

WORKING PAPER 433

INDIANS IN BRADFORD  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS  
1971-1984

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ABSTRACT

The majority of the Indian population have lived in Bradford (as in other towns of Great Britain) for more than 15 to 20 years. In many respects, they still remain a socially and spatially distinctive sub-group within Bradford. However, over the years, they have experienced a number of changes, which are indicative of their gradual socio-economic and spatial integration into the indigenous population. This paper looks at the changing demographic, socio-economic and household characteristics and their impact on the housing and spatial patterns of the Indian community in Bradford.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background and aims

Over the years, Bradford has been a major reception centre for immigrants, particularly from the Indian Sub-continent. At the last Census, it was recorded that 6,379 people born in India, 17,668 born in Pakistan and 1,305 born in Bangladesh were living in the Bradford M.D. In common with other cities, the incoming migrants tended to settle initially in the older parts of the city, close to their place of work. In Bradford, this gave rise to concentration in the south-eastern residential areas. Although there has been significant residential mobility amongst the immigrants since their arrival, this early reception area still provides the focus of their present day communities.

Figure 1 shows the pattern of Indian settlement in Bradford by ward (using electoral register data). When the numbers of the group population in each ward are arranged in rank order and the first 17 highest rank value wards (each having the number >40) are plotted on the map, they clearly represent a compact region in the south-east of Bradford M.D. (Figure 2). Within this region, the spatial distribution pattern of the group can roughly be divided into two concentric belts surrounding University ward. In other words, wards having a common boundary with the University ward, except Clayton, have rank values three to eight in the inner belt, while wards in the next belt have rank values from nine to 17. This south-east area is defined (Ram, 1984) as Indian Bradford and was used as a framework for further research into the Indian population living here.

Recent analysis of Census and electoral register data by Ram (1983) has provided more detailed information on the social and spatial structure of the Indian community in Bradford (see Table 1). This sub-group constitutes approximately one-fifth (21%) of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan born population of the city and 1.4% of the total Bradford population. It

\* 1a \*

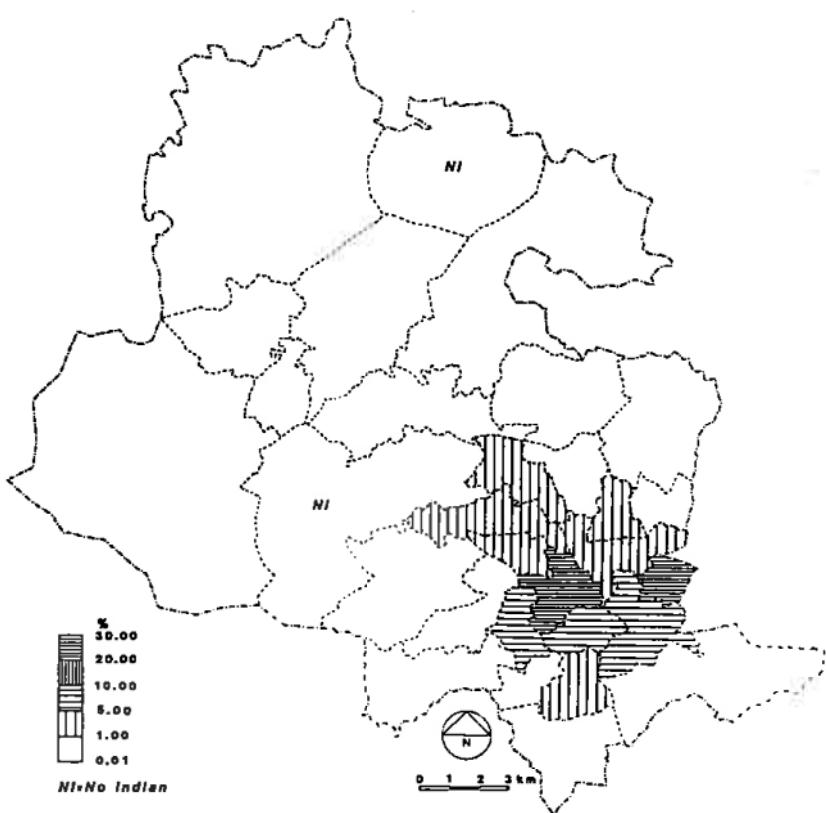


FIGURE 1 PROPORTION OF THE GROUP POPULATION BY WARD, THE  
REGISTER 1981. BRADFORD M.D.

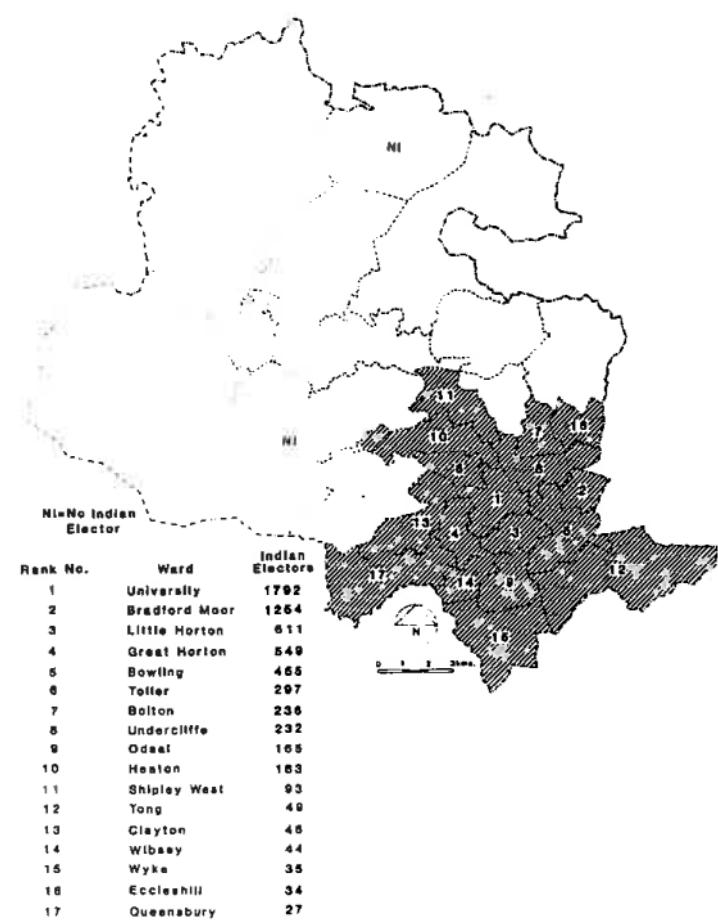


FIGURE 2 INDIAN BRADFORD 1981

TABLE 1 INDIANS BY ORIGIN REGION AND RELIGION  
Register of electors 1981 Bradford Metropolitan District

| Wards             | PUNJAB REGION |      |      | GUJARAT REGION |     |      | OTHER AREAS |      |     | Tot Ind |
|-------------------|---------------|------|------|----------------|-----|------|-------------|------|-----|---------|
|                   | Hin           | Sik  | Tot  | Hin            | Mus | Tot  | Hin         | Chrs | Tot |         |
| 1. Baildon        | -             | 2    | 2    | -              | -   | -    | -           | -    | -   | 2       |
| 2. Bingley        | -             | 5    | 5    | -              | -   | -    | -           | -    | -   | 5       |
| 3. Bingley Rural  | -             | -    | -    | -              | -   | -    | -           | -    | -   | 0       |
| 4. Bolton         | 14            | 209  | 223  | 13             | -   | 13   | -           | -    | -   | 236     |
| 5. Bowling        | 59            | 362  | 421  | 32             | -   | 32   | 2           | -    | 2   | 455     |
| 6. Bradford Moor  | 188           | 1003 | 1191 | 41             | 8   | 49   | 2           | 12   | 14  | 1254    |
| 7. Clayton        | 2             | 11   | 13   | 29             | -   | 29   | 4           | -    | 4   | 116     |
| 8. Craven         | -             | 5    | 5    | 6              | -   | 6    | -           | -    | -   | 11      |
| 9. Eccleshill     | 6             | 7    | 13   | 21             | -   | 21   | -           | -    | -   | 34      |
| 10. Great Horton  | 17            | 132  | 149  | 400            | -   | 400  | -           | -    | -   | 549     |
| 11. Heaton        | 41            | 81   | 122  | 23             | 12  | 35   | 6           | -    | 6   | 163     |
| 12. Idle          | -             | 6    | 6    | 5              | -   | 5    | -           | -    | -   | 11      |
| 13. Ilkley        | -             | -    | -    | -              | -   | -    | -           | -    | -   | 0       |
| 14. Keighley N    | -             | -    | -    | 2              | -   | 2    | -           | -    | -   | 2       |
| 15. Keighley S    | -             | 2    | 2    | 8              | -   | 8    | -           | -    | -   | 10      |
| 16. Keighley W    | -             | 8    | 8    | 2              | -   | 2    | -           | -    | -   | 10      |
| 17. Little Horton | 26            | 290  | 316  | 288            | 7   | 295  | -           | -    | -   | 611     |
| 18. Odsal         | 13            | 115  | 128  | 26             | 8   | 34   | -           | 3    | 3   | 165     |
| 19. Queensbury    | -             | 2    | 2    | 25             | -   | 25   | -           | -    | -   | 27      |
| 20. Rombalds      | 3             | -    | 3    | 4              | -   | 4    | -           | -    | -   | 7       |
| 21. Shipley E     | -             | 11   | 11   | 12             | 2   | 14   | -           | -    | -   | 25      |
| 22. Shipley W     | 11            | 75   | 86   | 4              | -   | 4    | 3           | -    | 3   | 93      |
| 23. Thornton      | -             | 4    | 4    | 11             | -   | 11   | -           | -    | -   | 15      |
| 24. Toller        | 105           | 115  | 220  | 72             | 2   | 74   | 3           | -    | 3   | 297     |
| 25. Tong          | -             | 20   | 20   | 29             | -   | 29   | -           | -    | -   | 119     |
| 26. Undercliffe   | 16            | 193  | 209  | 23             | -   | 23   | -           | -    | -   | 232     |
| 27. University    | 60            | 205  | 265  | 1422           | 103 | 1525 | 2           | -    | 2   | 1792    |
| 28. Wibsey        | 1             | 12   | 13   | 29             | -   | 29   | 2           | -    | 2   | 44      |
| 29. Worth Valley  | 1             | -    | 1    | -              | -   | -    | -           | -    | -   | 1       |
| 30. Wyke          | 3             | 23   | 26   | 9              | -   | 9    | -           | -    | -   | 35      |
| TOTAL             | 566           | 2898 | 3464 | 2536           | 142 | 2678 | 24          | 15   | 39  | 6181    |

Source: Table 2, Ram, 1983, p. 30.

comprises mainly of Hindus (50%) and Sikhs (47%), although a small number of Muslims and Christians (3% of the total Indian population) were also identified by Ram from the electoral register. These internal divisions within the Indian community are reflected in their pattern of settlement, which exhibits clear signs of spatial concentration on the basis of religious and area affiliations (see Table 1 and also Ram, 1983 for greater detail on this). As the Indian population has become more established, there has been increasing spatial sorting on the basis of social, economic, demographic and cultural characteristics. Residential mobility over the 1971-1981 period has included both relocation in wards adjacent to the main areas of Indian settlement and some long distance moves to higher status neighbourhoods to the north of Indian Bradford (to Heaton and Bolton, for example). However, despite this movement, the overall picture remains one of spatial concentration, with more than 42% of the Indian population still clustering in just two wards (University and Bradford Moor) within Indian Bradford.

