19.9
45-59	22.9
60-74	13.9
75 and over	8.4
<i>Population base</i>	<i>9,125</i>

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.36 Tenure (all people), Giffnock

Owned (%)		Social Rented (%)		Private rented (%)		Live rent free (%)
97		0.8		1.4		0.8
Of which: (Percent)		Of which: (Percent)		Of which: (Percent)		
Owned outright	36.8	Rent from council	47	Private l.lord/ Agency	68	
With mortgage or loan	63.2	Other Social rented	53	Other	32	
Shared ownership	0					
<i>Population base 9,125 persons</i>						

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.37 Accommodation type (all people), Giffnock

Accommodation type	Percentage of all people
House/Bungalow	92
Flat/maisonette/apartment	8
Caravan/mobile accommodation	0
<i>Population base 9,125 persons</i>	

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.38 Occupancy rating (by household), Giffnock

Occupancy rate*	Percentage of households
+ 2 or more	63.3
+ 1	21.9
0	11
-1	2.9
-2	0.9
<i>Base</i>	<i>3,402</i>

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.39 Household amenities (by household), Giffnock

	Percentage of all households	<i>Of which</i>	(%)
Households with central heating	98.4	With shower/bath and toilet	99.94
		Without shower bath and toilet	0.06
		<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>
Households without central heating	1.6	With shower/bath and toilet	100
		Without shower bath and toilet	0
		<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>total</i>	<i>100</i>		
<i>Base 3,402</i>			

Source 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Economic indicators, deprivation index social grades and qualifications

Over three quarters of people of working age in the area are represented in social grades ABC1 (See Table 6.40), almost the same as in Bearsden. Like Bearsden, there are two thirds less people represented in social grade E compared to the city level. As in all of the other case study areas there are disparities amongst ethnic groups in qualification levels. However, this is less apparent in Giffnock amongst the Indian group who are better represented in group 4 with the highest level qualifications. Pakistanis in the area again fare badly in educational levels compared to their white counterparts but markedly better than those Pakistani's living in the core, as in Giffnock twice as many white residents are represented in group 4 compared to Pakistanis whereas in Pollokshields the ratio is twice at 4 to 1.

The percentage of working age people who are economically active is almost 70%, the highest in any of the case study areas, as levels of economic inactivity are lowest. Car ownership in the area is very high, although lower than in Bearsden with only

13% of all households not owing a car (see Table 6.42). The index of deprivation for this area is 4.9, 70% of data zones that comprise this area are represented amongst the 15% least deprived data zones in Scotland. Furthermore, Giffnock is home to the least deprived data zone in the country at 6505th place.

Table 6.40 Social grade (all persons over 16), Giffnock

Social Grade	Percentage of all people over 16
AB	41.3
C1	35.2
C2	6.2
D	6.2
E	11.1
<i>Base</i>	<i>7,150</i>

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.41 Qualification by ethnic group, all people aged 16-74 (percentages), Giffnock

	All people	White	Indian	Pakistani	Chinese	Other
% of pop. Aged 16-74	100	91.8	1.8	5.4	0.5	0.5
No qualification	16.8	14.9	33.6	38.7	57.1	18.2
Group 1	17.8	18	12.1	17.5	8.6	18.2
Group 2	20.7	21.2	17.2	15.5	5.7	21.1
Group 3	8	8.2	3.4	8.6	5.7	3
Group 4	36.7	37.7	33.6	19.7	22.9	39.4
<i>Base 6,463</i>						

Source: 2001 Census, authors own analysis

Table 6.42 Economic Indicators, Giffnock

Indicator	Percentage of people
Economically active*	67.6
Economically inactive*	32.4
Unemployment claimants*	1.2
Income support claimants*	3.4
Children in workless households	4.1
Households without a car**	13.3

Source: ScotPHO, 2004 and Census 2001

* All persons aged 16-74

** All households

Amenities and Services

The East Renfrewshire council is renowned for having a high achieving educational service. There are no nursery schools in the area but two in the neighbouring Thornliebank. There are two primary schools in the area and one secondary school which is one of the top performing state secondary schools in Scotland. There is also a library the area that hosts several courses including ICT. There are several places of worship in Giffnock for Christians as well as a synagogue and a Jewish community centre but no places of worship for other faith groups. There are limited associations or facilitates representing/catering for other faiths in the area other than the Hindu Welfare and Cultural Association. Giffnock has more financial services and retail outlets than Bearsden. There are five banks in the area, a post office, several property services and developers, over ten restaurants, one large supermarket, as well as bakeries, butchers and confectionary shops, two car dealers, a sports centre, a wholesale catering outlet and a garden centre.

South Asian Housing Transactions: Nam Pehchan Results

Following the case study selection the Sasines data for each of the areas was analysed using Nam Pehchan to identify the housing transactions made by South Asians over the period of study (1991-2001). The utility of this was twofold; first it allowed us to identify households to be contacted as potential interviewees and second provided added information on South Asian activity in each of the housing markets over a specific period of time. Information was also generated from this analysis on the language and religious origin of the South Asians who had bought in these areas; this is presented in Tables 6.43 and 6.44 below.

The majority of South Asian housing transactions in three of the study areas were made by Muslims, as should be expected when their proportionate and absolute representation in each of these areas is taken into consideration. Notably, however, in Bearsden the percentage of South Asian buyers who were Muslim is considerably lower than in the other areas whilst there is a higher percentage of South Asian buyers from Sikh or Hindu origins, probably Indian buyers (Table 6.43).

Table 6.43 Percentage of South Asian buyers in study areas, 1991-2001, with breakdown by religious origin of name.

	Strathbungo/ Pollokshields	Woodlands	Bearsden East	Giffnock
Total number of transactions	4512	2241	1612	2563
% of buyers South Asian	24	18.5	6.2	7.13
Of which:	<i>(percent)</i>	<i>(percent)</i>	<i>(percent)</i>	<i>(percent)</i>
Muslim	87.3	66.7	38.0	76.5
Hindu	1.1	5.8	17.0	2.2
Sikh	5.1	9.7	24.0	9.8
Buddhist	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Common ⁶	6.5	17.8	21.0	11.5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The South Asian names of buyers identified by Nam Pehchan from the property data for the case study areas identified the names to be predominantly related to Muslim languages, especially so in Strathbungo/Pollokshields and Giffnock. In Woodlands and Bearsden East, although more names were associated with Muslim languages than other languages, there was as significantly higher association with Punjabi and Hindi languages most likely representative of the larger Indian populations in these areas (Table 6.44).

⁶ 'Common' is the definition given to names when they are associated with three or more religions or languages.

Table 6.44 Percentage of South Asian buyers in study areas, 1991-2001, with breakdown by language origin of name.

	Strathbungo/ Pollokshields	Woodlands	Bearsden	Giffnock
% of buyers South Asian	24	18.5	6.2	7.13
Of which:	<i>(percent)</i>	<i>(percent)</i>	<i>(percent)</i>	<i>(percent)</i>
Bengali	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.0
Gujerati	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hindi	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Punjabi	2.3	6.0	15	3.8
Pushthu	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Singhalese	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sylheti	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tamil	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Urdu	16.5	13.5	5.0	10.9
Muslim language	70.5	54.8	40	68.3
Hindu language	3.7	14.0	20	7.1
Common	6.8	11.1	20	9.9
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Conclusion

The central aim of this chapter was to map the changing patterns of South Asian residence in Greater Glasgow; first by way of discovering where the ethnic groups comprising the South Asian category adopted here are situated within the city; second to explore which residential patterns have been maintained, especially with reference to the ethnic clusters already highlighted in the literature; and third to explore emerging trends of suburbanisation and establishment of South Asians in areas outside of the ethnic cluster.

Broadly, the historic ethnic geography of Glasgow has, to a large extent, been maintained in terms of the areas with the largest proportions of their populations comprised of South Asian groups. However we see notable dispersal to suburban areas as well as a more localised dispersal to the areas surrounding the traditional areas of core settlement. The analysis of the census found, interestingly, very different patterns in the area of core settlement north of the river to that in the areas to the south.

In the areas of core settlement to the South of river such as Strathbungo, Pollokshields and Pollokshaws the South Asian population experienced considerable growth. The extent to which this growth was in-situ or due to in-migration is explored later in the qualitative analysis. The areas directly adjacent to and surrounding the area with the largest South Asian population in the city in both 1991 and 2001 experienced considerable expansion in their South Asian population. There needs to be further investigation as to whether or not this is related to overspill or whether it may represent a smaller scale and 'closer to home' local dispersal to the periphery of the core, perhaps in order to establish some distance from the community while maintaining links and access to the community and the religious and cultural infrastructure, as Phillips *et al* (2003) found in a recent study on Leeds and Bradford. In the core settlement areas to the north, Woodlands and Garnethill, there was significant loss within the South Asian population as well as changes in the composition of ethnic groups that make up the areas populations. The same can be seen in the areas neighbouring the core. It is possible that north to south movement has occurred between the areas of core settlement but again this needs to be explored further.

The most evident change in South Asian residence during the census period was the extent to which South Asian households had begun to establish themselves in the suburbs. These clear patterns of suburbanisation can be seen through notable population shifts to suburbs that in 1991 had very small South Asian populations and further to the suburbs surrounding them. Again this differed between those areas to the north and south of the river with the suburbs in the west experiencing a modest increase in the absolute number of South Asian households living there, in the context

of a decreasing white population. The South Asian population increased by 24% over ten years in the district of East Dunbartonshire and by 40% in Bearsden East, our case study area.

In the southern suburbs growth in the South Asian population was more dramatic, starting from a larger population base than in the northern suburbs, with an increase of 82% across the East Renfrewshire district. The flows of suburban movers appear to have followed a similar trajectory out of the inner city to areas that can be easily accessed by the main transport routes out of the city that pass through the areas of core settlement. Indeed there was significant increase in the South Asian populations along these routes in the intermediary areas between the core and the suburbs.

In terms of levels of segregation, the results from the indices of dissimilarity and segregation point to a modest drop in segregation over time. Despite this, the clustering analysis at output area was interesting; given how small the South Asian population is in the suburbs, between 3 and 8%, it is notable that between 20 and 40% of the South Asian population of each area live in output areas where they comprise over 30% of the output areas population. This raises questions for the qualitative phase about how South Asians settle in the suburbs. This study also showed that Pakistanis and Indians exhibited different patterns of settlement. It appears that Pakistanis generally tend to reside in a narrow strip of the conurbation, forming a column out of the core to the south, albeit widening a bit into adjacent and intermediate areas, whereas the Indian population are spread more widely across areas both in inner and outer Glasgow, forming more of a double arc of settlement rather than a column. As in previous periods there was no movement of the South Asian population into the East End of the city; this is likely to reflect perceptions of safe places in the city.

7. The Role of the Neighbourhood in Residential Choice and Relocation.

Introduction

The previous chapter documented clear patterns of continued concentration in traditional areas of core ethnic settlement alongside more recent moves on a small-scale to the suburbs, these residential patterns are founded upon many inter-relating and complex factors, which the ensuing three chapters discuss in detail. This chapter explores the neighbourhood factors that have influenced migrating Asian households and their residential location using the data gathered during in-depth interviewing.

Environmental factors and the role of the neighbourhood have been widely discussed in the literature as factors fundamental in decisions leading to residential change. Early attempts to theorise or explain residential mobility, more generally, saw movement as a result of rational decisions, identifying both personal and environmental factors as leading to a desire and then an actual move (Rossi, 1955). The ethnic cluster or traditional area of core settlement has been well documented in European literature; however, less has been written about the effects that these neighbourhoods and indeed personal factors, of those who live there, have on forming residential choice. The literature has tended to focus more on the pull factors or advantages of the ethnic community living there and cultural facilities in the traditional area of core settlement (Peach and Smith, 1981; Sanders and Nee, 1996; Aldrich *et al.*, 1981) or on the negative aspects of ethnic concentration in terms of its association with poverty and limited opportunities (Smith, 1989; Schill, 1992; Morris, 1987; Peach, 1992; Massey and Denton, 1993; Phillips, 1998) or with its role in preventing integration (Independent Review Team, 2001; Home Office, 2001). It has focused less on the ways in which the core as a dynamic neighbourhood creates an impetus, acting as a push, for some households to move. In this instance the area of core settlement and the social network there were found, both, to act as a pull and, less commonly discussed, a push factor in influencing residential decisions.

On the other hand, the suburbs have sometimes been held up as a saviour from the nightmares of city living, yet criticised as places of conformity and for promoting status divisions and, perhaps above all, seen as a symbol of upward mobility (Thorns, 1972). However, with the post-war expansion of British cities opened up a new type of suburb that offered both social rented property and more affordable owner-occupied housing, rendering them more accessible to the working classes. South Asian households were excluded from this process for several reasons including institutional discrimination, discrimination in the housing market, fear of harassment, lack of resources or lack of interest for varying reasons. Indeed, it is not in either of the two aforementioned newer suburbs that they have begun to establish themselves rather in the middle-class suburbs that have continued to signify progress or status.

This chapter aims to explore residential motivations linked to the role of the specific core neighbourhoods and suburbs where the interviews were conducted and is structured as follows. The first section gives a brief outline of the different types of moves the participants made between neighbourhoods and discusses the paths along which migrating South Asian households moved through the city, as well as considering the accessibility of different areas to the interviewees. The second section looks specifically at the role of the area of core settlement and considers the ways in which it continues to attract new migrants, retain old ones and as mentioned earlier influences the desire of some households to move out. The third section explores factors that have seen suburbia emerge as a residential preference, both from the perspective of suburban residents and those who have remained in the area of core settlement.

Moves between Neighbourhoods: Paths through the City

The specific migration patterns of the 40 interviewees were varied. Twenty lived in the traditional area of core settlement and twenty in the suburbs. The area of core settlement, to a large extent, was the first area that the majority of the interviewees lived in when first moving to Glasgow, or, indeed, the area in which they grew up. Some of the interviewees resident in the area of core settlement had moved straight to the core or from the Gorbals, an area in Glasgow's inner city where the majority of minority ethnic groups lived before slum clearance. Others interviewed had moved within the area of

core settlement, other households had moved between core settlement areas, others had reverse moved from the suburbs, whilst the smallest group of interviewees were new migrants who had moved directly from either Pakistan or India to the core area. As for the suburban interviewees, the most common move made was from an area of core settlement in Glasgow, several other households interviewed had moved within the suburbs and much less commonly, a couple of households had moved from outside Glasgow straight to the suburbs.

The residential moves of the interviewees and their commentary on the moves of others they knew tended to take a similar path through the city depending on the core area of origin. For example, those interviewees living in the suburbs on the south of the city had moved from the core settlement on the south and those living in the suburbs on the western edge of the city moved from the area of core settlement in the west end of the city. Past literature has documented the beginnings of similar patterns of movement to the suburbs (Binns, 2002; Dalton and Daghlian, 1989) which, from the qualitative interviews, can be related to the closeness of the new area to the core, familiarity of the new area and its closeness to other family members.

The responses from the interviewees suggest that a number of them have a narrow sense of place(s) that they feel they can negotiate with or where they would like to live within the city. This is related to several different factors at differing levels of importance, which were raised in the interviews including: the sense that they would be accepted in the area; previous knowledge of that area (especially regarding types of neighbours and issues of safety); and the presence of other South Asians in the area. This may also be related to the fact that, generally, the areas mentioned frequently by the interviewees are those with high status and good reputations. It would be expected that a good proportion of the broader/general population would consider these areas desirable to live in.

There was a distinct generational element to this as younger respondents had a much wider geographical sense of potential areas to live in. They were less restricted by areas that, with the moves of other South Asians, had become in some sense connected to the core. They felt they were able to maintain ties and negotiate their chosen lifestyle by living any distance away because foremost they were willing to travel and had

transportation (car ownership). The areas they aspired to live in branched beyond the suburbs to satellite commuting towns and in some instances much further to international destinations. One key factor that could explain this broader geography of the city may be related to the fact that the majority had attended some type of higher education institution in other areas of the city, increasing their familiarity of the city and confidence in travelling through the city. Areas of contact were also multiplied through social contacts made with fellow students. Whereas elderly and middle aged respondents frequently expressed a preference to remain in the core and a large proportion of those middle aged respondents who would like to move in the future had only considered the few suburbs with South Asians already established there. Primarily, this was due to a fear of moving to an area without any prior knowledge of whether the neighbours were 'good' and was closely linked to sense of safety, the importance of the areas reputation and importantly with ties to the core settlement area, their home and the community.

The Role of the Area of Core Settlement

Cultural explanations have explained minority ethnic clustering as being a choice, based upon the desire to preserve culture and reflective of a rational decision to cluster with others with the same ethnic and religious background and the same language and dietary needs (Dahya, 1974; Peach, 1998). This explanation was perhaps reflective of the preferences of older residents who had lived in the core area for a long time and felt that the support of the ethnic and religious community and close friendships within it was an aspect of the place that they depended upon. The familiarity of the area of core settlement was most important for recent migrants still adjusting to a new country and language. Several of the interviewees spoke of language as being a significant cultural factor that retains and attracts new households to the areas of core settlement. One man had moved with his family from India just over one year ago and depended on others in the area to help him communicate in formal situations, such as banking and matters involving the state (normally relating to welfare and immigration issues), but also in order that he received the appropriate support to learn English. He had learned of areas that had developed Asian communities from a friend who had lived there in the past and selected Pollokshields before his move from India. Residents who had been living in the

area longer saw an important role of the neighbourhood to be one that helped individuals settle in and learn English when they arrived in the country. In the words of one resident of the core area:

It is good (to live in the core) for your own basic needs, for your own religion and culture and things like that, places of worship you know these kinds of things. I think there are more and more people actually moving into Pollokshields for these basic things you know especially if you talking about people moving here from Pakistan. They want to come somewhere where they are not going to feel alienated where they can speak the language and get the help to learn English.

Mrs Hussain, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

Three of the men interviewed in the core settlement area, one who had moved relatively recently and two who had been living in the country for over ten years, felt that they were tied to the traditional area of settlement as their wives, who had moved later, could not speak English. They thought a better quality of life was available in other areas in the city. However, they were reluctant to move as they each worked outside of the area and felt that it was important for their wives to have some interaction and support from neighbours. In the words of one of these men:

The thing is I go to work in another area where I have my business but for my wife its easier for her to get food because the shops are here and plus to give Islamic education to the kids it's easiest to stay here because she can't drive and I feel there is opportunity for a better life a wee bit farther out but the only problem is I need to drive and she can't speak English, so we have to stay here.

Mr Dhaliwal, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

Similarly, as Phillips *et al.* (2003) found in a recent study in the north of England, for other residents in the core there were both positive and negative aspects to living there:

I think overall I think I would say I prefer living here; I like living here more than I don't like living here if you know what I mean.

Mrs Din, Woodlands, northern core

A key aspect of the area of core settlement that attracted or made people want to continue living there was the religious and cultural infrastructure that had developed over the past thirty years. Shops selling specialist Asian foods were considered the most necessary cultural facility. For Pakistani interviewees, all of whom were Muslim, the importance of cultural and religious facilities coincided, as eating halal meat is a necessary religious observance. For women in the child rearing stage of the life cycle and retired men frequenting the local Asian shops provided them with daily social contact and a chance to socialise with others in the neighbourhood. Despite this, the majority of residents from the areas of core settlement said that the local Asian shops and other cultural facilities would not be a factor that retained them in the area, whereas the mosque, the local social network and family might as they could return once a week or more frequently if necessary to purchase food and keep contact with friends.

Religious facilities were, generally, an essential facility of the area of core settlement. Their importance differed between ethnic group, religion and according to an individual's personal religious observance. These factors determined the prevalence of having easy access to religious facilities in influencing where people lived. Indian interviewees did not think it important to have access to religious facilities in the area that they lived. This was to do with the nature of worship, which more frequently involved private and personal reflection in the home, whilst they only accessed religious facilities, no more than once a week and least frequently once every two months. Some only went to the temples for community celebrations such as weddings or religious festivals. In the words of one woman:

I feel religion is a very personal thing it's a private thing, it should not be paraded in front of everybody. I tend to make the children pray at home and then once a month or once in two months we go to the temple we all get together and they see the community spirit, they see everything. But to go

there everyday or even every week I feel it is too much you know because it starts in the home, you know at home not just outside.

Mrs Singh, Giffnock, southern suburb

Also, there was a fear that having numerous local temples throughout the city would break the community into smaller groups, concentrating them, whereas travelling into a central place of worship would keep the community spirit stronger as well as ensuring that people were 'integrated' throughout the city. As one Hindu couple commented:

I don't think there would be much benefit for us in having a temple in the local area apart from as you grow older you may go to it occasionally. We just have one temple (Hindu) and there's no need for any more than that. Everybody has their own temple at home, you don't need to have... we have an altar but you don't have to have an altar either. It's a different type of religion. We like to go to the temple but if there were lots temples here there and everywhere then the whole community would not all come together to meet and worship, we would be split up.

Mr and Mrs Khan, Giffnock, southern suburb

For the Pakistani interviewees, all of whom were Muslim, there was a very different need to be met due to the daily nature of worship. Some households made several trips to the Mosque everyday for different purposes, men for daily prayers and meetings and children for Koran school. This meant that living outside of the core would bring a heavy commuting burden. The obvious effect on people's lifestyles was weighed up as a considerable draw back to living in the suburbs. Two interviewees had moved back to the core from the suburbs as the daily commute back and forth was both tiring and time consuming. As one of these interviewees describes:

I have six children and to trek back and forth, back and forth to bring the children to mosque school and then to go to daily prayers myself it's just too difficult so I had to move back to Woodlands. We never got to relax in our house.

Mr Sood, Woodlands, northern core

In both cases it was undoubtedly a practical issue, however, for one of the respondents it was mixed with the desire to live close to the family again. More generally, however, the close social ties that frequenting the mosque fostered was important to all of those interviewed and was a positive aspect of living close to religious facilities and a drawback of living further away. Some suburban residents had tried to resolve this by establishing informal facilities for teaching in local homes. Several Pakistani interviewees thought that formal religious facilities in the suburbs would act as an impetus for people to leave the core, as they considered this the single most important factor in retaining households there. As one man commented:

If there was a mosque in Giffnock more people would move there because there is also a quality school and that is one thing that people want is a quality education for their children. But if the mosque is the top priority to yourself you can't have the best school or the best of both worlds.

Mr Saeed, Giffnock, southern suburb

However, informal religious facilities for teaching women and children in the suburbs had begun to act in a way similar to the formal religious facilities in the core area, as a factor that retained Pakistani Muslims in the area, discouraging them to move further out of the city.

