

Poverty and ethnicity in Scotland

Review of the literature and datasets

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This study reviews the links between poverty and ethnicity in Scotland.

The size, make-up and settlement patterns of minority ethnic communities are significantly different in devolved Scotland from those in England. Little attention has been given to systematically examining the relationship between poverty and ethnicity, particularly in Scotland. Yet, in the face of extensive cuts to public spending, it is crucial that the impacts to small minority ethnic communities are considered. This review:

- considers vulnerability to, and experiences of, poverty in terms of income and employment, housing, education and health;
- reflects on potential routes out of the phenomenon, and the implications for anti-policy strategies; and
- examines the potential for exploiting key statistical databases in further lines of enquiry to support evidence-based policy-making.

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List of abbreviations

AHC	after housing costs
APS	Annual Population Survey
BHC	before housing costs
COSLA	Convention of Scottish Local Authorities
DWP	Department of Work and Pensions
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EHRC	Equalities and Human Rights Commission
ESOL	English as a second or other language
FE	further education
FRS	Family Resources Survey
GP	general practitioner
HBAI	Households Below Average Income
HE	higher education
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency
HLSES	High Level Summary of Ethnicity Statistics
HMIE	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LS	Longitudinal Survey
NMW	national minimum wage
PLASC	Pupil-Level All Schools Census
SARS	Survey of Anonymised Records
SEN	special educational need
SHS	Scottish Household Survey
SLS	Scottish Longitudinal Survey
SQA	Scottish Qualifications Authority
STEP	Scottish Traveller Education Programme
UPRN	Unique Pupil Reference Number
WPLS	Work and Pensions Longitudinal Study
WRS	Worker Registration Scheme

Executive summary

This study reviews the main patterns, themes and key issues relating to research on ethnicity and poverty in Scotland, and key sources of statistical information. The minority ethnic population in Scotland is distinctive within the UK in terms of size, ethnic composition and patterns of settlement. Analysis of Census data indicates that the minority ethnic population in Scotland is about 2 per cent, but this is likely to be an underestimate. The population includes Pakistanis, Chinese, Indians and Africans, A8 migrants (the eight Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004), Gypsy/Travellers, asylum-seekers and refugees, Irish Catholics and other communities. These are concentrated in the four main cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee, but small numbers are dispersed across Scotland, including remote parts of the Highlands and Islands.

Although the causes, experiences and routes out of poverty among minority ethnic groups in Scotland are under-researched, some critical issues of concern have been revealed. All minority ethnic groups appear to be disadvantaged according to one or more indicators of poverty. However, it is worth noting that not all groups are equally disadvantaged and there is considerable diversity between groups. Length of residence in the UK, legal status, belonging to a travelling culture and religion affect economic, social, material and environmental deprivation. It is important that the implications of the review are considered within the policy framework for tackling poverty and income inequality in Scotland, and at a UK-wide level.

Income poverty and employment

Low pay emerges as a dominant feature in many ethnic groups, including certain visible minority ethnic communities, A8 migrants, refugees and Slovak Roma. Unemployment levels in many ethnic groups are also higher than the majority Scottish population. Economic activity is concentrated in certain types of sectors and occupations, with a significant proportion of Asian people in the wholesale and retail, and hotel and restaurant sectors and A8 migrants in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Barriers to employment and career progression across and within groups, including amongst women, are a recurrent theme. Currently, it is not possible to tell whether self-employment (high in certain groups) is a positive choice or an alternative route to employment.

The disproportionate representation of some minority ethnic communities in low-paid sectors is of high relevance to the anti-poverty strategy of targeting support for those in the lowest income deciles. More focused, proactive and strategic attention to addressing poverty among minority ethnic groups in Scotland is needed, including anti-poverty policy and initiatives to increase access to education, training, employment and affordable childcare. The potential for straightforward discriminatory practices to continue to operate suggests that greater effort should be invested in holding public organisations, particularly large ones, to account in reporting on the ethnic composition of their workforces at various organisational levels.

Housing need

Homelessness is significantly higher than in the population as a whole, though over-representation varies considerably among individual ethnic groups. Homelessness services provided for the general population

are often inaccessible and inappropriate for individuals from these communities. Other indicators of housing needs are overcrowding (particularly among A8 migrants, refugees, and Pakistani and Bangladeshi households), poor living conditions (including within neighbourhoods) and racial harassment. Minority ethnic communities remain under-represented in the social rented sector, which is of concern given high rents in the private rented sector and the high costs of home ownership. Although there are high rates of owner-occupation, some of this is in poor-quality housing. This suggests that social housing providers need to work harder to ensure proportionate representation of minority ethnic communities in their tenancies.

Education

There is some evidence to suggest that, at school-leaving age, minority ethnic children are generally outperforming the majority population, even in deprived areas. However, many schools may still be in the developmental stages of implementing race equality policies and practices. A specific concern here relates to the low educational attainment of Gypsy/Traveller children, suggesting the need for sustained activity in this area.

Minority ethnic young people living in Scotland appear to be over-represented in the further education sector and under-represented in the higher education sector. This indicates that more attention should be paid to tracing the educational patterns of young people from secondary school to further and higher education, with particular attention directed to transition points. Although educational attainment may be viewed as a route out of poverty, this may not translate into advantages in the job market.

Health

There is some evidence that economically disadvantaged groups report poorer health than less disadvantaged groups. Some of these differences are age related. Poor health can be exacerbated by poverty, for example through poor living and environmental conditions. Poverty can also hinder access to health services.

Public health policy needs to be informed by greater understanding of the complex relationships between ethnicity, ill-health and poverty. This highlights the need for information sharing across (mental) health, housing and social care in relation to individuals from economically disadvantaged minority ethnic communities, including asylum-seekers and Gypsy/Travellers.

Linking the equalities and child poverty agendas

Many of the findings of the review, including the need to improve conditions within the home and neighbourhood, to enhance access to appropriate (levels of) education and to widen opportunities for employment among adults, are relevant to addressing child poverty in Scotland. Greater collaboration between those organisations working on child poverty and those working with minority ethnic communities is needed to counter child poverty in these communities.

Tackling racial harassment

A dominant theme running through much of the literature is vulnerability to racial harassment. Certain groups appear to be particularly vulnerable, including Gypsy/Travellers, asylum-seekers and refugees, but little is known about the extent of the phenomenon at the local level, and what can be done to ameliorate this. Some challenging questions need to be asked: To what extent is Scotland genuinely welcoming of migrants or minority groups? To what extent do the trends at local levels reflect wider political and

exclusionary discourses? And to what extent are they reflected in discriminatory service provision and employment practices?

Better information sharing between major public bodies linked to a political commitment to invest in community relations work, particularly in deprived areas, is vital to ensuring safe spaces for all who reside in the country. This suggests a need for current and reliable information on the extent and nature of this phenomenon at the local level to inform community development and policing activities.

Main gaps in knowledge and areas for future research

One of the major gaps in knowledge is a coherent picture of the relationship between various aspects of poverty, including in-work poverty, within minority ethnic groups. Most of the findings emerging from this review have emerged from studies whose primary concern has not been a focus on poverty; this is of concern given that the implications for anti-poverty policy and practice initiatives have not been directly considered.

Given the lack of research into routes out of poverty, a major study into the employment (and unemployment) experiences and aspirations of people from a range of ethnic backgrounds would be valuable. This could examine their career aspirations, educational qualifications, current and previous experiences of employment, and the nature of discriminatory practices experienced in the workplace. An exploration of employment discrimination, including at various levels of organisational hierarchy, would also provide useful insights.

There is also a lack of longitudinal studies of routes into and out of poverty, or its persistence, and of experience at the household level. The relationship between employment patterns, gender roles and cultural norms relating to child-rearing and care of older people is also not known. The extent to which public services are addressing poverty in different sections of the population is also not known. For instance, we know little about the effectiveness of measures taken by social landlords and local authorities in addressing housing need in minority ethnic communities, or whether there have been changes in levels of homelessness within these groups over time. Little is known about organisational recruitment and progression of minority ethnic communities within the workforce, mechanisms for consulting with these groups, service usage by such groups and their satisfaction with services. Further research attention needs to be directed towards a wide range of public services in order to increase understanding of their effectiveness in countering poverty in different sections of the population. This should include a study of benefits take-up and the inclusivity of entry into work initiatives.

More use can be made of existing Census-related and administrative datasets to develop evidence-based policy relating to poverty and ethnicity in Scotland. However, qualitative research is essential for examining the relationship between poverty and ethnicity in Scotland, given the small numbers of people from these groups in many areas and the distinctive experiences of diverse groups.

Introduction: aims, scope and methods

In May 2010, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation commissioned Heriot-watt University to undertake a review of the literature on poverty and ethnicity in Scotland to inform its future research programme in this area. This study reviewed research conducted since 2001, when the last major audit of Scotland-based research related to minority ethnic communities was conducted (Netto *et al.*, 2001).

According to the 2001 Census, the minority ethnic population of Scotland remains small, at around 100,000 or 2.01 per cent, although it increased by over 60 per cent in the preceding decade. More recent estimates from the Annual Population Survey suggest that it is now about 3 per cent. Pakistanis are the largest minority group, followed by Chinese, Indian and Mixed – a different profile from England. Family structures differ, with more large families in the Pakistani and African group. However, the number of lone parent households – generally associated with many symptoms of deprivation – is lower. The population is significantly younger than the majority population, with relatively few pensioner-aged households within this group. Pakistani (and Indian) households are less likely to be one-person and more likely to be multi-family (rare in the majority population). Other groups not reflected in the 2001 Census include A8 migrants (i.e. from the eight Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004), Gypsy/Travellers, refugees and asylum-seekers.

The minority ethnic population is concentrated in the four traditional cities (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee), with the highest concentration in Glasgow (5.5 per cent). Interestingly, there is quite a high proportion in the affluent suburban districts adjacent to Glasgow (East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire), suggesting an element of established or ‘middle-class’ minority ethnic groups. Neighbourhood concentrations are rare, compared with the situation in England, with Glasgow being the only exception (one ward 48 per cent, three other wards more than 20 per cent).

Main aims of the review

The aim of the research was to synthesise relevant literature and data to answer the following questions:

- 1 What are the main quantitative sources of information about poverty and ethnicity in Scotland, to what extent have they been used, and to what extent are their limitations being addressed?
- 2 What qualitative research has been carried out on poverty and ethnicity since 2001, including with which ethnic groups and in which locations?
- 3 What are the key issues that have emerged from qualitative studies and what is the scale and quality of the research undertaken?
- 4 To what extent have factors such as gender, age, disability and location been taken into account in examining the relationship between poverty and ethnicity?
- 5 What are the main gaps in research in terms of issues, groups, locations and type of information (qualitative vs quantitative, scale and generalisability)?

- 6 What are the implications of these gaps for the development of effective policy to address poverty amongst a range of ethnic groups?
- 7 What are the implications of the review for JRF's new programme of research on poverty and ethnicity and the role of key stakeholders, including the Scottish Government, COSLA, Audit Scotland, the EHRC, the Scottish Human Rights Commission and other major public bodies in generating better information about the needs of different groups?