The Indian population living in Bradford therefore continue to form a distinctive sub-group within the urban spatial structure. This paper aims to explore the socio-economic, demographic and residential characteristics of their pattern further. In particular, it will examine

- (i) The Indians' household and population characteristics, including their migration history, demographic traits and socio-economic status;
- (ii) The residential characteristics of the Indian population, in relation to both housing type and location;
- (iii) The interrelationship between the social, demographic and housing characteristics of the group. The aim will also be to highlight the main socio-economic factors underlying the observed spatial pattern;

(iv) Residential mobility patterns, including the mobility rate for different social groupings of Indians, the implications of their movement in terms of housing type and location, and a brief analysis of the reasons underlying the Indians' moves within Bradford.

#### 1.2 Sources of data

Though the Census and other published sources of information provide data on different ethnic groups, none of them gives enough information to analyse the whole Indian Community. Among these, Table 10 in the National and the County reports and Table 4 in S.A.S. Tables provide the data by place (county) of birth but these tables include 'Raj Indian born' children and exclude British born children to Indian parents. Table 11 in County Reports also has some problems of over counting and under counting of some groups. Moreover at small area scale it is aggregated to the broad N.C.W.P. group. Besides, 'born elsewhere' is such a wide category that it is difficult to compute it accurately from different tables or even from different sources of data. Thus, the currently published Census Tables are inadequate to enumerate fully the real Indian community.

Survey and other sources have their own limitations. They collect the information for different purposes and at different spatial scales as well, which makes their use difficult for comparative studies. Small sample size and its effects on the enumeration of the minority ethnic groups, non-existence of data explicitly for Indians and availability of data only at national or regional level are some of the other main problems in using the published statistics.

The analysis mainly draws on information collected through a questionnaire survey of 142 Indian households living in Indian Bradford in the summer of 1984. The survey was conducted by S. Ram as part of a programme of research for his Doctoral Thesis,

and his methodology is discussed in Section 2. Where appropriate, additional information will be drawn from the Census, although this will mainly be used for purposes of comparing the socio-economic and demographic profile of the Indian respondents with that of the indigenous population.

### 1.3 The Bradford study in the national context

The distinctive socio-economic, demographic and housing characteristics of the New Commonwealth and Pakistani (N.C.W.P.) population settling in Britain has been well documented by a number of researchers utilising a variety of data sources at different levels of disaggregation. For example, Lomas and Monck (1975) present their analysis of Census materials in terms of the 'coloured' (N.C.W.P.) and 'non-coloured' population living in County boroughs. This aggregated level of analysis presents a valuable national picture, but obscures significant inter-group and local variations highlighted in more detailed investigations of sub-groups, as conducted, for example, by Shah (1979), Khan (1977), Jeffery (1976), Johnson (1984), Phillips (1983) and Ram (1984). All these studies draw on several data sources, including the Census, electoral register information and social survey work, each source helping to compensate for the deficiencies in the other (see Moser, 1972, for a review of data sources in ethnic minority research). This section presents the general pattern of socio-economic, demographic and housing characteristics exhibited by the Asian minority living in Britain in order to provide a frame of reference for the Bradford study. The importance of Asian sub-group characteristics and different local conditions in housing and employment across the country are also outlined.

At the national level, the most comprehensive and recent profile of New Commonwealth and Pakistani characteristics has been presented by Brown (1984) in the Third Policy Studies Institute (P.S.I.) survey. This has collated information on the household structure, income, education, housing and

employment of 5,001 black (Asian and West Indian) and 2,305 white individuals. Although most of the findings in the report fail to distinguish between sub-groups within the Asian population, some information is disaggregated to reveal the characteristics of the Indian population (1,241 individuals) in the sample.

The survey findings for the Asian population as a whole indicate their high level of concentration in the owner occupied sector of the housing market, e.g. 72% of Asians and 77% of Indians own their property compared with 59% of whites. This tenure structure is, however, neither associated with affluence nor particularly good quality property. This contrasts with the position for the white population. P.S.I. conclude that over the last decade, residential mobility has brought a general improvement in Asian accommodation, with fewer households sharing or lacking basic amenities. However, they still found significant differences in property location, size, type and age between Asians and whites. For example, Asians still tend to live predominantly within the inner city, only a third live in detached or semi-detached housing compared with two-thirds of whites and only half as many Asians live in post-war properties as whites.

The P.S.I. survey also reveals significant differences in the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the Asians and whites. Most notably, the Asian workforce remain over represented in lower skilled, lower paid jobs, often involving shift work. For example, 41% of the Indians were in semi or unskilled occupations compared with only 16% of whites. Although Asians had increased their business activities, there was generally no evidence of a convergence in black and white job patterns. This reflects the way in which the Asian employment structure is strongly governed by traditional channels of ethnic job opportunities and minimal penetration of other types of work. Amongst the male population, the Asians' inferior position in the labour market is reflected

in their lower wage levels (e.g. median weekly earnings for full time Asian employees in the survey was £11 compared with £129 for whites). Their poor socio-economic status is exacerbated by a high unemployment level (e.g. nearly 1 in 5 Asian nuclear families had no wage-earner at the time of the survey compared with 1 in 12 for white families). This has particularly serious implications for Asian households because of the preponderance of large, young families, which include many dependent members compared with those of whites (e.g. the ratio of earners to dependants was 1 : 2.8 for Asians and 1 : 1.8 for whites).

As previously intimated, other research based on case studies of Asians in particular towns has highlighted a number of variations at the local level across the country. These reflect

- (i) The Asian minority population's migration history:  
Chain migration has resulted in the clustering of migrants from specific sub-areas or countries in certain towns, for example, Punjabi Sikhs are well represented in Slough, Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets and East African Asians in Leicester. This has given rise to local variations in the socio-economic, demographic and housing characteristics of the Asian population, and means that significant differences may be obscured by aggregating the sub-groups into an all embracing 'Asian' category. For example, Phillips' (1983) has highlighted a number of significant differences between the East African and Subcontinental Indian migrants and their implications for their settlement in Leicester. In particular, it is clear that the East Africans' greater language and educational skills together with their higher socio-economic status has facilitated competition within the housing market and quickly helped them to achieve a higher residential status than those from the Subcontinent.

(ii) The characteristics of the local job market:

Peach's (1975) work has shown that, overall, New Commonwealth and Pakistani immigrants tended to settle initially in large urban centres with good housing and employment opportunities. However, over the last 20-25 years, the changing employment structure has differentially affected the employment status of the minorities (for example, the contraction of the old established textile industries and manufacturing sector in the north has particularly affected the minorities here), although New Commonwealth employees in all sectors have been disproportionately disadvantaged by the recession (Brown, 1984).

(iii) The characteristics of the local housing market:

In London, and to a certain extent in other large conurbations such as Birmingham, the pattern of housing opportunities has resulted in a very different tenure structure from that evident for Asians in the rest of the country.<sup>7</sup> In inner London in particular, the Asians' predilection for owner occupation has not been realised to the same extent as elsewhere. Instead, very high property prices and, in some areas, a diminished owner occupied sector has resulted in their greater representation in local authority housing.

The analysis in this paper focuses at the local level and attempts to examine variations in the socio-economic, demographic and housing characteristics of one Asian sub-group (Indians) living in one town (Bradford). The aim will be to disaggregate the pattern further in an attempt to interpret the social and spatial structure of the Indian community in the town. As previously mentioned, the primary source of information for this analysis is a questionnaire survey of 142 Indian households in Bradford. A brief discussion of the survey methodology and sample selection follows.

2. THE SURVEY SAMPLE AND RESPONSE

2.1 Sample size and survey method

Since the majority of the Indian population of Bradford lives in 'Indian Bradford' (Ram, 1984, p.57), the survey was confined to 'Indian Bradford'. Ten per cent (208) of the total households occupied by the Indians (2,080) in 1981 were included in the survey. The households in the sample were selected from the Register of Electors compiled in October, 1981, by Bradford Metropolitan District (Ram, 1984, p.89).

Different sampling methods used by researchers in social sciences vary from the simple and crude 'snow ball method' to more precise methods of sampling, such as 'stratified sampling methods' (Moser and Kalton, 1971, Chapters 4 and 5; Hoinville and Jowell, 1978, Chapter 4). Owing to the varying characteristics of the Indians in Bradford (see Table 1) and given the advantages and the disadvantages of different methods, the 'proportionate stratified sampling method' (Moser and Kalton, 1971, pp.85-87; Hoinville and Jowell, 1978, pp.61-64) was used to select households for the sample. This is a sample method in which stratification is made proportionately. In the present study, Indian households in Bradford are stratified by wards and by the religious groups within the wards (Table 2).