A teacher comes to somebody's house, its handy, we pay him to come out this way...If we moved further out of Glasgow there wouldn't be as many people so you just couldn't do it and you would spend half of your day in Glasgow, coming back, driving in and out.

Mrs Mir, Giffnock, southern suburb

Despite the clear benefits of living in an ethnic cluster, there were aspects of living in the core settlement area, which interacted with individual factors, such as increasing affluence and the birth of children that acted as a push factor in compelling some households to move. The close-knit nature of the social network in the core was seen as an invasive influence in the personal lives of some Pakistani and Indian interviewees,

and a move to the suburbs was often tied-up with the desire for more privacy. Core residents also knew of people moving to adjacent areas for the same reason to loosen ties. Women, especially, felt as if their behaviour was 'policed' and found it a struggle to keep their private life out of public conversation. In the words of a woman who had moved with her family to the suburbs:

You'd go out and get a pint of milk and you'd take about an hour because you'd meet five people on the way to the shops. They're like that, 'God', you know, 'where have you been?', You know, 'I've just been out to get milk and oh god guess who I saw?' and you stop and you talk and its like, 'Oh my god did you see that?' or whatever. We wanted to have privacy you know?

Seema, Giffnock, southern suburb

The desire to retreat to the suburbs for more privacy and autonomy was not a desire to completely disaffiliate with the ethnic community, or friends and neighbours, as community support in its many forms was very much needed and appreciated. As one woman commented:

A lot of Indian people lived there (in the area of core settlement), we all went to the same temple and everyone knew what everyone else was doing. I think it is quite nice to be part of the community, my dad has been ill and our community has been absolutely brilliant. But you need your freedom, a wee bit of space as well. I still go to the temple and meet everybody I keep in contact. But I wanted the freedom to sit in my own garden with my shorts on, were as an Asian woman in the West End I wouldn't dare go out with my bare legs. Here it's just white people and they're not going to look at you and go uuuuh, if it was another Asian person they'd be thinking, 'cover yourself up, what are you up to?'

Mrs Waseem, Bearsden, northern suburb

In summary the core area still plays a very important role as a place of reception for new migrants as well as still representing a place associated with both ethnic and

national (country of origin) identity and community and family life. The association between ethnic identity and the core neighbourhood is also connected to the symbolic aspects of these communities in that the visual aspects of these areas, the shops, typefaces, colours, and the religious infrastructure and symbolism are part of these associations that supplement notions of simple needs related to going to a mosque or getting halal meat. Despite the continued importance of these associations, the ‘stifling’ and ‘policing’ effects of religiosity led to the search for privatisation that many felt could be found in the suburbs.

The Suburbs: Aspirations, Identity and ‘peace and quiet’.

In spite of the importance of easy access to the core in choosing the new area there was evidence from the suburban interviewees that a move was also a strategy to create some social distance, in line with the desire for privacy. Of course reasons for moving between locales are never one-dimensional. As the ‘policing’ of personal behaviour compromised individual space in the core equally privacy was a key characteristic of people’s idea of what the suburbs were or could offer. In addition, most had moved to live in a quieter and more secure environment with a more spacious house and garden.

In the same vein, area reputation and the status indicators associated with particular suburban locales were influential in attracting people. To an extent the suburbs have always acted as a form of expression of higher social status. It is difficult to decipher how much of this attraction was related to class values. Rather, what is clearer is the relationship between locale, life-style and identity as relating to social status. It was significant, to a certain degree, to the interviewees that the people living in the suburban areas were middle-class and white this was in some way synonymous with a feeling of status not only within the ethnic community but within broader society. It led to people feeling that instead of being measured socially within the ethnic community they had stepped outside and had now expressed part of their identity in such a way (namely through the place that they lived) that allowed them to have status within the wider social system. Furthermore, the suburbs were representative of the type of environment and values, especially educational ones, which were very much sought after by some interviewees.

People here are amicable, they are courteous, the reason being because the people living here they are owner-occupier and they are well established. Therefore their children go to better schools and therefore their behaviour everything is better.

Mr Gahier, Giffnock, southern suburb

It was also seen by some, most especially Indian interviewees, as an opportunity to live in a neighbourhood with others who were more akin to them professionally and socially than residents in the core. There was evidence of a stratum within the Asian community in the core as the social networks of several of these interviewees before moving to the suburbs were made up of 'educated Asians' (Mrs Raja, Bearsden). Living in the area of core settlement did not necessarily mean that everyone felt they were part of a community some viewed it as a problem area, whilst living in the suburbs created some social distance. This brings to mind the early writings of Gans (1972:33) who questioned the extent to which spatial organisation and residential location are useful for explaining behaviour and ways of life. He argues that social phenomena cannot be understood entirely as a consequence of the ecological. Rather ways of life are functions of class and life-style rather than of environmental factors of the neighbourhood. Some of the suburban residents had carved out a social network in the core with people they had felt they had a social affinity with and had less interaction with the wider group of Asians living in the area. The feeling that people in the suburbs are more like them was something that made them feel comfortable and gave them a sense of belonging. As well as the suburbs giving status, there is a sense that they, obviously including the residents, are reflective of the personal identity of those who had moved from the area of core settlement. As Savage *et al.*, argue:

'One's residence is a crucial, probably the most crucial identifier of who you are. The sorting process by which people choose to live in certain places and others leave is at the heart of contemporary battles over social distinction' (Savage *et al.*, 2005:207).

Suburbanisation from the core was talked of as being an up-and-coming trend. A few of the residents of the core settlement thought materialist/status motives were common drivers of suburbanising. In the words of one woman:

'It is a prestige thing, you know, it is like another step up the ladder kind of thing. It is like just showing everybody ... 'we've done well now' we can move out of a flat and get our own house, back garden and things', that's what people kind of aspire to. Everyone says, 'oh, they've got the money now.'

Mrs Al-Mufti, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

To some degree the moves of other economically successful families to the suburbs have established an escalating route that for some is now perceived as a natural course, related more with wealth than life-stage. Although, all families that had moved to the suburbs had experienced an increase in financial resources enabling their move, for some it was living in multi-earner households that created the financial capacity to move. To some extent suburbanisation was spoken of as becoming a norm signifying progress or status in ways that are reminiscent of the broader/majority population during the last century. As one man living in the core commented:

(When core residents see others moving to the suburbs) I think it makes them feel that, you know, they start to wonder ... is this the natural progression to move out of the city, they think is it just the way it should be done? You know, you're used to people living here all their lives and you start to think, you know, why am I still here? Is it because am I not conforming to some thing you do, like they aren't keeping up... You do think that you are kind of stuck, still here.

Mr Mahmood, Woodlands, northern core

Despite this, some economically successful professionals in the area of core settlement choose to remain there as they wanted to be in close contact with their families and found it convenient living within close access to places of worship and cultural

amenities. Equally, others aspired to living in the suburbs but were limited by financial constraints.

For some, however, the contrast between the core and the suburbs led to feelings of isolation and alienation. This was more often the case for Pakistani women who were not in employment, could not drive and had no children of primary school age. As one woman who had moved back to Strathbungo/Pollokshields, the fact that she had a disabled child was also a critical factor, from the suburbs commented:

It was too secluded you didn't see anyone, I mean here like for the kids they can play out in the park its only five minutes away, it's only across the road I can keep an eye on them. When you have a young baby on your hands, you know if you don't have transport and that, then getting from Giffnock or anywhere else you know its getting things like milk and bread and things like that its a dilemma when you've got a disabled child. I felt out of it.

Mrs Hussain, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

Some women had become more dependent on their family for daily excursions or errands that they were able to manoeuvre entirely independently when they lived in the core area and missed the close domestic arrangements and relationships with friends. Having children of school age seemed to give women a greater sense of being socially active in their new neighbourhood, due to shared interests and concerns for children as well as the interaction at school gates and events that fostered a sense of commonality between themselves and other mothers in the area. Educational facilities in general, in suburban middle class areas, seemed to act as a strong bind to the area. Having their children attending the local predominantly middle-class school seemed to be an expression of status and of family aspirations. Educational facilities and their good reputation were key factors in determining residential location, especially for the Indian interviewees.

On the other hand a handful of younger families interviewed felt that too many people they knew from the core were moving to the suburbs and the privacy and anonymity that they had moved in search of was being eroded. For instance two young couples

spoke of having to leave the area to go to the supermarket if they wanted to buy alcohol so that no one would see them:

I would just like to get away...just having to bump into people who kind of watch when you are going out...we are young we are not like most Asians, we drink...its just that sometimes if you pick up a can of beer you are worried who you are going to bump into...one of his family or one of my family and not just that there are loads of friends and family like within the community as well.

Mrs Mir, Giffnock, southern suburb

For the majority of the interviewees who had suburbanised an assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of living in a concentrated ethnic cluster and of dispersing out of the core was reflected in their decision-making processes about where they would move to. They still saw advantages to living in the area of core settlement, foremost the distinct advantages of the supportive nature of the ethnic and religious community and social ties. In practical terms language, not just out of necessity but often people enjoyed speaking in their mother tongue, religious events, including religious education for children and socializing related to cultural events as well as the provision of specialist shops were seen as important community resources. They also recognised that for some core residents the fear of harassment and hostility gave them low mobility aspirations and meant security was seen as an advantage of living in there.

The disadvantages of living in an area of ethnic concentration were related to the future effects of being distanced from social interaction within broader society. Often people, whose children attended the local, predominantly Asian, school, talked of concerns they had about their children being exposed to too little of the Scottish culture. As one mother commented:

I only have one son and I didn't want him to only mix with Asians. I wanted to move out to Bearsden (suburb) so that he wouldn't have problems in later life. Because I think if you have grown up with all Asian friends then getting

a job with white British people can be hard because you have been in this wee community all your life.

Mrs Waseem, Bearsden, northern suburb

A few of the interviewees located in both the suburbs and the core area did air of fears of a lack of ambition developing amongst the youth living in the core. They felt that in general young people did not have to work as hard as the generation before to guarantee an income; instead they could rely on the family business and older members of the family for jobs. This was related with a disaffiliation and problems amongst the Asian youth in the area and to gang membership. For households with children worries about negative influences and the future of their children clearly influenced their residential choices.

There were specific issues regarding their negative perception of the spatial concentration of Asian groups that had influenced several of the Indian interviewees. These interviewees placed a strong emphasis on moving away from not only the Muslim community but the Asian community in general to an area where, in their own words, they would be more '*integrated*'. Although concerns were usually centred upon their aspirations for their children this was also indicative of a concern not to have their status reduced by the association of their personal identities with Pakistanis living in the core:

I'm Indian and I've got nothing against Muslims cos I've got some very good friends who are Muslims but I just felt that I've only one son, and I thought I'd either send him to private school, now this sounds awful snobbish but I didn't want him to go to the local (neighbourhood) school cos I just felt there were far to many Muslim children here I didn't want him to pick up on the gangs or the habits...It was getting more and more Muslim at the time and I would like to think I'm not a racist against my own type of people, right, but I just didn't want him, cos quite often a lot of our people, if one buys a house then we all do and get together... it wasn't a snobby thing I just didn't want him to only mix with Asians.

Mrs Singh, Giffnock, southern suburb

There was a concern with shirking the 'Asian' stereotype and distancing their own identity from what they felt was a lack of distinctiveness from the Pakistani Muslim community, which they saw as being the fabric of the stereotype. They resented their 'Scottishness' being diluted, which was clearly part of who they felt they were and who they wanted to be. As one woman commented:

This is my country, my home...I feel when people see, or when the indigenous population see Asians or what they term as Asians they start moving out...this is why we moved out (of the core area), it is all mostly Muslims now, people think we are all the same.

Mrs Singh, Giffnock, southern suburb

This was tied up with issues around the low class position of Pakistani Muslims and negative connotations related with increasing Islamophobia. Thus a clear effort was made to overcome any cultural or structural divide that clustering may suggest from the majority population, there was a sense that their various social and economic achievements were undermined. In a sense living in the suburbs negated the cultural and structural divides as certain social and material aspirations had been fulfilled. To a certain extent this could be interpreted as an emulation of white middle class aspirations as the arbiter of having achieved status or normality even, however the importance of personal cultural and religious values, practised very much in private due to their very nature, perhaps reveals a more holistic picture of what living in the suburbs meant for these interviewees. These aspirations and the desire for privacy and a more individual identity that relied less heavily on their ethnicity or on being 'Asian' seem to coincide with a more general set of aspirations to be found in groups with growing resources.

Conclusions

The area of core settlement played an interesting role in both attracting new residents, retaining old ones and in leading to a desire in some households to move. The importance of the established community and the amenities of the core were different for different groups of people. The majority of core residents saw both advantages and

disadvantages to living there. Despite its contribution to household decisions to leave the area, the core area continued to play a significant function in the lives of out movers. It was the place they frequented most regularly and often, especially for Pakistani participants, this was on a daily basis. So to a large degree, although people were attached to the area in very different ways, its usefulness and importance for cultural, religious and social reasons was something common to the vast majority of interviewees including those living in the suburbs, in some capacity, regardless, of their personal characteristics. Although a choice for some, there were constraints that kept others in the core, regardless of their real residential preferences. These constraints were most commonly financial or cultural. The scarcity of religious facilities outside of the established core areas acted as a constraint for some depending on their ethnic group, religion, generation, age and level of religious observance. On the other hand cultural and social factors compelled people to move as living in close proximity to the established community diminished their independence and compromised their sense of privacy.

The migration of households to the suburbs was clearly enabled by an increase in resources, which was in unison with, or perhaps a catalyst of, increased social aspirations. On the other hand some people simply wanted more space. The types of services and markets that a large number of these households wanted to have opened to them were clearly available in the suburbs, most especially proximity to good schools and larger properties with private gardens. Although ties, in differing degrees, were maintained with the core, there was a sense that a move constituted a strategy to establish some social distance. In a sense moving out, as well as creating distance socially also signified 'moving up', and was, in the opinions of some interviewees from the area of core settlement, something that was becoming a natural progression. There was a sense of belonging amongst the households in the suburbs that was fostered by common concerns and a sense of social affinity between residents based on their children, status and having new and better housing markets and services open to them. This was important in making people feel satisfied in their neighbourhood; however, a move to the suburb appeared to be less about gaining a sense of belonging to a place locally and more to do with being part of a system that is broader than location, which includes sense of national place and identity. This involved a wider use of spaces on a

daily basis than when they lived in the core, leading to daily commutes and increased mobility across the city. This wider use of space on a city level is juxtaposed with making personal and home life more private. Living in a more 'mixed' neighbourhood was a motivating factor for some, most especially Indian participants, to suburbanise. In a sense this was tied up with the desire to have more distinctiveness from the 'Asian' community, to move away from stereotypes and to 'integrate', which contradicts government views on minority ethnic residential choices.

8. Housing, Households, Families and Safe Places

Introduction

This chapter is an exploration of three key issues, the role of family, the impact of housing and perceptions of safety, found to shape the residential motivations of the interviewees. These factors were found to play a significant role in residential choice but were also strongly interwoven. Household composition of South Asians has tended to be larger than the average in Britain. Extended family households or three generational living is common and has been maintained to a large extent as a traditional norm (Al Awad & Songuga-Barke, 1992; Chang *et al.*, 2003). Thus the residential choices of South Asian groups might be more complex than those of their white counter-parts. As Chang *et al.*, (2003:733) write, ‘the decision to move involves changes in commuting times, neighbourhood amenities and social networks. These changes cannot be expected to have equal effects on the utility of each member of the household’. The inter-play of family hierarchies and more intricate generational roles is shown here to have an impact on residential decision-making processes. This, of course, also depends on the nature of family circumstances, the primary earners of the household and individual preferences within the household.

The more complex household composition of South Asian households has a strong influence on households housing needs and preferences. In general the residential mobility literature lends itself to the assumption that households are bound to particular areas by ties to family members, jobs, neighbours and housing units (Speare, 1974; Bach and Smith, 1977; Newman and Duncan, 1979; Landale and Guest, 1985; Deane, 1990). The strength of attachments may be measured as the degree of satisfaction expressed by members of the household, whilst it is argued that, in general, dissatisfaction rises as the family life cycle changes and the ‘fit’ of the house deteriorates. Due to the more complex household formations there are often changes in different phases of the lifecycle occurring at once within a household meaning a greater variety of different housing needs may need to be addressed at any one time.

Solutions to housing needs were not simply thought of as being structural but of course related to key locational attributes. A critical feature addressed in the housing literature specific to minority ethnic groups has been the importance of safety in contributing to housing outcomes (Bowes *et al.*, 1997b; Sarre *et al.*, 1989). As the role of the neighbourhood (the people living there, the social ties that these create and the environment and services provided there) was discussed in the previous chapter, another decisive factor in choosing location was important in the interviewees' residential motivations, the safeness of a place.

This chapter is structured as follows. The first section considers the role that the family plays in residential motivations and decisions. Some interesting changes in the traditional family structure are given attention, and the strong pull that family obligations create is discussed in the context of where people move to and the limitations that these may place on peoples housing choices. The second section considers housing issues, namely space and overcrowding, housing condition, affordability and house type. The third section considers the role that safety and feeling safe in an area has on influencing where people live, this relates to the discussion in the previous chapter about accessible areas in the city.

The Family, Proximity, Space and Changing Cultural Ideas

Living in close proximity to the family, for the majority of interviewees but more so for Pakistani interviewees, was a decisive factor in choosing where to live. Family obligations often led to limits being put on the areas in which people felt they could move to. This motivation involved elements of the pressure of familial expectations and a need to be close, to give or to receive financial, domestic and emotional support. For instance one interviewee said that having his family close by made him feel, '*safe and confident*' (Mr Gutpa, Woodlands, northern core). The fact that people wanted to live close to their family was given a cultural inflection as some respondents felt that it was an '*Asian value*', something that distinguished them from the Scottish. In the words of one interviewee:

I do enjoy having a big family; you get a lot of support with the cultural background and things as well. We are Asians so the family tends to stick together. The moral support may be financial as well. It's more of an obligation I think with us, there's that closeness it's probably greater.

Mr Bashir, Woodlands, northern core

The pull of the family seemed to be more important than living close to neighbourhood amenities or the ethnic community. For almost all of those interviewed in the core, living there was seen, foremost, due to family ties before ties to the wider ethnic community. Recent migrants spoke of feelings of isolation in the community when it came to support for anything other than emergencies or in learning English. In the words of one man who had moved a few years before from India:

No the other (Asian) families here don't support me. We have to support each other just me, my wife and two children here (in Pollokshields) they are all family, cousins, sisters, brothers, you know they all support each other, I mean they care but they support themselves, the big families. When my wife was in hospital they helped us.

Ahmed, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

The deeper support networks and more domestic social ties in the community were described as operating more between relatives than amongst members of the ethnic community. Some of the interviewees were part of large extended families with great aunts and uncles, sometimes on both sides of the family and second cousins as well as immediate family. The desire to live in close proximity to the family appears to provide a support that is, somewhat, distinct from reasons why people remain in or move out of the core, limiting and constraining residential choices, for some, to the areas where their family live. As one interviewee commented:

No we didn't look far at all we just narrowed it down to these wee bits around here we wanted because we wanted to stay near the family. We really did not think of the possibility of living anywhere else, we couldn't really.

Razia, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

It was very important for those moving to the suburbs to have the support of the extended family whether it was financially, emotionally or at least to have their overall approval. Few families moved without a prior discussion with their family about their future housing plans, which often resulted in the whole extended family deciding they would follow in a process of chain migration hence a re-clustering of families within a few streets of each other in the suburbs. When Asian households began to move to the suburbs, it was seen to be a pioneering move for the first member of the family to move out of the core. Often moves were managed with family support in both emotional and economic terms. Earlier suburban movers relayed feelings of stress during their move relating to the uncertainty of how new neighbours would receive them, at such times the encouragement of the family was an important reinforcement.

Household Composition

Despite the close ties between families, there was evidence of changes, related to increased affluence, occurring in the household formation of some of those living in the suburbs. Several extended households had separated to form smaller nuclear families. The change in household formation appears to have been made viable due to several interrelated factors, including an increase in purchasing power within these families and a change in reasoning behind the extended family. The root of the extended family, according to a few interviewees, grew out of poverty and lack of resources that forced families to live together to save money. Although aware of the benefits it afforded, such as close family ties and a greater sense of responsibility for relatives, as greater wealth was accrued and combined with an increasing need for personal space and privacy some of the interviewees began to question the need for it. In some instances families who had formed a new household actually had *less* physical space. As a man from the suburb of Bearsden who had moved out of the extended family home several years previously commented:

I'm very fortunate really I've got three brothers who actually live in Bearsden and my parents... everyone lived together in the one house, which just wasn't practical. I enjoy having a big family you do get a lot of support

kind of cultural as well and financial, we are fortunate that way. I mean a lot of that stems from the villages in Pakistan where people don't have a lot of money, so they had to live together... it was more out of necessity, but it became cultural. So a lot of Asians try to carry that scenario on... it just wasn't practical.

Mr Sadiq, Bearsden, northern suburb

Reasons for this change are complex, involving the interweaving of several factors including individual issues, familial relationships, economic power and changing cultural practises. The absorption of new family members, as the sons of the household began to marry and have children, was not an easy process for some. For others tension existed between different parts of the family, while others described feeling a lack of responsibility or of control over their lives and others a lack of privacy. In the words of one man who had recently moved from the extended family home in the core to a suburb:

When you have different sections of the family staying together there are always possibilities of tension. I could live with it if it was just my parents, it's my family, but my wife found it more difficult. I mean a good example is when relatives who visited, viewed it as my parents' house, so they didn't pay any sort of respect to our privacy or our children's in any way. It was like we might as well have been coming to visit. We were almost like guests in the house ourselves as well as lodgers, that played on my mind too...and it got to the stage well, you think you should move on and sort of take responsibility for your own life.

Mr Gahier, Giffnock, southern suburb

The need for privacy or space among the interviewees was never a straightforward motivation but complex in its juxtaposition with what was felt to be the value of the cultural practise of living together with the extended family. There were also other factors that complicated family life and living arrangements such as divorce.

This change does not appear to have diminished the importance of the family or of family obligations as factors influencing the choice of residential location. Although the extended family was still valued, co-location to achieve its benefits was no longer seen as necessary by the majority of the younger interviewees. Despite this, proximity to the family was still a significant determinant in specifying where these newly formed households decided to live, most remaining in the same area. It was more difficult for the older generation to accept and a long and emotional process of negotiation often preceded a change in the formation of the household:

My mum and dad took it very bad when my two older brothers moved out they fell out and everything. Initially it was really hard for my mother, it was that sort of idea you know that the family could fall apart and now everything is finished.