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, we set out key definitions, the scope of the review and the methods used.

Definition of poverty and scope of the review

The review adopts a broad definition of poverty beyond income poverty. It considers the causes, manifestations and impacts of poverty and its relationship with ethnicity. It also examines routes into and out of poverty, the *depth or severity* of poverty and its duration. Wherever possible, it also explores subjective definitions of poverty, that is, how people affected view the experience.

Since poverty is related to low standards of living, the review investigated key areas where people lack or are *deprived of* essential items or services. Deprivation may include economic, social or environmental deprivation. Economic deprivation is related to concerns about the affordability of regular meals, clothing and heating, and access to key services. Social deprivation includes lack of ability to engage in activities with friends and partake in leisure activities. Finally, environmental deprivation includes poor infrastructure, environmental stresses and poor service provision.

Definition of ethnicity and scope of the review

The review focuses on *ethnicity* rather than ethnic groups. This enables us to compare and contrast the experiences and perspectives of different ethnic groups. It also allows us to examine the dynamics of the experience of poverty across a range of groups within a specific geographical area. The review includes research relating to migrants from A8 countries, asylum-seekers and refugees, Gypsy/ Travellers, established minority ethnic groups, faith groups and Slovak Roma. Some of these groups are overlapping. For instance, some Gypsy/Travellers might also be viewed as established minority ethnic communities. Wherever possible, we explored links between ethnicity and other aspects of identity including age, gender, disability, sexual orientation and religious orientation.

The review of literature identified studies conducted in urban and rural areas of Scotland. It also examined identified UK-wide studies on ethnicity and poverty to examine the extent to which Scotland has been included.

Review of literature and datasets

Qualitative studies are an important source of information about minority ethnic communities, given their relatively small size in Scotland. These communities are often under-represented in large-scale surveys, which tend to focus on settled private households and English speakers.

However, analysis of quantitative data also provides insights into trends over time and allows comparisons between ethnic groups. In addition to reviewing quantitative studies, a number of datasets were reviewed for their usefulness in increasing understanding of the relationship between poverty and ethnicity. This included UK-wide datasets such as the Census, the Labour Force Survey (LFS)/Annual Population Survey (APS) and the Family Resources Survey. The review also included datasets restricted to Scotland only, such as the Scottish Household Survey (SHS), and a number of administrative datasets.

Note on terminology

A variety of terms have been used to refer to minority ethnic communities, including 'Black and minority groups (BME)', 'ethnic minority' and 'minority ethnic groups'. Recognising the political and practical imperatives that have led to the choice of these terms in different datasets and studies, this paper retains the categories used for data collection and the terminology that has been employed in individual studies.

It is worth stressing that choice of terminology is reflective of shifts in ongoing debates about identity, language and ethnicity. In Scotland, there has been much concern about inconsistencies in category descriptions in the Census, classifications that do not allow individuals from minority ethnic groups to make explicit their 'Scottish-ness' if they wish and the representation of different communities, particularly small communities (Macdonald *et al.*, 2005). The use of 'Black' has been avoided wherever possible because of concerns expressed by individuals of African origin that this involves treating people of African origin differently from other minorities (Race Equality Advisory Forum, 2001). Similarly, the term 'White' is used only to describe data that has been collected on this basis.

Where we draw together themes and strands arising from a number of reports, we have used the term 'minority ethnic', recognising that other terms may be equally valid. Where it is appropriate to refer collectively to people of African, Asian, Caribbean and Chinese backgrounds, the term 'visible minority ethnic communities' is used to distinguish them from other minorities, who may or may not be distinguishable by virtue of skin colour, facial appearance or hair type. These may include asylum-seekers and refugees, Gypsies/Travellers who have made Scotland their primary home and A8 migrants.

The terms 'asylum-seekers' and 'refugees' are used to refer to the different immigration status of two categories of migrants. Asylum-seekers are those who have arrived in the UK and are awaiting a decision on their claim for asylum. They are not entitled to permanent housing or full welfare benefits and do not have permission to work.

Under the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR, 1951), Article 1A, a refugee is a person who has:

a well-founded fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his [sic] nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

(UNHCR, 1996, p. 16)

A person is recognised as a refugee when the government of the new country decides that he or she meets the definition provided above. As a signatory to the Convention, the UK is required to make social welfare available to those who are recognised as refugees on the same basis as its own citizens. Refugees now have Temporary Leave to Remain (replacing Indefinite Leave to Remain [ILR]) in the UK and a right to work, claim benefits, apply for social housing and access the full range of other public services, including education, health and social care.

The term 'A8 migrants' or 'new economic migrants' is used to refer to people who have come from A8 countries. The A8 countries are the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. These countries joined the European Union in May 2004, entitling people from these countries to employment rights in other member states. The majority come from Poland, the largest of the A8 countries. It is possible that, unless explicitly identified, people from these groups may be classified as 'White Other.'

We have also provided some illustrative analysis of the potential of these datasets to provide insights into the relationship between poverty and ethnicity in Chapters 1 to 3.

Methods

Literature review

We adapted standard guidelines for systematic reviews (Centre for Reviews and Dissemination, 2001) to ensure a good fit with the purpose of the study and the resources available. This has included:

- the development of an appropriate search strategy;
- the identification of inclusion (and exclusion criteria) for the review;
- study quality assessment against identified criteria;
- a systematic process of data extraction.

We contacted more than 30 organisations across Scotland, including in Dundee, Aberdeen, Falkirk, Perth, Fife and the Highlands and Islands, which work with minority ethnic communities. We also contacted the equalities and corporate services departments of local authorities and key academics in the field. A more complete picture of our search strategy is detailed in a technical report, available on request.

We also appraised the quality of studies that have not been published in journals and subjected to peer review. The criteria identified, process and outcomes are provided in Appendix I.

The research was analysed in terms of four main policy areas: income and in-work poverty, housing, education and health. We also analysed patterns of research, areas of concentration and gaps in research.

Combining insights from the literature review and statistical data

The final stages of the review synthesised the analysis of the literature review and statistical data. This allowed us to:

- confirm and support some information from qualitative research with statistical data;
- provide insights from qualitative research that further explored some of the trends revealed through statistical analysis;
- explore gaps in both qualitative and quantitative research and indicate what the implications of not filling these gaps would be;
- suggest areas where further research would be useful.

Ethical issues

We informed all community organisations, local authorities and academics involved of the aims, purpose and methods of the research, to ensure informed consent. We identified evaluative criteria for including

and excluding studies and documented the process. As far as possible, the review was carried out within the resources allocated for the work.

Structure of the report

The next four chapters are thematically organised. Chapter 1 focuses on income and in-work poverty and employment. Chapter 2 examines housing need and homelessness as manifestations of poverty, while Chapter 3 considers educational attainment as a route out of the situation. Chapter 4 examines the relationship between poor health and poverty. In Chapter 5, the potential of existing datasets and administrative data is reviewed. Finally, Chapter 6 draws together the key issues in the preceding chapters, identifies patterns of research and gaps, and suggests areas for future research. The implications of the review for a wide range of organisations are also considered.

1 Income poverty and employment

Summary

This chapter shows the complex links between poverty and ethnicity, which may be mediated by 'visible difference', recent migration, (lack of) access to benefits, a travelling lifestyle and sectarianism. Various aspects of ethnicity are examined through examining research on visible minority ethnic groups (referred to in some studies as BME groups), A8 migrants, asylum-seekers, Irish Catholics, Gypsy/Travellers and Slovak Roma.

Low pay emerges as a dominant feature in many ethnic groups, including among certain visible minority ethnic communities, A8 migrants, refugees and Slovak Roma. Other common themes are a concentration of economic activity in certain types of sectors and occupations, with a significant proportion of Asian people in the wholesale and retail, and hotel and restaurant sectors and A8 migrants in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Barriers to employment and career progression across and within groups, including amongst women, are a recurrent theme, although evidence relating to this across ethnic groups is uneven in Scotland. There is also substantial evidence that high educational attainment is not being translated into labour market advantage across several ethnic groups.

In other respects, some striking contrasts emerge between ethnic groups. Employment rates are high among A8 migrants and particularly low among Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, especially women. Self-employment is high among the visible minority ethnic communities and Gypsy/Travellers but low among A8 migrants. Asylum-seekers are unequivocally the most disadvantaged group covered by the review in terms of the destitution experienced by a significant proportion.

The socio-economic circumstances of A8 migrants have been extensively researched, with less research on visible minority ethnic communities. The longitudinal studies of Irish Catholics provide valuable insights into the nature and inheritance of economic deprivation and the impact of employment discrimination at varying career stages. This presents a contrast to the cross-sectional, largely qualitative, studies of other ethnic groups, and indicates the value of studies which examine circumstances in a cohort over the life course. It also illustrates the value of studies that examine generational differences, the interaction between discrimination on religious grounds and other aspects associated with ethnicity, and the strategies adopted by individuals to counter such discrimination. Studies focused on A8 migrants are located in diverse rural locations across Scotland, reflecting the dispersed presence of this group. In contrast, studies of visible minority ethnic communities, asylum-seekers and refugees, and Irish Catholics have tended to be contained within Greater Glasgow.

The major limitation of existing research literature for the purposes of the review is that it is not directly focused on experiences of poverty. Many sections of the visible minority ethnic population, A8 migrants, elderly Irish Catholics, Gypsy/Travellers and Slovak Roma are evidently experiencing economic deprivation. However, the extent to which they live in 'poverty' can be investigated only by linking several inter-related factors, including access to benefits, working hours, household size, and volume of expenditure (amongst other factors), that determine the economic situation of an individual on a low wage or on benefits. This suggests that more systematic investigations into the nature, experiences and duration of poverty of people from a range of ethnic backgrounds are required.

Socio-economic position of visible minority ethnic communities

In some respects, the minority ethnic population in Scotland is not as disadvantaged as the majority population. For example, Census data indicates that Pakistani, Chinese and Indian households are more likely to have access to a car, or to three or more cars, than White Scottish households (these variables are generally related to income). Most of the visible minority ethnic groups have higher qualifications than the White Scottish population; this may be related to the fact that many are actually students (31 per cent of African and 26 per cent of Chinese). Others may have come to Scotland originally to study.

However, in a number of other respects, the visible minority ethnic population in Scotland appears less advantaged than the majority population. A report published by the Glasgow Anti Racist Alliance (GARA, 2008) based on data derived from the 2001 Census highlighted that the difference in employment rates between those from White ethnic groups and those from visible minority ethnic groups was 17 percentage points (75 per cent and 58 per cent respectively). Employment rates were lowest among Pakistanis and Other South Asians. Unemployment rates were higher for all visible minority ethnic groups than for White Scottish (7 per cent) and for some groups were twice as high (15 per cent for people of African and Black Scottish origin, 14 per cent for Other South Asian, and 12 per cent for Pakistanis). The pattern of unemployment was highly gendered for South Asian groups; unemployment was particularly widespread among Pakistani and Bangladeshi women of working age (of whom 46 per cent and 40 per cent respectively have never worked). All minority ethnic groups, excluding people of Caribbean origin, also have higher economic inactivity rates than White Scottish or White British.