The questionnaire survey was conducted on a personal interview basis. In almost all the cases the interviews were done with the head of household, who was defined as the first male migrant of the household. If this male had died or left, his wife was then considered to be the head. Where it was not possible to contact the head during the survey period, some other (senior) adult was requested to answer the questions. A structured questionnaire (Appendix A) was used to collect the information during the survey.

### 2.2 Sample procedure within wards

The procedure for selecting the sample households within wards is as follows:

- (i) Let  $N$  be the total number of households in each group and  $n$  is the total number of households needed in the sample for the group.
- (ii) Let  $k$  be the frequency interval in the sample such that  $k = \text{integer value of } \frac{N}{n}$ .
- (iii) Let  $r$  be the remainder:  $r = N - kn$ .
- (iv) Compute a number  $m = k + r$  ( $m \geq k$ ).
- (v) Randomly select a number 's' between 1 and  $m$ .
- (vi) Put in the sample every  $(s + pk)$ th household for  $p = 0, 1, 2, \dots n - 1$ , so that  $n$  sample members have been selected and  $(s + pk)$  for its highest value should be  $\leq N$ , the highest number in that group and the total number of  $(s + pk)$ th households =  $n$ .

Following this procedure, the sample households in each ward were selected by the religious groups (Table 2).

### 2.3 Precision of the sample survey estimates

The precision of sample estimate, which depends on the spread of the sampling distribution is measured by working out the 'confidence limits' about the sample proportion in a category. The 95% confidence limits around a sample percentage were computed for four age groups of the community as follows:

Upper confidence limit (U.C.L.)

$$= P + 1.96/\sqrt{(PQ)/N}$$

and

Lower confidence limit (L.C.L.)

$$= P - 1.96/\sqrt{(PQ)/N}$$

Where

P = the sample percentage (in a category or group)

Q =  $100 - P$

TABLE 2 THE (10%) SAMPLE SIZE OF INDIAN HOUSEHOLDS BY RELIGION BY WARD

| Wards            | Sikhs | Hindus | Muslim and others | Total |
|------------------|-------|--------|-------------------|-------|
| 1. Bolton        | 8     | 1      | -                 | 9     |
| 2. Bowling       | 12    | 4      | -                 | 16    |
| 3. Bradford Moor | 34    | 7      | 2                 | 43    |
| 4. Clayton       | 1     | 1      | -                 | 2     |
| 5. Eccleshill    | 0     | 1      | -                 | 1     |
| 6. Great Horton  | 4     | 16     | -                 | 20    |
| 7. Heaton        | 3     | 2      | 1                 | 6     |
| 8. Little Horton | 10    | 11     | 1                 | 22    |
| 9. Odsal         | 4     | 2      | -                 | 6     |
| 10. Queensbury   | 0     | 1      | -                 | 1     |
| 11. Shipley W    | 2     | 1      | -                 | 3     |
| 12. Toller       | 4     | 6      | -                 | 10    |
| 13. Tong         | 1     | 1      | -                 | 2     |
| 14. Undercliffe  | 6     | 1      | -                 | 7     |
| 15. University   | 8     | 47     | 2                 | 57    |
| 16. Wibsey       | 0     | 2      | -                 | 2     |
| 17. Wyke         | 1     | 0      | -                 | 1     |
| TOTAL            | 98    | 104    | 6                 | 208   |

Source: Figures in the last column are calculated from Table 5a, Ram, 1984, p. 89.

TABLE 3 THE 95% CONFIDENCE LIMITS FOR THE SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE

| Age group | % in sample<br>(survey) | UCL   | LCL   | % in population<br>(Census) |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------|-------|-----------------------------|
| 0-24      | 55.27                   | 58.92 | 51.62 | 57.25                       |
| 25-44     | 27.15                   | 30.42 | 23.88 | 27.30                       |
| 45-64     | 14.91                   | 17.53 | 12.29 | 13.08                       |
| 65+       | 2.67                    | 3.85  | 1.49  | 2.37                        |
| TOTAL     | 100.00                  |       |       | 100.00                      |

Source: Percentages in column two are from Ram's survey sample while that in the last column are calculated from Table 11, County Report CEN 81 CR45, 1982.

and are shown in Table 3. The range of the limits in the table shows that the sample is a good 'representative' (Moser and Kalton, 1971, p.155) of the community and unbiased one.

#### 2.4 Survey problems and survey response

Almost no survey ends without problems which differ in nature and have a varied effect on the response rate, results and findings. The problems in the present survey differed in two ways from the problems of other social surveys. Firstly, the Indians are not as open and frank as the indigenous or other Western population, and hesitate to give information to anybody whom they do not know very well. They become more suspicious if they are asked about their income and immigration history. After three decades in this country, the intensity of the problem has decreased to some extent, although the survey experience revealed that the problem still persists to a small degree.

At the beginning of the survey the interviewer (S. Ram) found it difficult to convince many interviewees about the purpose of gathering the information. They were suspicious of him as an Indian as well as of the information being gathered. Thus, it was a problem to ensure the maximum possible response in the survey. Therefore, Ram had to seek the help of some social leaders of both the groups to convince the interviewees that the survey was being conducted for valid research purposes only and that the information would remain confidential. Furthermore, Ram had to be very sensitive about the way questions were asked during the survey to obtain accurate information. These measures helped to complete the survey with a negligible (2.1%) refusal rate.

Another minor problem did crop up during the survey. A few of the Gujarati Indian (aged) heads were neither very good in English nor in Hindi. Help was sought either from the

'community leaders' or from the children of the interviewees (who understood English very well) to solve the problem. The difficulty did not apply to the Punjabi community as Ram was fluent in Punjabi.

Some 30% of households in the selected sample moved from their addresses in 1981, during the period October 1981 to the summer 1984. Another 2.1% of the heads in the sample refused to answer the questions because of the problems discussed above. Thus, the information was gathered for the rest of 142 households (see Table 4). Among the heads of households who were interviewed, all except one responded to each question in the questionnaire. One person refused to disclose the religion he belonged to.

### 3. HOUSEHOLD AND POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

#### 3.1 Migration characteristics

All but one of the sample heads of households were first generation immigrants, most of whom had arrived in Britain during the 1960s and 1970s. The majority (91.5%) came to settle directly in Bradford or some other West Yorkshire town upon arrival. The remaining few gravitated to Bradford from other major immigrant centres such as London, the West Midlands and Leicester, generally to join relatives or other contacts and to find work. The selective pattern of migration from India to Britain and other countries (such as East Africa) is exemplified by the area origins of the respondents. Just over 60% came from the Punjab and 38% from the Gujarat, the two largest sending states for Indian emigration to Britain as a whole. Only two respondents originated outside these Indian states; one of these came from Kerala and the other from Bihar. This selective pattern has had implications for the religious characteristics of the Indian population in Bradford, which comprises of roughly equal numbers of Sikhs and Hindus, together with a small number of Muslims. This is reflected in the composition of the sample, which was 48% Sikh, 49% Hindu and 3% Muslim.

TABLE 4 RESPONSE OF THE HEADS OF THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

| Wards            | Total houses in the sample | Moved | Refused | Total interviewed |
|------------------|----------------------------|-------|---------|-------------------|
| 1. Bolton        | 9                          | 1     | -       | 8                 |
| 2. Bowling       | 16                         | 4     | 1       | 11                |
| 3. Bradford Moor | 43                         | 15    | 2       | 26                |
| 4. Clayton       | 2                          | 1     | -       | 1                 |
| 5. Eccleshill    | 1                          | 1     | -       | 0                 |
| 6. Great Horton  | 20                         | 1     | -       | 19                |
| 7. Heaton        | 6                          | 2     | -       | 4                 |
| 8. Little Horton | 22                         | 9     | -       | 13                |
| 9. Odsal         | 6                          | 3     | -       | 3                 |
| 10. Queensbury   | 1                          | 1     | -       | 0                 |
| 11. Shipley W    | 3                          | 1     | -       | 3                 |
| 12. Toller       | 10                         | 1     | -       | 9                 |
| 13. Tong         | 2                          | 1     | -       | 1                 |
| 14. Undercliffe  | 7                          | 1     | -       | 6                 |
| 15. University   | 57                         | 20    | 1       | 37                |
| 16. Wibsey       | 2                          | 2     | -       | 0                 |
| 17. Wyke         | 1                          | -     | -       | 1                 |
| TOTAL            | 208                        | 63    | 3       | 142               |

The temporal pattern of migration to Bradford parallels that for Britain as a whole, and is summarised in Table 5. Five main phases of immigration are depicted, each varying in the volume of flow and the composition of the incoming migrants. The phases themselves reflect both changes in British immigration policy and political events in the sending countries, for example the Africanisation programme in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Migration from India on a large scale is mainly a post-war phenomenon. In most cases, movement to Britain was economically motivated, with families who could afford the passage at first sending only one adult male to work here on behalf of his relatives. The usual intention was for the stay to be temporary and for the male immigrant to return after several years of capital accumulation. The early 1950s thus brought the unrestricted immigration of males, mainly from areas such as the Punjab and Gujarat, and the flow continued unabated until the first immigration controls were introduced with the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962. This placed special restrictions on the entry of unskilled migrants, limiting immigration to voucher holders and dependants. It was, however, the 1965-1968 period which brought the greatest influx of Indians to Bradford, with over 40% of the survey respondents having arrived during these years. This peak reflects three factors:

- (i) The arrival of voucher holders granted entry under the terms of the 1962 Act.
- (ii) A major period of family reunion for single male Indians settled in Britain during the early 1960s. It was at this time that some of the heads of households interviewed in the survey arrived in Britain as children. This is underlined by Table 6, which shows the relationship between the age of the head of household (in 1981) and his/her length of residence in Britain.
- (iii) The first influx of East African refugees with the arrival of the Kenyan Asians in 1968.