Mr Dahliwal, Bearsden, northern suburb

One woman living in Bearsden had a more unusual view about the importance of living in an extended family. She had older children, her son in law was a pharmacist and due to his comfortable financial situation she felt it made no sense for him and her daughter to live in the family home. The family had also bought a buy-to-let flat in the west end of the city in which their son lived in during his university years, despite the space in their large six bedroomed home. As they were financially very comfortable and could afford to have the children live outside the home she considered it an opportunity to be grasped, were she could teach her children to be independent and responsible, so they would learn the real cost of things, manage their finances and budget for bills and food.

Thus, even in the light of changing family formations, the role of the family in the lives of the majority of those interviewed continued to be a crucial factor in determining choices made by the household around location and residential mobility. The influence that living within close proximity to the family had upon housing choice was related to values that the interviewees specified as having stemmed from ethnic practices and traditions but were, however, less related with the ethnic community and its location. Most of the suburban Pakistani interviewees had moved to the suburbs and dispersed out of the core area of ethnic settlement because their families were also moving, to

either the same house or the same neighbourhood. Equally some remained in the core despite the desire to move due to familial resistance. Whilst there were closer spatial ties amongst all generations of Pakistani families Indian interviewees tended to live nearer family members of their own generation, whereas it was largely expected that the younger generation would move away to study or work.

Housing Issues

Changes in the life-cycle of the households interviewed, undoubtedly, led to a move and moves were obviously based on an assessment of whether or not the housing met family needs, however sometimes households just made do as they could not afford to move, or housing was swapped and shared between relatives to solve problems of overcrowding. Relating to the previous section, often as the family structure of the interviewees changed, usually with the marriage of children, the absorption of relatives from abroad or the splitting of extended households into nuclear families, housing needs also changed. More often, however, in the case of the suburban movers a house move was related with an increase in resources, aspirations and the ability to afford more space rather than a change in the lifecycle.

Space, housing condition and affordability

These three factors, space, housing condition and affordability, acted in unison to add to a person's desire to move and to specify where they could move to, if at all. In the traditional areas of core settlement, space never acted as a push factor in isolation. When interviewees discussed problems with the size and structure of their property they did so in conjunction with household condition. A few of the households interviewed who were living in the core settlement area had made their last move due to poor housing conditions characterised by severe damp and overcrowding. This is illustrated through the experience of one family who had been living in a damp one bedroom flat with five children for several years. Despite having preferred to stay in their previous neighbourhood, Govanhill, which is an area with a developed Asian community infrastructure, they moved to Strathbungo/Pollokshields to escape these conditions. This relocation was enabled by the prolonged financial support of the paternal grandparents,

who had given their home to the family, moving to a smaller flat a few streets away in Pollokshields, to provide much required space and better conditions. A compromise was made between the desired location and a house that was of a tolerable standard that met housing needs and that was affordable. In this instance, extended family support facilitated a move to a similar area with a similar cultural support network and infrastructure which eased many of the inhibitions the family had about the move.

The process of moving within the core was not easy due to increasing house prices, being a time of accelerated growth prices had increased by 63% in Woodlands over the three years prior to the interviews and in Strathbungo/Pollokshields by 41% (register of Sasines: authors own analysis). Other interviewees who had been living in homes of substandard condition were unable to afford the appropriate renovations or to buy in the same area. They were forced to move to the periphery of the area where house prices were slightly lower. In the words of one interviewee who had lived in the area since the mid seventies:

*My flat in **** Street was in very, very poor condition; it was very damp and made me get asthma. I wasn't very happy to move because my flat is further away from Woodlands Road. I have to live near the mosque so that I can go there very often on foot. But now I feel ok because I can still see all of the same people everyday when I go to mosque or when I do my shopping.*

Mr Tabatabeyan, Woodlands, northern core

In several instances there was a trade off between housing condition, affordability and location, with location generally being the factor that was compromised. However, in most cases households remained within reasonable access of the community and cultural facilities. Affordability of owner occupied properties has been a key issue for minority ethnic groups that has been highlighted in the housing literature (Kearns, 2002; Littlewood and Kearns, 1998); here it also appeared as a critical factor. Several individuals had gone through periods when they could not maintain their housing costs and had had to move to a cheaper and often smaller house within the core, some after a period of renting, often resulting in their new home being overcrowded. An older man

had had his home repossessed due to difficulties in making mortgage payments and was forced to move into council housing on the outskirts of the city for a lengthy period before being able to afford another home in the core settlement area.

Affordability was also an issue for the younger generation, upon marrying some of the children of long term residents were forced to look for alternative accommodation due to limitations in space in the extended family home. This proved difficult, especially in Woodlands, due to rising house prices as a result of gentrification and the popularity of buying properties to let to students. Mohammed and his wife were '*making do*' in the overcrowded family home despite having bought a house in Strathbungo/Pollokshields as they wanted to be close to the family for the birth of their first child:

Nowadays it's difficult to go into the house in the area that you would like to because the prices of the houses here are so high. We bought a house and it was a good price it was a main door and had a garden so we took the opportunity. At this moment in time I'm still deciding what to do. I'm not sure if I will move in there yet. My wife is pregnant so at least for the first six months we will need the family around. Ideally I would have liked to stay here, I'm quite settled here, I've grown up here and it's the convenience of everything around you.

Mohammed, Woodlands, northern core

Most of the suburban interviewees had moved from the core area, in some part, for more physical space in the home. This was tied up with a desire for a different house type and environment as several suburban interviewees who had moved to semi-detached homes found space to be as constrained as it had been in their previous home. In general though, living outside of the congestion of the city, in a house rather than a flat, having private front and back entrances and a garden made people feel as if they had more space.

It was common, on first moving to the suburbs, for suburban movers to buy a smaller and more affordable house, usually semi-detached, in order to live in the area that they

most desired. This was a stepping stone to both the location and the house type that they most desired. As one woman commented

This house has always been a bit small and whenever we can afford, we are going to move to a bigger house. We are very happy in this area; the only thing is the house is a bit small. We choose to have a smaller house though so that we could live in this area.

Mrs Aftab, Giffnock, southern suburb

In line with this interviewees had then moved again to a bigger house once resources permitted, whilst this was the plan of several other households. It was considered a worthwhile price to pay to have a smaller house in a better area, characterising the common trade off amongst the interviewees between housing and location.

House type

In the traditional areas of core settlement studied, the predominant house type was the tenement. This house type, to a large extent, tended to be more accommodating for the needs of an extended family household, in comparison with the kinds of terraced factory houses often occupied by minority ethnic groups in the north of England, although overcrowding was and still is prevalent. For several of the interviewees, however, the tenement, with their steep stairwells, was often no longer suitable accommodation due to changing needs associated with the onset of old age or changes in family structure. This was also difficult for young families but they were more able to manage and having children did not usually lead to a change in house type unless combined with an increase in resources. This acted as a major push factor for some interviewees who were elderly or had elderly relatives to move to the suburbs and was an issue mentioned by several core residents, as a possible future push factor. There were very different reactions between different generations, within the household, to a move out of the core area. To a large extent a move for this reason was seen as an opportunity by the younger member of the family as before, they felt without a changing housing need, it would have been impossible to negotiate living outside of the core. However, the experience for members of the older generation, who had

predominantly suburbanised to live in a bungalow, was different. They often felt isolated and dependent. Several returned to the core settlement area several times a week to do shopping and see friends, many had lived in these areas for the majority, if not all, of their time in Glasgow and the change took longer to adjust to. Although with increasing moves from the core, the adjustment was made slightly easier. As one Indian woman who had moved to the suburbs with her parents commented:

My mum and dad they live in a bungalow, they also came from the West End. So we had to look after my mum and dad, they couldn't get up and down the stairs in the closes (tenement flats). My dad liked staying there and my mum liked it for the shops, she could go to all the local shops when she wanted, she's in Bearsden now she is stuck, she can't get out and about so she has to rely on us. It's not as easy as it was for her just to go round the corner and see her friends and do the shopping, there are Asian shops there as well.

Mrs Waseem, Bearsden, northern suburb

This was an adjustment that had to be made as the flats in the core settlement areas were no longer suitable or adaptable to the needs of the elderly individual. Several had been waiting on a ground floor flat coming on to the market but to no avail, which in each case was the preferred instance to moving out of the neighbourhood. So the age factor was related to specific needs that made it necessary to change house type but it is also important in terms of the reaction to this move. The families of the elderly individuals saw the situation as an opportunity, which may not have been negotiated with the head of the family if the need for more suitable housing was not there, as in each case the older member of the household was reluctant to move. One young man talks of the difficulty of the move for his mother:

We were in a flat in Woodlands at the top, in a top flat so obviously hiking up and down the stairs, my mum was getting on so her legs weren't working too well and she was having to climb up and down the stairs and it wasn't good. I think though she would have preferred to stay where she was it was so handy she could walk out to and she had all the shops you know bits and

pieces. Whereas here you know you can't exactly just walk out, you know, to the shops. You need a car to get to and from. And cos friends were nearby and you're just across the road you can just nip into friends' houses... we were very close knit her brothers' family were in walking distance.

Mr Bashir, Bearsden, northern suburb

House type, was often also a pull factor (although never in isolation) to the suburbs for those who were not elderly, often related to the desire to live in a bungalow or to have a house with a garden and with its own front door as opposed to sharing a communal entrance, this is in line with the common desire for more privatised living conditions.

Safety and Area Reputation

The influence of fear of or experience of racist crime and threats has been noted in the literature as having relevance in the housing choices and outcomes of the minority ethnic population (Bowes *et al* 1990a; Sarre *et al* 1989). Safety or more specifically *feeling safe* was frequently mentioned as a key exogenous factor influencing the actual moves of the interviewees. Although not an explicit research question, the importance of safety and neighbourhood reputation emerged from the analysis of the interview data and merits consideration in more detail.

Safety was undoubtedly one of the most necessary neighbourhood characteristics in making an area desirable to live in. For several interviewees, their individual experiences had led them to move in the search of a place that felt safe but for all interviewees, regardless of their experience, the safeness of an area was a factor that they had considered carefully before choosing where to live. There were several factors that interviewees, prior to living in the area, used to deduce that it was a safe place to live; namely area reputation, the socio-economic profile of residents, the fact that the area was 'multi-cultural' and tolerant and the experience of other South Asian households in the area. For early pioneering suburban movers knowing there were other Asian households in the area, regardless of their degree of contact with them, was a significant factor in making them feel safe in the area. The socio-economic background of the residents, for more recent suburban movers was a factor in assuring security as

well as other members of the ethnic group being present there. Pointing to a racialisation of space in the city related to fears of hostility.

There was evidence, though, that feeling safe was further reinforced by the anonymity and privacy of the suburbs along with quite notable security devices and fencing, which indeed was not unusual in the majority of houses in these areas. In contrast to recent research that suggested that the more ethnically diverse an area is, the less likely people are to trust neighbours or others within that area (Pennant, 2005), several interviewees rated a cultural 'mix' as a positive aspect that provided evidence of a cohesive area, thus indicating it was a safe place to live. This was talked about more by the interviewees living in Woodlands, where, being near the university and having quite a transient population, the mix is social as well as cultural.

For households who had moved to the suburbs from Strathbungo/Pollokshields safety was a much more prevalent motivation. Strathbungo/Pollokshields was considered to be a problematic area and its reputation had declined mostly in response to problems with Asian and white youths in the area. There had been multiple robberies of Asian households in the area. Mrs Hussain who had been robbed on numerous occasions due to the easy target her ground floor flat made describes this:

Well there is a lot of this about in the area, break-ins, the majority of people that are living in Pollokshields are Asian and we've got pure gold you know. It's a status symbol, the more you have it shows your wealth, more or less. But people don't keep their gold in the bank, they need it for easy access- to wear. So a lot of youngsters - Asian, which I hate to admit, know where the money is...it's easier and worth more than TVs and microwaves...stick it in their pocket and walk out... it is increasing... they watch their mums with the gold they know how much it is worth... they need to fund the drug habit.

Mrs Hussain, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

The interviews with residents in Strathbungo/Pollokshields were conducted in the interim period between the brutal murder of a white youth and the trial, from which

Asian youths were later convicted. At this time shock was reverberating throughout the neighbourhood, it was a time of insecurity with threatened rallies in the area by BNP groups from the north of England. There was a clear sense of insecurity amongst the residents, however, the interviewees from the area emphasised the benefits of the neighbourhood through the joint reaction of the white and Asian residents. The strength of social ties across both ethnic groups and religious groups were accentuated as being evidence that the area could still be considered a good place to live.

On the other hand, the interviewees who had moved out of the area were relieved that they had moved when they did. The threat of increasing trouble within the area was a push factor in household's decisions to leave the area. This was heightened by people talking in the neighbourhood about the situation or by ties residents had with other Asian households living outside of the area, who had a view of it as being problematic. Although, people living in the area felt that the area had declined, both physically and socially, they still saw distinct benefits. Stigma was imposed more from without, several of the interviewees who had suburbanised felt in some sense alienated from their past because of the difference between the area when they were younger, and in the current period. As one Indian woman commented:

My dad still lives there and he tells me about the boys running around in cars at night racing and causing riots, there's a lot of police presence there now...not so long ago a boy was kidnapped and murdered there and that was something you know just round the corner from where we used to live with my parents. I used to play there, going to school, walking...it was like my home area and that kind of thing happening and the things that dad tells me I just cannot understand, I cannot imagine how it has changed.

Mrs Singh, Giffnock, southern suburb

The extent to which the area had changed was described as being more dramatic and over a shorter period of time by those who had moved out of the area than by those who continued to live there. A few interviewees left the core area and moved to Giffnock because they were worried about the impact of the area, and what they saw as a poor social environment, on their children. Residents in Strathbungo/Pollokshields, in

general, as well as for prestige/status motivations, felt that the moves of people out of the area were for greater security. One man thought that the only reason people stayed in the area was because they did not earn enough money to buy elsewhere.

Some individuals, however, preferred to remain in their current neighbourhood, making a compromise between what they felt they needed in a neighbourhood (in terms of services and social support), and feelings of insecurity. As Wolpert (1966) argued, more generally, in his theory of residential mobility, that even if an individual makes a negative evaluation of their surroundings it may not constitute the right condition for residential change as people may adjust to this negative aspect in several other ways than to move. He also introduces the concept of a 'threshold effect' in that a negative evaluation must reach a particular level before the individual begins to search for somewhere else to live or that people may find ways of decreasing their dissatisfaction that diminishes their inclination to move. Many of the interviewees, unless they had a few incidents in their housing history in which they had experienced hostility or racism, usually took other measures to secure their homes, many households had padlocks on their front doors which they locked when leaving the house, or emphasised positive neighbourhood benefits rather than move. Whenever feeling unsafe in an area, however, was combined with poor or unsuitable housing they had become very dissatisfied and moved, thus it was a combination of affects, which of course simultaneously depended on financial capacity. For a few interviewees living in Strathbungo/Pollokshields, however, fear of crime and a desire for peace and less noise created a desire to move as part of their *future* housing plan. Particular neighbourhood benefits and assets, linked primarily to the religious and cultural infrastructure in the area, and lack of financial resources, however, presently offset the move. The 'pull' of the core and having convenient access to its facilities retained them in the area despite their fear of crime, Mr Dahlwali highlights the negative and positive factors of living in the area:

My wife she likes Pollokshields because of the cloth shops and all Asian shops. So she thinks she has to live in Pollokshields, she doesn't speak English, even though she is scared all of the time, she spends most of the time in the house, she doesn't want to leave and she has two or three friends who live in nearby houses.

Mr Dahlwali, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern suburb

In short, a compromise is made between feeling safe and area benefits. A small number of interviewees had a strong desire to move out of Strathbungo/Pollokshields but were constrained due to their financial position. In the words of an interviewee who was deeply dissatisfied with the area:

The robberies – everything - it's not safe...I am living here because there is no choice, that is why we are here. If you want to buy a house anywhere else it costs too much you cannot afford it. I have even tried to get a council house but I can't get one anywhere they tell me I have to wait for two years or something. So there is no choice. Some things are nice but some things are bad. The nice things are the school and the everyday shops but the other things are not nice, it is not safe...you can't leave your house alone for long, you just worry...

Ahmed, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

Even for those interviewees who had negative experiences on first moving to the suburbs that prolonged and made the settling in process more difficult, a compromise was made between those initial feelings of being unsafe and the area benefits that they desired, good schools, a neighbourhood with a good reputation and the right to live in an area that matched their socio-economic status. Those households who had remained in their current area despite feeling unsafe had learned to live with these feelings and in this environment in order that they could experience the area benefits that they desired.

For some interviewees their move in pursuit of safety was a much more complex and decisive factor in the history of their housing career. Two interviewees, who had been living in an area adjacent to Woodlands, had moved back to the core after experiencing violent, racially motivated attacks in their home. In both instances injuries were sustained and their children witnessed the attacks. To some extent this kind of discrimination and hostility still constrains people to the core, for instance, after such experiences living in the core for these families was described in terms of providing a refuge.

Discrimination and hostility were not common in the majority of the interviewees residential experiences. Despite this, the *fear of hostility* had influence upon the areas that people felt were open to them and an assessment of the safeness of and reception that they would receive in an area was a factor in deciding where they would live. Individual experiences differed, the housing career of one Indian man was characterised by multiple house moves in pursuit of safety. He had changed areas and tenures many times in order to find somewhere he felt safe. For him, as a result of his negative experiences, the most important factor in creating not only neighbourhood satisfaction but personal contentment was linked with feeling safe which was reflected in his desire for anonymity and privacy. He had begun his housing career in Scotland after his marriage to a White Scottish woman (since divorced). During his marriage he had lived in a predominantly white area in the East of the city, here he had the impression from his encounters with people (through body language and expression) that they were uncomfortable with him and the marriage. This was the cause of friction, creating severe household problems until the final divorce. After his divorce, he had moved into social rented housing. He was allocated housing in Sighthill, an area of the city that has absorbed many asylum seekers on their arrival to Glasgow and renowned for its social problems and intolerance. Here, his experience was extreme, he was threatened and rarely left his flat unless he had arranged for someone to collect him and bring him home again in a car. Even then he was nervous about using the elevators in the building because of what he described as loitering youths and drug users. He also had negative experiences with the housing authorities who offered little support or understanding:

I felt so unsafe there, many times I had requested to be moved out of there...they used to jag (inject drugs) in the lift, I was so fearful, I used to lock my door and never go out. I only went out when I needed to buy something. I stayed there for two years and the housing people they don't really bother with the coloured people. Every time I told them about the problems they would say everything was fine and it is the only thing we can do for you. Maybe they didn't realise the problem but they were a bit inconsiderate.

Lakwinder, Woodlands, northern core

From here he moved into the private rented sector, although not his first choice but again due to financial constraints, and moved to the Strathbungo/Pollokshields area of the city. He was reluctant to do so as he thought his experiences would be limited if he lived amongst other Asians and that this would inhibit him from, '*integrating with the culture,*' something identified by all of the Indian respondents as being an important part of their housing choices. Despite this, he assumed that he would, at least, feel safe in the area. He did feel safe in the building in which he was living where the neighbours were all white, he described them as being receptive and friendly. However, he felt unsafe living in the area due to the gang activity and in some sense he felt alienated from both communities in the area explaining his resulting sense of isolation. This was accentuated by the sectarian tensions in the area, highlighting the links between sectarianism and racism in Scotland and subsequent group defences. Although, he said he would feel safer in a more multicultural area he still felt that if the Indian community was larger in Strathbungo/Pollokshields he would have had a greater sense of belonging to the area. In his own words:

I didn't feel safe in the area, and I didn't use to go out in the evening, there used to be fights. After the football matches the gangs they would start throwing everything...it was very unsafe. These people would use names and racist chants. So the Pakistani community they group together, I think because of this and recent things...they are always like that anyway because of their religious attachment. I was a little bit out of there because of the Pakistani community. These barriers...hidden barriers between communities it was not easy to break those down in Pollokshields and be able to feel comfortable speaking to people...I tried to interact but there I felt isolated.

Lakwinder, Woodlands, northern core

Conclusion

The traditional role and structure of the family has been portrayed by several of the interviewees as dynamic and changing in both practical and philosophical ways relating to individual experiences and other differentials such as socio-economic class, increased

affluence and generation. The increase in wealth amongst some of the interviewees had led to aspirations to own their own property and accrue their own assets and furthermore to have a greater degree of control over their own lives. This was never an uncomplicated motivation but one that contrasted with familial pressures and recognition of the value of living in the extended family. Despite the dwindling importance of co-location, amongst some of the younger generation, to achieve the benefits of the extended family, and the constraining aspects of familial pressure, the importance of living close to the family, although not in the same household, continued to be a decisive factor in attributing to residential motivations and choice. Living in close proximity to the family was a stronger residential motivation than living in proximity to the ethnic community or to religious and cultural facilities, though of course, these other factors influenced family decisions.

These changes in family structure and the entering of different phases of the lifecycle had obvious affects on housing need. The change in the family structure of several of the suburban households has been shown to be related, principally, to and made viable by increased economic affluence. This has implication for the size of properties families need but raises interesting questions about the importance of the extended family for Asian households, more generally, if the right housing or resources were available. The often poor quality and overcrowding of homes in the core has meant that households who did not want to or could not afford to move were forced out of necessity. Poorer households with less economic power or stability showed resourcefulness and flexibility in creating solutions to their housing problems. In the same vein, however, for housing needs to be met often a compromise was made between housing that was affordable and of a tolerable standard and location (often these households were forced to move from the heart of the core to its periphery or to other areas). It was more common that the opposite compromise was made by suburban movers, that the size and type of the house was compromised in order that they were able to afford to buy in their desired location. This led to many second moves within the suburbs, after living there for some years, or planned future moves, as households tried to achieve their ideal house type.

Feeling safe in a neighbourhood, fear of crime and neighbourhood reputation represented real issues for the interviewees, more critical for some than others,

depending on the neighbourhood in which they lived and of course on their experience. Safety and security had influence in two major ways, first on several of the interviewees quality of life, thus affecting current neighbourhood satisfaction (as discussed in the next chapter) and secondly on the interviewees propensity to move, as discussed in the current chapter. The importance of feeling safe and comfortable in a neighbourhood was pronounced, as is likely with most households. For suburban residents any safety measures taken to secure their home were to some degree about 'padding the bunker' (Davis, 1998). However, this had an ethnic inflection as fear of crime or of not feeling safe in an area, amongst several of the interviewees, was based on an uncertainty of how residents in a new location would react to their colour or ethnicity. When safety did not act as a direct push factor from the neighbourhood that people moved from, the safety of a place was deliberated as an important issue in making residential choices, putting constraints on the areas they felt where open to them across the city. The main elements considered to make a place safe, in the view of the interviewees were the reputation of the area, anonymity, the class or socio-economic make-up of the area and the knowledge that other South Asian groups had moved there before.