Self-employment rates, often associated with in-work poverty, are at least twice as high for visible minority ethnic groups as for the White Scottish group (10 per cent): Pakistani 32 per cent, Chinese 23 per cent, Indian 22 per cent, Bangladeshi 20 per cent and Other South Asian 20 per cent (Scottish Executive, 2004a).

England-based data (Kenway and Palmer, 2007) suggests other patterns which may also be relevant:

- The level of poverty for the ethnic minority population is more pronounced for children (being twice that of their white counterparts) and less pronounced for pensioners.
- Differences in the incidence of poverty between ethnic groups are much greater in some geographical areas.
- Only half of the poverty difference for ethnic minorities can be accounted for by differences in age, family type and work status.

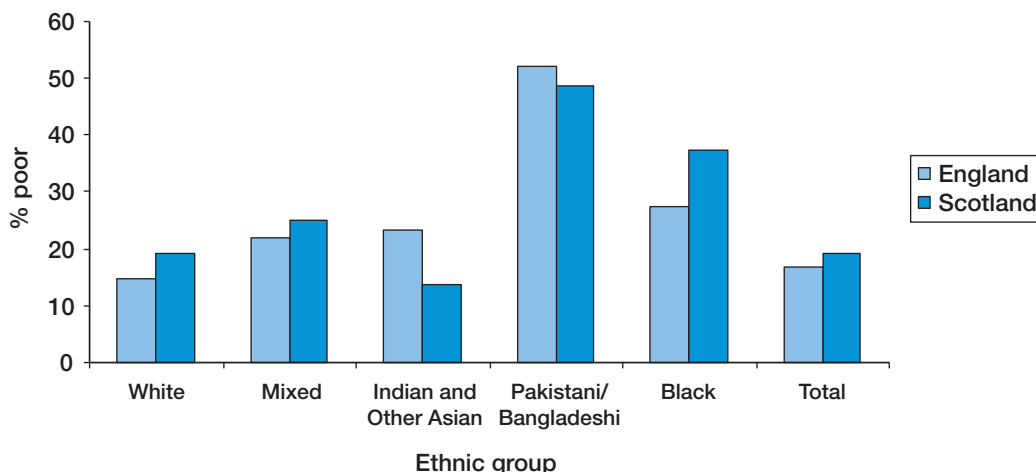
Below, we consider other statistical data on household income and other financial resources, employment status, occupations, qualifications and unemployment rates.

Household income and other financial resources

Figure 1 shows the poverty rate among five ethnic groupings,¹ separately for England and Scotland, based on the recently released Households Below Average Income (HBAI) ten-year pooled dataset.² The category 'White' is a predefined category in the dataset. We also consider whether the rate for a particular group appears to be significantly different from the score for the White population or the score for the same ethnic group in England, depending on the sample size.

Figure 1 is based on 'poverty before housing costs',³ the most commonly used headline rate and the primary basis for UK child poverty reduction targets. We find that in England the overall rate is 16.8 per cent, and that this ranges from 14.9 per cent for the majority (White) population, through 21.9

Figure 1: Poverty by ethnicity and country 1999–2008 (income, before housing costs, below 60% of median)



per cent for Mixed up to 52.1 per cent for Pakistani/Bangladeshi households. The rates for all the visible minority ethnic groups are significantly higher than the rate for White households, while the group with the highest poverty rate has nearly double the rate of the next group. In Scotland, three of the visible minority ethnic groups have significantly different poverty rates from the White population, two being higher (Pakistani/Bangladeshi, Black) and one being lower (Indian and Other Asian), whereas poverty among one group (Mixed) is not statistically significantly different from that in the white population. Comparing England and Scotland, there is a statistically significant difference in poverty rates in majority (White) households (more poverty in Scotland) and in one other group, Indian and Other Asian (poverty is lower in Scotland than in England).

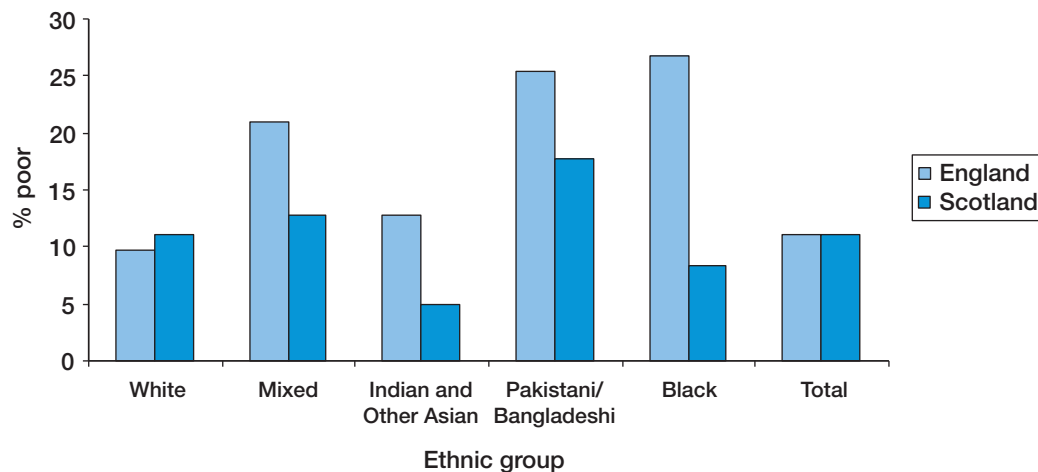
There are some variations in the findings using other measures of poverty. The incidence of poverty *after* housing costs⁴ tends to be greater than the previous measure for most groups in England, because housing costs are higher in London and the south. Within Scotland, this poverty measure is significantly higher than poverty before housing costs for Pakistani/Bangladeshi and Black households, but not for the other minority ethnic groups. Poverty among the Indian/Other Asian group is no longer significantly different from that of the majority White group. Comparing Scotland and England, only the White and Black groups have significantly higher poverty in Scotland.

On income-based measures, Pakistanis/Bangladeshis and Black households in Scotland have higher rates of poverty than other ethnic groups. This is consistent with analysis of Census data.

An alternative approach to poverty measurement also contained in this dataset is the indicator of material deprivation based on lacking a number of goods or services through not being able to afford them. Figure 2 shows this material deprivation indicator for the same groups as used in the previous figure. Material deprivation gives a somewhat different pattern, although it remains the case that in England all minority ethnic groups have significantly higher rates than the White population. Within Scotland, the only significant difference is that Indian and Other Asians have a lower rate. The rate for Pakistani/Bangladeshi, while higher than that for White households, is no longer statistically significantly different, while the rate for Black households is apparently lower than that for Whites, although again this is not statistically significant. Comparing the countries, Scotland tends to show lower material deprivation scores for all four of the minority groups.

Research undertaken with members of minority ethnic organisations in Glasgow (BEMIS, 2009) found that many prioritised anti-poverty activities in the communities they worked with, indicating their awareness of the problem. They were also engaged in tackling discrimination based on race, religion and

Figure 2: Material deprivation by ethnicity and country 1999–2008 (material deprivation score > 25)



gender. The main causes of poverty were believed to be low wages, workplace discrimination and lack of access to support with getting into employment. Other barriers identified included access to education and lack of relevant qualifications and skills; language barriers; and lack of knowledge of the welfare system and entitlements to benefits. The three areas felt to be most important in tackling poverty were training for people to get into employment; child care; and tackling discrimination.

Employment status and occupations

Using data collected in 2002 and 2008 through the Annual Population Survey, Table 1 provides selected measures of the employment status of households and of the occupations of individuals, combining all the visible minority ethnic groups together into a ‘non-white’ category. Again, the category ‘white’ is that used in the dataset.

Overall, white households tended to be more polarised than ‘non-white’ ones. In white households, the adults were more likely to either all be working or to have no one in work. In ‘non-white’ households it was more likely that there would be a mix of working and non-working adults. Relatively few ‘non-white’ households contain no one of working age (1.5 per cent vs 15.4 per cent for white households), and most (85.6 per cent) contain two or more adults of working age. However, only a third have all adults in employment, compared with 43.6 per cent of white households. At the same time, only one-fifth of ‘non-white’ households have all adults unemployed or inactive, compared with 28.5 per cent of white households. Nearly half of ‘non-white’ households (46 per cent) have a mixture of employed and unemployed or inactive members, compared with only 27.8 per cent of white households.

In ‘non-white’ households, the head of family is more likely to be working (68.5 per cent vs 62.9 per cent) but the wife is less likely to be employed (50.4 per cent vs 57.4 per cent). Fewer of these households have two or more employed adults (42 per cent vs 46 per cent). The proportion with one or more adults unemployed is slightly higher than the figures for white households (10.6 per cent vs 9.0 per cent).

When the type of work that people tended to do was examined, ‘non-white’ groups seemed more polarised. A higher proportion of ‘non-white’ people worked in managerial and professional occupations, but more were unemployed than was the case for white households. In contrast, ‘non-white’ workers were much less likely to work in lower managerial, professional and intermediate occupations or in semi-routine or routine work. In addition, ‘non-white’ workers are much more likely to be employed by small employers (10.4 per cent vs 5.5 per cent).

Table 1: Selected employment characteristics of households and individuals, Scotland, 2002 and 2008

Employment categories	White (%)	'Non-white' (%)
<i>Household</i>		
All employed	43.6	33.2
Employed and unemployed/inactive	27.8	46.2
All unemployed or inactive	28.5	20.5
Head employed	62.9	68.5
Wife employed	57.4	50.4
2+ employed	45.8	42.0
None unemployed	91.0	89.4
1+ unemployed	9.0	10.6
None working age	15.4	1.5
1 working age	19.3	12.9
2 working age	43.6	55.9
3+ working age	21.7	29.7
<i>Individual</i>		
Managerial, professional, intermediate	35.0	29.8
Small employer, own account	5.5	10.4
Semi-routine and routine	21.0	14.4
Never worked, unemployed, other	30.5	38.8

Source: Labour Force Survey

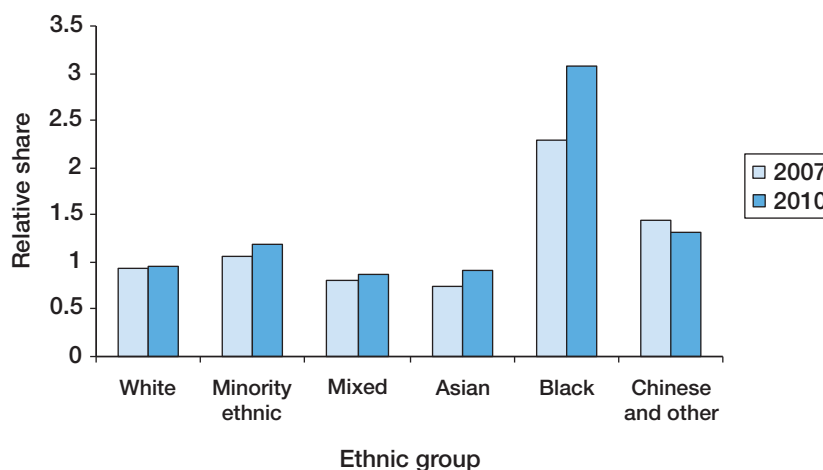
Unemployment rates

Using the National Online Manpower Information System (NOMIS) unemployment dataset, which reflects those who are successfully claiming benefits, we found that the male unemployment rates in 2007 were above average for two minority ethnic groups – Black or Black British, and Chinese or Other – and marginally for the minority ethnic groups as a whole (Figure 3). As the recession kicked in, unemployment numbers rose by 83 per cent overall, but by higher proportions in most of the visible minority ethnic groups, particularly the Black or Black British group. This data also suggests that a significant proportion of unemployed men from ethnic groups with high unemployment rates (as evidenced by Census data) are not claiming benefits, indicating that take-up among those eligible is an important policy area.