TABLE 5 IMMIGRATION OF HEADS BY LAST COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE BY PHASE (IN PER CENT)

| PHASES             | INDIA |     |      | E. AFRICA |     | REST OF THE ASIA |  | TOTAL            |
|--------------------|-------|-----|------|-----------|-----|------------------|--|------------------|
|                    | M     | F   | M    | F         | M   | F                |  |                  |
| I<br>(Before 1960) | 15.6  | -   | 0.7  | -         | 0.7 | -                |  | 17.0             |
| II<br>(1960-62)    | 14.2  | -   | 4.3  | -         | 1.4 | -                |  | 19.9             |
| III<br>(1963-68)   | 31.9  | 1.4 | 7.1  | -         | 1.4 | -                |  | 41.8             |
| IV<br>(1969-72)    | 5.0   | 0.7 | 7.1  | 0.7       | -   | -                |  | 13.5             |
| V<br>(After 1972)  | 6.4   | -   | 1.4  | -         | -   | -                |  | 7.8              |
| TOTAL              | 73.1  | 2.1 | 20.6 | 0.7       | 3.5 | -                |  | 100.0<br>(N=141) |

Note: N = Number of cases

Source: Ram's survey sample.

Further immigration controls were introduced in 1968, which decreased the number of Indians able to obtain work vouchers. The restrictions are reflected in the reduced flow of Indians in Phase IV of Table 5, although immigration to Bradford in this period was bolstered by the arrival of Ugandan Asians in 1972. A further revision of the Commonwealth Immigration Act brought more restrictions during this year, although Commonwealth citizens who were settled in the U.K. before 1st January, 1973, could still bring in their wife and children (under 18), so a reduced flow has continued.

Table 6 indicates that 57.5% of the heads of households have now lived in Britain for over 15 years. This has implications for their socio-economic advancement in this country, as will be explained in greater detail in a later section. The predominantly young families now include second generation immigrants, born and educated in Bradford. These U.K. born individuals comprised 44.6% of the total individual residents in the sample households.

### 3.2 Demographic characteristics

The migration statistics indicate that the Indian population in Bradford is now fairly well established. The predominantly male adult population of the early days of settlement has been replaced by a more balanced family structure and a more even sex ratio. According to the 1981 Census, the male to female ratio is now 1.1 : 1.0. Only four of the households interviewed comprised of a single adult male; the rest were family households, which were in most cases headed by a male (97%). In only one case the Indian head was found to be married to a British female.

The Indian population in Bradford exhibits similar demographic characteristics to those presented by the Policy Studies Institute survey for the Asian population at the national level (see Section 1.2). Three significant differences with the white population emerge:

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TABLE 6 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IN BRADFORD  
BY AGE IN 1981

| Age         | Length of Stay |           |           |           |           | Total            |
|-------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
|             | >20 years      | >15 years | >10 years | > 5 years | < 5 years |                  |
| 16-29 years | 1.4            | 5.7       | 8.5       | 3.5       | 3.5       | 22.7             |
| 30-44 years | 5.7            | 18.4      | 14.9      | 3.5       | 1.4       | 44.0             |
| 45+ years   | 13.5           | 12.8      | 3.5       | 3.5       | 5.0       | 33.3             |
| All ages    | 20.6           | 36.9      | 27.0      | 10.6      | 5.0       | 100.0<br>(N=141) |

Source: Ram's survey sample.

TABLE 7 HOUSEHOLD SIZE: INDIAN SAMPLE AND BRADFORD COMPARISON

| Number of persons   | Indian sample (%) | Bradford total population <sup>1</sup> (%) |
|---------------------|-------------------|--|
| 1                   | 2.8               | 23.9                                       |
| 2                   | 9.9               | 30.5                                       |
| 3                   | 9.9               | 16.1                                       |
| 4                   | 17.6              | 16.8                                       |
| 5                   | 23.9              | 7.2  |
| 6                   | 14.8              | 3.0  |
| 7 and over          | 21.1              | 2.4  |
| All persons (N=142) | 100.0             | 100.0                                      |

<sup>1</sup>Source: 1981 Census tabulations  
CEN 81 CR45, 1982).

(i) Household size As might have been expected from the P.S.I. survey, the Indian households in the sample tended to be larger than those of the indigenous population, having a mean household size of 5.0. As Table 7 shows, 56.3% comprised of 4-6 persons and a small proportion (21.1%) had 7-12 members compared with only 2.4% for the total Bradford population (Figure 3). These family sizes place constraints on the housing opportunities open to the Indians, given that most properties have been built for the small nuclear family. The larger Indian families in Bradford have nevertheless demonstrated great resourcefulness in adapting the available physical space to meet their family needs, often converting attic space into living accommodation.

(ii) Household structure The period of family reunion brought not only the male immigrants' immediate nuclear family to Bradford, but also a number of other dependants, who contribute to the make up of the extended family. The P.S.I. survey distinguished between the vertically (that is three generations) and the horizontally extended Asian household (that is relatives other than parents and children, as for example with two brothers and their families living together). Nationally, 16% of Asian households were found to be horizontally extended and 7% vertically extended. This compares with 4% and 1% of white households respectively. In Bradford, nearly one quarter (23.2%) of the households interviewed constituted extended families.

This type of family organisation again places special demands on the kinds of accommodation suitable for the family, especially in terms of size. The small inner city terraces frequently occupied by newly settled Asians are often inadequate, forcing the separate branches of the family to live apart. As Phillips (1983) has observed, this can lead to an under-estimation

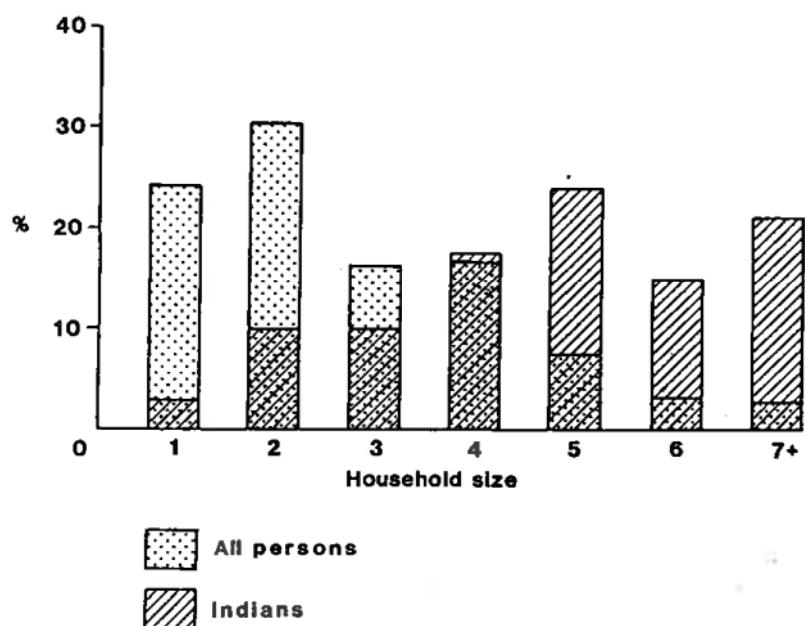


FIGURE 3 HOUSEHOLD SIZE AMONG THE INDIAN COMMUNITY IN BRADFORD 1984

of the number of extended families living as a functional social and economic unit (that is sharing possessions such as cars and telephones and pooling resources) despite their physical separation due to dwelling constraints.

(iii) Age structure The extended family structure is reflected in the age structure of the Indian households in Bradford, with more adults than is common for indigenous families. However, overall, the age distribution for the Indian respondents is skewed towards the younger age-groups (see Table 8), with 63.3% of the individuals in the sample households being under the age of 30. (This compared with 42.9% of the indigenous population according to the 1981 Census.) 45% of these Indian individuals were born in Britain.

The predominantly young, large family structure so characteristic of the Indian households now living in Bradford creates specific residential demands for this group. The expanding families generally require more space than can be provided by the terraces in the areas most populated by the Indians and there is now greater demand for better neighbourhood amenities (both in terms of status and access to facilities). These aspirations may conflict with the desire to remain close to other members of the Indian community. Some households have managed to resolve this conflict by moving to better residential areas adjacent to the centre of the established Indian community. Others have been forced to make a trade-off in terms of distance moved and the fulfilment of other residential demands. For all, movement is facilitated or constrained by the household's socio-economic status and their disposable income.

TABLE 8 AGE STRUCTURE OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS IN INDIAN SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

(in per cent)

| Age      | Indians in the   |                  | Pakistanis<br>1981 | All persons<br>in Bradford<br>1981 |  |  |
|----------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|
|          | Survey           |                  |                    |                                    |  |  |
|          | 1984             | 1981             |                    |                                    |  |  |
| 0-15     | 36.7             | 41.4             | 40.2               | 50.8                               |  |  |
| 16-29    | 26.6             | 24.4             | 26.4               | 24.0                               |  |  |
| 30-44    | 19.1             | 19.7             | 18.0               | 13.6                               |  |  |
| 45-64    | 14.9             | 12.4             | 12.3 <sup>1</sup>  | 11.0 <sup>1</sup>                  |  |  |
| 65+      | 2.7              | 2.1              | 3.1 <sup>2</sup>   | 0.6 <sup>2</sup>                   |  |  |
| All ages | 100.0<br>(N=711) | 100.0<br>(N=679) | 100.0<br>(N=12428) | 100.0<br>(N=29423)                 |  |  |
|          |                  |                  |                    | 100.0<br>(N=449897)                |  |  |

<sup>1</sup> Figures are for age groups '45-pensionable age'

<sup>2</sup> Figures are for age groups 'of pensionable age'

Note: Figures in the last three columns are taken from Table 11, County Report, CEN 81 CR45, 1982.

TABLE 9 OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLDS, 1984.

| Socio-economic group                   | Per cent        |
|--|-----------------|
| Employer/Manager                       | 1.0             |
| Professional                           | 7.2             |
| Intermediate non-manual                | 4.1             |
| Junior non-manual                      | 7.2             |
| Foreman/supervisor                     | 3.1             |
| Skilled manual                         | 27.8            |
| Semi-skilled manual                    | 8.2             |
| Unskilled manual                       | 41.2            |
| All (excluding 45 unclassified) groups | 100.0<br>(N=97) |

Source: Ram's survey sample.