9. Residential Outcomes: Settling in or Moving on Again?

Introduction

The previous chapters have explored the residential motivations of the interviewees and considered the array of factors that compelled households to leave a particular area and the factors that attracted households to a new locale. Of course, these push and pull factors were rarely forces distinct from one another and decisions were often about rationalising the two within the confines of constraints and other individual differentials. The current chapter explores the outcome, rather than the motivations, of these residential decisions, (both to live in the core or the suburbs) the interviewees experiences of transition between, in some instances, two very different areas, the interviewees thoughts on their move, their sense of inclusion in and their satisfaction with the new area and their future residential plans.

Outward mobility from the inner-city as part of a process of suburbanisation or ex-urbanisation, has often signified social aspiration and has been seen as an indicator of social mobility, resulting in what Pacione refers to as the 'modern message of difference' (2001:84). A key starting point of this research was concerned with the fact that these processes have largely been a white phenomenon from which minority ethnic groups have been excluded. The fact that moves to the suburbs have been relatively recent for this group and are increasing raises questions that need to be considered regarding the ease with which they settled into and achieved a sense of inclusion in these largely private areas with different social environments and facilities, in comparison to the traditional area of core settlement. In a similar vein, if suburbanisation is an emerging preference amongst some South Asians then the degree of their success in achieving this is significant in terms of wider issues of integration and perceptions of safety and hostility across the city. A traditional vision of the suburbs has included the image of retreating into the private life of the home. Fishman (1987:3) referred to the suburbs as representing, 'a collective assertion of class, wealth and privilege', this image or definition of the suburbs is at odds and contrary to life in an inner-city neighbourhood, which many of the interviewees were used to. Therefore the extent to which this image or definition is reflected in the reality of the lives of the

suburban dwellers and the ways in which Indian and Pakistani households, who have moved from the inner-city, have emulated, adapted to or negotiated their life-styles around their new environment will be considered. Furthermore, considering the degree to which the move realised household aspirations.

This chapter is structured as follows. The first section considers the settling in process of the suburban movers, in terms of the degree to which the move met residential aspirations as well as looking at the interviewees sense of belonging in the suburban neighbourhoods. The second section considers the way in which feeling safe, safety and the social environment impacted residential outcomes. There were certain factors related to the social environment and levels of safety in the current neighbourhood, which had impact upon the neighbourhood satisfaction of the interviewees, affecting their lifestyle and quality of life, as well as having influence upon future residential aspirations and preferences. The fourth section looks specifically at future residential aspirations.

Settling in: Privacy or Inclusion?

Before any residential move we usually have clear expectations of the place that we are moving to. To a large extent, for interviewees the meeting of these expectations acted as a measure or a reference point for having settled in or as an indication of the achievement of their residential aspirations. 'Settling in' of course meant different things to different people, for some it meant the achievement of the goal to have a private life or a particular kind of lifestyle related with their expectations of the place, for others it meant being at the stage where they were interacting with people in the area.

Further to the discussion in the previous chapter, the recent study by Savage *et al* (2005) helps us to understand more fully the outcomes of moving house and the adaptation to the new area for the interviewees. The authors were primarily concerned with understanding the relationship between locale, life-styles and identity in the middle classes. Challenging the assumption that class culture and life-styles are a product of professional life or employment they explore the links between *residential processes and class cultures or identities*. They found that a sense of belonging in the middle class

neighbourhoods in which they conducted their study was not shaped by a history in the area but rather through a process of 'electing to belong' by partaking in normal social processes in the area which led to a sense of ordinariness. There are parallels that can be drawn with the current study, a sense of belonging in the suburbs, amongst the suburban interviewees was related less to social interaction and interdependencies between people but was related to an election into the social norms of the area, such as educational values, shared concerns about children, keeping themselves to themselves, privacy, and a certain material standard of life. Further to this living in the suburban neighbourhood reflected more accurately the interviewees social progress, whether it was related to class, education and economic resources or just economic resources and status. The fact that the interviewees felt that their personal identity was reflected more accurately by living in the suburbs was a key factor in their personal satisfaction and satisfaction with their neighbourhood.

Settling into the new suburban area was easier for families with children. Savage *et al* (2005) link 'elective belonging' with bringing up children. In their study in-migrants talked of how bringing up children in the area made them feel at home, as people living in these middle class neighbourhoods had common concerns related to the local politics of schooling. They argued that to belong in the area was related to the 'wider spatial organisation of the educational field' (2005:54) in which their children located them. They show that this process rather than generating close social ties amongst residents generates detached social networks but is a means of 'performing belonging' (2005:54). Concerns about children, participation in local schools and the emphasis on the importance of the educational achievement of their children was something that suburban movers felt they had in common with other people in the area. Indian interviewees more often moved because of the schools in the area, whereas some of the Pakistani interviewees said they had not thought of the quality of schools before they moved, but it was an aspect of their new locale that they were very satisfied with and that had become very important to them. As well as giving suburban residents common values, more practically, mothers with children of school age were thrown into social situations in which they met other residents and fellow parents from the area. As one woman from Bearsden commented:

I was nervous about moving and getting to know people in the area but once we were here and actually really it was when the boys started playgroup and things it made it much easier. We started to meet other people, at school, just like us with young children.

Mrs Waseem, Bearsden, northern suburb

As well as giving people a general sense of belonging in the area, for the Pakistani women interviewed, who were all Muslim, it was an opportunity to meet other Muslim women whilst dropping the children off at school. This was an important resource as it provided an informal information network that kept them informed about any events or of new Koran classes starting in local homes.

As Savage *et al* (2005:12) argue that belonging is a socially constructed process in which, 'people reflectively judge the suitability of a given site as appropriate given their social trajectory and their position in other fields'. For the suburban interviewees, in the majority, living in the suburbs reflected their social trajectory without disrupting their cultural field as they found ways in which to balance different aspects of their lives, travelling back to the core for religious and cultural purposes and some Muslims had developed relationships with other Muslims. Contrary to this however, for others the fact that the new place of residence did not reflect their cultural and religious field became a problem, which stemmed from the fact that other residents in the area, namely Jews and Christians had religious facilities, this is discussed later on in the chapter.

The process of settling was not entirely easy for some of the interviewees. Several interviewees felt quite isolated and although desiring more independence and privacy, the adaptation to a new environment was difficult, as the quiet residential environment was at odds with the busy core where social interaction was higher. The majority of the suburban interviewees missed and still needed face-to-face interactions. As one woman from Giffnock explained:

It was really hard when we first moved, I just thought it was so far away, that was my first thought and when we actually did move in I thought, oh god it's too small and it's so quiet. It took us quite a wee while to get used to

that, before we lived in Pollokshields, where it's quite busy, we lived just off the main road, you could hear cars all the time. Then here it was so quiet that the silence used to keep me awake. We hardly saw a soul on the street.

Seema, Giffnock, southern suburb

Some households were unable to adapt and returned to the core from the suburbs, after a couple of years. Each of these households had members who had previously played central roles in the religious community in the core, living outside of the core made them feel detached from the community and that both their influence and responsibility had diminished. One woman, who was the daughter of the head of the household, gave insight into some of the factors behind reverse moves:

Well for us to move out to the suburbs it was really a novelty, you know and that really helped everyone to settle in but after a while my dad started feeling out of the way of the community, feeling the quiet too much. He is one of the actual leaders in the Asian community and he was finding it difficult because people didn't know how to contact him. He was too out of the way and was always travelling back towards Pollokshields and Shawlands.

Mrs Mir, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

The ease of settling-in differed according to age and stage in the lifecycle. In general it was most difficult for the elderly and teenagers to settle in. The elderly, who had moved with their extended family, had, in the majority, found the move unsettling. The longer the length of time they had lived in the core the more difficult it was to settle in (most had lived in the core for the majority of their lives in Scotland). They had close friendships and were, religiously, very active, meaning the religious facilities in the area were both important and necessary for religious observance (this was more so for Pakistani interviewees) there was also a sense amongst older people that the core area represented a place strongly associated, symbolically and on the basis of certain needs, to their ethnic and sometimes national identity (relating to their country of origin). The ease of settling in, depended, also, on how mobile they were, those (very few), who were independent and could travel back and forth to the core settled in much faster and

enjoyed their new found mobility across different spaces in the city, in a sense it opened their horizons. However, more often it meant dependence on relatives.

For teenagers the difficulty lay in moving away from friends, who they would see several times each day. Living in the suburbs meant they were more dependent on their parents for transport. For example after losing his mother one young boy of fifteen would make his way back to the core everyday on public transport. The area was a safe and familiar place for him with support from family friends that was not available in the suburbs. As his older sister commented:

I think my brother at first, he was like, 'oh I hate it, I hate it', because all of his friends were in Pollokshields. He felt that he belonged the most to there because he grew up there, his friends were there it was familiar for him and when my Mum passed away about three years ago now, that made him go back there all the time. He kept going there every single day.

Seema, Giffnock, southern suburb

Of course, this is an unusual instance, but in general those interviewees who had teenage children described battles when first moving, some parents were concerned they had made the wrong decision in moving. In each case, though, after a relatively short period of time these concerns subsided as the young people settled in and parents became very satisfied with the effect of the new environment on their children, especially with the secondary school (in both of the suburban areas).

Initially, men were less worried about settling into the area than women, however, the majority of the men interviewed had been anxious about the move on behalf of their wives. Most of the men worked outside of the area in which they lived and had less need to worry about their everyday lives in the new neighbourhood, as they tended only to be there in the evenings. On the other hand the majority of the women, excepting two of the suburban households interviewed, did not work so being able to settle into the everyday life of the area was essential. A substantial number of the women of the households interviewed in the suburbs were unable to drive, so it was important that

there were transport links to the core and, that for those with children, schools where in walking distance. As one man describes:

Yes, this area did, it felt like a natural choice to me, I really did not have any problems or worries at all at least for myself. It was more sort of concern about how my wife would find it but really she was ok in the end. And we managed to find a house close to the school, my wife she can't drive so she has to walk the kids to school. And we made sure there were shops nearby so she is really happy here.

Mr Gahier, Giffnock, southern suburb

In line with the discussion in the previous chapter, family was a much more important aspect in helping people settle in than having members of the same ethnic group in the area. Many interviewees said that although they knew of other Asian families living in the area that they did not seek them out neither did they have any substantial contact with them when they first moved or during the first months there. Instead they had come into contact with them on a random basis whilst doing shopping or leaving the children to school etc, as one man describes in the quote below. Despite this, a few interviewees said that knowing other Asian families lived in the area already gave them some sense of security that they too would settle into the area. As time went on several of the Pakistani interviewees had developed relationships with each other, discussed later.

I mean there were already a couple of Asian families who lived here when we moved, they stay quite local and we knew of them through somebody else and eventually got to know them - not very well though - really we were on our own when we moved here, just the family, the other Asians in the area we just got to know in general, like meeting in the local Asda, or the local school dropping the kids off or something you know just in general.

Mr Bashir, Bearsden, northern suburb

Feeling a sense of inclusion or belonging in the suburbs was often never really related to meaningful social interaction. Public space, to a great degree, was very private due to

several factors, there was a high usage of cars, even to drive locally, limiting people's exposure to other residents in the area. It was uncommon that people bumped into others in the area unless whilst they were waiting for children at school or shopping in the supermarket. There were few people walking and no street activity, just a few people mowing the lawn. In general each property had high fences, garden hedges and gates usually at the entrance and between the house and its rear. As the response of the interviewee below was common, most were happy to be friendly but preferred not to have direct contact with people in the area, reflect the amiability but weakness of social ties:

I spend more time with my sister (who lived in the area) and stuff but the old people I will say hello to them if I meet them, any of the wee women down the road...but sometimes they gabber, gabber, gabber. It's quite nice to be in the car because then you can just wave.

Bhindi, Bearsden, northern suburb

Several people placed more emphasis on the lack of interference that they had experienced when moving from the core to the suburb than on interactions in the suburbs. This weaker social interaction was completely ordinary in the suburbs, so people in a sense felt apart of what was normal social life there, as they had the same level of contact as other residents in the suburbs had with each other. As one man who had moved from Strathbungo/Pollokshields commented:

I mean I have freedom here they leave you alone you can walk with no disturbance, in Pollokshields people disturb each other all of the time, they stop you and are always talking to you here there is peace no interference and no noise, you can walk down the street and keep yourself to yourself.

Mr Lakwinder, Giffnock, southern suburb

Despite the infrequent social contact the majority of the interviewees felt they had some kind of meaningful relationship with their neighbours. This tended to be based more on functional and practical support, which appeared to centre on either the security of the house, practical arrangements for taking children to school or help in emergencies rather

than day-to-day domestic or emotional relationships. In the words of one young woman who had moved three years previous from Pollokshields:

It's like there is no community here, not here. I got that in Pollokshields but not here. I think everybody is just really keeping themselves to themselves. But if something happened then...like our next door neighbour she is really really good because if we go down to England we give her one of our spare keys and she keeps an eye on the house. She is good like that she helped out a lot when my mum passed away, so if anything did happen you could tell her.

Seema, Giffnock, southern suburb

Reduced levels of support or social ties with neighbours in the suburb when compared to neighbours in the core was favourable for most, not only because, as already mentioned, it afforded them more privacy and less interference, but it meant they had less responsibility for others around them. This was due, primarily, to two things, the first no longer having to play an active social role in the community or neighbourhood, whether it was providing support or the high levels of social interaction as they went about their daily business. The second, the difference in consideration for neighbours between living in the close confines of a tenement building and living in a house in the suburbs. As one woman who had moved to Bearsden commented:

It was very very easy for us to settle when we first moved here, I didn't miss the west end at all because I loved the garden for the children, it was so much better than the tenements mostly because you didn't have to consider other peoples' preferences. I could let the children run around, hang the washing out anything without worrying about the neighbours

Mrs Noor, Bearsden, southern suburb

Despite, this a few other respondents would have liked more involvement with their neighbours. Interviewees in general in Bearsden found it more difficult to interact with people in the area. A couple of interviewees, described the relationships between women in the child rearing phase of life to be 'cliquey' this made them feel

uncomfortable going to events, such as coffee mornings, because there were exclusive friendship groups between women who had grown up in the area. In the words of one interviewee who had lived in Bearsden for ten years:

There's always something going on in Bearsden. There's always like the Gala Week and then there's the Highland Games and there's lots of coffee mornings and things. I really don't get the chance to be involved and I don't really think I'm that kind of person because I find them really cliquey here, you know, they have like wee groups. I tried but they just keep themselves to themselves.

Mrs Khan, Bearsden, northern suburb

Religious Links in the Suburbs

In both of the suburban areas a small Muslim community had developed. This was a matter of convenience for most and about meeting religious needs, although, others missed having close contact with other members of their ethnic and religious group and wanted to have associations in the area that they lived. The nature of this re-gathering and relationships between the group was very different to being apart of the community in the core. The difference seemed to lie in the nature of people's associations, there was less reliance on one another for day-to-day and emotional support and there was no social mix, neither did the associations seem to have a bearing on their private lives as they did in the core. Several people described having the best of both worlds in their eyes: interaction with their religious or ethnic group and privacy.

The Pakistani community was more developed, although in a more informal way, in Bearsden than in Giffnock. For several years people had met in the local school to break their fast and pray at sunset during Ramadan. This arrangement, gave people access locally to very informal facilities necessary for religious observance, saving them having to travel to the mosque. This was an element of peoples' lives, although contact with others from the same religious group was infrequent and restricted to religious events, which helped them to feel settled and supported. As one woman who had lived in Woodlands previously describes:

The community is very good here, you see people at the shop or at the schools. I am quite close to the people who live here. I had a couple of friends who lived here before I moved and slowly I met others...like during Ramadan when we are fasting we all get together in the night time to break our fast. We break our fast and pray once a day for a whole month so we really get to know each other and get close there are not too many Muslims really in this area.

Mrs Raja, Bearsden, northern suburb

The process of building a religious community and religious facilities in Giffnock was more difficult than in Bearsden. This was partly to do with problems several of the pioneers of the development had had with the East Renfrewshire council and because their plans were more formal, involving the opening of a mosque and community centre. Some of the interviewees in Giffnock felt that it was important not only to have religious facilities for observances but also to create a central place for the Muslim community in the area. The aim was to provide a place for individuals to socialise, where necessary services could be provided, such as English classes, a library with texts in Arabic and in other languages for those who could not speak English and a social centre for the elderly, amongst other things. As one man who had lived in Giffnock for over ten years commented:

You know if you have been to the mosque the mosque is not only a place for worship. The library is there, the reading room is there, and everything is there so in other words, the five prayers only take one hour out of 24 hours. So the rest of the time you go there you go to socialise with people and see people. For instance the old people they might go for one prayer and they stay socialising until the next one. So this is what is missing from this area that would really help people feel apart of the area this socialising.

Mr Sadiq, Giffnock, southern suburb

In many ways this was to do with localising the Muslim community, as people in the area attended different mosques across the city and hence had no real chance to get to

know one another. This seems to be at odds with the desire for independence and privacy that a large number of the interviewees said motivated them to move. However, the desire to establish facilities appeared to be in response to the pressure of travelling back to the core regularly, there was also a sense that personal privacy would not be compromised as people did not live in close confines and was related to trying to balance new residential patterns and religious affiliations. One interviewee expressed his desire for more involvement with others from the same ethnic and religious background in the following way:

From an Asian point of view there is no community here it hasn't developed yet, well I don't know from the statistics but it's probably a recent thing really people living here in Giffnock, but I think we have got to establish a community sort of spirit here. I think the modern Asian as it were is trying to integrate more than the first generation, but I think there is still a desire to develop to become more involved with each other in the area but this really hasn't happened yet.

Mr Gahier, Giffnock, southern suburb

Desires to be involved in a community were for some more pertinent than for others, some of those interviewed would have appreciated the facilities but were less concerned about creating a 'community' and close ties. The following woman from Bearsden illustrates a common feeling that several other interviewees expressed:

There are some groups here we meet up for religious events, it is nice to speak Urdu, not that often but for special things in our calendar. The support is important and to go out and meet people but the thing is even by going to these meetings I can still keep people out of my business. Well actually even when I live out here people still know my business as they talk you know but here at least I feel as if I have my privacy.

Mrs Raja, Bearsden, northern suburb

Several of the Pakistani interviewees interpreted the freedom to have a place of worship as a sign of acceptance. This therefore made the reactions of other residents in the area

to the plans of establishing a mosque/community centre pertinent to the sense of being or indeed feeling included. The refusal of the East Renfrewshire Council to allow plans for a mosque, especially when there were both Christian and Jewish places of worship and community centres in the area, was a source of tension and alienation for some, although, not all of the Pakistan interviewees. The following interviewee highlights the benefits he sees stemming from having a mosque in the area and reveals the thinking, of several other interviewees, in terms of the right of one religious group as opposed to another:

I was reading reports about it (opening a mosque) and it turned out that a resident complained about it because it would bring down the value of his house ... Through my work I have gotten to know which community services are there. There are a lot of churches, and there are a lot of synagogues and there are no mosques. The thing is about the mosque is that it's not just about prayers. It is a sort of community element about it as well, a lot of people would rely on a mosque for information and services and if there is a charity group, for instance to teach Asian people English. There is really a missed opportunity here I mean that would probably bring the whole community together I think a lot of Asian families might not go to the normal library, like my wife she can't read English. But this would really support her by letting her interact with a lot more people there so people can know what is happening and feel apart of something in the area.

Mr Gahier, Giffnock, southern suburb

Re-gathering in the suburbs appeared for most to be about convenience and facilitating simple religious needs without travelling to the central religious facilities. However, for a smaller number of interviewees there was a clear desire to rebuild a Muslim community in the suburbs as a means of increasing the opportunities to meet up and socialise together which in a sense is contrary to the desire for privacy and space from the community. In some aspects this desire perhaps renders social distance rather distance from the close confines of religiosity in the core to be more prominent in influencing why some people want to move.

The Social Environment, Safety, Fear of Crime and Lifestyle

In the last chapter the importance of the perceived safeness or the feeling of being safe was discussed in terms of its role in influencing where people lived, here, however, the impact of safety and the social environment is discussed in terms of life in destination areas. There were certain factors related to the social environment and levels of safety in their current neighbourhood, which had impact upon the neighbourhood satisfaction of the interviewees, affecting their lifestyle and quality of life, as well as having influence upon future residential aspirations and preferences.

A few respondents had been victimised in their new residential location leading in some instances to quite serious constraints being placed upon their lifestyle, the ease of fitting into the neighbourhood and their sense of safety. There were very different reactions and affects on the interviewees depending on the motivation of the crime. This was contingent mainly on if the motivation was racial or if it was more general, for instance a robbery that may occur to any other resident in the area.

Any crime or threat that the interviewees experienced in the suburbs was largely a robbery or crime against property, this type of crime being, to a large extent, expected in quiet, affluent, middle class suburbs. Naturally, those interviewees resident in the suburbs who had been robbed did feel insecure in their home and they had taken extra security precautions by way of fortressing their home or by simply changing more relaxed security habits. The more common nature of this crime made it easier to deal with; hearing of other families in the area in a similar situation eased any feelings of being singled out in the neighbourhood. Those who had experienced robberies still felt, in general, at ease in the neighbourhood. As Mrs Waseem who had been burgled a few months prior to the interview related:

It was just unfortunate, the house is just so open and everybody can look into the house if they pass because we are just at the top of the hill and everyone can see what's happening. I feel quite comfortable staying in my house. It is just a bit creepy to know that somebody has been in my house,

but I don't want to move. I've gotten comfortable with my neighbours. I don't really have any problem.

Mrs Waseem, Bearsden, northern suburb

To the contrary a racially motivated threat was a direct personal threat. The majority of interviewees had no problems at all, especially those who had moved more recently. However, a few interviewees who had been amongst the earliest Asian incomers to the area were threatened when they first moved; this alienated the family within the new neighbourhood creating mistrust between them and the new neighbours. Two Indian families, quoted below, had moved from Woodlands to Bearsden and in the first week they arrived had received a threatening anonymous letter:

We had one racist letter, saying, 'why are all of these people moving here bringing with them their pigs and their cows and their animals?' Actually I don't know if I should tell you this but this was the kind of letter they used to use for Irish people, my friend told me. When I told my friend that's what she told me, it's not just us but it also happened to the Irish people...I just put it in the bin and it never happened again, but some people said I should have told the police. It really unsettled us because we were thinking all of the time, which neighbour it could be and we didn't trust any of them.