Women and employment

The position of women in the labour market has been explored in two Scotland-based studies which examined the perspectives of visible minority ethnic women and employers (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2006; Kamenou *et al.*, 2007). Women participating in the research believed that they were more likely to be perceived by employers as intending to have families or to need time off for family responsibilities (EOC, 2006). Study participants were often unaware of sources of support and advice. Another barrier to employment was that higher education certificates were either not recognised or under-rated by employers (EOC, 2006). Many women also believed that job applicants with minority

Figure 3: Share of male unemployment relative to share of population by ethnic group 2007 and 2010



ethnic names were not viewed favourably by employers. This is supported by research commissioned by the Department of Work and Pensions (Wood *et al.*, 2009), which concluded that employer discrimination was responsible for the statistically significantly lower success rate of applicants with minority ethnic names in seven major British cities. Further, many women in the EOC (2006) study reported that they had been subtly or overtly persuaded not to seek promotion.

The investigation of employers' practices and perceptions found that many were still in the early stages of adhering to equal opportunities legislation (Kamenou *et al.*, 2007). The vast majority of organisations had a 'severe lack of understanding of and sensitivity toward BME women in employment and society.' While Scottish employers distinguished between inequalities related to race and those related to gender, there was little understanding of the interaction of both. Further, the study suggests that perceived skills shortages or skill gaps in Scotland may in fact be explained by the unwillingness of organisations to recruit and develop people from minority ethnic backgrounds due to racism or prejudice. It also reported a widespread lack of awareness of the distinction between illegal positive discrimination and legal positive action. The latter is not only underpinned by legislation but in line with good practice in ensuring equal opportunities in the workplace.

Young people and employment aspirations and opportunities

A study of Glasgow-based young people (aged 16–25) and their parents from black and minority ethnic groups found a preference for professional careers other than the traditional ones of medicine and law (Rutherford *et al.*, 2003). A third of them expressed an interest in self-employment, stemming from a motivation to escape from low-paid, routine jobs. The participants were less certain than their parents that qualifications led to secure jobs and stressed the importance of being well networked. They were also concerned about their difficulty in developing informal networks beyond their ethnic group.

Employment and training opportunities for young people from black and minority ethnic groups were also explored from the perspective of employers in Glasgow (GARA, 2004). This revealed that, while recruitment rates of young people from black and minority ethnic backgrounds were in line with the overall black and minority ethnic population of Glasgow, retention rates were relatively low and exit rates high. The report also found that almost all employers and institutions had equal opportunities policies, and concluded that low levels of engagement in training and employment by young people from black and minority ethnic groups could not be explained by lack of such policies. However, the extent to which such policies were implemented was not clear.

Unemployment and low pay among refugees

A now somewhat dated UK-wide survey undertaken for the Department for Work and Pensions found low levels of employment, with only 29 per cent of refugees employed at the time (Bloch, 2002, cited in Aspinall and Watters, 2010). The main barriers to employment included lack of fluency in English, lack of UK work experience, having no qualifications or qualifications recognised in the UK, lack of familiarity with the UK system, lack of information, and employer discrimination (Aspinall and Watters, 2010). A more recent survey carried out in England (Phillimore *et al.*, 2006, cited in Aspinall and Watters, 2010) provided a similar picture: of all respondents legally entitled to work in the UK, 21 per cent were in full-time work while 32 per cent were seeking work. The only available Scottish data reveals an even more sombre picture: under 7 per cent of respondents were either in paid employment or self-employed, despite many possessing a range of skills and qualifications, including at a high level (Charlaff *et al.*, 2004). Aspinall and Watters (2010) found that in England the majority of those in employment were on extremely low incomes: half had an income of between £7,750 and £10,349, while one in four had an annual income of below £7,750.

The socio-economic position of A8 migrants

Many studies of A8 migrants reveal that, although the employment rate is very high, they may be experiencing in-work poverty. This is supported by the low hourly rates that A8 workers are paid: Home Office UK-wide data for the period April 2008 to March 2009 reveals that 67 per cent of Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) applicants were earning an hourly rate of £4.50–£5.99, while 25 per cent reported being paid an hourly rate of £6.00–£7.99 (Home Office, 2009). Research carried out with A8 migrants in different parts of Scotland – including Lanarkshire (Sim *et al.*, 2007), the Highlands and Islands (de Lima *et al.*, 2005), Fife (Fife Research Coordination Group, 2007) and Tayside (Scottish Economic Research, 2006) – revealed similar findings. Some of these studies record rates that begin below the national minimum wage (NMW) of £5.35. This may reflect the fact that some employers who provide accommodation for their staff deduct the cost of accommodation directly.

Apart from being on low pay, the economic situation of many A8 migrants is exacerbated by their commitment to send remittances to their families back home. For instance, in the Lanarkshire study (Sim *et al.*, 2007), 40 per cent of respondents reported that they sent money home to their families. The average amount sent was worth 40 per cent of the salary. Additionally, many migrants had come to the UK with the intention of saving up money (de Lima *et al.*, 2007), which further reduces their disposable income and affects their standard of life.

A typical A8 migrant cannot supplement his or her income with savings accumulated previously as he or she has typically been poor prior to migration. The main reasons for wanting to leave the home country given by respondents in Fife, Tayside, and the Highlands and Islands were similar: lack of work, low-paid work and low living standards (Scottish Economic Research, 2006; de Lima *et al.*, 2005).

The literature documents the many strategies adopted by A8 migrants to boost their income, including voluntarily choosing to work long hours. Several studies have found that working more than 40 hours or even 50 hours a week is common practice (Fife Research Coordination Group, 2007; Hall Aitken, 2007a; Scottish Economic Research, 2006). Other research found that A8 migrants are prepared to tolerate poor working conditions and long and irregular hours to earn as much as possible (de Lima *et al.*, 2007). Additionally, two studies found that A8 respondents often have more than one job (de Lima *et al.*, 2007; Hall Aitken, 2007a). Finally, sharing accommodation (Collins, 2007; Blake Stevenson, 2007; de Lima *et al.*, 2005, 2007; Hall Aitken, 2007a) and not spending money on going out (de Lima *et al.*, 2007) enable A8 migrants to buy necessities within limited budgets. However, this suggests a high degree of overcrowding and lack of privacy.

In line with low hourly rates, A8 migrants are mainly employed in semi-skilled and unskilled work (de Lima *et al.*, 2005, 2007; Blake Stevenson, 2007; Kociolek, 2007). Migrant workers who participated

in the Highlands and Islands study (de Lima *et al.*, 2005) were employed in jobs that were significantly below their qualification levels. Sixty per cent of migrant workers in a Tayside study (Scottish Economic Research, 2006) had degree qualifications and a further 16 per cent had a trade or professional qualification while a Glasgow-based study (Blake Stevenson, 2007) found that 44 per cent of survey respondents had higher education. Two studies found that A8 employees faced barriers to progression at work (Hall Aitken, 2007b; Kociolek, 2007) while two others identified A8 migrants' low awareness of employment rights (Hall Aitken, 2007a; de Lima *et al.*, 2007).

The socio-economic position of Gypsy/Travellers

Existing research on mobile Gypsy/Travellers reveals that skilled self-employment is, for many, a culturally preferred way of earning a living. Since finding ad hoc work opportunities is increasingly difficult, income obtained this way is irregular. Low levels of educational attainment amongst this group translate into a weak position in the job market and ultimately into low income. However, there is at least one view that these findings stem from research which has examined Gypsy/Traveller families who are living for all or part of the year on local authority or dedicated private sites, and cannot be extrapolated to the whole population (Padfield, 2010, personal communication).

The socio-economic position of Slovak Roma

A study of approximately 2,000 to 3,000 Slovak Roma living in the Govanhill area of Glasgow (Poole and Adamson, 2008) found evidence of economic hardship and poor integration into the job market. Slovak Roma tend to rely on non-statutory 'employment agencies' and gangmasters in their search for employment (since they cannot access JobCentre Plus), which means that they are exposed to 'non-mainstream' work opportunities. Consequently, many are paid at a rate below the NMW and do not have legal rights to in-work benefits. Their jobs are typically low-skilled, temporary, low-paid and irregular and frequently involve working in poor conditions. Access to welfare benefits is hindered by the requirement of being employed continuously, with no more than a four-week break, for twelve months. The combination of irregular employment and long periods outside the UK means that only a minority of Roma in the study managed to meet this requirement.

Irish Catholics, social class and age

A longitudinal analysis of quantitative data among three Irish Catholic cohorts (aged 15, 35 and 55 at the start of the survey in 1987) resident within Greater Glasgow provided valuable insights into the level and type of disadvantage experienced in this community (Abbotts *et al.*, 2004). In the late twentieth century, the socio-economic position of Catholics compared with non-Catholics – measured by home ownership, car ownership and having a non-manual job – had improved. This was attributed to equal opportunities legislation and the growth of public-sector employment. While amongst the youngest cohort (age 18) in 1990 fewer Catholics (32 per cent) than non-Catholics (49 per cent) were in households headed by someone of non-manual social class, in 2000 there was no significant difference in social class, or in home and car ownership levels, between Catholics and non-Catholics for the youngest cohort (then aged 28). However, amongst the middle cohort (then aged 48), fewer Catholics were in non-manual households, and home and car ownership levels tended to be lower, although this did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance. In the eldest cohort (then aged 68), fewer Catholics were of non-manual social class, and their home and car ownership levels remained lower.

This led the authors to conclude that two 'effects' are responsible for the historical trajectory in Irish Catholic disadvantage. First, an 'age effect' means that socio-economic inequalities emerge with age, with Irish Catholics finding it more difficult to obtain more senior positions in mid-career, between the

ages of 30 and 50. This means that one should not overestimate the effect of the absence of significant difference in the social class distribution between Irish Catholics and their counterparts at younger working ages (Williams and Walls, 2000), since this may be restricted to people in their twenties and early thirties, before key promotion opportunities arise.

Second, a 'cohort effect' means that historical circumstances result in inequality at particular points in time, operating differently (or even disappearing) at different ages. Irish Catholic disadvantage was most severe in the generation that entered the labour market immediately after the Second World War, at a time when there was widespread discrimination against Irish and Catholics (Hickman and Walter, 1997; Devine, 2000; Paterson, 2000a). Since younger generations have experienced less employment discrimination than did their parents or grandparents, their disadvantage is also less. Correspondingly, religious discrimination was reported by Irish Catholics in all cohorts, with stronger evidence of discrimination for the cohort aged 68 in 2000 than the cohort aged 48.