### 3.3 Socio-economic characteristics

Section 3.1 has already pointed to the importance of economic factors in prompting the migration of Bradford Indians to the U.K. Coming from rural origins, often without many formal qualifications, the majority of these immigrants were forced to take up low status semi or unskilled jobs upon arrival. Many found work in the local textile industries or foundries. Over the years, the first generation have undoubtedly experienced some occupational mobility. For example, of those heads of household who were economically active (excluding 45 unclassified) at the time of the survey, 27.8% could be classified as skilled manual workers and only 10.3% occupied a non-manual and supervisory role (Table 9). Some 8% were self employed, having utilised their entrepreneurial skills to set up small businesses in the town (see Cater, Jones and McEvoy, 1978, for further discussion of Asian business development in Bradford). However, as the socio-economic groupings for the sample show, Indians were still well represented amongst the unskilled manual workers in Bradford in 1984, with 41.2% of the economically active heads of households falling into this group (Table 9). Comparing these findings with the Census data indicates that Bradford Indians still tend to occupy more of the less skilled jobs than the indigenous population (e.g. only 7.4% of the Bradford workforce was classified as unskilled).

Variations in socio-economic status within the Indian sample were explored in terms of social class. The survey results revealed that there was no significant difference in the class structure of the principal religious groups (see Table 10). There was, however, a clear inverse relationship between the year of migration to the U.K. and the social class of the head of household. Table 11 shows that two-thirds (65.6%) of the earliest arrivals, that is those settling prior to the first immigration controls, fell into the lowest social class category of unskilled manual workers. This

TABLE 10 SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY RELIGIOUS GROUP, 1984.

| Social class                                   | SIKH (%) | HINDU (%) | MUSLIM (%) |
|--|----------|-----------|------------|
| Professional                                   | 8.0      | 6.5       | -          |
| Intermediate                                   | 8.0      | 2.2       | -          |
| Skilled; non-manual                            | 4.0      | 10.9      | -          |
| Skilled; manual                                | 30.0     | 32.6      | -          |
| Semi-skilled                                   | 10.0     | 8.7       | -          |
| Unskilled                                      | 40.0     | 39.1      | 100        |
| Number of economically active* heads in sample | 50       | 46        | 1          |

\*Excludes unclassified

Source: Ram's survey sample.

TABLE 11 SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IN 1984 BY YEAR OF IMMIGRATION

| Social class                         | Year of immigration |         |         |         |           |                      |                      |                      | Total      |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------|
|                                      | PRE-1960            | 1960-62 | 1963-68 | 1969-72 | POST 1972 | Column<br>Row<br>(%) | Row<br>Column<br>(%) | Column<br>Row<br>(%) |            |
| Professional<br>Intermediate         | (I)<br>(II)         | - - - - | 14.3    | 85.7    | - -       | 12.5                 | 14.3                 | 100.0                |            |
| Skilled non-manual<br>Skilled manual | (IIIN)<br>(IIM)     | 7.1     | 16.7    | 10.5    | 33.3      | 4.8                  | 33.3                 | 7.7                  | 16.7       |
| Semi-skilled<br>Unskilled            | (IV)<br>(V)         | 7.1     | 11.1    | 21.1    | 44.4      | 4.8                  | 22.2                 | 15.4                 | 22.2       |
| All (excluding 45<br>unclassified)   |                     | 100.0   | 14.6    | 100.0   | 19.8      | 100.0                | 43.7                 | 100.0                | 13.5       |
|                                      |                     |         |         |         |           |                      |                      |                      | (N=)<br>96 |

Source: Ram's survey sample.

reflects the background and characteristics of migrants in the period before the voucher system restricted the flow of the most poorly skilled workers. Although, as previously noted, even the better educated and skilled immigrants arriving after this were often forced to take low status jobs, the potential for occupational mobility was there. Thus the majority (86.6%) of those Indians now in skilled manual occupations arrived in the post 1963 period. The same inverse relationship holds for social class and age of head of household, which is in part related to the year of immigration (see Table 6). For example, nearly three-quarters (71.4%) of the highest social class heads of household were under the age of 35 (see Table 12). It is interesting to note that the social class characteristics of this age group most closely parallel those of the indigenous population, indicating a tendency towards economic assimilation over time for those able to find work.

Only a relatively small proportion of the Indian population resident in Bradford has reached retirement age (5.5% of the individuals in the sample households were over 60 years old). The economic activity rate for the remainder of the population was fairly low, that is, only 34.4% of the individuals were in full or part-time employment. This reflects several factors, namely

- (i) The skewed age structure of the population (43.6% of the individuals were classified as economically inactive, students or minors).
- (ii) The low female employment level (most female spouses were classified as housewives), and
- (iii) A relatively high unemployment rate (9.2%) amongst male heads of household.

This underlines the large number of dependants to be supported in Bradford Indian households (see Section 5.4).

TABLE 12 SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY AGE IN 1984

| Social class        | Age             |              |              |                    |
|---------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|
|                     | under 35<br>(%) | 35-54<br>(%) | 55-64<br>(%) | 65 and over<br>(%) |
| Professional        | 11.6            | 2.8          | -            | -                  |
| Intermediate        | 4.7             | 4.2          | -            | -                  |
| Skilled; non-manual | 14.0            | -            | 5.0          | -                  |
| Skilled; manual     | 32.6            | 19.7         | 10.0         | -                  |
| Semi-skilled        | 4.7             | 5.6          | 15.0         | -                  |
| Unskilled           | 16.3            | 36.0         | 30.0         | -                  |
| Unclassified        | 16.3            | 31.0         | 40.0         | 100                |
| Total (N=142)       | 100(43)         | 100(71)      | 100(20)      | 100(8)             |

Source: Ram's survey sample.

Recent developments in Bradford's local economy have been characteristic of those in other northern textile towns and have resulted in a significant contraction in employment opportunities for some sections of the local labour force. In particular, automation in some industries and the closure of many textile industries and foundries has greatly reduced the need for lesser skilled workers in the local employment market. This has directly affected older members of the Indian workforce, many of whom were employed in these sectors, although the job opportunities of the better qualified youngsters have been less severely affected.

#### 3.4 Consumption patterns; durable and luxury goods

Despite the lower occupational status of the Indian heads of household compared with the indigenous population in Bradford, the survey revealed a relatively high consumption of durable and luxury goods. Two-thirds (62.7%) of the households had the use of at least one car. (The proportion of Indian households having one car is 54 as compared to 39 for the indigenous population.) Most had a telephone (87.3%) and 58.5% had a washing machine. A significant proportion of households also owned one or more luxury items. For example, 54.9% had a video, 61.3% a music centre and 19% a home computer. These proportions are close to the national average, and reflect the relatively high disposable income of households with several working adults.

All these characteristics have implications for the group's life-style and housing conditions, as explored below.

#### 4. HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

##### 4.1 Phases of settlement

The socio-economic and demographic changes experienced by the Indian population have been accompanied by developments in the spatial pattern of Indian residence in the city. The early pattern of settlement was typical of that documented for Asian

TABLE 13 THE MOVES BY WARD AMONG THE INDIAN HOUSEHOLDS DURING 1971-81

|                         | After move<br>Before move |            |         |            |         |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            | Total      |         |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------|---------|------------|---------|-----------|-------------|---------|---------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|------------|------------|---------|
| Clayton                 | Clypton                   | Gt. Horton | Horton  | Lt. Horton | Heaton  | Tollerton | Undercliffe | Bowling | Bradford Moor | Bolton  | Odsal   | Tong    | Wyke    | Wibsey  | Queensbury | Eccleshill | Total   |
| Great Horton University | 0.9 10.6                  | 0.9 13.3   | 0.9 1.8 | 0.9 0.9    | 0.9 0.9 | 0.9 0.9   | 0.9 0.9     | 0.9 0.9 | 0.9 0.9       | 0.9 0.9 | 0.9 0.9 | 0.9 0.9 | 0.9 0.9 | 0.9 0.9 | 0.9 0.9    | 0.9 0.9    | 0.9 2.7 |
| Little Horton           | 0.9                       | 1.8        | 2.7     |            |         |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | 32.7    |
| Toller                  | 0.9                       |            |         |            |         |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | 8.0     |
| Heaton                  |                           |            |         | 0.9        | 0.9     | 0.9       |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | 6.2     |
| Shipley W.              | 0.9                       |            |         |            |         |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | 4.4     |
| Undercliffe             |                           |            |         |            |         |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | 1.8     |
| Bowling                 |                           | 1.8        | 5.3     |            | 0.9     |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | 3.6     |
| Bradford Moor           | 0.9                       | 0.9        |         |            | 0.9     |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | 21.2    |
| Bolton                  | 0.9                       |            |         |            |         |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | 10.6    |
| Odsal                   |                           |            |         |            |         |           |             |         |               |         | 2.7     |         |         |         |            |            | 3.6     |
| Tong                    |                           |            |         |            |         |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | 0.9     |
| Wyke                    |                           |            |         |            |         |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | -       |
| Wibsey                  |                           |            |         |            |         |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | -       |
| Queensbury              |                           |            |         |            |         |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | -       |
| Eccleshill              |                           |            |         |            |         |           |             |         |               |         |         |         |         |         |            |            | 100.0   |
| Total                   | 0.9                       | 15.0       | 18.6    | 13.3       | 7.1     | 3.6       | 0.9         | 3.6     | 9.7           | 15.9    | 8.8     | 1.8     | 0.9     | -       | -          | -          | -       |

Source: Ram's survey sample (N=113)

migrants in other reception centres, with the initial immigration of single male adults giving rise to clustering within private lodging accommodation in the Bowling, University, Little Horton and Toller wards. Family reunion brought a gradual shift into owner occupation in the mid-1960s, with Indians invariably making their first purchase within the older areas of early settlement.

Since the early 1970s, there has been substantial residential mobility amongst the Indian population settled in Bradford. For example, 58.5% of the sampled households had made one move during the 1971-1981 period and 12.7% had made two. The pattern of movement between wards is depicted in Table 13 and cartographically represented in Figure 4. In essence, the overall pattern of development may be summarised as one of spatial shift to areas adjacent to the main Indian community (for example, from University ward into Great Horton, and Bowling to Bradford Moor), spatial dispersal to areas of newer, higher status housing (for example, as found in Bolton ward to the north), and the reinforcement of spatial adjustment by movement within the concentration. The reasons for this mobility are listed in Table 14. This indicates that the need for more space was the prime motive for moving in over one-third of the cases, although new household formation, with children leaving the parental home was also important (for example this accounted for 23.2% of the moves). The concern for a better quality, higher status and a safe living environment was also a significant factor shaping the pattern of movement, as exemplified by the proportion of respondents citing these as second (20.2%) and third (16.2%) reasons for selecting their new home.