Bhindi, Bearsden, northern suburb

We got a really nasty letter through the door. I don't know if they check and see who is moving in and if they are Asian or what they are, it was a horrible wee letter but nothing happened... It was racist but nothing came out of it... We ignored it but it made you feel uncomfortable, you know is it this neighbour or that neighbour...we couldn't trust them. Now we have got to know them, it wouldn't have been any of them, it's stupid and silly, I don't know but it wasn't a nice letter anyway.

Mrs Raja, Bearsden, northern suburb

Another family had received a prank phone call from teenagers in the area pretending to be from a racist group. This caused distress within the family, as the threat was very

personal, describing their home and so on. The police had been involved and very supportive. Although this incident was a prank it changed the amount of freedom that the family allowed their sons to have, and made them aware of what they considered to be potential risk. As the mother of the household describes:

Someone got hold of our telephone number and pretended to be, they were called Combat 18 (A(1)dolf H(8)itler). They phoned the house and knew exactly what car we drove, which school the boys went to. It was called a prank but to me it wasn't a prank the boys were so frightened. I didn't want them going out or anything even though then they were about 15 or 16. Because of the colour you have to put up with so much....we've been lucky but I know people who have had a lot more problems....this one girl I know she lives in Bearsden as well...it is her next door neighbour is really nasty to her. The neighbours don't like them because they are Asian.

Mrs Khan, Bearsden, northern suburb

Each of the families stayed in the area after the threats; however, it meant that the process of settling in was more difficult and led to them moderating their behaviour in some way, whether it was in levels of trust with the neighbours or in increasing the security of the house (some installed alarms, gates and cameras). All of these instances had been isolated and were over-written by positive experiences with neighbours, building trust with the neighbours, however took some time. In the words of Bhindi who had been the recipient of a threatening letter:

It took us a long time to be able to settle in and trust the neighbours. Well there's one man Bob, and he was kind of funny, so we thought it could have been him but now he is great. But now they are actually all fine... it did take a long time to think...God you know who could it be that doesn't want us here and we have every right to be here as any other person.

Bhindi, Bearsden, northern suburb.

In Strathbungo/Pollokshields there was a more critical situation relating to the Asian youths in the area, who were intimidating residents, mostly within the Asian

community. A significant number of the households interviewed had been robbed, some on more than one occasion by Asian youths in the area. For many interviewees this had led to a dramatic change in levels of neighbourhood satisfaction and feelings of safety in the area and significant behavioural changes. A few interviewees only ever left their home if there was someone able to stay to take care of it or they would only leave it for two hours at a time. One more recent migrant from Kashmir described disappointment that the crime was coming from within the locality of the Asian community. As a consequence of the robbery the primary function of the community, as a safe and familiar place within the city, was compromised for him. His sense of insecurity was heightened because the robbery had been committed by Asian boys:

I don't like living here. I don't feel safe because two years ago there was a robbery in my house. The young children in the neighbourhood are breaking in and thieving, they are our people. It is these young children who use drugs, so it is not safe, they are some of us (Pakistani). Now I can't leave my house, unless I have to because I worry, I have to stay in the house a lot. And my wife when we go for shopping she is scared all the time about what happens in the house so she is always saying, 'hurry hurry'.

Ahmed, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern suburb

This led to a more pronounced use and role of home as several interviewees felt they needed to guard their private space. In specific parts of Strathbungo/Pollokshields it was common to see the main doors of each flat within its close to be padlocked shut in addition to an ordinary yale lock or the like. Several people had installed imitation CCTV cameras; others had had iron bars made and fitted on to their windows as Mrs Hussain who had been burgled twice in her current flat and twice in the one previous had done:

There are so many break-ins, it used to be that you didn't have to bother about locking your doors and things like that but now you have to you know. I've had to put bars up because it's a big safety issue and now I think I am going to have to take them back down again because I don't think they meet

with fire regulations... for access out of the flat but for safety it is the only way that I feel safe leaving the house for any amount of time.

Mrs Hussain, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

The gangs of boys were more visible on the street in recent months and a couple of interviewees had friends who had been attacked at night on the way to the mosque for prayers. The response to victimisation limited the personal freedom of several interviewees. Some took security precautions at night and walked with friends or drove to the mosque, situated in the neighbourhood. One interviewee highlights this through the experience of a friend:

My friend... he was beaten and they took some money from him at twelve in the night time. You can't walk in the night on your own. If you are going to night prayers you have to walk with others or you have to go by car. It is safe in the morning for morning prayers because they are sleeping.

Mr Dhaliwal, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

There was a sense amongst those who had lived in the area longer that they would be protected to a greater degree, even though long-term residents had been subject to robberies and crimes against their properties, than those who had recently taken residence in the area. In the words of one resident from Pollokshields who had grown up in the area:

I think it makes a bit of a difference in terms of who is targeted. I mean if someone had just moved into the area it would be different than someone living here for 20 odd years. Also the way you conduct yourself especially matters. If you are one of these people who is causing trouble all the time then people are going to be antagonised by you.

Mrs Mahmood, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

It was difficult for the interviewees to talk about these problems openly for fear of offending anyone in the community, there was a fear of shaming a family by naming

names. They took obvious care in any discussion of the issue, as one interviewee from Pollokshields illustrated,

There is a an underlying current of intolerance of all of this crime in the area, people don't like it, but nobody is going to come up and say anything in fear of saying something wrong...because you don't know if you are talking to the right person, when you are talking about these kind of things.

Shabina, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

The majority were privately indignant with the parents of the gang members. As primarily, they held them responsible for exerting a weak discipline on their sons and compensating for time spent away from the home at the family business with liberal amounts of money for the boys' disposal. In the words of one resident who felt very strongly about this topic of weak parenting:

Their parents are not controlling them; they are not teaching them how to achieve a better life. If you don't water a plant then it will get dry....these parents have a greed for money, so they don't have time to look after their children...they give their children more money than they require...I watch who my boys are spending time with and where they are going. They just aren't controlling them....They are hiding their children from the police, if they are doing bad things they should tell the police.

Mr Sakinder, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

The anger surrounding the current situation was evoked primarily by the disbelief that this unrest was being generated so openly from within the Asian, mostly Muslim population and that it was having consequences on how people from outside the neighbourhood viewed the area, especially as there had been media coverage of the situation. There were costs felt by the interviewees in terms of safety, this was heightened around the abduction and murder of Kriss Donald, referred to earlier. Furthermore, the influence that this situation had on the life style and quality of life of the residents of the area was significant. A fear was generated that there would be

retribution with the involvement of the BNP. The vast majority of interviewees had not left their homes for several days around this time. As one woman commented:

There are a few gangs and a lot of rival gangs starting up in the area as well...starting up now that...you know, there's a lot of racial tension, you'll have heard yourself about Kriss. When he was abducted and murdered there were a lot of people talking about reprisals and that...we've been lucky that nothing major has happened...It's down to Kriss' family that nothing happened in retribution because the BNP were up...they were wanting a rally up and down Kenmure Street (the street where the victim was abducted). So that was scary, that was scary...and it was all over the papers
Mrs Mahmood, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

Less can be said about the motivations behind the gang behaviour, without more in-depth interviewing. However, it seemed in some way, that, the increasing crime from within the community marked some type of reaction to sectarian fighting between other white youths in the area and intolerance. Several of the interviewees were confused by the behaviour of the youths who they knew to be in gangs as, albeit not frequently, they still attended the mosque for prayers. On one hand although appearing to be in breach of the ethnic and religious community they had not completely forgone religious adherence. Saeed *et al* (1999) conducted research exploring identity among Pakistani teenagers and found that they adopted religious labels as an element of their identity even when they did not practise the particular religion. To some degree, gang membership and subsequent territorial authority in the area appears to be mitigating a sense of identity that primarily deviates from societal, religious and cultural norms. In its essence, however, it encompasses some sense of how these boys feel both Asian and Scottish providing them with a media to negotiate this through and a way to fight back. In some sense the gang members are rejecting cultural and religious norms to achieve secular standing with their peers and this is illustrated through crime against the Asian community. Whilst on the hand they are using their background as a way to mark their identity or territory with rivals who similarly are identified by religious affiliation as a mark of sectarianism.

Future Aspirations

Future residential aspirations of the interviewees reflected levels of satisfaction, or predicted changes in circumstances as well as encompassing idealistic elements. Future aspirations in general were differentiated to a large extent by stage in the life cycle, by generation and by case study area. The younger interviewees and those who had been born in Scotland expressed a preference to move out of the core and further away from the family or the community, in some instances further out of the city beyond the suburbs than those more recent migrants, middle aged or older respondents. Those interviewed, in the majority, who had had a trans-national marriage the spouse (in each case from Pakistan, except one from Dubai) expressed a preference to return to their country of birth.

The vast majority of interviewees from Woodlands wanted to remain in their current neighbourhood showing high levels of attachment to the place and the community. This appeared to be related to the social environment of the area, the social mix of its residents, reflected in the services and facilities available in the area, the desirability of living close to the university and the hub of the west end and the interviewees' connection with the wider community, as well as having the cultural and religious facilities to worship and maintain cultural traditions. Those interviewees who had lived in the area for a long time had higher levels of place attachment expressed through a desire to stay in the area. Several of the interviewees talked of the importance of the 'good' reputation of the area and not only displayed pride but a distinct sense of security. Ties with the area appeared to be prevalent not only due to the safety felt there but was also related with fear of the unknown and the lack of assurance they had that a new area would be safe or that they would create new relationships and ties with residents in another area. The following older man captures the feelings of some of the other older interviewees, in terms of the security that comes with familiarity as opposed to the uncertainty of living in an alternative area:

Here we've got everything I mean even more than the south side of the city. You don't want to be alone you want to be with your friends and people who know you. I don't know what type of people I would live with if I moved.

Here I mean if I'm feeling a little bit bored I just put on my coat and pop out to see my friends or go to the local shops I know the people who work there...I could never be happy away from here so no I never want to move.

Mr Bashir, Woodlands, northern core

Several other interviewees were involved in the running of the mosque on a daily basis, so felt they were needed as a community resource. In the words of the daughter of a couple who had lived in Woodlands for many years:

One thing that deters them from moving to other areas is that they've kinda built their life around here, you know, and obviously they would miss that. Just like the mosque is quite handy and everyone's going to that mosque and it is where they need to do their work in the mosque, they are needed.

Jasi, Woodlands, northern core

Despite the importance of the community and places of worship in retaining households, illustrating the long standing attractiveness of the core area the family in most instances had a stronger influence over future residential decisions, as it did over decisions made in the past (discussed in the last chapter). A couple of interviewees considered moving to another city in the UK in the future as their children lived there. As one man from Woodlands commented:

I said to my wife we could move to the east end because it would be cheaper but she said no because there is no mosque or Asian community there. Well I don't really have any plans at all at the moment but maybe my children like one of my sons has a job in Manchester and one of the other sons was thinking to move there because he was saying there are Muslim schools for girls and he was thinking to move for the education of the children. But if my children were in Glasgow I wouldn't move at all I would stay in this area it is important to me.

Mr Tabatabeyan, Woodlands, northern core

In Strathbungo/Pollokshields over half of interviewees had future plans to move out of the area, for the most part due to social aspirations to suburbanise and relating to rising crime in the area. However, several interviewees who were leaders or teachers in the local mosque and involved in a local community group, wanted to stay in the area. These interviewees had had dialogue with the police, which involved trying to develop strategies to make the community safer as part of a future vision for the area that was demonstrated through their community participation and activism.

A couple of women interviewed had trans-national marriages, in each of these instances there were tensions regarding future residential plans. In each case the husband had moved from Pakistan and wanted to return there in the future. For the wives, who were born in Britain, the idea of moving country was inconceivable, causing disagreement that had not yet been resolved within the household.

Both core areas still have many pull factors that attract and retain households. All of those interviewees who lived in a core area of settlement and wanted to move in the future wanted to move to the suburbs felt that it was important that they should live close to the core as it had a high social and cultural value to them. For several people it was financial constraints that prevented them moving, several interviewees thought that they might be able to afford to move when their children began to work illustrating the economic ties within families. Their intention was to wait until they had sufficient resources to buy in Giffnock, Bearsden, Newlands or Newton Mearns. Future plans for those middle aged interviewees, excepting one man who had thought of moving to Manchester as some of his children lived there, involved remaining in Scotland. There was a consensus that Scottish people were more friendly and tolerant than those who lived south of the border, this featured frequently as a reason to remain in Scotland. As the following interviewee from Woodlands, who had lived in England when she was a child, commented:

I think I wouldn't move down south, they depress me there, here the people are more friendly. I think there are more problems down south. I think Bearsden is a nice area, I would love it there, the size of the houses and peace and quiet. I would love a big house and a kitchen and a garden. Oh

Giffnock is a nice area, actually my sister lived there that would be my second choice

Mrs Raja, Woodlands, northern core

Interviewees from the core areas, reflecting the experience of some of the suburban interviewees, were willing to live in an undesirable property if it meant they were able to live in the location that they desired. Peace, quiet and safety were the most important aspects mentioned regarding desirable location. The feeling of being safe was related to the absence of gangs and the anonymity and the social status that the suburbs afforded:

Yes, Yes I want to move, my dream is Bearsden, Giffnock, Newton Mearns because they are very very quiet areas. I would like somewhere peaceful. Actually there are some sort of youngsters here creating problems and I'm not that sort of person I want a very peaceful life plus I don't want to let my kids join with them and I don't want my kids to hear anything negative that they could pick up. I'm looking for peace it doesn't matter, I could survive in a two bedroom. It doesn't matter I don't want a big fancy house, just the peace.

Mr Dahwali, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, southern core

There was still a degree of uncertainty amongst several of the core residents as to the safety of the suburbs, most especially amongst new migrants. None of the core residents, except one, mentioned moving anywhere else other than the suburbs. However, suburban residents were more likely to have future plans to move greater distances away from both the core, and from the suburbs. This seemed to be endorsed by an increased confidence related to past housing history and a loosening of daily social ties with the core. They had a wider geography of potential places in which they could live. A few families in Bearsden wanted to retire to one of the villages surrounding Loch Lomond, on the same transport route out of the city as Bearsden, being primarily attracted by the peace and increased isolation. Often there were long discussions within households negotiating future residential choices. The following interviewee had recently dissuaded her husband from wanting to return to India and

convinced him to remain in Scotland, but somewhere more rural as a compromise, as he had lived in a rural area in India:

My husband, he would love to move back home actually, to India but I wouldn't, it's OK for a holiday but I couldn't stay there. I'd miss all this here. I'd get a divorce before. Ideally actually we will move to a lovely wee cottage somewhere, it would be brilliant just to get away from it all. You could go away and lose yourself there. Even somewhere like Drymen, it's not far from here, it's just a wee place. I love Scotland. I couldn't live anywhere else. I couldn't.

Mrs Khan, Bearsden, northern suburb

In Giffnock two interviewees, both young married couples with young children, had future plans to move further south of the suburb, to the East Kilbride area. They wanted to move further away from Giffnock to an area where they would be totally anonymous, as family and community members had moved to Giffnock prior to their own move. They wanted complete privacy but within easy access to their family:

**F: East Kilbride was our ideal, wasn't it? It's kind of near enough but far enough from here. So we can have more privacy away from all the family living around here, live somewhere where nobody knows us but still be close to the family*

**M: It's just the finances isn't it?*

Couple, Mr and Mrs Mir, Giffnock, southern suburb

The majority of interviewees in both Giffnock and Bearsden said they wanted to remain in the area, however, a large number of these interviewees wanted to move house within their current location. Within each of the suburbs, there were pockets of semi-detached houses and pockets of larger detached houses or bungalows, with more private space around them. Some wanted to move for more space, as they were cramped in their semi-detached house, whilst others had material aspirations to live in a bungalow.

Yeah, I will stay here but I would like to move to a bigger nicer house, but

the prices are extortionate... I would love a bungalow, I'm only in a semi-detached but I would move to a detached bungalow if I could. I would move up the road a bit which is a wee bit of a better area, but I would stay in the area. I quite like the area and I like the views. That sounds awful snobby but I quite like it because I know some of the people around there and you get comfortable with your neighbours.

Bhindi, Bearsden, northern suburb

For two interviewees in Bearsden, although having similar material aspirations as the other interviewees, if resources did not permit a further move they had planned to extend their property rather than increase their debt, for religious reasons. As one of these interviewees commented:

No I'd like to stay in this area although I would like a bigger house but the prices in this area are too high now I am getting old so I am thinking of getting an extension because moving would cost too much, we could get two rooms for £20,000, some people would prefer to stay in a smaller house because of the problem with interest on mortgages but that really depends on the persons personal convictions.

Mrs Raja, Bearsden, northern suburb

Material aspirations account for the desire to live in a different house type and in a slightly different part of the neighbourhood, however the reason for staying in the area rather than moving to another, at large, were associated with closeness to family, security and safety. In addition two men had businesses in the local areas and liked to have easy access to work and to be near to their families even when they were working, as illustrated by Mr Sadiq. He was unusual being one of only two who wanted to reduce the size of his accommodation but preferred to remain within the same area:

At the moment, my business is just there, right, and my house is not far away it's so easy to travel. I come by foot and therefore supposing I move my house, then I have to travel to the shop. My missus, she can come around when she wants anything. She comes to wait for me. If I sell my house I will

still remain in this safe area with a smaller house. It's only really because of the house, not the area.

Mr Sadiq, Giffnock, southern suburb

Another woman described how unusual it was to now be thinking of moving to a smaller house in the future, as it had been a goal as the family earned more money to move to upgrade their house to their current six bedroom home. The children had moved out and although the property was over-sized for their needs they felt that they were moving backwards by downsizing, showing the extent to which material status had motivated their housing choices. To a large extent the size of the property in the suburbs was a sign to them that they were successful, for this, the woman said, they were respected in the core.

Another motivation for future moves for two interviewees in Giffnock was the educational facilities for the children; one school was favoured over another in the area, so both said they may move into the catchment area for the better school. Despite the differing motivations, schools, the size of the accommodation or different house types, for moving within the suburbs the status of the area and professional standing of its residents created a distinct underlying pull for all of the interviewees to remain in the area. As illustrated by the following interviewee:

Would I plan to move?... it depends really, I suppose, when the kids are a wee bit older and thinking about secondary school, then a lot would depend on that. At the moment, everyone seems to want to send their children to this secondary school which has a good reputation but we are just outside the catchment area. I think there is a sort of rundown school that they are spending I don't know how many millions fixing up. So we'll see how that improves and then take it from there. I don't really have a hard and fixed plan really. I don't know if living in this area has made me a wee bit of a snob...so if I moved it would be within a reasonable suburban atmosphere, a professional area. I think you want to be comfortable in your mind it's a good area for the kids as well.

Mr Gahier, Giffnock, southern suburb

The final decisive reason amongst the interviewees for moving within the suburban area was the desire to move out of the extended family home. A few other interviewees, apart from those discussed in the previous chapter who had already moved from the extended family, planned to move out to gain privacy and autonomy, however, still desired to remain close to the family. Neither of these interviewees had broached the possibility with their family and were anxious about doing so, as they imagined it would generate problems within the family.

The third, less common, future move considered by only two of the suburban interviewees was one that would bring them closer to the core, to adjacent areas. Both interviewees were middle-aged women whose children had grown; they wanted to be amongst the hub of activity in the core and to be closer to the city. However, both wanted to maintain distance and wanted to live in more expensive neighbouring areas that had more spacious accommodation. As one of the interviewees commented:

I loved the West End. If I had a choice, I would actually move there now because Davinder has grown up. I'd rather move back to the West End, I just think there's more going on, happening there. If I had the choice, I probably would move now, he's grown up, he's doing his own thing. I would actually like to go to move into a flat. I actually really like it here but I really would like to move to the West End over at Hyndland, there are some lovely flats and it's so handy for the shops and things like that.

Mrs Khan, Bearsden, northern suburb

Conclusion

The residential outcomes of the interviewees were varied and dependent on many different factors including personal and family circumstances, stage in the life-cycle, economic status and gender. Ultimately a move to the suburbs was accompanied by a change in lifestyle. People described their lives as being more focussed around the home rather than the neighbourhood as had been the case previously in the core. They also used many more spaces throughout the city travelling to and from more places for

work, leisure, to visit friends, for worship and to access cultural facilities in the core. Ultimately, however, the majority felt as if the most significant difference in their lives after moving to the suburbs was the increased sense of privacy. In general the motivation echoed by the majority of the interviewees was the desire for more privacy and security (as well as the importance of living close to the family), these expectations in the most part were met. Others found added benefits that they had not thought of before moving, the most common being the schools, mentioned by many of the Pakistani interviewees. The ease of settling-in to the suburbs depended on the level of social ties, and dependency on these relationships, that people had in the core before moving and their length of residency there.

In general the interviewee's, especially Indian respondents, sense of belonging in the area was related to their sense of ordinariness. Social affinities with other residents was an important part of the interviewees satisfaction with the area and shaped their sense of feeling apart of the neighbourhood, even though often this did not involve being particularly socially active or having close social ties with others around them. Having things in common, such as social status, was an aspect that created a sense of attachment to the new neighbourhood. This was enhanced for all members of the household, including grandparents, by having children at the local schools. This, to a large degree, drew people into the neighbourhood, through friendships between children, parties and school events, which created social contacts, although weak, with other parents who shared similar concerns. Meeting around school events and children, apart from chatting with immediate neighbours, constituted the only real public meeting or social interaction that many of the interviewees had with other residents in the area.

Of course, for the majority this was part of the reason that they had moved and therefore they were very satisfied, for others however this was isolating and on leaving the core they had begun to value it more. This led a few interviewees to return from the suburbs. Equally others began to re-gather in the suburbs for religious events, although, primarily for convenience sake this provided increased contacts within the same religious group and contributed to a greater sense of support for those Muslim interviewees living in the suburbs. The refusal of the East Renfrewshire council to allow the opening of a mosque had resulted in feelings of alienation and resentment amongst a few residents in the area

and had created an obvious difference from other religious groups who had facilities in the area, including Jewish residents.