Other evidence of employment discrimination against Catholics comes from findings that, although Catholic school leavers are equipped with better qualifications than those from the non-denominational sector (Willms, 1992; Paterson, 2000b), they are still more likely to be unemployed (Willms, 1992; Paterson, 2000b). Qualitative research into the nature of employment discrimination against Irish Catholics found evidence of continuing experience of sectarian discrimination, particularly affecting career progression (Walls and Williams, 2003). Some Catholic respondents talked about relationship difficulties in the workplace leading to 'unmanageable' levels of stress and resulting in them leaving the job (Walls and William, 2004). Younger Catholics sought jobs in the public sector and used education to overcome obstacles to social mobility, suggesting similarities with other minority ethnic groups. Importantly, the researchers found that religious and economic discrimination affected only Irish Catholics (not Irish Protestants or non-Irish Catholics). Interestingly, Walls and Williams (2003) found that anti-Catholic discrimination in work was recounted by Protestant respondents more often than by Catholic ones. Typically this involved describing workplaces in which there were no or few Catholics and the employment of Catholics only in non-prestigious jobs.

Asylum-seekers and destitution

The review unequivocally found that asylum-seekers and refugees are the most disadvantaged of all the groups covered. Since 2002, asylum applicants have not been allowed to work until given a positive decision on their asylum application or until they have spent more than one year waiting for the decision (Aspinall and Watters, 2010). A UK-wide study into destitution amongst asylum-seekers and refugees found that 48 per cent of those who visited support agencies were destitute (Smart, 2009). Destitution⁵ was a long-term condition for about half of the above group: 48 per cent of those found destitute had been so for more than six months, and a third of destitute refused asylum-seekers had been destitute for more than two years. The study found that destitution was most common among refused asylum-seekers. Another recent UK-wide report by the British Red Cross (2010) sheds further light on daily life experiences of destitute asylum-seekers and refugees. For example, it found that 69 per cent of respondents who were destitute were staying with friends, and 28 per cent reported sleeping rough at some stage. Many depend on 'goodwill' from family and friends, which can lead to strained relationships. Eighty-seven per cent of respondents often survived on only one meal a day. Gordon *et al.* (2009) have estimated that there are about 500,000 refused asylum-seekers in the UK.

The main reason for this situation was that many refused asylum-seekers had not applied for Section 4 support (Smart, 2009). Section 4 is a form of accommodation and subsistence support given to refused asylum-seekers who can show that they are destitute and is, or was initially, meant as a short-term mechanism for people about to leave the country. Support in Scotland is provided in the form of no-choice accommodation and vouchers that can be used only at one specified shop. Section 4 support recipients are also entitled to primary and secondary health care in Scotland (Mulvey, 2009). Failure to

apply for support could be for a number of reasons, for example because asylum-seekers are unaware that this support is available, have not yet had the opportunity to claim support or know that they do not meet the eligibility criteria (Smart, 2009; Green, 2006).⁶ Importantly, 13 per cent of visits to service providers were by destitute people with children, demonstrating the failure of the system to protect children (Smart, 2009).

Three Scotland-based studies looked directly into the destitution experienced by asylum-seekers and refugees (Green, 2006; Refugee Survival Trust, 2005; Mulvey, 2009). Green (2006) reported at least 154 destitute⁷ asylum-seekers and refugees in Glasgow within one month in early 2006, including 25 children. The report emphasised that these numbers were likely to significantly underestimate the actual number of destitute asylum-seekers and refugees. As in the UK-wide study cited above, refused asylum-seekers constituted the majority (76 per cent). Also almost identically, 47 per cent of this group had been destitute for longer than six months. Half of destitute asylum-seekers and refugees relied on family, friends and neighbours to obtain shelter while 41 per cent used National Asylum Support Service (NASS) accommodation. Survey participants used support agencies primarily to obtain information and advice; one in four received a small cash payment of less than £50 a week.

A study by the Refugee Survival Trust (2005) arrived at a slightly different finding in that it identified administrative errors and procedural delays as the major cause of destitution and stressed that problems of destitution are 'inherent' in the asylum system. The effects of destitution included homelessness, lack of secure access to food, negative effects on mental health and being disempowered. The findings also suggest that people who become destitute are likely to stay destitute for a prolonged period or become destitute again.

An in-depth study by Mulvey (2009) for the Scottish Refugee Council provides several insights into life on Section 4 support, which, according to UK Border Agency Scotland records for mid-2009, was received by nearly 1,100 Section 4 asylum-seekers in Glasgow. The average time on Section 4 was 19 months. Asked about their experiences of living on shopping vouchers, respondents spoke, for example, about not being able to buy halal food because of the limited range of shops where they can use vouchers, having to make long journeys by foot to the nearest available shop or the hospital and over-spending on clothes at supermarkets when they could have bought clothes more cheaply in charity shops (which are not part of the shopping voucher scheme). As of November 2009, vouchers have been replaced by the 'Azure' payment card, which is similar to vouchers in that it can be used only in designated supermarkets. A recently published report (Reynolds, 2010) has highlighted the many difficulties of using this card. This includes many of the difficulties that individuals encountered when using vouchers, the lack of awareness of the card by staff in designated retail outlets, the lack of ability to carry over more than £5 into another week and the humiliation experienced in using the card.

Poverty among refugees

The only study with a direct focus on poverty among minority ethnic communities identified by the review was a small-scale study of poverty among refugees (Lindsay *et al.*, 2010). Among its findings were that all refugees interviewed considered themselves to be living in poverty and viewed employment as the main route out of the situation. However, those in work tended to be in low-paid jobs with little security, despite possessing a range of skills and work experience. Participants spoke of attempting to live on limited resources, rather than saving for their future. Other difficulties experienced were the lengthy waiting periods in accessing English as a Second Language provision, viewed as essential in enabling them to exercise greater control and autonomy in their lives. This initial study called for further research to deepen understanding of the issues faced, including on the basis of gender, and for longitudinal research that would identify changes in the experience of poverty over time.

2 Housing need and homelessness

Summary

The disadvantaged housing circumstances of minority ethnic communities provide insights into the extent, nature, duration and experience of poverty. The interaction between various dimensions of housing need and ethnicity is considered through examining research relating to visible minority ethnic communities, A8 migrants, Gypsy/Travellers and asylum-seekers and refugees.

Homelessness – viewed as an extreme form of housing need – is significantly higher than in the population as a whole, though over-representation varies considerably between individual ethnic groups. Homelessness services provided for the general population are often inaccessible and inappropriate for individuals from these communities, suggesting reliance on services provided by minority ethnic organisations or informal support.

Another dominant feature is overcrowding, particularly among A8 migrants, refugees, and Pakistani and Bangladeshi households. This may indicate hidden homelessness, and reflect both material and social deprivation. Poor living conditions have also been widely documented, including living conditions within the home and the neighbourhood. Further, fear of racial harassment among certain ethnic groups may be viewed as symptomatic of social deprivation in that it hinders the integration of these groups into local communities and limits opportunities for play and quality of life.

Although home ownership is higher in certain minority ethnic groups than in the mainstream population, this should not be uncritically viewed as an indicator of financial success, since some individuals may have been forced to buy their own homes because of the lack of viable alternatives in other tenures. Minority ethnic communities remain under-represented in the social rented sector, which is of concern given high rents in the private rented sector and the high costs of home ownership. Among Gypsy/Travellers, the higher rents and electricity charges on sites than comparable costs in social rented housing contribute to their disadvantaged socio-economic status. Approaches that can facilitate greater access to the social rented sector include increasing the supply of housing, more effective communication between social housing providers and minority ethnic communities, and active engagement with voluntary organisations that work with these communities.

With the exception of analysis of Census data and the SHS and elements of the national study on homelessness in black and minority ethnic communities, the studies reviewed in this chapter are largely qualitative studies. Attention has not been uniformly spread: several local studies focus on A8 migrants, a smaller number on Gypsy/Travellers, single studies on asylum-seekers and refugees, and some studies have examined various minority ethnic communities at a local level. Less attention has been directed to established minority ethnic communities, including those most disadvantaged, and the strategies adopted in coping with housing need.

Studies have been widely spread, including urban and rural areas across Scotland, with the Scotland-wide study including data collected from all 32 local authorities.

Housing characteristics of the visible minority ethnic population

We use some data from the SHS to provide summary information on the housing characteristics of visible minority ethnic ('non-white') households in Scotland, compared with the majority ('white') household

population. The terms ‘non-white’ and ‘white’ reflect the collapsing of the ethnic variables in the data supplied. This data refers to the period 2001–5.¹ Although this profiling to some extent overlaps with that provided by the Census as described in the previous chapter, it is slightly more recent and provides a wider picture.

In interpreting these contrasts, it is important to bear in mind the very different demographic structures of the white and non-white populations. Whereas 32 per cent of white households were from the older age group in this period, this was true of only 6 per cent of the non-white households. However, whilst only 5 per cent of the white households had five or more members, this was true of 17.5 per cent of the non-white households.

Non-white households are less likely to be in social rented housing, with only two-thirds the rate of white households (Figure 4). They are much more likely to be in private rented accommodation, with a rate four-and-a-half times that of the white households (25 per cent vs 5.6 per cent). This will be partly explained by their younger age, and in some cases more recent arrival or student occupation. Nevertheless, it does also raise the question of access to social housing.

The much higher proportion of larger households is noteworthy, and may contribute to their under-representation in the social rented sector. Private renting may be an indicator of potential deprivation or vulnerability, in so far as most housing problems are more common in this tenure and, in current conditions, most private tenancies are shorthold and do not provide long-term tenure security. Furthermore, private rents at the time of the review are typically twice the level of social rents, and may not be fully covered by Local Housing Allowance. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that 58 per cent of non-white households are owner-occupiers, which is slightly below the Scottish average (around 65 per cent in this period). However, this should not be uncritically viewed as an indicator of material success, as will be discussed later in the chapter.

One measure of housing need or problems is overcrowding, relative to the widely used ‘bedroom standard’.² This affected 9.2 per cent of non-white households in Scotland in 2001–5, a rate that is 3.8 times higher than that among white households (Figure 5). Again, this is partly related to the demographics (more larger households and fewer elderly households). Housing needs relating to illness, disability and requiring care were less prevalent in this group; but again this is explained by the younger population.