The spatial mobility of the 1970s has given rise to greater variation in Indian housing characteristics, although significant differences between the Indian and indigenous population remain. The similarities and differences are highlighted in the following sections.

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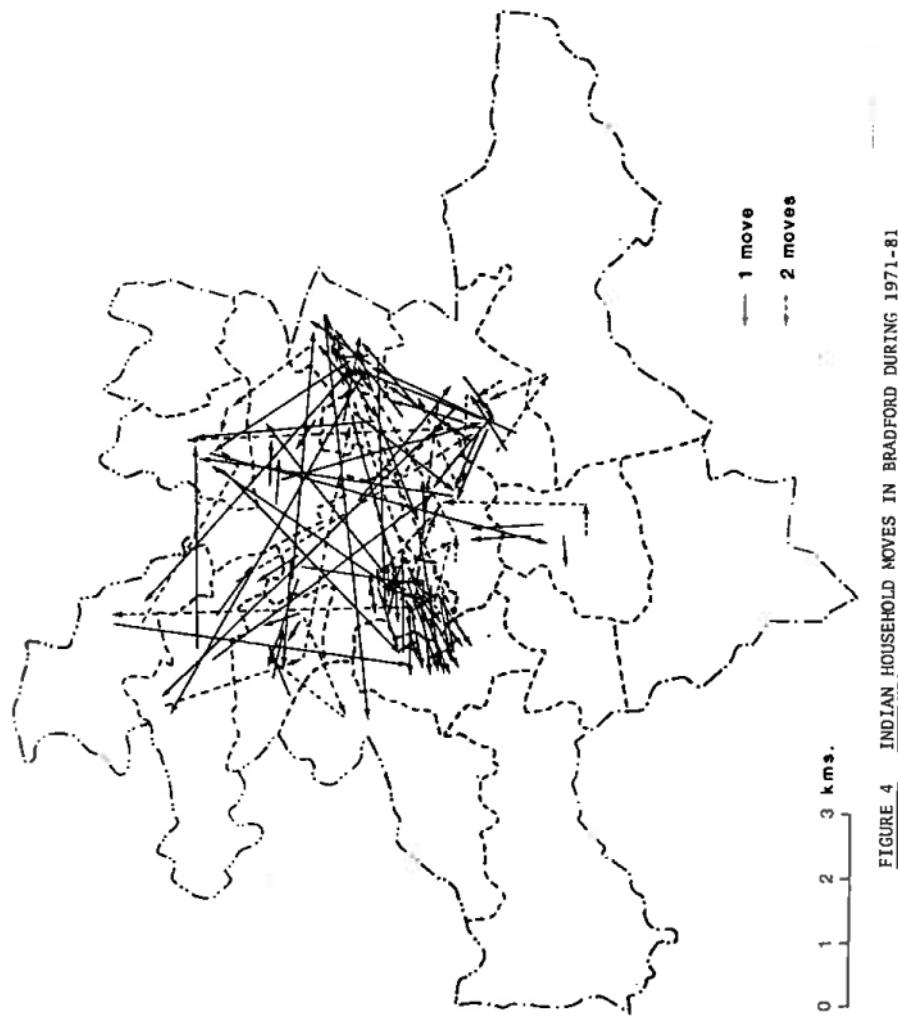


FIGURE 4 INDIAN HOUSEHOLD MOVES IN BRADFORD DURING 1971-81

TABLE 14 REASONS FOR SELECTING NEW HOUSES

| Description of reasons  | Mentioned as |          |          |
|---|--------------|----------|----------|
|   | Reason 1     | Reason 2 | Reason 3 |
| 1. New house  | 8.1          | 5.1      | -        |
| 2. Spacious house   | 36.4         | 14.1     | 3.0      |
| 3. More facilities  | -            | 2.0      | -        |
| 4. Proximity to job/work  | 3.0          | 4.0      | 1.0      |
| 5. Proximity to relative/friends  | 3.0          | 6.1      | 2.0      |
| 6. Proximity to school, Temple, town, Asian shop or easy transport access | 1.0          | 2.0      | 4.0      |
| 7. Better socio-economic area   | 2.0          | 12.1     | 5.1      |
| 8. Safe and quiet area to live  | 1.0          | 8.1      | 11.1     |
| 9. Separate from relative/friends   | 23.2         | -        | -        |
| 10. To own house  | 5.1          | -        | -        |
| 11. Bought business   | 6.1          | -        | -        |
| 12. Got cheap house   | 2.0          | -        | -        |
| 13. Got council accommodation on health grounds                           | 2.0          | 1.0      | -        |
| 14. No particular reason  | 4.0          | 1.0      | -        |
| 15. No further reason   | -            | 44.0     | 73.7     |
| 16. No such move  | 5.0          | -        | -        |
| Total (N=99)  | 100.0        | 100.0    | 100.0    |

Source: Ram's survey sample.

#### 4.1.1 Tenure of dwelling

The tenure structure of the sample reflects the predominance of owner occupation amongst Indians in Bradford and elsewhere, with 97.2% of the households owning their property. Only 2% were in local authority housing and one family interviewed lived in a housing association property in Bradford Moor. This contrasts significantly with the indigenous population, approximately one-quarter of whom live in council housing according to the 1981 Census. The Indians' over representation within the owner occupied sector is particularly remarkable given the low socio-economic status of nearly half the households (see Section 3.3), which in the indigenous population tends to correlate with local authority residence. This lack of tenure differentiation by social class has been widely noted for the Asian population as a whole (for example, Brown, 1984) and emphasises the high priority this group place on both the status and security afforded by this tenure. Initial entry into owner occupation by households of very low socio-economic status is of necessity largely confined to the bottom of the housing market.

#### 4.1.2 Type of dwelling

Residential mobility over the last decade has brought a significant change in the type of accommodation occupied by some Indians in Bradford. Table 15 summarises the change in property types associated with the moves. Two trends are of particular note. Firstly, there has been a substantial shift out of back-to-back properties into through terraces and some semi-detached housing. Thus, whilst in 1971, 22.1% of the sample Indian households still lived in back-to-back houses, by 1981 this proportion had fallen to 5.3%. Secondly, there has been a significant movement into semi-detached property over the last decade from both the back-to-backs and through terraces. Indeed, one-quarter (26.8%) of the sample have now purchased semi-detached housing.

TABLE 15 MOVES BY TYPE OF DWELLING BEFORE AND AFTER THE MOVES  
DURING THE 1971-81 PERIOD

| To                 | Back-to-back | Through terrace | Semi-detached | Detached | Flat | Shop cum residence | Other | Total (all types) |
|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|----------|------|--------------------|-------|-------------------|
| From               |              |                 |               |          |      |                    |       |                   |
| Back-to-back       | 1.8          | 12.4            | 8.0           |          |      |                    |       | 22.1              |
| Through terrace    | 1.8          | 34.5            | 21.2          |          | 0.9  | 3.5                | 0.9   | 62.8              |
| Semi-detached      | 1.8          | 5.3             | 2.7           | 0.9      |      |                    |       | 10.6              |
| Detached           |              |                 | 0.9           |          |      |                    |       | 0.9               |
| Flat               |              |                 | 0.9           |          |      |                    |       | 0.9               |
| Shop cum residence |              |                 |               | 0.9      |      | 0.9                |       | 1.8               |
| Other              |              |                 | 0.9           |          |      |                    |       | 0.9               |
| Total              | 5.3          | 52.2            | 34.5          | 1.8      | 0.9  | 4.4                | 0.9   | 100.0 (N=113)     |

(in per cent)

Source: Ram's survey sample.

Although some purchases involved only short distance moves to adjacent neighbourhoods (for example, within the residentially mixed ward of Bradford Moor), others involved relocating a considerable distance away from the main Indian community (for example in wards such as Bolton and Shipley West). These trends are indicative of the upwards residential mobility of the group and have provided the households with higher status more spacious accommodation, often with improved facilities such as central heating. For example, two-thirds of the semi-detached properties purchased by the sample had central heating compared with none of the back-to-back properties and 12.1% of the through terraces.

Despite these clearly observable trends, Table 15 indicates that over half (57.7%) of the sample still lived in through terraced housing. This contrasts with only about a quarter of white owner occupiers and reflects the high level of Indian concentration within such wards as University and Bradford Moor. The remainder of the sample occupied a range of property types from detached houses (2.8%) to shop premises (4.9%). Only two households interviewed, however, lived in flats and neither of these owned their property (one lived in local authority and the other in housing association accommodation). This reflects the predominant need for family housing.

#### 4.2 Implications of the housing pattern

The last decade has been one of increasing spatial sorting within Indian Bradford. The evidence provided in the preceding sections points to significant upwards residential mobility for some households as they search for better quality, more spacious accommodation often in wards outside those of the highest Indian concentration. The indications are that Bradford Indians are gradually breaking away from the pattern of settlement hitherto associated with the group.

The following sections examine some of the social and economic dimensions to this spatial sorting. The analysis of electoral register data by Ram (1984) has already indicated how this movement has so far tended to reinforce the established pattern of spatial sorting, in terms of religious and area affiliation. For example, although there is some residential mixing, Sikh households have tended to move from the focus of their community in Bradford Moor in the east into the north-eastern wards of Undercliffe and Bolton, whilst Hindus have generally relocated from the central wards in a westerly direction.

This spatial differentiation has had some ramifications for the types of properties occupied by the two groups. For example, Sikh households were more likely to live in semi-detached or detached properties than Hindus in the sample, with 33.8% of Sikhs and 18.8% of Hindus living in semi-detached housing (the majority of these Hindus being of Punjabi rather than Gujarati origin). However, this distribution could not be directly correlated with better quality accommodation for the Sikhs (although semi-detached housing is often associated with better amenities than terraced property). This is exemplified by the finding that fewer Sikhs (25%) than Hindus (37.7%) lived in houses with central heating. Overall, the 'differences' between the two groups were not great, and for both, uncentrally heated, through-terraces were the most common dwelling type (for example, for 45.6% of the Sikhs and 53.6% of the Hindus).