The extent to which individuals felt secure and safe in their neighbourhood was a key factor in determining residential outcomes and future residential aspirations. The intention of a threat or crime produced different outcomes in terms of the reaction it caused and impact it on the interviewee. Racially motivated crime created a feeling of isolation and alienation in an area, creating mistrust and insecurities with new neighbours. Responses to other types of crime varied in that crime against property created a fear and solicited changes in behaviour in order to increase personal safety and diminish fear of crime but it did not serve to alienate the family within the area as with racially motivated threats. When the crime was within the South Asian community it appeared to create in many ways more insecurity, as the community, which was once a safe place, becomes somewhere that is considered unsafe from the inside and stigmatised from the outside. It was the frustration of the increased crime from within the Asian community and the impact this had on the image of the area that was shaping the majority of the interviewees' future plans to move out to the suburbs. This of course was coupled with suburbanisation growing as a trend.

10. Conclusions

Introduction

Much has been written about the housing conditions and segregation of minority ethnic groups, however, their housing careers, residential mobility, aspirations and preferences are issues about which traditionally little empirical or qualitative evidence has been gathered, though this is changing with more recent research (Phillips *et al*, 2003; Ozuekren and Van Kempen 2002; Bowes *et al* 2002; Tomlins *et al* 2002), but remains particularly the case in the Scottish context. Enhancing our knowledge in this area is important for several reasons. To begin with, a greater understanding in this field may help unearth some of the reasons why minority ethnic groups, not only in British but in European cities, are represented in disadvantaged housing areas (Ozuekren and Van Kempen, 2002). In addition, research is most often conducted in the concentration areas of traditional settlement without giving reference to those households, albeit a more recent occurrence, who live beyond ethnic concentrations, so little is known about processes of dispersal. Similarly, there is inherent value in unearthing the preferences of minority ethnic groups in the context of changing cultural practices and new generations to make certain our knowledge about this group is not bound by earlier research done on older generations or in assumptions made relating to the processes that have explained minority ethnic clustering in the past.

There are certainly limitations to this case study in terms of its focus on one urban context, there are clear differences between Scotland and the rest of the UK and thus between Glasgow and other UK cities. Glasgow is a distinctive city, with some of the highest levels of poverty in the UK, high rates of economic inactivity and dependence on welfare benefits as well as the backdrop of sectarianism which is seen spatially in the city. Glasgow is facing major population changes with a steady and significant loss in population, which has been selective and led to subsequent skills loss and an over supply of housing. Responses to population changes highlight clear differences in the policy context between Scotland and the rest of the UK, were national policies in Scotland to attract migrants contrasts to England's tightening of border control.

Furthermore, at a local level council policy to house asylum seekers, housing the largest number of dispersed asylum seekers in the UK, will see Glasgow's population become more ethnically diverse. The settlement patterns of South Asian groups in Glasgow reported here are largely consistent with recent literature that has documented traditional patterns of inner-city concentration and more recent evidence of dispersal in other UK cities. Despite these similarities, locations of traditional South Asian settlement in Glasgow are in areas which are becoming more desirable in the city, reflected in increasing house prices, in contrast to the neighbourhood contexts of South Asians in other British cities. This may point to the fact that economic disadvantage and limits on housing choice may not be as severe, especially in the long-term, as in other UK cities especially those in the north of England. Although local contexts and histories differ, some of the issues discussed here are likely to reflect to some degree experiences of South Asians within other urban contexts.

Historically, geographies of 'race' and ethnicity paid little attention to Scotland as 'race' problems have tended to be located in England relating to a lack of racialisation of the political process in Scotland (Miles and Dunlop, 1987; Hopkins, 2004) and the Scottish minority ethnic population assumed to be small. This is changing as research in Scotland has highlighted racism as an everyday problem and 'race' and ethnicity issues have been placed on the political agenda since devolution in 1999 (Miles and Dunlop, 1987; Arshad, 2003; Hopkins, 2004). Hopkins (2004:259) argues that a racialisation of religion, particularly Islam, has taken place in Scotland like the rest of the UK since September 11th, the victimisation of Muslims, leading to a 'reformulation of Scottish racism'. The politicisation of particular racial and ethnic identities given the current political climate has had and continues to have an effect at the national level and across different UK cities giving a wider relevance to some elements of the issues raised here.

There were two main elements to the primary aim of the research. The first was to enhance our understanding of the residential location of South Asian households in the Greater Glasgow conurbation and the second to understand residential preferences whilst assessing the extent to which suburbanisation was becoming a significant option. The purpose of this chapter is to bring the whole picture together in order to generate

insights into the processes underlying the changing geography of South Asian residence.

Over the past ten years Glasgow has seen localised changes in its South Asian population: the results of the census analysis detail the maintenance of both residential differentiation and continued concentration in the inner city as well as evidence of suburbanisation into traditionally white and middle class areas. The processes underlying these changes were shown to be dynamic and complex. Cultural explanations involving religious observance, financial constraint, limited housing options and choice seem to play a role in sustaining ethnic clustering in the inner-city. On the other hand changing cultural practices, social aspirations and economic opportunity, for a selected group of movers, interacts with the attractiveness of the suburbs and the negative aspects of living in the close confines of a clustered ethnic group (associated with its inner-city location) to bring about residential change.

Whilst the literature on the housing patterns of minority ethnic groups has tended to focus on inter-ethnic differences (Bowes *et al* 2002) *intra-ethnic* differentiations have been highlighted throughout thesis. Although ethnicity, culture and religion play a continuing role in shaping the residential choices of the South Asians interviewed, these factors interacted with individual/personal factors, class, gender, age, generation, family issues and the dynamic nature of culture in determining locational needs and preferences. To a large extent this renders the notion of a coherent or monolithic 'Asian community' one that obscures subtle intra-group differences and generates assumptions regarding residential behaviour and ascribed group identities and values.

Patterns of Relocation

We see continued clustering but little growth of the South Asian population in the traditional areas of core settlement in Glasgow. In line with this the qualitative investigation clearly pointed to the continued importance of the traditional areas of settlement as social and cultural centres. Despite the continued clustering of South Asian households in the core areas there were some interesting changes within the populations of these areas, revealing them to be dynamic and non-static. For instance

the South Asian population in Woodlands (the core area north of the river) as well as decreasing as a proportion of the expanding population of the area also changed internally, with new Pakistani residents (due to either in-movement or births) replacing a declining Indian population. The interviewees from the area attributed the lack of growth in the population to out migration due both to the suburbanisation of Indians and the increase in house prices that forced many younger Pakistani house buyers to move out of the area.

There was a similar pattern in the core area on the south of the city (Pollokshields/Strathbungo) which still has the largest absolute and proportionate South Asian population of any area in the city. The South Asian population, which is predominantly Pakistani, grew only slightly. However, rather than being static there seems to be population turnover, with evidence from the interviews suggesting that the core area is still significant as a place of first settlement. In addition to the continued clustering in this area, there was also notable movement by a significant number of Pakistani households into the areas adjacent to it. In fact, the major growth in the city was in these areas adjacent to and between the core settlement area and the suburbs to the south. This seemed to have little to do with overspill, as the core is in no way saturated, the South Asian population makes up slightly more than a third of the area's total population and South Asians account for only a quarter of all house purchases in this locality. Rather it appears to be more to do with a shifting culture, a loosening of daily ties with the community and with new ways of dealing with cultural expectations. Qualitative evidence also suggested that many of the younger generation of Pakistanis who could not afford to buy in Woodlands, where they had grown up, were buying in these areas crossing over from the more expensive west end core to cheaper areas adjacent to the southern core. The south more generally has become a buoyant property market in Glasgow and an alternative for many people from the popular West End (not just South Asians).

A further notable change in South Asian residence during the census period was the extent to which South Asian households had begun to establish themselves in the suburbs. These clear patterns of suburbanisation, though numerically small, can be seen through proportionately significant population shifts to suburbs that in 1991 had very

small South Asian populations. The most significant factor in explaining this relocation is the economic advancement of some South Asian households. There is clear evidence, from the qualitative work, of a growing South Asian middle class with social and material aspirations that have provided the motivation and resources to move. In addition to this, other extended households used the combined economic power of multiple earners in the family, who were not necessarily in professional positions, to finance the move.

The suburbs in the west (to the north of the river), that represented one of the few areas in 1991 with a South Asian population outside of the core areas, experienced little change in the absolute number of South Asian households living there. The ethnic population, which is predominantly Indian, grew only slightly, in the context of a decreasing white population. This was also a place that many respondents from Woodlands had aspirations to live in the future but currently found it too expensive, those households who had managed to move there had considerable economic resources and professional jobs. There was a different scenario in the southern suburbs located in the district of East Renfrewshire. Here there was a significant growth in the South Asian, mainly Pakistani, population; which increased by 85 percent, from slightly over 1,700 to over 3,100 although the South Asian population comprises only 3 percent of the district's total population. There seemed to be re-clustering of families and the re-gathering of Pakistanis based on lines of religious affiliation. There are more Pakistani households living in the East Renfrewshire suburbs than in the western suburbs to the north of the river.

Beyond this, it is clear that South Asian households have begun to move into suburban areas in the south of the city in which there were previously no or relatively few South Asian households; representing a wider dispersal. In most instances these suburban areas are adjacent to those suburbs that have established South Asian populations. The flows of suburban movers appear to have followed a similar trajectory out of the inner city areas of core settlement to areas that can be easily accessed by the main transport routes out of the city that pass through the areas of core settlement.

Thus far the areas of core settlement in Glasgow have been home to Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus, yet the research indicates a growing differentiation between and within South Asian groups. Despite the clear suburbanisation of Pakistani households, the out-migration of (the smaller) Indian population from the inner city core areas has left the South Asian population there to be predominantly Pakistani and Muslim. This appears to be concentrating both those households who have less choice, due to cultural obligations and those who are disadvantaged financially in the core, whilst serving to *widen* class distinctions. Although there was clear evidence of limited choice and disadvantage, some people with high incomes chose to stay in the core area for religious and cultural reasons.

Finally, as in previous periods, despite the existence of a significant social rented stock and a previously expressed interest in moving into this sector, there was no movement of the South Asian population into the East End of the city; this, from qualitative evidence, reflects perceptions of the relative location of unsafe and stigmatised places in the city of which this was perceived to be one. Similarly, few South Asians lived in the north of the city which also appears to be a consequence of perceptions of areas that are open to them in the city and also because these areas are too far away from the ethnic cores.

Motivations and Resources

The general literature on suburbanisation and outward movement from the city alludes to several factors that instigate moves. Traditionally, the literature highlighted factors related with stage in the life-cycle and other household factors as being pertinent to why people move. More recently emphasis has been placed on the pull of better services and environments to improve living conditions and to access better schools and job opportunities. Furthermore, there is evidence from the literature that a move to the suburbs continues to represent a search for 'the good life' with socio-cultural underpinnings related to the expression of status and material gains. On the other hand, aspects of the inner-city have been highlighted as push factors in instigating a move both in the early literature (Thorns, 1972) and more recently (Mumford and Power, 1999; Champion *et al*, 1998), such as the impact of a poor quality environment, the

unpopularity of a neighbourhood, urban decay, crime and congestion and the affects of other households moving out of the area on the perceived stability of the area (Rossi, 1955) as catalysts for diminishing the value attributed to a neighbourhood and a subsequent weakened sense of place. A further point should also be made on the overarching matter of resources as the means to finance or make a move viable. To a large extent the literature pertaining to minority ethnic groups has been limited to or bounded by the inner-city thus these groups have at large been excluded from discussions on residential mobility, however this thesis, and the evidence it presents of South Asian suburbanisation in Glasgow, points clearly toward the need to extend the spatial analysis outside of the inner-city and to include minority ethnic groups in discussions about mobility (both social and spatial) more generally. Thus the aim of this subsection of research objectives was to try to understand how broader motivations documented in the residential mobility literature are reflected in the migratory decisions of minority ethnic groups given what has been documented in the past literature on minority ethnic housing and locational choices in the inner-city areas of settlement. Furthermore, in the light of the prevailing focus on inner-city clustering and the recent politicisation of this space the impact that the practise of clustering has on residential decision-making was explored.

There were several factors working in unison in any household move or indeed the preceding decision-making process including the neighbourhood context, access to resources such as education as well as cultural and religious facilities, stage in the life-cycle pertaining to housing needs and the role of the family as a part of a process of chain migration or in providing support (both economic and social). Furthermore, aspects related to employment and household income acted both as a motivation, relating to processes of social distinction, social identity and class concerns, and an enabling force to the process of suburbanisation. The findings in this section allow us to contribute to the debate on social identity, showing it to be strongly related to or expressed through place of residence. Although the literature generally concedes that place is at the heart of social differentiation and distinction (Savage *et al*, 2005; Pacione, 2001), in the conventional literature on identity less emphasis has been put on the role place plays in shaping personal identity. Although, for many of those who migrated to the suburbs the move was a means to create distance form the core area, the stronger

motivation was to do with living somewhere that was more reflective of personal identity and a means of expressing this to others, both within the community and more generally. These issues will be given attention throughout this section.

Neighbourhood and Family: Quality of Life and Time of Life

When we speak of push and pull factors we by no means see them as being separate or preserved entities in the household decision making process rather the means in which they engage dialectally and are negotiated reflects the complexities in each move and within each household. Keeping this in mind the neighbourhood context both of origin and destination worked together to influence people's decisions to move. The core area of settlement continued to be attractive to many households, confirming evidence presented in the literature relating to the facilities, social and cultural networks and capital it facilitated and the handiness of living close to the city centre. On the contrary the perceived increase in crime, especially in Strathbungo/Pollokshields, termed as gang activity, and the murder of Kriss Donald led to a diminishing sense that the 'community' was a safe place, this in conjunction with fears of negative influences of youth culture on children led to the desire to live in a quieter and safer place. The high density in the core areas as well as the house types, which are largely flats, also created a desire for more space and privacy. Thus the decision to suburbanise was a response to the social and environmental deficits of living in the inner city consistent with earlier work by Champion *et al* (1998) and Mumford and Power (1999). The pull factors of the suburbs related to the life-style that could be facilitated there, the socio-economic background of the residents, its reputation and the perception that it was safe. Furthermore, exclusive housing markets with particular stocks were available to movers, the schools and neighbours were seen as being better, the physical environment tidier, greener and quieter and more secure for children.

There was an ethnic dimension that acted as a pull factor to the suburbs this was commonly the role that the family or sometimes the wider social network played in housing and locational choices. Rossi's (1955) early study found that family and social networks had little or no influence on people's propensity to move or on their household decisions; however, the opposite is true in the experience of our interviewees. To the contrary people were encouraged to suburbanise by informal information networks that

provided them with information about the process and examples of successful residential outcomes. Contacts that encouraged people to move did not have to be actual but could be imagined, the knowledge, especially for Pakistanis, that other Pakistanis were living in the area gave them a sense of security even if they did not know them or engage with them once they moved to the suburbs. Furthermore, there was evidence amongst the interviewees of chain migration amongst extended families who moved within a few streets of each other in the suburbs.

In contrast, to early studies that found mobility to be greater in the stage in the life cycle when families had children and experienced growth, many of the interviewees moved at a later stage in the life cycle of the household. Indeed, this was normally when the family was experiencing growth, but due to the absorption of people marrying into the family or a member of the third generation being born into the household. Some of the interviewees used this transitional stage to form nuclear families of their own and move out of the extended family home. Alternatively, in another common scenario, families moved when an elderly parent, who most likely established the family home in the core had a change in their housing needs relating to physical mobility. This is reflected in the age structure of the suburban households interviewed as in over half of which the head of the household was over 50. The younger suburban interviewees who had moved out of the family home and lived in nuclear families were most often professionals whereas the younger interviewees or members of extended family households often worked in the family business, this may partly reflect greater financial independence amongst the former. Greater mobility amongst households at a slightly later stage than that specified by Rossi (1955) also appeared to be related to the fact that these households were at later stages in their careers or as a result of a grown up child's career had had a chance to accrue earnings.

Occupational and Economic class

Although this thesis is a study of residential mobility, what has come to light in its explorations is the extent to which social mobility is fuelling the new residential patterns of South Asians in Greater Glasgow. This has been highlighted in the literature (Ratcliffe, 1996; Phillips, 1998; Phillips *et al*, 2003), which notes the impact that higher occupational class and economic advantage/empowerment is having on increasing the

opportunities open to some minority ethnic households, reflected in dispersal. Evidence from the interview data suggests that income and employment are significant drivers behind processes of suburbanisation; in particular the role that successful South Asian businesses have played in the process cannot be underrated. Indeed, Bowes *et al* (2002) highlight the significance of Pakistani business investment in Glasgow not only in the niche economy but integrated into the wider economic structure of the city. Over one third of the suburban interviewees (7 out of 20) had family businesses. Often times a father or a grandfather had established the business which was at this stage well developed and stable with the second or third generation benefiting from its success, including living in the suburbs. Moving to the suburbs for these interviewees was a signifier of having achieved materially through hard work reflected in a sense of pride especially in older people interviewed.

Similarly, success in the labour market is pertinent to the suburbanisation process; over half of the suburban households interviewed had a household member with a professional job. It was the case in some instances that a household had two or more male wage-earners in different occupational classes, in a few cases the income of a successful child had provided the family with the resources to move or in others the earnings of a few medium to low skilled workers combined provided the resources. For those with professional occupations living in the suburbs was a mark of prestige were residential place and professional success combined signified a social transition that was related to material and class concerns. This reflects the need for material and class contexts to be added to debates on South Asian identity. It is clear that income and employment are strong enabling and motivating factors in the process of suburbanisation yet the variety of different ways in which families financed moves suggests that social trajectories and tendencies to disperse were not necessarily only linked to professional values but to aspirations for a better quality of life and a particular life-style.

In general terms the main difference between those households who had suburbanised and those who remained in the core was income, either from a successful business or education that had led to a professional job. In saying this though, it is important to

make clear that higher income or social/occupational mobility did not always correlate with the desire to move or increased mobility, the pull of the core proved strong for some who could have afforded to move, meaning that clustering need not always be associated with low income or low levels of education. One family owned three thriving shops in a core area and wanted to remain close to the place in which they worked so that they could eat together and share shifts in the shops, in this instance home and work seemed almost fluid. The households interviewed in the core were more likely to have low-skilled jobs, work in the community, be unemployed or retired, also around one fifth of interviewees had been or were currently self-employed. Lack of affordable housing had caused difficulties for some households who had struggled to meet housing needs and costs leading to instances of overcrowding or quite prolonged periods in poor housing conditions. The households who were struggling or indeed had struggled in the past showed remarkable resourcefulness, often with the help of their family, in finding housing solutions, pointing to the economic and social capital generated amongst family members. This confirms the prevailing problem, accentuated in the wider literature, of poor housing conditions amongst, particularly, Pakistani groups. Bowes *et al* (2002) highlight their vulnerability related to their lower economic status which leads to their greater propensity to experience poor housing akin to the experience of lower occupational groups in general. Amongst a few of these households there were signs that this may change in line with the strong career aspirations some of the younger members who were in higher education or university.

A further distinctive factor between households who migrated to the suburbs and those who lived in the core was levels of car ownership. All of the households interviewed in the suburbs had one or more cars per household whereas almost half of the interviewees living in the core did not own a car. For suburban households a car was an integral part of everyday life, there was little street activity in general as people relied, a well documented part of suburban life, on the car. The very mobile life-style of the suburbanites meant car ownership was vital, the average suburban household interviewed made several journeys per day to their place of work, for religious Pakistanis to the mosque, to taxi their children to Koran school, to visit family and friends and to shop. In a few instances people lived closer to their place of work than when they lived in the core, but for more the journey to work was slightly increased by

suburbanising, thus it did not appear that journey to work was a decisive factor in their migration decision.

Economic aspirations meant that for most households regardless of their place of residence owner occupation was in the long-term their ideal tenure choice, people saw it as making financial sense and as a way of saving and widening their options in the future. Despite this, confirming evidence in the past literature (Third et al 1997a; Bowes et al 1997a; Bowes et al 1997b; Sarre et al 1989), tenure choice was limited for some as those struggling with housing costs (or who had in the past) would have liked to move into social renting in the short term but were unwilling to move out of their present locality and were put off by long waiting lists. The future residential aspirations of several of those interviewees with lower incomes was to advance materially into better housing, which often meant moving away from the core to the suburbs, although this was truer for those living in the south of the city. This is interesting in that the future residential aspirations of these interviewees were steered by material and quality of life aspirations rather than ties to the ethnic core or community.

Class, Status and Social Identity

The extent to which migration to the suburbs can be attributed to widening occupational class differences and aspirations related to social mobility within the South Asian group is clear, however, the degree to which it represents the adoption of middle class values or a class transition is a more complex issue. Although, the interviewees did clearly highlight the influence of knowing that their new suburban neighbours and neighbourhood were middle class in attracting them to the area. What can be argued with more certainty, though, is the extent to which a move to the suburbs was related to the desire for social status, representing social or material aspirations, often to a certain extent regardless of professional standing, but, of course, dependent on economic advancement. Place was a means by which they could express their social identities that included class and status concerns and represented a way to challenge dominant representations and negative stereotypes relating to ethnicity.

Savage *et al's* (2005) recent work that accentuates the relationship between residential processes, location and class cultures in middle-class neighbourhoods is useful here in

helping to understand the association between the residential decisions, social trajectories and the social identities of the interviewees. Earlier work undertaken by Savage (2002) found that while there were close relationships between occupational class position and life-chances there was little evidence to link class cultures, identity, values and life-style directly with occupational class. This led to later work (Savage *et al*, 2005) which explored the ways in which class cultures were linked to or formed through residential processes rather than being a product of occupation and employment and indeed confirmed through in-depth qualitative study that place of residence was more pertinent as a key social identifier. The role of residential processes in forming or expressing social identity is prevalent in the current research as movement to the suburbs for some was a strategy to create some social distance from the core and to live in place that they felt was a more accurate identifier of who they were. Movement into a traditionally white middle class neighbourhood was clearly part of an individual's social trajectory that could only be expressed through residential processes rather than solely through their professional life. It was important to move away from strong ethnic and sometimes familial associations they felt were linked to living in the core which restricted the kind of life-style or image that might better reflect their social status and personal values.