The SHS measures financial pressure/constraints on households, which are relevant to housing but also more widely. Indicators of serious financial difficulty were more prevalent (roughly double) among non-white households, but still affected only 1.7 per cent of households in this group at that time. The proportion estimated as being able to buy a home, on the basis of income and local house prices, was

Figure 4: Housing tenure by visible ethnicity, Scotland, 2001–5

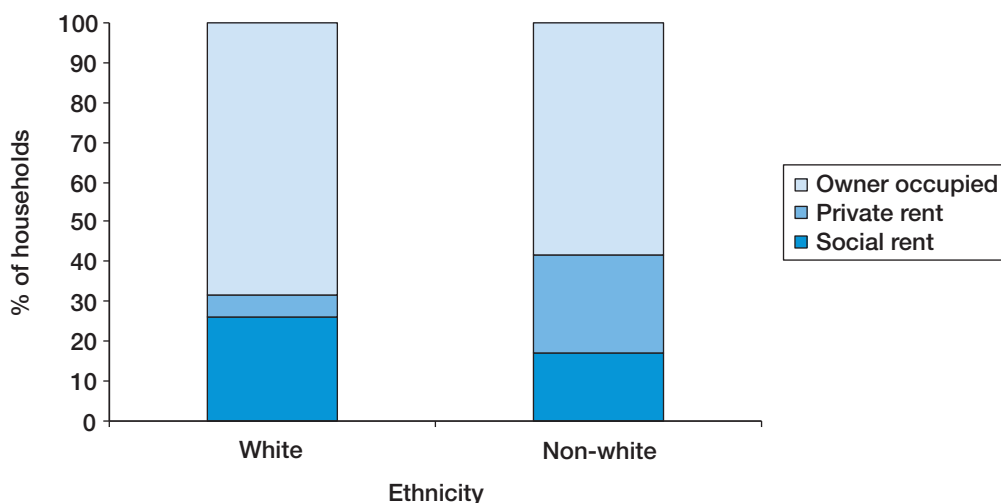
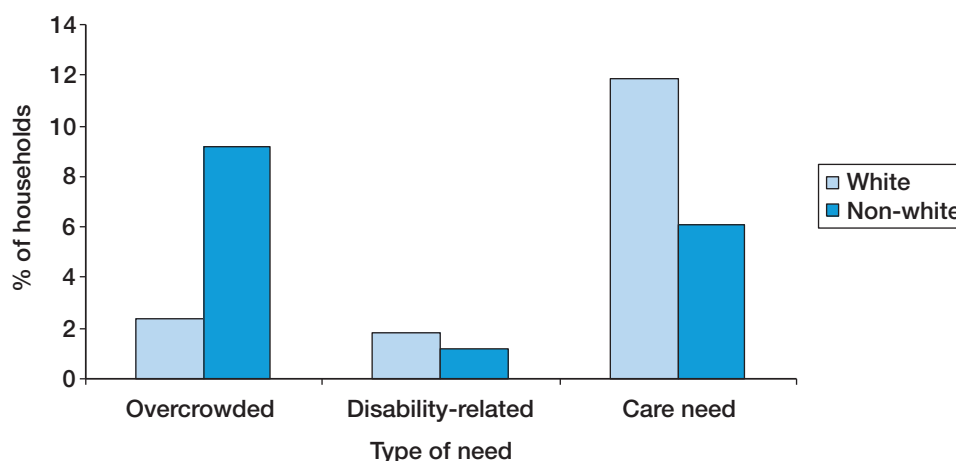


Figure 5: Housing and care needs by visible ethnic minority status, Scotland, 2001–5



similar to that for the white population, albeit slightly lower (37 per cent vs 39 per cent). Only a minority (38 per cent, versus 53 per cent for white households) had savings.

Neighbourhood dissatisfaction and problems are not in themselves direct measures of poverty. However, there is often an association of poverty with neighbourhood social and environmental problems (a) because poorer households have less choice and bargaining power over where they live and (b) because households experiencing poverty may have fewer resources to contribute to neighbourhood social capital. Thus, there is a fairly strong relationship observable between such problems as reported in surveys and the poverty level of neighbourhoods (see Bramley and Power, 2009; Bramley *et al.*, 2009). Living in deprived areas may affect some minority ethnic groups more acutely than the majority population, but in other instances these relationships may be less strong (e.g. recent arrivals may have weak bargaining power, while established groups may have strong social capital). This is supported by Netto's (2010) study, which established the importance of 'place' – not only location, but subjective feelings associated with it, and as the context for social relations (Agnew, 1987) – in determining whether refugees choose to stay on in Glasgow or move on.

Table 2 shows the overall proportion rating their neighbourhood as a poor/very poor place to live, a standard question used across many surveys. The proportion of non-white households giving a poor rating is 12.6 per cent, which is more than half as high again as the proportion of white households (as shown by the ratio of 1.58 in the third column). This suggests that the balance of factors discussed in the previous paragraph works to the disadvantage of the minority communities.

The proportions citing each of a number of specific factors as 'dislikes' about their neighbourhood are shown in the next part of the table, together with the ratio of the proportion of non-white to white households citing each factor. The 'dislikes' are listed in descending order, starting with those with the highest ratio, indicating that non-white households in Scotland are disproportionately concerned about these issues. These factors include poor outlook/view, unsafe/crime, noise, alcohol abuse, dogs, vandalism and drug abuse (in all of these cases, the proportion of non-white households disliking these features of their neighbourhood is at least 50 per cent higher than the proportion of white households). This evidence suggests that non-white households are more concerned about these issues; equally, it may indicate that non-white households live in neighbourhoods where these issues are most pressing.

Homelessness in minority ethnic communities

A national study of homelessness in minority ethnic communities commissioned by the Scottish Executive included the first analysis of ethnically disaggregated data submitted by local authorities to the government on all households making applications for social housing on the grounds of homelessness (Netto *et al.*, 2004).

Table 2: Neighbourhood dislikes and problems reported by white and non-white households in Scotland 2001–5

Neighbourhood dislikes and problems	Non-white (%)	White (%)	Ratio
Very/fairly poor neighbourhood	12.6	8.0	1.58
<i>Dislikes about area</i>			
Poor outlook/view	2.9	1.2	2.42
Unsafe/crime	9.6	4.4	2.18
Noise	10.7	4.9	2.18
Alcohol abuse	9.7	4.9	1.98
Problems with dogs	6.0	3.4	1.76
Vandalism	13.9	8.5	1.64
Drug abuse	9.6	6.4	1.50
Parking problems	7.9	5.9	1.34
Problem with neighbours	5.8	4.8	1.21
Poorly maintained/run-down	5.8	5.2	1.12
Young people hanging about	13.9	13.3	1.05

This revealed that the incidence of recorded homelessness affecting households from black and minority ethnic communities in 2002/3 was 75 per cent higher than across the population as a whole. However, the degree of over-representation varied considerably between individual ethnic groups. Using the categories used in the dataset supplied, black and (non-white) other households were particularly over-represented among those recorded as applicants to be recognised as homeless, and the Chinese group under-represented. The extent of over-representation is not as dramatic as in England, perhaps reflecting the smaller proportion of people belonging to the black and (non-white) other group in Scotland. Taken together, Edinburgh (6.9 per cent) and Glasgow (4.3 per cent) accounted for more than two-thirds of these applicants.

The proportions of black and minority ethnic and white households assessed as unintentionally homeless and in priority need in 2002/3 were similar. However, white applicants were more liable to be judged 'intentionally homeless' and applicants from black and minority ethnic groups more likely to be assessed as 'non-priority' homeless. It is also worth noting that 'hidden homelessness' on an appreciable scale is suggested by evidence of overcrowding and over-representation in poor-quality housing.

Perceptions and causes of homelessness

The study found varying perceptions of homelessness between ethnic groups, reflecting the subjective nature of poverty. For example, the travelling culture of Gypsy/Travellers might be seen by some service providers and others in the settled community as a manifestation of homelessness. However, for some of these individuals, living in housing owing to difficulties in travelling might be akin to being homeless. Understandings of homelessness may also vary within communities: new arrivals living with friends and relatives are less likely to perceive themselves as homeless than UK-born individuals forced to live with relatives by constrained access to housing.

Homelessness arises from a complex series of factors associated with material and physical deprivation, low income, unemployment and employment in low-skilled jobs (Harrison with Phillips, 2003; Netto, 2006). Netto *et al.* (2004) found that having to vacate the home of a friend or a relative is a particularly common immediate reason for homelessness among minority ethnic households (especially black and [non-white] other groups). Staying with relatives or friends for indefinite periods of time was

reported to be fairly common among new arrivals who had access to informal support. In common with the majority population, changes in household formation due to relationship breakdown, marital problems, domestic abuse, inter-generational conflict and financial difficulties were major contributory factors to homelessness. The vast majority of homeless individuals were unemployed. However, those who were employed also experienced difficulties in gaining access to affordable accommodation, with many reporting that their low incomes meant that mortgages were not affordable and rents in the private sector formidably high. This is consistent with England-based research which has found that, since black and minority ethnic households generally have lower incomes, housing costs make a more considerable dent in the finances of these households than other households (Gervais and Rehman, 2005). The study also revealed that certain groups – Gypsy/Travellers, women experiencing domestic abuse and refugees – experienced specific vulnerabilities to homelessness. In minority groups, homelessness due to alcohol addiction, substance abuse or stay in mental health institutions was rare, and repeat homelessness infrequent, which is in contrast to the nature of homelessness in the majority population (Netto, 2006).

Homelessness among A8 nationals

The number of A8 nationals recognised as homeless by local authorities and prioritised in the allocation of housing as being entitled to housing by the local authority in Scotland is unknown. Data for England shows that between May 2004 and December 2008 1,648 A8 applicants were recognised as homeless and entitled to housing by the local authority, which represents 0.4 per cent of the total number of acceptances over this period (Home Office, 2009). The Scottish figure is likely to be higher since in Scotland, unlike in England, A8 nationals have the same rights to homelessness assistance as nationals from other European Economic Area states. In contrast, in England, A8 nationals are eligible for housing assistance only once they have worked in the UK continuously for 12 months (Wilson, 2010).

Studies on the extent to which homeless applications from A8 migrants have risen have produced mixed findings, including lower than expected use of homelessness services (Orchard *et al.*, 2007) and a significant or large rise in the number of homeless applications over the study period (Coote, 2006; Collins, 2007). Examining this from a different perspective, a survey of 260 A8 nationals in Glasgow (Blake Stevenson, 2007) found that over half of respondents (55 per cent) had experienced some form of homelessness. This was mainly in the form of living temporarily with friends and family (38 per cent) upon arrival in Scotland. Sixteen per cent had lived in bed and breakfasts, while 1 per cent had slept rough.

Homeless A8 migrant workers tended to be of working age, male and Polish. They predominantly approached the local authority or other advice agencies for assistance relating to private rented and tied accommodation (Coote, 2006). According to Orchard *et al.* (2007), service users interviewed were determined to find work and be independent. One of the causes of homelessness was the attachment of accommodation to the job; if a job ends unexpectedly the employee can become homeless without much warning and with limited time and funds to find alternative housing (Blake Stevenson, 2007; Crowley, 2008). Blake Stevenson (2007) revealed that over half of the participants (55 per cent) reported having experienced homelessness for up to three weeks, a further 32 per cent for between three weeks and a month, and 4 per cent for at least six months.

Routes out of homelessness

Routes out of poverty as manifested through homelessness may be facilitated by either formal or informal support in finding accommodation or employment. In the longer term, for Gypsy/Travellers in particular, help with gaining literacy and access to educational facilities was viewed as effective (Netto *et al.*, 2004). However, the same study found that individuals from these and other minority ethnic communities had limited sources of informal support to turn to.