The following sections attempt to relate other observed variations in the spatial pattern and housing characteristics to variations within the socio-economic and demographic profile of the sample, as outlined in Section 3. Since there were no significant differences in the tenure patterns within the sample, emphasis is placed on differentiation by housing type and location.

5. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC DIMENSIONS OF THE SPATIAL PATTERN

5.1 Length of residence

There is no clear direct relationship between length of residence of the head of household and the spatial distribution of the Indian sample in Bradford. However, some trends in the data are worth noting. For instance, households residing within the areas of high Indian concentration (for example University, Bradford Moor, Little Horton and Great Horton) include both long established families (that is where the head of household migrated to Britain in the pre-1965 period) and relative newcomers. The central core of Indian settlement would therefore still seem to provide an important point of entry into the housing market for new arrivals (for example, 86.4% of those arriving in Bradford in the post-1970 period purchased a property in one of the four wards of highest Indian concentration). It does, however, also continue to maintain an attraction for more established households. The continuing pull of these residential areas may be conceptualised in terms of the suitability of the housing (that is cost and type), the social and cultural advantages inherent in spatial clustering (for example proximity of friends and relatives, ethnic amenities and providing a sense of security) and the possible barriers encountered or perceived by households considering movement away from the established ethnic space. Some of these barriers are highlighted in the following sections of this paper.

Settlement in the more suburban residential areas is characterised by a more clearly defined set of household traits, with this movement having been mostly confined to longer established households (see Table 16). The survey revealed that all those heads of households now living in more peripheral locations or in wards where the Indian population is least well represented (such as Clayton, Shipley West, Tong, Wyke) had arrived in the years prior to 1968. As will become clearer from the following sections,

TABLE 16 HOUSEHOLDS BY WARD BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE, 1981.

| Wards         | Length of residence |       |      | Total households |
|---------------|---------------------|-------|------|------------------|
|               | > 20                | 10-20 | < 10 |                  |
| Bolton        | -                   | 87.5  | 12.5 | 8                |
| Bowling       | 27.3                | 63.6  | 9.1  | 11               |
| Bradford Moor | 11.5                | 65.4  | 23.1 | 26               |
| Clayton       | -                   | 100.0 | -    | 1                |
| Eccleshill    | -                   | -     | -    | -                |
| Great Horton  | 5.3                 | 63.2  | 31.6 | 19               |
| Heaton        | 25.0                | 75.0  | -    | 4                |
| Little Horton | 50.0                | 33.3  | 16.7 | 12               |
| Odsal         | 33.3                | 66.7  | -    | 3                |
| Queensbury    | -                   | -     | -    | -                |
| Shipley West  | 33.3                | 66.7  | -    | 3                |
| Toller        | 22.2                | 66.7  | 11.1 | 9                |
| Tong          | -                   | 100.0 | -    | 1                |
| Undercliffe   | 33.3                | 66.7  | -    | 6                |
| University    | 24.3                | 62.2  | 13.5 | 37               |
| Wibsey        | -                   | -     | -    | -                |
| Wyke          | -                   | 100.0 | -    | 1                |
| Total         | 20.6                | 63.8  | 15.6 | 141              |

(Percentages in the columns are row percentages).

Source: Ram's survey sample.

this selective migration from the areas of early settlement reflects the gradual accumulation of financial and other resources. The importance of this is further exemplified by the finding that 90% of the movement into higher status semi-detached property could be accounted for by those who had settled here prior to 1970. These longer established families have had time to accrue not only the capital but also the skills necessary to compete in the housing market, for example by gaining knowledge of the process of housing acquisition and how to circumvent barriers which might arise.

Many of those remaining within the wards of high ethnic concentration had been mobile within the confines of this residential space (as exemplified by Table 13). As previously indicated, there has been considerable movement between housing types as family needs have changed and the resources to fulfil these have become available. There is nevertheless a residual population inhabiting the back-to-back properties, who have remained fairly static over the years. Indeed, all the survey respondents (8) living in back-to-backs in 1984 belonged to the earliest group of migrants, whose head of household had settled in this country before 1966. Five of the eight fell into the 51 and over age group and had not undertaken a move in the last 10-15 years.

#### 5.2 Age of head of household

There is clearly a direct relationship between age of head of household, year of migration and thus length of residence (see Table 6). However, as previously pointed out, some of the earliest arrivals in the sample came to Britain as children, but have now become head of their own household. The importance of the age of head of household in the pattern of spatial differentiation was therefore evaluated separately from length of residence.

Table 17 shows the spatial distribution of the sample by age of head of household. This reveals a significant difference

TABLE 17 DISTRIBUTION OF AGE-GROUPS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY WARD, 1981.

| Wards         | Age group       |              |                    |                     |
|---------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|
|               | Under 35<br>(%) | 35-49<br>(%) | 50 and over<br>(%) | All ages<br>numbers |
| Bolton        | 5.5             | 8.6          | -                  | 8                   |
| Bowling       | 7.3             | 3.4          | 17.2               | 11                  |
| Bradford Moor | 16.4            | 20.7         | 17.2               | 26                  |
| Clayton       | 1.8             | -            | -                  | 1                   |
| Great Horton  | 21.8            | 10.3         | 3.4                | 19                  |
| Heaton        | 1.8             | 3.4          | 3.4                | 4                   |
| Little Horton | 10.9            | 8.6          | 6.9                | 13                  |
| Odsal         | 1.8             | 3.4          | -                  | 3                   |
| Shipley West  | 1.8             | -            | 6.9                | 3                   |
| Toller        | 5.5             | 6.9          | 6.9                | 9                   |
| Tong          | -               | 1.7          | -                  | 1                   |
| Undercliffe   | 3.6             | 6.9          | -                  | 6                   |
| University    | 21.8            | 24.1         | 37.9               | 37                  |
| Wyke          | -               | 1.7          | -                  | 1                   |
| Total         | 55.00           | 58.0         | 29.0               | 142                 |

Source: Ram's survey sample.

between the pattern for young heads of households (that is less than 35) who exhibited the highest level of mobility in the 1971-1981 period, and the remainder of the respondents. For those respondents aged 35 or over, the pre-eminence of the early settlement areas is clear, with the University, Bradford Moor and Bowling wards featuring prominently and accounting for over half the households in these age groups. University ward, at the centre of the Indian residential space in Bradford, undoubtedly also remains important for the younger households, with one-fifth of the respondents under 35 living here. Another high ranking area amongst this age group is Great Horton, a slightly better residential area adjacent to University ward and, according to Table 17, less popular amongst older Indian respondents. Together, Little Horton and Great Horton account for over one-third (32.7%) of the housing for the youngest Indian households in the sample.

This distribution has implications for the types of property occupied by different age groups, as shown in Table 18. Several points of interest emerge from this table:

- (i) The proportion of households living in through terraced accommodation in each age-group is similar, although the size and quality of this type of property does tend to vary with location. Thus households living in terraces in Great Horton are likely to have a higher standard of accommodation than those living in University ward.
- (ii) There is a marked difference in the proportion of older heads of households (that is 50 and over) living in back-to-back and semi-detached properties compared with the other age-groups. The residual back-to-back occupants are most likely to fall within this older age-group. Conversely, fewer of this age had made the move into semi-detached property. Of particular interest, however, is

TABLE 18 DISTRIBUTION OF AGE GROUPS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY HOUSING TYPE, 1981.

| Type of dwelling                    | Age groups   |           |                 |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|
|                                     | Under 35 (%) | 35-49 (%) | 50 and over (%) |
| Back-to-back                        | 3.6          | 1.7       | 17.2            |
| Through terrace                     | 60.0         | 58.6      | 51.7            |
| Semi-detached                       | 30.9         | 25.7      | 20.7            |
| Detached                            | 1.8          | 3.4       | 3.4             |
| Flat                                | -            | 1.7       | 3.4             |
| Shop-cum-residence                  | 1.8          | 8.6       | 3.4             |
| Other                               | 1.8          | -         | -               |
| Total number of respondents (N=142) | 55           | 58        | 29              |

Source: Ram's survey sample.

the number of young households (head is under 35), who have already purchased semi-detached housing; this group comprises over one-third of the respondents living in this housing type. In fact, a more detailed breakdown by age indicated that as many as 61% of those in semi-detached properties were 40 or under. For some, this represented their first housing purchase on leaving the parental home. This points to quite a different process of initial housing acquisition from the older respondents, who at first bought cheap old property, often for cash. This is indicative of the higher housing aspirations of this younger group and demonstrates their ability to achieve them.

### 5.3 Social class

There was no significant difference in the social class of household heads in terms of their residential distribution at the ward level. Both inner and outer wards of high and low Indian concentration had sample households of high and low social class. However, variations in the type of housing occupied by the social class groupings within the sample did emerge. As might be expected, those in the lowest class categories (semi and unskilled manual) were more likely to be living in uncentrally heated terraced properties (this was true for 62.5% of these households), while the better skilled and professional groups were well represented in the centrally heated semi-detached accommodation (see Table 19). These findings suggest that social class has been an important basis for spatial sorting at the micro-scale, creating a pattern of social and residential differentiation within wards and across ward boundaries. This was particularly the case for residentially mixed wards such as Bradford Moor.