The suburbs, for many of the interviewees, were a way of expressing and trying to control their self-identity. A key motivation to suburbanise was related to the fact that living in a place other than the core created the social distinction within the Asian community that several of the interviewees felt had been lacking. Despite the fact that the situation of the interviewees reverberates elements of Savage *et al's* (2005) work there is an additional ethnic dimension or inflection as in general the interviewees felt that their social identity was misconstrued or over determined by assumptions attached to their ethnicity. Thus the decision to suburbanise for some reflected a clear effort to disperse from the ethnic cluster to re-establish identity on a basis that involved more than ethnicity but rather that allows them to fit or buy into a system that reflected better their values, social progress, advancement in other areas of their life or more simply their desired life-style. This relates to the portrayal of core areas of ethnic settlement as being problematic and the politicisation of identity discussed in Chapter Two of the thesis. The isolationist discourse and the ascription of behavioural practices pertaining

to the separatist tendencies or the resistance to integration amongst particular minority ethnic groups is clearly questioned by the active means i.e. through place by which individuals tried to express both the complexity of who they are and what they had achieved. In a sense suburbanisation amongst some can be seen as a critical reaction to or a desire to escape the identities ascribed to them relating to ethnicity and religion. Thus, contrary to trying to preserve religious and ethnic identity interviewees were attempting to add meaning and contest the one dimensional ethnic or 'Asian' identity that they felt portrayed them in a negative light. The 'Asian' stereotype was seen, especially by the Indian interviewees as specifically relating to Islam, a stereotype when relating to Pakistanis that they failed to question. Recent research in Scotland found that whilst Islamophobia has been on the rise since September 11th 2001 that Sikhs and Hindus have also been the subjects of increased victimisation in Scotland relating to particular phenotypical features, namely skin colour, presumed to confirm their affiliation to Islam (Scottish Executive, 2002c; Hopkins, 2004).

There were clear inter-ethnic differences in the role that religion played in shaping personal identity. Pakistani respondents, in the majority, although moving to create social distance, felt that their Islamic background was a central part of their social identity. Their religion appeared to be a more assertive and public aspect of their identity compared to the Indian respondents who were concerned with keeping their religion private, partly due to the nature of their religion, in which private and personal worship plays a more significant role than communal worship, and the fact that they wanted to minimize differences between themselves and others in the neighbourhood. This reflects previous studies from the wider social identity literature; Muslim identity has been shown in several studies to be the most assertive religious identity among the South Asian groups. Hutnik (1985) exploring Muslim, Sikh and Hindu identities found that being Muslim was the most significant and assertive identity term. Similarly, Vertovec and Rodgers (1998), with a young Pakistani sample, found although they were not interested in practising Islam they all identified themselves as Muslim. However, more recent studies have clearly shown the ways in which Muslim identity is negotiated in line with other differences and indeed the extent of the complexity of cultural identification (Phillips, 2006). Hopkins (2006) explores the different ways in which masculinities of young Scottish Muslim men are articulated, his study accentuating the

wide range of masculinities inhabited and the extent to which these are dependent and changing according to the complexity of individual experiences and social differences. Similarly, Dwyer (1998, 2000) highlights the diversity of ways in which Muslim women form, construct and contest their identities specifically in relation to dominant racialised representations, changing familial gender ideals and gender relations.

The importance of being Muslim for the interviewees and of passing these values and beliefs on to their children combined with the social aspirations highlighted earlier points to a hybridisation of identity amongst the Pakistani Muslim interviewees. These interviewees appear to be trying to balance what it means to be a Scottish Pakistani and Muslim, as well as the life-style this necessitated, including cultural and social values with class and career aspirations. This draws on debates in the literature that have contested the extent to which 'Asian' or ethnic identities are seen as being fixed and inward looking. Authors such as Amin (2002) and Dywer (1999) have highlighted the deficit in this ethnicisation of identity that fails both to consider how ethnicity interrelates with class, education, gender, age, consumption and education and the hybrid nature of contemporary British-Muslim identities. Harrison and Davis (2001) unpack this even further and point to the complexity of individual experiences that are indeed more complex than these broader categories of difference. Likewise, this echoes Phillip's (2006) assertion that the self-segregation debate sees the boundaries between religious and socio-cultural groups as being impermeable, overlooking the diversity of British Muslim's identifications. The strategies of those interviewed shows that, to a large extent, expressing self identity is more important than expressing group identity and furthermore, that their complex self-identities added depth to group identity, challenging prevailing stereotypes, for instance, some interviewees were proud that they were Pakistani and had suburbanised contrary to popular group stereotypes.

In line with this, the Home Office recently conducted a survey on religion (RDS 2004). As a consequence of the policy focus on building community cohesion and active citizenship the government has a renewed interest in understanding religious and faith communities for policy development. The exploration in this report between religion and self-identity found that religion was a relevant factor in peoples' 'self-description' especially for those from the Indian sub-continent. The current research, however,

points to a definition of identity that is not as simple as that described by the Home Office; place, which is an absent factor from the latter research, was shown to be a key aspect in the formation and expression of the interviewees self-identities. This was primarily manifest in terms of the identity they felt they could achieve or that was ascribed to them living in a particular place (of course related to class distinctions and economic position).

From the perspective of those who had remained in the core social status drivers were considered to be the main drivers compelling people to migrate to middle-class suburban neighbourhoods. They linked the suburbanites' material assets with prestige and success. In line with this, evidence suggests that moving out of the core is something that is now thought of as a natural progression related to socio-economic mobility or representative of 'moving up' reflected in the future residential aspirations of the interviewees; this also had a temporal dimension relating to length of stay and generation. There were certain things that the respondents were willing to sacrifice to live in a more prestigious locale, such as ideal house type and space. Some of the religious Muslims interviewed in the core disagreed with placing emphasis on material aspirations and consumption, however, they understood migration to the suburbs when it was to meet particular housing needs.

Practices of Clustering and Dispersal: Impacts on Mobility Decisions

Many studies have focussed on the residential segregation of minority ethnic groups, there are few other than Phillip *et al's* (2003) study on Leeds and Bradford that have considered minority ethnic peoples' views on residential segregation, nor the advantages and disadvantages that they themselves perceived concentration in ethnic communities or dispersal to have. For the current study this represented a key contribution and offered a crucial way of trying to understand the role that an assessment of clustering and dispersal had in residential decision-making processes whilst also providing an opportunity to respond to recent political discourse on self-segregation. Recent policy debates and media representations of especially British Muslims have shifted to more choice based explanations of segregation (Independent Review Team, 2001; Ouseley, 2001; Phillips, 2005) (this is discussed in-depth in Chapter Two). Such perspectives see segregation as a result of the choice of particular

groups to erect cultural barriers and socio-spatial divisions, through living in concentrated spaces, as a means to preserve ethnic identity and to retreat from interaction with wider society. The government response to the riots in northern English towns in 2001, turned quickly into a national policy concern and the specificity of the context was forgotten as community cohesion was adopted as a national strategy to reverse this trend of segregation and rebuild social cohesion based on integrating communities through common values. Thus the contested evidence base upon which community cohesion was built upon focused on the inner city areas of northern English towns ignoring other South Asian contexts and spaces. Our research challenges several assumptions and claims upon which the community cohesion agenda was built and has developed.

First, we can challenge discourses of segregation through demographic evidence and question the tendency to focus on the inner-city, the domain in which evidence for the community cohesion agenda was subsumed, as the dominant spatial unit of analysis for studying residential patterns of South Asian groups. The suburbanisation processes documented in Glasgow necessitates a widening of the geography in which these groups are framed to include wider metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas and processes of dispersal as well as concentration. British wide research confirms this more generally at the national level as recent studies allude to a similar localised dispersal of South Asian households, to the suburbs and to other areas in the city. Simpson's (2005) study based on an analysis of the 2001 census found there are more mixed neighbourhoods in Britain today and that minority ethnic households are moving out of the inner city. Similarly, Rees and Butt's (2004) study as discussed in Chapter Two shows that minority ethnic representation has grown in non-metropolitan areas. On the other hand the focus on inner-city areas has tended to overlook the dynamics of change within these areas and has assumed the population there to be inert, insular and thus problematic, challenged by empirical data presented here.

Second, in a similar vein, as highlighted in the previous section, our research findings show that there are varied identities and motivations that inform residential processes at play within the minority ethnic groups interviewed, including Scottish national identity, social distinctions, the role of being a parent, gender, occupational class, changing

cultural values, wider affiliations as well as religious beliefs and culture. The ways in which the differences and complexities revealed here are obscured through the assumption that ethnic and religious identities are both fixed entities, homogenous and a proxy for personal identity has been given attention in recent literature on the social identities of British Muslims (Alexander, 2004; Hopkins, 2004; Phillips, 2006; Robinson, 2005). This is consistent with the contested concept of 'community' presented in the literature that accentuates the ways in which the notion of community suggests that internal similarities and external differences are clearly defined and form the basis of a member's identity (Modood, 1992). Alexander (2004:526) argues that the community cohesion agenda privileges a static notion of community, culture and identity that 'deny the complex formations of lived identities and obscure ongoing relations of power and disadvantage'. This was seen as a negative consequence of living in the ethnic cluster by some of the interviewees for whom self identity was more important than group identity.

Third, further to this the findings of the current study allow us to question the extent to which so-called self-segregationist depictions of particularly Muslim groups gives an accurate indication of people's lived experiences, levels of daily mobility, or their social networks in the same way that the assumption that dispersal or mixed communities reflect increased interaction or engagement can be questioned. Both of the aforementioned points can be seen through the private lives of those in the suburbs and the weak social interdependencies between neighbours as well as in the widening spaces, specifically in universities and colleges, in which the younger generation living in the core are engaging with others. Fourth, in addition, clustering did not always represent an active choice as for some interviewees it was a way to manage hostility and exclusion or in response to limited resources. The accusation of self-segregation eclipses the role of material disadvantage and constraints in limiting residential choice resonating, to a certain extent, elements of the underclass debate that has used behavioural explanations to explain inequality and exclusion, whilst acquitting structural explanations.

Finally, for several of the interviewees an assessment of the benefits of concentration and dispersal was reflected in their decision making processes and motivations to

suburbanise. Some interviewees moved to live in a more mixed neighbourhood, especially, to widen the cultural experiences and networks of their children to give them a better chance in life; reflecting more of a concern about future integration rather than current social interactions. This was especially true for Indian respondents and was related to a desire to 'integrate' into middle class neighbourhoods with good reputations that have been traditionally white. Thus some of the interviewees were attracted to the suburbs as a means of socially and spatially integrating and saw the benefits this would have for their children. In the attempt to challenge some of the dominant representations of South Asians, the importance of religious and cultural values as aspects of people's identities should not have to be underplayed, rather, portrayed to acknowledge diversity and reflect the complex ways in which they interact with other differentials as a means of reflecting actual experiences as well as negating stereotypes.

Age and Generation

A clear gap in the research relating to minority ethnic housing is its lack of focus on the younger generation. Little has been written in Scotland on generational differences or of the impact of age in determining housing or locality preferences. This is important in order that our knowledge about this population is holistic in its consideration of the different experiences of different generations, which may vary extensively between the experiences of an immigrant to a second or third generation locally-born individual. The conclusions of the current research clearly show age to be a factor that greatly differentiates both residential preferences and levels of residential mobility. It also has a significant impact on the way in which people see the city, their levels of daily mobility, the geographical extent of their social networks, the complexity of their ethnic and social identity, their perceived opportunities in the labour and housing market and educational prospects for their children.

In general, younger interviewees were second or third generation immigrants and had grown up in Glasgow in an area of core settlement. Amongst this small group of respondents there was a sense of changing cultural values, even when the individual was religious. A significant proportion of these respondents seemed to have gone through a process of assessing the rationale underlying cultural traditions, judging many as outdated or irrelevant in their personal lives. For instance norms such as extended

family living were seen by several interviewees as being a cultural tradition that had arisen from particular financial constraints, whereas now many felt that co-location to achieve its benefits was not relevant in the context of their own lives. Despite this they continued to comprehend its value in producing strong families and instilling a sense of responsibility in children.

Individual experiences within any one extended family household were diverse and were influenced by intricate generational roles and cultural obligations. The younger generation, although some went into the family business, were more likely to have gone through higher education. This not only increased their skills and confidence in the labour and housing markets but also greatly widened their social contacts in the city and their mobility aspirations. When younger people did live in the extended family, especially sons, they often had important roles in the process of moving house. Frequently, it was a younger male member of the household that carried out the negotiations to buy new property, empowering them, to some extent, to influence household decision-making processes. The son's role in the house buying process was related to his higher level of education and greater confidence with professionals.

Furthermore, this group of younger interviewees had different social and educational aspirations for their children. Many wanted them to mix with other ethnic groups most especially with other Scottish children and placed emphasis on the quality of local schooling, usually favouring schools outside the inner-city, to escape particular negative influences. This had a direct influence on their locational choices or preferences. Similarly, those who had professional or semi-professional jobs had higher material expectations than their parents; they wanted more space and more privacy, which they were unable to buy in the core.

The importance of family and for Muslims, even those who did not see themselves as very religious, of Koranic education for their children was pronounced despite their age or generation. These cultural factors did play a role in the residential decisions of these families but had less influence in retaining them in the core than they did older people. With car ownership and more dynamic life-styles the younger interviewees were quite mobile, travelling between several spaces in the city on a daily basis for leisure, work

and cultural reasons, and thus they were more prepared to consider relocation to the suburbs and beyond.

The Role of the Core Settlement Area and Community

The third group of research objectives focussed on the role of the core settlement area and the outcomes of migration in terms of its impact on community membership, ties and new social network formations. In the light of changing patterns of residence including patterns of dispersal the extent to which the core area remained attractive and continued to attract new migrants and new populations as well as the impacts that population turnover and new migration patterns had on the interviewees still living in the core was explored. The role of the core area in the lives of those who moved was also considered, alongside the extent to which a sense of belonging and attachment was achieved in the suburbs considering the barriers documented in the literature relating to perceptions of hostile and safe areas. The findings reported here add to debates on how to define integration and the extent to which residential mixing leads to social integration and greater cultural engagement, a premise upon which the community cohesion agenda is based. The previous section and the current one overlap as the role that the core area and culture play in residential preferences and location is nuanced with other more general motivations discussed previously.

The area of core settlement continued to be attractive as a residential location primarily in relation to its social and cultural value more so than the physical environment. Reiterating past literature (Pacione, 1997; Phillips, 1998; Bolt *et al* 1998; Van Kempen *et al* 1998) the facilities and networks met specific needs of the interviewees, its value varying according to their past housing history, length of residence in the city, religious observance, the strength of their links to the local networks and a range of other individual factors, especially age. For several interviewees, living in the core was related to the advantages that they associated with clustering (i.e. cultural networks, language, facilities, friendship), this was especially true for new migrants and those older people who had lived in the core for a long period of time, but also continued to be important for some middle aged and younger interviewees. Robinson and Reeve (2006), in a recent report, highlight the critical role that pre-existing minority ethnic

communities and cultural networks play in helping new immigrants settle and establish themselves in British society. There was also a greater need amongst religious Muslims to be in close proximity to cultural and religious facilities, in some instances despite having the economic power to relocate, these interviewees emphasised the importance of community, family and attending the mosque over social and material aspirations. Furthermore, the commerce in the core areas of settlement especially in Strathbungo/Pollokshields attracted many visitors to area, including those who had suburbanised, creating a dynamic environment especially at the weekend. Over and above these practical and social reasons for remaining concentrated the importance of family obligations and commitments was just as pertinent to locational choices as described earlier for suburban interviewees, showing that there were commonalities in interviewees' reasons for choosing where to live that transcended place and other differentials.

The physical and social environment was a less attractive aspect, especially in Strathbungo/Pollokshields which had been stigmatised by those who moved out despite their regular use of the area. Problems with Asian youths had disrupted both the idea that the core was a refuge and people's faith in the community. Regardless of this, and despite being aware that a better quality of life was available outside the core, the respondents living there (of course some were constrained by financial and other limitations) fought to maintain a positive view of their neighbourhood. This was expressed through the uniqueness of the cultural and religious infrastructure and social ties with white Scottish residents. In a sense the negative aspects of the place were tempered by community benefits, friendships and a resourceful and positive response to not having the finances to move.

Much has been written about the role of ethnicity in enabling and constraining minority ethnic housing opportunities and in determining patterns of residence (usually in ethnic concentrations in the inner city). The findings of interviews added new understandings to the role of culture. We found it to play a role in keeping people in the core that interacted with generation in placing cultural obligations on younger people to stay in close proximity to their family. This had a greater bearing on Pakistani interviewees; some said they were unable to move away from their families because they were

Muslim, regardless of their true residential preferences. This reflects recent work by Phillips *et al* (2003) that showed the constraining aspects of cultural obligations in limiting residential choices. Moreover the impact of more intricate generational roles, family hierarchies and the representation of almost all stages in the life cycle in an extended family made residential decision making more complicated and preferences very diverse, not to mention its influence on actual housing need.

The cultural demands placed on people in Pakistani households regularly led to generational tensions, frustrations and began to challenge family traditions. This led in some instances to the separation of extended families, which was never an uncomplicated motivation but one that contrasted with familial pressures and the recognition of the value of living in the extended family. As a means to solve this dilemma some of the interviewees loosened daily ties but still kept in close proximity to their family. This change also tied in with increased economic power and material aspirations as several of the interviewees had specifically moved out of the family home so they could become owner occupiers in their own right. The changing attitude of younger respondents toward family and privacy contradicts earlier research conducted by Scottish Homes (1997). They found that minority ethnic homeowners were much more likely to have left their last home, prior to becoming a homeowner, because they needed a bigger house whereas white homeowners left because they wanted to live independently and specifically wanted to own their own home. Among the current interviewees tenure aspirations and independence were more important than dwelling or housing needs. Each of these issues may have future implications for the size of properties minority ethnic families need. Despite the changing role of cultural traditions within some families and the limitations which obligations placed on people, the pull of the family in shaping residential choices and preferences was still generally very strong, as highlighted throughout this chapter.

Beyond the family, social and cultural expectations, high levels of public exposure and the feeling that personal behaviour was monitored through discourses of Islam, an aspect highlighted by Dwyer (1999) and in the Scottish context by Hopkins (2004), diminished some of the Pakistani respondents' sense of personal privacy and the control they felt they had over their own lives. A move to suburbia loosened the hold that the

local framework of public life had on their private lives leading to increased personal freedom. Interestingly, Hopkins (2004) found that young Pakistani Scots living in Glasgow also found alternative spaces to that of the area of core settlement as a means to attain greater freedom and personal choice. He illustrates this through the ways in which the young men in his sample negotiated their relationships with women in other areas in the city in order to keep them private. This is an aspect of the core that has been less commonly discussed in the literature and adds a new dimension to the role that we know clustering plays in the lives of some minority groups. This of course leads us to ask why re-clustering is occurring in the suburbs, which appears to be related more to the fact that the knowledge that other Asians are living in an area provides a sense of safety and assurance of acceptance, rather than being a re-clustering that has impact on their daily lives, that diminishes privacy or that constitutes a means to preserve group identity. Thus, clustering in the core and in the suburbs has similar origins and motivations but arguably different affects in terms of its impingement on private life.

Ethnicity played another role in constraining some to the core area due to a fear of not being accepted by new neighbours in other areas. This confirms past literature that has described the ethnic cluster as a refuge from hostility, especially in the light of the prominence given to studies and debates on racism (Sarre et al 1989; Modood 1997; Pacione 1997; Van Kempen and Ouzreken 1998). Furthermore, evidence from the interviewees suggests that the areas in the city that the interviewees felt would be safe were few. The perceived safeness of an area and the likelihood that the residents there would accept them and be 'good' neighbours was one of the most decisive neighbourhood factors in determining residential location for South Asians. This rendered location more important than the ideal property, on which people were willing to compromise. Of course, with few areas considered safe in the city the likelihood of re-clustering outside of the core is greater, reflected in the pull of knowing that there were other Asians living in a suburban area whether contacts were real or imagined.

The role that culture played in the lives of the Indian interviewees was notably different. There were still inter-generational tensions relating to extended family living, but most households interviewed had been living in nuclear families for a long time. In general there were fewer cultural expectations and obligations placed upon Indian respondents.

In addition, a clear objective of their lifestyle was to mix with wider society, to be *integrated* and for cultural and religious difference to be inconspicuous and confined to the privacy of the home.

Residential Outcomes and Community

In terms of residential outcomes for the migrating households, the suburban dwellers were overwhelmingly satisfied with their neighbourhood and related the change in the physical and social environment to an enhanced quality of life. In general the outcomes of a move echo to some extent the pull factors of the suburbs that the general residential literature highlights in terms of the services available, peace, space and privacy as well as being an escape from the city grime, overcrowding and noise pollution. A further aspect of the relocation that positively influenced the interviewees' quality of life was the feeling of having more independence from the family or the community. Several women spoke of the benefits of having more time with their husbands and more control over their households, with the absence of older generations either living in the house or too close by, again, reflecting the constraining effects and disadvantages of clustering for some of the interviewees. Those who relocated to the suburbs experienced a notable change in their life-style. People described their lives as being more private and focussed around the home. They also used more spaces throughout the city travelling to and from more places for work, leisure, to visit friends, for worship and to access cultural facilities in the core. Although there was a desire for privacy and distance from the community in the core, overwhelmingly so, suburban movers kept close relationships with friends in the core and used visits for services to catch up. Others found added benefits that they had not thought of before moving, the most common being the schools, mentioned by many of the Pakistani interviewees.

To a certain extent, although feeling that in general the positive surroundings of the suburbs had enhanced their quality of life in terms of privacy, peace and space, for those Muslim interviewees who were religious living in the suburbs had an obvious effect on their life styles. Sacrifices had to be made around spending time at home in the evening as some men commuted back to the core for prayers a couple of times each evening. In spite of this, the increased mobility in people's lives in terms of car use and the spaces they moved between in the city was an aspect that some of the suburban residents

actually enjoyed, for other interviewees, this created stress leading to their relocation back to the core. Equally others began to re-gather in the suburbs for religious events, partly as a matter of convenience. This provided increased contacts within the same religious group and contributed to a greater sense of support for those Muslim interviewees living in the suburbs. Several residents in Giffnock had tried unsuccessfully to gain permission to establish a mosque in the area, as a more formal place to meet, this has caused a stronger group identity to develop in reaction to the fact that Muslim residents felt their religion was not accepted in the public domain whilst Judaism and Christianity were. Many of the Indian respondents feared that the opening of a mosque would lead to an influx of Pakistanis from the core and were very vocal against such proposals, on a personal level this was clearly related with avoiding stereotypes related to Islam which they felt would be attributed to them for phenotypical reasons.