A survey of about three hundred homelessness agencies across Scotland revealed that although a wide range of homelessness services were available, access to homelessness services provided by organisations which served the general population was typically problematic (Netto *et al.*, 2004). This was attributed to varying perceptions of homelessness between and within minority ethnic groups, language difficulties, illiteracy, low knowledge of homelessness services and inappropriateness of service provision. Typically, black and minority ethnic agencies had a greater understanding of the extent and distinctive manifestations of homelessness in these communities and were better placed to offer provision in the languages spoken by their clients. This has led Netto and Gavrielides (2010) to call for increased partnership working arrangements between mainstream homelessness agencies and black and minority ethnic agencies to increase awareness of homelessness services, widen access to early intervention, maintain support to vulnerable individuals and inform policy development.

Collins (2007) found that A8 migrants too experience difficulties in accessing formal support: those presenting as homeless to local authorities are often unlikely to have their housing needs assessed. If they are assessed, accommodation is seldom offered. This suggests that they are likely to be supported informally through friends or relatives, or to consider accommodation tied to employment. However, Orchard *et al.* (2007) presents a slightly different picture by revealing that most A8 service users access a homeless centre in Edinburgh for shelter and support for a short period, whilst securing employment and accommodation.

Overcrowding

Overcrowding emerged as a common feature of the housing experiences of certain minority ethnic groups. It impacts on quality of life within the home, including opportunities for engaging in social and leisure activities. It was also explicitly identified as contributing to relationship breakdown, resulting in individuals leaving their last place of residence (Netto, 2006). Overcrowding may also present difficulties to a possible route out of poverty through education, in limiting opportunities for quiet study for children and adults.

Although the main characteristic of overcrowding is a shortage of adequately sized accommodation, specific factors contribute to the problem within certain ethnic groups. Among A8 nationals, the extent of overcrowding is difficult to measure, although documented as a serious problem in a number of studies (Coote, 2006; Orchard *et al.*, 2007; Collins, 2007; Blake Stevenson, 2007; de Lima *et al.*, 2005, 2007; Hall Aitken, 2007a). Two research reports established that, while single migrants could manage with overcrowded accommodation, it was more difficult for families (Blake Stevenson, 2007; de Lima *et al.*, 2007).

The literature on overcrowding among A8 migrants reveals a complex relationship with poverty. First, it suggests that caution should be exercised in using overcrowding as a proxy for poverty since overcrowding is to some extent linked to migrants' propensity to save as much money as possible (de Lima *et al.*, 2007; Hall Aitken, 2007a), and therefore has an element of choice. High rents and council tax were also identified as contributing to overcrowded conditions (Hall Aitken, 2007a). One study revealed that A8 workers tended to find employment first and housing later, which meant that they and their hosts typically experienced overcrowding while seeking employment, suggesting that this may be a temporary phenomenon (Sim *et al.*, 2007).

Among asylum-seekers (Barclay *et al.*, 2003) and refugees, overcrowding was mainly due to the lack of adequately sized accommodation in the social rented sector, with Netto and Fraser (2009) reporting that size of accommodation was a 'major problem'. Service providers attributed this to an increasing demand for larger accommodation because of the changing demographics of the refugee community with an increasing number of family reunions. This indicates a need for greater information sharing relating to asylum-seeker households between the Home Office and key housing and support providers in order to plan for short-, medium- and long-term accommodation of refugees (Netto and Fraser, 2009).

Among other minority ethnic communities, Pakistani and Bangladeshi households have the highest incidence of overcrowding (31 per cent), with the African group coming a close second (30 per cent) (Scottish Executive, 2004a), consistent with England-based analysis of minority ethnic housing circumstances (Lakey, 1997). Participants in an Aberdeen-based study (Netto *et al.*, 2003a) reported varying responses to the lack of appropriately sized accommodation such as accepting accommodation which was too small or using double-purpose rooms, for instance lounges which were also used as bedrooms.

Poor living conditions

Another indicator of material deprivation can be found in the quality of housing occupied by individuals and the surrounding neighbourhood, including access to key facilities. Five research reports on A8 migrants found evidence of substandard accommodation (Sim *et al.*, 2007; Collins, 2007; Blake Stevenson, 2007; de Lima *et al.*, 2007; Hall Aitken, 2007a), including unsafe living conditions, poor furnishing and inadequate heating. Many migrant participants appeared content to accept such conditions (Collins, 2007; de Lima *et al.*, 2007), suggesting a preparedness to trade off standard of accommodation for lower rents, while a Grampian-based study (de Lima *et al.*, 2007) suggests this was due to limited or no access to good accommodation.

Poor living conditions were also found in studies of asylum-seekers and refugees, with high-rise flats identified as particularly inappropriate for families with young children and individuals with physical disabilities and long-term health conditions (Barclay *et al.*, 2003; Netto and Fraser, 2009). Half of the refugees interviewed in Netto and Fraser's (2009) study reported problems such as dampness, faulty plumbing systems, lack of electrical supply and broken windows. The absence of furniture ('no carpets, nothing at all') was a major problem.

Studies of minority ethnic housing in the Grampian region revealed concerns about lack of central heating or inefficient heating systems, measures to counter dampness and dry rot (Netto *et al.*, 2003a,b). At a Scotland-wide level, according to Census data, Bangladeshis constitute the lowest percentage of households with central heating (84 per cent) followed by Other South Asian, African and Pakistani households (89 per cent) (Scottish Executive, 2004a).

Among Gypsy/Travellers, Communities Scotland (2002) recorded poor living conditions related to the location of sites, with many being 'in far from ideal locations'. These included sites located under large pylons, near major electricity substations or near disused or working quarries. A Tayside-based study highlighted that effective management of the site and screening of applicants played a major role in maintaining the quality of the site, a finding supported by Grampian-based research (Netto *et al.*, 2003a,b). Specific concerns about the quality of sites relate to the lack of adequate heating and quality of amenity units, designed to provide toilet and washing facilities (Communities Scotland, 2002; Lomax *et al.*, 2003; Netto *et al.*, 2003b). Lack of adequate on-site playing facilities for children was also a recurrent theme (Communities Scotland, 2002, 2005; Lomax *et al.*, 2003; Netto *et al.*, 2003a,b). Discriminatory attitudes among service providers were viewed by Gypsy/Travellers as a major barrier to obtaining an adequate level of service provision. Effective consultation with Gypsy/Travellers either before developing a new site or when maintaining existing sites has been widely recommended as a means of addressing these issues (Communities Scotland, 2002; Lomax *et al.*, 2003; Netto *et al.*, 2003a,b; Craigforth, 2009). A follow-up study found that, although considerable improvements had been made to sites and more improvements were planned, there was continuing criticism of site provision (Communities Scotland, 2005). It found that, although consultation mechanisms exist on most sites, they are not found in all, and that Gypsy/Travellers expressed dissatisfaction about consultation methods.

Safety from racial harassment

The reporting of racial harassment has continued to increase in Scotland (EHRC, 2010). Residents' protection from racial and other forms of harassment is a key factor which impacts on the quality of life experienced within the home, the neighbourhood and schools. Fear and actual experience of racial harassment play a major role in influencing housing-related decisions among asylum-seekers (Barclay *et al.*, 2003), refugees (Netto and Fraser, 2009), Gypsy/Travellers (Craigforth, 2009; Netto *et al.*, 2003a,b) and other minority ethnic communities (Netto *et al.*, 2003a,b). This includes verbal or physical abuse and perceived danger to life from the local majority population. In some cases, experiences of harassment act as a 'push' factor, driving individuals to move into other forms of accommodation. Concerns extend to the safety of children not only in the immediate neighbourhood (Netto and Fraser, 2009; Netto, 2010, 2011) but in schools in the catchment area, which influences parents' choice of accommodation (Netto *et al.*, 2003a,b).

Serious gaps between policy and practice in tackling racial harassment remain. Established links with community groups and the presence of others from minority ethnic groups have been reported to be helpful (Netto and Fraser, 2009; Netto, 2010, 2011). Under-reporting of racial incidents is thought to be at least partly due to lack of familiarity with local authority and housing associations' policies and procedures for dealing with racial incidents. This highlights the need for greater communication with minority ethnic communities about racial harassment policies and procedures, sensitive allocation policies and continued joint working between local authorities, the police and other key partners.

Home ownership: a measure of financial success?

Analysis of 2001 Census data reveals that, while 67 per cent of all people aged over 16 in Scotland live in homes owned either outright or with a loan or mortgage, this rate is higher among Pakistanis, Other White British and Indians (70 per cent; with the exception of Indians aged 16–29 years) (Scottish Executive, 2004a). It is lower among African and other Scottish Black people above the age of 16 (less than 50 per cent). Home ownership is often viewed as a measure of financial success given the material resources required to purchase one's own home. However, although owner-occupation may be the preferred option for most individuals, 'reluctant' home owners have also been identified. These include those who had been forced into the sector, by fear or actual experience of racial harassment, lack of suitably sized accommodation or a strong preference for a local area. Netto *et al.*'s (2003a) study of minority ethnic housing in Aberdeen found that, although the majority of participants in the settled communities owned their homes, many stated that, had it been accessible and appropriate for their family, they would have preferred council housing.

Home ownership, typically a house in the country with some ground to park caravans, was an aspiration among some Gypsy/Travellers (Netto *et al.*, 2003a,b). This was also viewed as a means of supporting a travelling lifestyle since they would have less restriction on time away than site residents. Craigforth (2009) identified the development of privately owned sites through buying land as a common aspiration but one which was difficult to accomplish owing to lack of financial resources and the need to negotiate the planning process.

Type of housing

Ethnically disaggregated data on type of housing provides an indication of the relative financial standing of various groups. Census statistics reveal that, while 71 per cent of all people in Scotland live in houses or bungalows, only 38 per cent of Africans and less than 50 per cent of Bangladeshi, Black Scottish or other Black, and Other Ethnic groups live in houses and bungalows, as opposed to flats or maisonettes (Scottish Executive, 2004a).

Among Gypsy/Travellers, it has been observed that, although some families stay permanently in housing, for others housing is one of many options for accommodation. Factors identifying the type of accommodation that Gypsy/Travellers opt for include access to key services, safety from harassment, length of waiting list for council tenancies, condition of sites, past experiences and perceived quality of life in alternative forms of accommodation (Lomax *et al.*, 2003; Netto *et al.*, 2003a,b). Collectively, this suggests that choice of accommodation is a highly complex and dynamic process, which, for many, may be continually mediated by routes into or out of one or more forms of poverty.

Living in rented accommodation

Ethnic groups vary considerably in terms of whether they rent in the social rented sector (the council, Scottish Homes, registered social landlords or housing associations) or the private rented sector. According to the 2001 Census, compared with 67 per cent of White Scottish people who rent from their local council or Scottish Homes, only 20 per cent of Indians rent in this sector. Related to this, only 20 per cent of White Scottish people rent from private landlords or letting agents, compared with 56 per cent of Indians.