It is nevertheless important to note that there is no simple relationship between social class and opportunities available within the housing market. Although there is

TABLE 19 SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD OF HOUSING BY HOUSING TYPE, 1984.

| Social class                       | Housing type |   |                 |    |               |    |          |   |      |   |       |   | Total |
|------------------------------------|--------------|---|-----------------|----|---------------|----|----------|---|------|---|-------|---|-------|
|                                    | Back-to-back |   | Through terrace |    | Semi-detached |    | Detached |   | Shop |   | Other |   |       |
|                                    | W            | M | W               | M  | W             | M  | W        | M | W    | M | W     | M |       |
| Professional                       | -            | - | 3               | 2  | 1             | 1  | 1        | 1 | 1    | 1 | 1     | 1 | 7     |
| Intermediate                       | -            | - | 1               | 3  | -             | -  | 1        | - | -    | - | -     | - | 5     |
| Skilled; non-manual                | -            | 1 | -               | 2  | 4             | -  | -        | - | -    | - | -     | - | 7     |
| Skilled; manual                    | -            | 1 | 2               | 15 | 8             | 3  | 1        | - | -    | - | -     | - | 30    |
| Semi-skilled                       | -            | 1 | 1               | 6  | 1             | -  | -        | - | -    | - | -     | - | 9     |
| Unskilled                          | -            | 2 | 4               | 24 | 2             | 6  | -        | - | -    | 1 | -     | - | 39    |
| All<br>(excluding<br>unclassified) | -            | 5 | 7               | 51 | 20            | 10 | 1        | 1 | -    | 1 | -     | 1 | 97    |

Note: W = with central heating.  
M = minus central heating.

Source: Ram's survey sample.

much evidence to suggest that a lower status occupation decreases a household's chances of securing funds in the mortgage market (see Karn, 1978; Williams, 1976), it is possible for households with several earners to circumvent some of the constraints on funding by a pooling of resources. Some banks and building societies are now willing to consider mortgage applications from two families jointly owning a property (as in the case of the horizontally extended family), although this is not widespread practice. Also, social class only provides a rough measure of the likely disposable income of a household, which is in part governed by the ratio of earners : dependants in the economic unit (see Section 5.4).

#### 5.4 Size of household

Size of household may be regarded as both an enabling and a constraining factor in the acquisition of housing. Its influence has already been referred to in earlier sections and may be summarised as follows:

- (i) Large households with several economically active adults can significantly increase the unit's disposable income, thus extending the range of housing choice open to the household. Conversely, large families with many dependants rather than earners may face severe financial constraints to movement. The ratio of earners : dependants is therefore an important dimension to housing outcome. For the Bradford sample households, the ratio was 1.0 : 1.9, which although higher than for whites was not as high as the Asian national average of 1.0 : 2.8 (see Brown, 1984).
- (ii) Household size can place significant constraints on the type of dwelling suitable for its needs. The problems posed by the extended family structure have already been referred to in Section 3.2. Large nuclear families obviously have to confront similar constraints in their adaptation to a housing stock mainly designed for small family units.

Family size has obviously played a role in the spatial sorting of households in Bradford, with the distribution of larger families in part reflecting the character of the housing stock. However, the survey results also indicated that a high proportion (60.8%) of the largest Indian families (that is six members and over) still live in terraced accommodation (see Figure 5). As previously mentioned, this has often been adapted, with the aid of council improvement grants, to provide more living space in the attics. These large families were found to be particularly well represented in the Bradford Moor ward, where 53.8% of the households had six or more members (the proportion of Indian households of this size in the total sample was 36%). Other areas where there was a similar over representation of large families was in Toller and in the more peripheral ward within Indian Bradford of Shipley West. Overall, these large households exhibited a slightly lower level of residential mobility in the 1971-1981 period compared with smaller, nuclear families of three to four members (for example 53% of the large households surveyed made at least one move in this period as opposed to 64% of the smaller households). This is probably a reflection of both the ease of finding accommodation suitable for the family's needs and the greater mobility exhibited by young heads of household (35 and under).

#### 6. CONCLUSIONS

The socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the Indians living in Bradford in 1984 reflect those of a migrant population from an economically and culturally distinctive background, who have now undergone several phases of settlement. This has involved such processes as family reunion, demographic restructuring and occupational mobility, all of which have contributed to the partial demographic and economic integration of the Indians into the indigenous population. It is nevertheless clear that, although the Indian population is now well established, it still retains

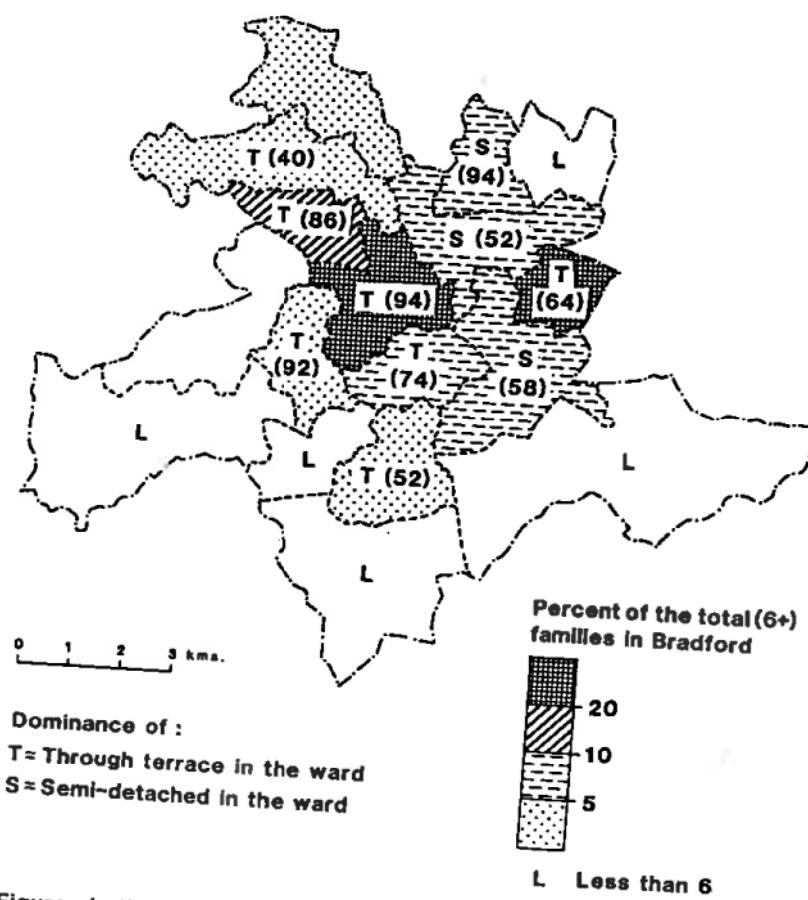


FIGURE 5    LARGE HOUSEHOLDS (6+) BY DOMINANT TYPE OF DWELLING BY WARD, BRADFORD 1984.

a distinctive socio-economic and demographic character, which along with other language, cultural and religious differences, sets it apart from the indigenous population. In particular, the Indian population is comprised of relatively young, large households, who are often in an economically weak position compared with the indigenous population. This has implications for the group's lifestyle and housing conditions.

The spatial mobility of the Indian population living in Bradford has brought about significant changes in the character of Indian residential space in the city over the last 10-15 years. Although the spatial pattern still largely remains one of ethnic concentration, the survey data have shown that Indian Bradford should not simply be seen as undifferentiated ethnic space. Instead, evidence indicates that residential concentration on the basis of religious and native area affiliations persists and that variations in the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the Indian population have provided an important basis for spatial sorting. This differentiation is reflected in the type and location of properties owned by the Indians.

The physical shape of the ethnic residential space occupied by the Indians in Bradford has also changed over the last 10-15 years. While the community focus remains within the areas of early Indian settlement, there has been a continuing process of spatial expansion (involving short distance moves) and also dispersal to wards of lower immigrant concentration, further away from the centre of the Indian community. This is indicative of upward residential and social mobility during the last 10-15 years.

Drawing together the findings presented in Section 5, it is possible to present a profile of those Indians most likely to move to the better quality areas of semi-detached housing in Indian Bradford, for example, those who are comparatively young, well-established (and therefore had time to save) or

of a higher social class have the greatest propensity to move into such housing, although the pattern is by no means exclusive. More specifically, those most likely to undertake the move away from the heart of Indian Bradford or into better dwellings within or near the high concentration wards came to Britain in the early 1960s as young children. They have therefore grown up in this country and, in the process, have acquired education and language skills which have facilitated their competition for resources and information in the housing market. Although they now live physically further away from many of their community members, their relocation does not necessarily signify a break with the community. Most of those residing in the more isolated locations owned a telephone and/or a car, which facilitated social contact with other community members.

The socio-economic and demographic structure of the Indian population living in Bradford closely parallels that for the Asian population at the national level (as presented by the Policy Studies Institute (Brown, 1984) survey). The local housing and job market experienced by the Indians in Bradford is similar to that in other northern textile towns. It may therefore be hypothesised that the movement observed amongst the Indian population in Bradford will be replicated elsewhere. Evidence from both this and other studies (for example, Phillips, 1983) suggests that despite possible economic and institutional barriers to movement within the housing market, the forces for Indian suburbanisation are there and the process is likely to continue, especially as the number of second generation households increases.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Section 1 For the head, household and dwelling

1. Native state (in India) which the H.O.H. belongs to:
2. Religion: Sikh Hindu Muslim Christian Other
3. Type of the dwelling: BB/TT/SD/D/flat/SCR/Hotel/Hostel  
BB→Back-to-back TT→Through terrace SD→semi-detached  
D →Detached SCR→Shop come residence
4. Tenure of dwelling:  
(a) Public (Council) House HA (Housing association)  
(b) Private Self-owned Rented
5. Number of members living in the household
6. Durable/luxury(consumer) goods in possession owned by and available for use by the household members  
(a) Vehicles: cars/vans  
(b) Motor bike  
(c) Recreational goods  
Video Recorder Players  
Music Centre (inc. T&R P1)  
Home Computer  
(d) Telephone  
(e) Washing Machine  
(f) Central Heating
7. Family movements since 1971  
Present address in Bradford  

| Last residence<br>(in Bradford) | Type of<br>House | Date of<br>move from<br>last<br>residence | Reason for<br>leave OH<br>move NH |
|---------------------------------|------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
|---------------------------------|------------------|---|-----------------------------------|

Section 2 For individuals in the household

8. Details of family members

| Family<br>members | Relation-<br>ship with<br>HOH | Sex<br>M/F | Age at<br>last BDay<br>(years) | Marital<br>status<br>S/M/W/D/ |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
|-------------------|-------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|

| ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES |                   |                     |                   |               |                 |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Unemp-<br>loyed     | In-active<br>DisA | Ret-<br>ired<br>Std | Self-<br>employed | Emp-<br>loyed | Occu-<br>pation |

APPENDIX B      BRADFORD M.D. 1981