In line with this, a true sense of belonging in the suburbs came from the feeling of being 'ordinary' or like everyone else; this was a pronounced objective driving the residential choices of especially Indian interviewees. Again, parallels can be drawn with Savage *et al's* (2005) work of which the core concept was that of 'elective belonging' where the feeling of belonging to an area was not characterised by historical roots one might have in an area. Nor were the middle-class neighbourhoods they studied characterised by tensions between insiders and outsiders but instead they were defined as locales for people electing to belong, not just reside. Part of this involved a process in which 'people claimed ordinariness' rather than wanting to be distinctive they opted into a range of shared practises. Amongst the interviewees these shared practises could be seen to include equal material achievements, keeping themselves to themselves and educational values for their children. In a sense these aspects were not expressed amongst neighbours but used to create what could arguably be seen as imaginary bonds. In the instance of families with children these aspects of belonging were activated in practical ways relating to school events, play time and children's parties.

This social affinity with other residents was an important part in the interviewees satisfaction with the area and shaped their sense of inclusion and attachment to the area, even though often this did not involve being particularly socially active with others

around them. Settling into the suburban neighbourhood and developing a sense of belonging to the area appears to be less about integration in the sense of forming new social relationships and interdependencies across ethnic boundaries, as there was no increase in social interaction to cause or lead to such associational or systematic integration (Lockwood, 1964); this was partly reflective of the general relationships and private life-styles of those living in the suburbs. So perhaps the move to the suburbs, which led to more privatised lives, is akin to what we have seen in the majority or more general population, and in a sense appears to be 'integration' into 'normal' residential migratory patterns.

This has implications for the way in which the notion of integration is understood, especially when it was apparent that limited social interdependencies and very private life-styles were 'normal' in the suburbs. Esser's (2001:46) definition of social integration is perhaps a useful frame of reference here. He defines social integration as being 'the inclusion in already existing social systems'. In this instance it is apparent that the interviewees felt they had socially integrated into an existing social system, but one that was not characterised by social interdependencies. This to some extent suggests that the concept of 'integration' need not necessarily have a relational focus. This is distinct from a definition of integration that involves the development of interdependencies between groups inhabiting different territorial spaces, which is the definition often adopted in migration and ethnic studies (Lindo, 2005) and in the rhetoric involving community cohesion. To some extent the lack of social interaction in the new neighbourhood is reflective of the life-style and retreat into the privacy of the suburbs which may be seen as characteristic of such places, this highlights a couple of issues pertinent to debates on integration. First the extent to which wealth and property ownership in affluent areas as well as 'whiteness' or main stream values protects people from debates about needing to integrate or interact in social terms whilst the onus is placed on the responsibility of the minority ethnic resident living in less affluent areas highlights the hegemonic position of white and specifically middle class values in the public sphere. Furthermore, the extent to which places of mixed residence may promote social integration or become places of engagement without pre-existing commonalities can be questioned.

Although the set of processes studied here are firstly, ongoing and secondly, at a young stage in their development, it is clear that minority ethnic groups are using space in a different way and that the suburban or core residential location is not an either/or choice for them. Rather many appear to be trying to balance an interest in social and material progression (including for their children), often through residential processes, with religious, cultural and family traditions. It is not clear to what extent the continuing values of culture and family are for practical or psychological reasons, but it is most likely for both. To a certain extent these residential processes reflect a story of a social group that has become more affluent that mirrors the factors associated with the suburbanisation of wider society. However, there is an ethnic inflection to the causation that has led to these processes, mainly the critical influence of religiosity with its 'stifling' and 'policing' effects as well as the continuing fear of discrimination specifying the areas in which people live. In addition age appears to produce a re-connection to the core as it continues to be strongly associated with ethnic and national identity on a symbolic and visual level appending more practical needs relating to religion and culture.

Drawbacks of the Research

There were certain drawbacks to specific parts of this research and issues that in hindsight would have been dealt with differently. Substantive evidence from the qualitative research points to a clear heterogeneity and diversity of experience within the Asian population, too often we use the term 'Asian' as a proxy for identity related to particular preconceived assumptions. This has implication for the way in which we think about and see the 'Asian community'; the inner-workings and differences within this group are sometimes as stark as external and internal differences, and has implication for the starting point and approach of work such as this.

The exclusion of the small Bangladeshi population from the qualitative interviews is a clear drawback to the breadth of this thesis' conclusions. In retrospect (especially considering the fact that GROS think they may have been undercounted in the census) effort should have been made using snowball sampling to try and include this group in the sample. As discussed in full in the Chapter 4 the limited use of the Register of

Sasines data detracted from some of the original aims of this work, specifically in relation to tracking individual moves through the city.

Future research

One of the values of this research is the direction that it provides for future research. The conclusions, even within a small sample, revealed the diversity of South Asian housing experiences, highlighting intra-ethnic differences relating to a vast array of social, demographic and individual factors. Furthermore, the heterogeneity of experience necessitates fresh insight into how we go about conducting research that is representative, to the largest extent possible, of this group.

Educational background was highlighted in this research as a decisive factor that was shaping residential decisions, and was likely to continue to do so as the majority of young people interviewed (or related to interviewees) had completed or were in higher education. Not only were moves made in search of good educational services for children but those interviewees who had higher education had enhanced residential and housing choices and often the economic power and confidence in the housing market to realise them. Further research is needed to explore the extent to which education in either the suburban or the predominantly Asian schools in the inner-city area of Pollokshields/Strathbungo has effects upon educational outcomes and future labour market opportunities. These factors represent a significant aspect of minority ethnic life-chances and will in turn influence their positions in the housing and labour markets. Furthermore, research of this nature could explore in more depth the disaffection and gang membership amongst the youth in the inner city.

The conclusions of this thesis provide us with insight into the lives of a small number of younger respondents (a small number under 35 and even smaller under 25). The interviews revealed very distinct generational factors that had influence on housing and residential choices. The inter-generational differences highlighted the dynamic nature of culture and the ways in which it interrelates with age, life experience and generation in changing and shaping peoples cultural values. There would be value in a study that sampled purposively within a framework of age and generation. This would provide

insight into social and cultural aspirations and identities, future patterns of residence, household formation, housing choices and generational tensions.

An interesting point highlighted in this research was the struggle felt by many to portray what they felt was their primary social identity. Social status, economic position, religion, ethnicity, place of birth, education and the effect of stereotypes clearly played a role in the forming of and expression of the identities of the interviewees. An aspect that emerged from the interviews that could not be expanded fully within the scope of this thesis was the importance of Scottish national identity. The interviewees often talked about being Scottish as opposed to British, but many felt they were not seen as Scottish. The links between this and shifting national identities in lieu of the debate of post-British identities and citizenship would make an interesting study. Whilst the Government attempts to create an inclusive British identity based on shared values and common goals, Blain and Burnett (1994) argue that it is difficult to use the term British of indigenous white Scottish, especially since Scottish constitutional change and in the context of Scottish nationalism. It is even more difficult to re-define/define the post-British identity of Pakistani-Muslims and other minority groups whose identities are contested. Modood (1994) argues that a new kind of Britishness should include new national identity 'with a diversity of forms which allows minorities to make claim upon it rather than conform to a particular cultural norm'. The differing Scottish context is little explored and is a gap in ethnic studies that was highlighted by the some of interviewees themselves in their struggle to carve out a national identity.

In terms of mobility patterns and shifting residence, future research is needed to explore in more depth the processes underlying growth in the areas adjacent to the core. Motivations for such moves uncovered in the research were related to the loosening of daily ties with the religious and ethnic community and improving housing conditions and affordability; however this was not a group that was targeted in the research, and research specifically targeting this group may provide more extensive knowledge into the drivers behind this changing residence and process of dispersal.

Although this study was specific to the owner occupied sector there was evidence from the interviewees that some households were being pushed into the private rented sector,

due to the affordability of housing and indeed evidence from the census shows that South Asian representation in this tenure has grown. It is reputedly hard to access inhabitants in the private rented sector to take part in interviews, but it appears to be an increasingly important aspect of South Asian housing experiences and/or choices. Future research may consider why this is the case, the impact of private renting on quality of life and opportunities as well as considering minority ethnic experiences within this sector.

There is a need for future research specifically considering the Bangladeshi population in Scotland; methods need to be devised to access this hard to reach group. The census analysis showed this population to be very small (just over 200 persons in Glasgow City). In hindsight GROS estimate that this population may have been undercounted nationally by as many as a few thousand. Those who were recorded in the census appeared to be very segregated (although this is probably also due to the very small population size) yet little is known about their housing experiences, tenure patterns, residential patterns and life chances more generally in Scotland. Our knowledge of this group when compared to the knowledge that has already been gathered for Indian and Pakistani groups highlights the need for future research.

The limitations of the self-segregation debate, espousing from both political and media rhetoric, has been mentioned several times throughout this thesis. This debate is underpinned by the assumption that residential segregation can be equated with social segregation. A useful and interesting study would be one that explored in more depth than there was scope to do in the current study, the use of space across the city and inter-ethnic relationships and interaction that people have on a daily or weekly basis with other ethnic groups. The idea that people integrate by becoming more residentially dispersed is partly contested in this study. Indeed they integrate into migratory patterns that are seen as being normal for the majority population, but actual social interaction between different ethnic groups does not necessarily increase rather life is more private rather than public. This highlights a mixing of concepts and calls for greater clarity on conceptual aspects of processes of integration.

Finally another possibility for future research involves a more detailed study of household migration, tracking individual households. This could be conducted with a more detailed analysis of the Register of Sasines, as discussed in chapter two.

Policy Implications

The insights provided by this thesis, to a large extent, contradict government views on the residential motivations of South Asian groups (The Independent Review Team 2001; Denham 2001; Ouseley 2001). Promoting shared values and community cohesion is predicated on the myth of self-segregation that shifts the responsibility of integration on to the person living in the ethnic cluster. There are three main factors other than the sheer diversity of residential aspirations uncovered in this research that challenge the myth of self-segregation. The first is empowerment through socio-economic advancement that has enabled many to move out of the core to the suburbs; the second is the constrained choices that keep many people in the area of core settlement despite alternative preferences; and the third is the way in which individuals use space and interact in different ways socially outside of the core area. Residential segregation or clustering in the context of this study certainly did not translate automatically or indeed easily into social segregation.

Overall the findings of this research dismiss the notion of self-segregation, whilst still recognising culture-based clustering trends, and calls to light the need to unpack the term 'Asian'(and not only by a more differentiated ethnic category system). The wider policy concerns would be better directed at the disadvantage and constraint that many households in the core face and in widening locational choices. Of course these have an ethnic dimension, especially the persistent difficulty of accessing social rented stock, but are reflective of the experience of other poor income groups. The opportunities for more affluent households moving out of the core brings us to wider debates on the spatial segregation of high-income groups and the consequences that these may have on those who remain (Atkinson 2005). Furthermore this illuminates the simplicity of the idea that people self-segregate and the complexity of issues surrounding the places in which people live, the power they have to achieve real preferences, the opportunities that they have and the undeniable link these things have to economic ability and

disadvantage. Often, decisive issues impacting life-chances, quality of life and opportunity are over shadowed by ethnicity meaning the way this group is approached whether in policy making, research or in rhetoric is based upon a stereotype or assumption that is only partially relevant in people's lives.

The experiences of some of the younger interviewees highlight problems surrounding issues of affordability of housing in the core areas, most likely reflected also in the increase in private renting amongst South Asian groups. Ensuring that young minority ethnic households and individuals benefit from schemes such as Glasgow City councils low cost owner occupancy schemes is important in future housing strategies. The widening of residential choices is pertinent especially considering the fact that access to social rented housing is already restricted for these groups.

Despite past research in Scotland that found future aspirations of some South Asians to enter the social rented sector (Third *et al*, 1997a) they were largely excluded from it. Coupled with this several interviewees, confirming long-standing evidence in the literature relayed problems of accessing social rented housing despite a desire and a need to overcome housing finance difficulties. It seems possible that with the better marketing of social housing to minority ethnic households their access may be improved, in the light of, first, a reduced requirement for larger houses as there is some evidence the necessity of co-location to achieve the benefits of the extended family for many has diminished; and secondly, the restructuring of many neighbourhoods in the city following stock transfer to GHA which could possibly alter the view that many areas are unsafe, perhaps the policy lesson is the need to make this a specific goal of social housing restructuring programmes. This approach would in turn fit very well with the Scottish Executive's 'mainstreaming equalities' agenda.

Appendix One. Semi-structured Interview Schedule (core residents).

Date:
Time:
Neighbourhood:
Postcode:
Informant Identification:
Category of informant:

1. Residents of core settlement areas

Themes to be explored:

Housing histories; determine if housing location reflects residential preferences or more a result of constraints; investigate factors determining preferences; attraction of the core area, cultural, ethnicity, social class, age, life cycle; determine what they derive from current location; if reverse movers from the suburbs explore the pull factors that influenced both suburban and return move, investigate levels of neighbourhood satisfaction in each area; future residential aspirations; social networks.

Housing history

1. How long have you lived in this area?
2. Where did you live before moving here?
3. How did you find your current home?
4. Where do your friends and family live?

Motivations

5. What drew you to this area?
 - Main attractions (neighbourhood/home/family/friends)

6. Did you move because the area attracted you?
7. Did you move because this area attracted you or were there things about your last area or house that you didn't like or that you found unsuitable for your needs? **(if reverse movers from the suburbs explore this in more depth- relationships/sense of inclusion in the community etc.)**
8. Did this area feel like a natural choice to you? Were you at all anxious about moving here? Why was that?
9. Where there any other areas in Glasgow that you would have liked to move to? (why not?)

Views on current neighbourhood

10. What do you like about this area?
11. What things about this area do you like the most?
 - Schools
 - Shops
 - Places of worship
 - Environment
 - Friends/neighbours
 - Family/relatives
 - Closeness to work
 - Sense of place/safety
12. Are there any things that you don't like about living in this area? Do you think they would have been better if you had moved somewhere else?
13. How about other members of your family- how do they feel about living here?
Probe for reasons based around

- age
- class
- resources
- ethnicity

14. House- likes/dislikes.

- Space/facilities/structure/amenities/location

15. Who lives with you?

- How many generations/relation to one another

Role of core settlement area

16. What do you think makes an area a good place to live?

Probe thoughts on relationships between people

17. Do you think there are good relationships between people in the area?

Is there a sense of community? Who is apart of this? Who is outside of this?

18. What do you think attracts new residents to the area?

19. Do people tend to want to stay here? Why?

20. Have you noticed where families who move out of the area go to? Why do they move and why do they go where they go?

21. Do you think people moving has an impact on the people who stay here or the sense of community in the area?

22. Do people who move away still keep in touch or keep using community facilities?

23. When you see people you know moving out of the area does it make you want to move?

24. What is your relationship like with neighbours/other members of the community?
(levels of support- emotional/domestic/economic)

Future residential aspirations

25. Are you looking to move at all? When? Why?

26. Where do you think you will realistically move to? Where would be your ideal place to live in the city? (Differences between ideal and realistic moves)

27. Are there any areas that you wouldn't want to move to?

28. Are there any particular barriers that a) might make you want to stay and b) might prevent you from moving?

29. What about the other people you live with would they consider moving?

30. Who would make the decision about if and where you should move?

Appendix Two. Semi-structured Interview Schedule (suburban residents)

2. Suburban Residents

Themes to be explored;

Housing histories; investigate factors determining preference and mobility, social class, age, stage in life cycle, pull factors; push factors from previous neighbourhood; investigate feelings of neighbourhood satisfaction in each area; relationships with the core settlement area; integration/in-group affiliation; future residential aspirations.

Housing history

1. How long have you lived in this area?
2. Where did you live before moving here?
3. How did you find your current home?
4. Where do you friends and family live?

Motivations

5. What drew you to this area?
 - Main attractions
6. Did you move because this area attracted you or were there things about your last area/house that you didn't like or that you found unsuitable for your needs?
7. Were you at all anxious about moving here? Why was that?
8. Were there any other areas in Glasgow that you would have liked to move to?
Any particular reason why you didn't end up there?

Views on current neighbourhood

9. How do you feel about living here?

10. What things about this neighbourhood do you like the most?

- Schools
- Shops
- Environment
- Friends/neighbours
- Family/relatives
- Closeness to work
- Sense of place/safety
- Space
- Privacy

11. Are there any things that you don't like about living in this area? Do you think it would have been better if you had moved somewhere else?

12. How about other members of your family- how do they feel about living here?

Probe for reasons based around

- Age
- Class
- Resources
- Ethnicity

13. House- likes/dislikes

- Space/facilities/structure/amenities/location

14. Who lives with you?

- How many generations/relation to one another

Community- New neighbourhood/connections with old neighbourhood

15. Is this a good place? Does it match your ideas of a good place to live?
 - Broach ideas on community

16. Do you think there is a sense of community in this area? What are the relationships like between people?

17. How easy was it for you to settle in here when you first moved?

18. Did you already know anyone who moved here/or did anyone you know move here after you?

19. How do you get on with your neighbours- is this different from the place that you lived before?
 - Explore levels and type of contact

20. When you moved were there/or still are any things that you miss(ed) about your last neighbourhood?
 - Draw out comparisons between suburban and core neighbourhoods
 - Determine if expectations were met.

21. Do you still visit the last area that you lived in? Frequency? What for?
 - Explore use of facilities and relationship with the community

Future residential aspirations

22. Would you consider moving house in the future? If yes where to? Why?

23. Are there any areas that you wouldn't want to move to?

24. Are there any particular barriers or things that would a) prevent you from moving? b) make you want to stay?

25. What about the other people you live with (younger members of the family) would they consider moving?

26. Who would make the decision about if and where you should move?

Appendix Three. Contact Letter

Dear

My apologies for this intrusion, I am currently carrying out research on why people move house in Glasgow and I'm interested in finding out how people feel about the area where they live. I am a researcher at the Department of Urban Studies at the University of Glasgow and was hoping to be able to talk to you or perhaps someone else in your household.

I will be in your area sometime during the next few weeks and will try to contact you. The interview would last around 40 minutes, however if you would prefer not to talk with me or you would like to take part but prefer I contacted you by phone or email then you can call me on 0141 330 3667 and leave a message, with your details, at anytime on the answer machine. You can also email me on 9806569m@student.gla.ac.uk or write to me at the address below.

I hope I will get the opportunity of speaking with you and look forward very much to hearing your views. Many thanks for your time.

Kind regards,

Jennifer McGarrigle

Appendix Four. Coding Categories

- Attractive attributes of 'core'
- Attractive attributes of suburban location
- Authorities- support
- Barriers to moving
- Changing values
- Decision making process
- Definitions of the family/household
- Demographic and market changes
- Disadvantages of concentration
- Dissatisfaction with house
- Effect of out movers on community
- Employment status
- Family status
- Family visit during interview
- Forced moves
- Future aspirations
- Idea of ideal area
- Importance of family
- Independence of women
- Indian mobility
- Informal religious facilities
- Language
- Length of residence
- Neighbourhood dissatisfaction
- Other areas considered during purchase
- Out movers ties with community
- Poor environment for children
- Preference for other area than one moved to
- Privatised suburbs
- Religious facilities/lack of
- Residents view on core attractions
- Scotland
- Stigma-Pollokshields
- Strata within Asian community
- Teaching
- Undesirable areas to live
- Younger generation- personal geography
- Closeness to work
 - place of study
- Mobility patterns
 - out of 'core'
 - back to 'core'
 - outside of country
 - core to core

- within core
- straight to suburbs
- Push factor
 - Space
 - Business
 - Family
 - High house prices
 - Sense of safety
 - Policing aspects of community
 - To integrate
 - House type
 - Educational facilities
 - Privacy
 - Isolation/lack of independence
 - Fear of crime
 - Change in life cycle
 - Resources
 - Noise
 - Reputation of area
- Social networks
 - Type of support
 - Community activity
 - Changes in
 - Wider community
 - Dependence on or intrusiveness of community
 - Location
 - Relationships between Pakistanis and Indians
 - Isolated
 - Suburban movers relationships when in core
 - Lack of Asian community in suburbs
 - Development of Asian community in suburbs
 - Sense of community (general)
 - Importance of previous contacts in suburbs
 - Importance of Asian community
 - Frequency of visits
 - Indian
 - Relationships women
- Mobility
 - Transport
 - Resources
- Sense of safety
 - Fear of crime
 - Victimisation
 - Gangs
- Pull factors
 - Religious facilities
 - Educational facilities
 - Space
 - Asian community

- Cultural facilities
- Employment
- House type and price
- Status of woodlands
- Closeness to city centre
- General facilities
- Garden
- Peace and safety
- Reputation of area
- Family close by
- Familiarity of area
- Closeness to core
- Changes in family circumstances
- Problem in country of origin
- Process of buying home
 - Submarket
- Sense of belonging/identity
 - National
 - Ethnic group
 - Class
- Constraint
 - House prices
 - Need for religious facilities
 - Lack of social housing
- Settling in
 - Importance of Asian community
 - Difficulty/Apprehension
- Housing history
- Life-cycle
 - Marriage extended family growth
 - Children grown up
 - Building nuclear families
- Outmovers ties with community
 - Core attributes missed by suburban mover
 - Frequency of visits to core
 - Sense that core has deteriorated- environmentally/social connections
- Motivations to suburbanise
 - Resources and prestige
 - Services
 - Attractive environment and space
 - Housing market
 - Class/status issues

Appendix Five. Parent Nodes

- (1) Personal Geography
- (2) Sense of safety
- (3) Push factors
- (4) Mobility patterns
- (5) Social networks
- (6) Pull factors
- (7) Housing Issues
- (8) Sense of belonging/Settling in
- (9) Constraint
- (10) Housing history
- (11) Religion
- (12) Life cycle
- (13) Out movers ties w community
- (14) Motivations to suburbanise
- (15) Neighbourhood Issues
- (16) Future aspirations
- (17) Residential outcomes
- (18) Identity
- (19) Resources

Appendix Six – Codes used to identify and analyse South Asian names in Nam Pehchan

Name matches

Code	
0	No match on any name element
1	Stem match on one name element
2	Full match on one name element
3	Full match on one name and stem match on others
4	Full match on more than one name
5	Definitive match

Language codes

Codes	
A	3 or more languages associated with Muslim populations
B	Bengali
C	3 or more languages associated with Muslim, Hindu and other populations
E	Singhalese
G	Gujerati
H	Hindi
L	Sylheti
O	Other
P	Punjabi
Q	Pushtu
T	Tamil
U	Urdu
Z	3 or more languages associated with Hindu, Sikh or Buddhist populations
*	Inconsistent data

Religion codes

Codes	
B	Buddhist
C	More than one religion associated with a name
H	Hindu
M	Muslim
S	Sikh
O	Other
*	Inconsistent data

Gender Codes

Codes	
C	Male or Female
F	Female
M	Male

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