A8 migrants commonly consider their rents to be high (Sim *et al.*, 2007; Collins, 2007; de Lima *et al.*, 2005, 2007; Hall Aitken, 2007a). Importantly, three studies found that some migrants living in tied accommodation were being charged excessive deductions from salary for accommodation and utility costs (Blake Stevenson, 2007; Crowley, 2008; de Lima *et al.*, 2007). Additionally, employers often conceal from their migrant workers how much is being deducted from their wages (Crowley, 2008; de Lima *et al.*, 2007), suggesting exploitative practices that mean that migrant workers are likely to spend a higher proportion of their income on housing costs than those whose employment is not tied to housing.

Among Gypsy/Travellers, a major issue is that pitch rents are generally high in comparison with social housing (Communities Scotland, 2002; Craigforth, 2009). Communities Scotland (2002) found that none of the 15 case study councils examined could justify the levels of rent charged, or its comparability with other landlords. The study highlighted a need to consider whether pitch rents are both affordable and viable to enable local authorities to plan and budget for the effective operation of the sites. The cost of electricity, which seems to be based on a commercial tariff rather than a lower-cost domestic tariff, also contributes to high living costs on sites (Communities Scotland, 2002) and is viewed as discriminatory by Gypsy/Travellers (Lomax *et al.*, 2003). Access to private sites is also reported to be a problem on account of prejudice against Gypsy/Travellers (Craigforth, 2009; Netto *et al.*, 2003a). The follow-up study reported the persistence of many of these issues, including those related to rent setting and electricity charges (Communities Scotland, 2005). It also found that some councils had failed to introduce needs-based priority systems for pitch lettings or to publish letting rules and that there was variable practice regarding tenancy agreements.

Under-representation in the social rented sector

Access to the social rented sector may potentially be viewed as a possible route out of poverty, given the high incidence of homelessness and costs of rent in the private rented sector. However, analysis of Census data reveals that minority ethnic people are much less likely to rent in the public sector: 48 per cent compared with 82 per cent of White Scottish people (Scottish Executive, 2004a). While no data for Scotland is readily available for A8 migrants, social lettings information from CORE (Continuous Recording of Lettings) in 2009/10 revealed that A8 nationals were allocated 1.25 per cent of social housing lettings in England (6,934 individuals). The pressure A8 migrants are putting on the social rented sector is possibly even smaller than this figure suggests, given their willingness to accept substandard property or a property in a low-demand area (de Lima *et al.*, 2007; Sim *et al.*, 2007; Tribal Consulting, 2008).

The under-representation of other minority ethnic groups in the social rented sector has been attributed to a number of factors, including a preference for home ownership and barriers to accessing the sector (Netto *et al.*, 2001). These barriers include several areas of institutional discrimination such as waiting times, local connection points and discretionary allocation (Netto *et al.*, 2001). In studies of the housing needs of minority ethnic communities in the Grampian region, Netto *et al.* (2003a,b) found that language differences, varying levels of education and literacy, isolation and lack of knowledge of the council's allocation policies also hindered access to social housing. A variety of approaches to facilitate greater access to the sector have been recommended, including increasing the supply of housing, more effective communication between social housing providers and minority ethnic communities, the use of commonly used languages in these communities, outreach work and active engagement with voluntary organisations that work with these communities (Netto *et al.*, 2003a,b). Several studies have called for allocation policies and practices to be monitored to ensure equal outcomes for minority ethnic communities, and to be sensitive to the potential for racial harassment (Lomax *et al.*, 2003; Netto *et al.*, 2003a,b).

3 Educational attainment

Summary

Education plays a crucial role in enabling individuals to develop knowledge, skills and experience to prepare for entry into the labour market. This chapter examines the complex relationship between educational attainment, poverty and ethnicity. It has been argued that educational attainment among minority ethnic pupils may be facilitated by active promotion of race equality in schools, and by improving teachers' ability to respond to specific individual needs. There is some evidence to suggest that, at school leaving age, minority ethnic children are generally outperforming the majority population even in deprived areas. This raises questions relating to minority ethnic over-representation in the further education (FE) sector and under-representation of minority ethnic individuals living in Scotland in the higher education (HE) sector. There is also evidence that suggests that, although educational attainment may be viewed as a route out of poverty, this may not translate into advantages in the job market. Certain ethnic groups receive lower pay than others, a finding that cannot be accounted for in terms of educational qualifications alone.

Some indication of the responsiveness of the educational system to the specific needs of various groups of children has also been revealed: children of asylum-seekers appear to fare considerably better than those of Gypsy/Travellers. This suggests that schools are better placed to deal with specific needs within the settled community rather than within the Gypsy/Travelling community, and have to work harder at increasing the accessibility and relevance of the learning opportunities on offer to the latter community.

Comparison of the two groups also reveals the importance of legislation in increasing the level and type of education on offer in the form of increased entitlement to higher levels of education among asylum-seekers (but with persistent barriers to vocational training) and the general requirement to provide flexible and supportive services. It also reveals the importance of ensuring that advances in legislation benefit those who are most disadvantaged, for example through ensuring greater availability of information and communication technology (ICT) to Gypsy/Traveller children. The single study on the Roma community serves as a useful reminder of the presence of other economically disadvantaged minority ethnic groups, including others who also experience 'interrupted learning'. There is some evidence to suggest that their specific needs in relation to the educational system can be overcome through specialist provision.

Research reviewed in this chapter includes a national study on minority ethnic children, which focused on 'visible minorities', several studies on Gypsy/Travellers, two studies on asylum-seekers and a single study on refugees. It is worth noting the relative lack of attention given to children of established minority ethnic communities and the absence of research on children of A8 migrants. The latter may be at least partly explained by migratory patterns, in which the move to another country is initiated by young adult males, who may be joined at a later stage by their families. Studies reviewed here employed mainly qualitative research methods, supplemented by insights from analysis of administrative data.

Attainment, ethnicity and environmental deprivation

Hills *et al.* (2010) have established that in terms of educational achievement, at the age of 16, Indian and Chinese boys and girls in England have median rankings 'well above' the national median. Equivalent

rankings for Pakistani, black African and black Caribbean boys are 'well below' the national median, while the rankings of boys and girls with Irish Traveller or Gypsy/Romany backgrounds are 'exceptionally low'. The report adds that ethnic differences in achievement at 16 'appear to be smaller' in Scotland and Wales than in England, but the basis for this statement is not clear. This is examined further below using Scottish data.

Several factors identified by Arshad *et al.* (2005) as influencing educational attainment among minority ethnic children are likely to be even more relevant to those coming from families with low or no income. This includes the understanding of head teachers and teachers of race equality and racism and their ability to respond to diverse and specific individual needs. The commitment of senior managers to racial equality and appropriate staff development are also crucial in achieving an inclusive and enabling school ethos. Improved communication and liaison between parents, teachers and pupils and the explicit inclusion of racial, cultural, linguistic and faith issues within the curriculum are also viewed as facilitating minority ethnic pupil attainment. Yet another key factor is teachers' understanding of potential and actual multiple discrimination and effective ethnic monitoring and analysis of data.

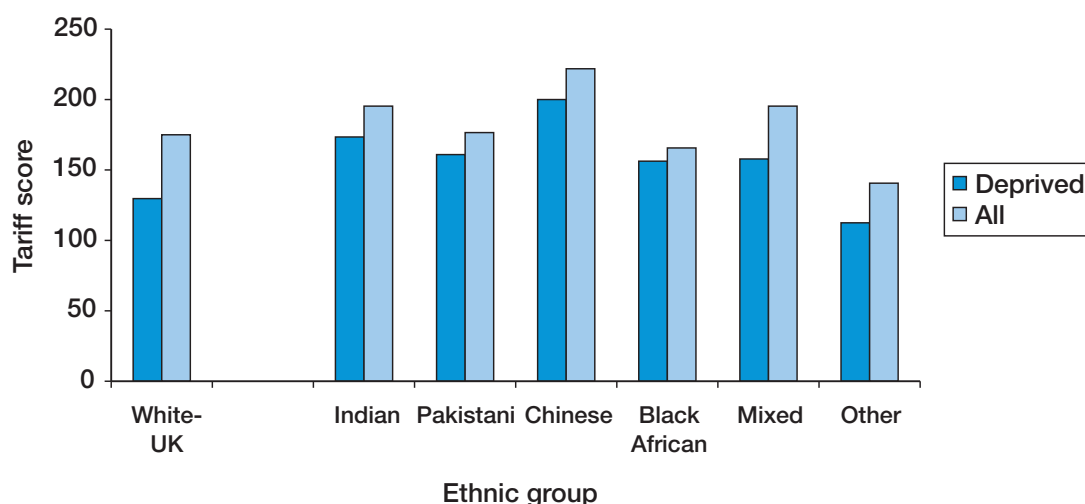
Understanding of racial equality, relevant to the performance of minority ethnic groups, has been found to differ between teachers, parents and pupils (Arshad *et al.*, 2005). Among teachers, race equality is viewed in terms of providing English as an Additional Language (EAL) service for bilingual pupils, responding firmly to racial incidents and promoting multiculturalism. In contrast, parents and pupils perceive racial equality to be significant for developing individual and collective identities, self-esteem and creating and maintaining 'a socially just environment'. Arguably, pupils in schools that have under-developed race equality policies and practices are environmentally deprived. Indeed, Caulfield *et al.* (2004) found that experience of racism can deter students from going to school and potentially result in lower attainment: 'it started to get really racist ... I don't like going to this school – I just want to stay at home' (S2 Scottish Pakistani Male). The same study reported a higher level of racism in secondary schools than in primary schools. Similarly, Arshad *et al.* (2005) found that racism (both personal and institutional) impacts on minority ethnic pupils' sense of being included or excluded. The study found a gap between teachers' views on racial incidents and bullying (which was viewed as sporadic and on the decline) and students' views (for whom racism was a daily feature, although incidents occurred more frequently outside school than at school). More positively, the same study found that schools which actively promote racial equality can foster a sense of inclusion through raising awareness of these issues among all staff and students.

School Census and Linked Attainment Data

Using the School Census and Linked Attainment Data, we can examine the attainment of pupils in the most recent year and look at differences relating to ethnicity and deprivation. Figure 6 shows that attainment compared with White-UK pupils is higher among Mixed, Indian and especially Chinese pupils, but is similar for those from a Pakistani background and lower for Black African and Other groups. The analysis also demonstrates that living in a deprived neighbourhood is associated with much lower attainment (57 points lower) in general. However, this negative neighbourhood deprivation effect is apparently greater for White-UK pupils than for most minority ethnic groups (in the range 10–30 points). Thus, within schools in more deprived areas, the minority ethnic pupils may actually be performing considerably better than the White pupils. A similar analysis by ethnicity and gender shows that female pupils' scores are about 15 points above male pupils', on average, for all of the minority ethnic groups.

Research modelling of attainment in Wales found that non-white ethnicity (used to describe the visible minority ethnic groups as one) was associated with a marginal negative effect on attainment at primary level but a more significant positive effect on secondary attainment (Bramley and Watkins, 2011). A study modelling attainment in three Scottish local authorities (Edinburgh, Fife and North Lanarkshire) carried out by Bramley and Karley (2005, 2007), commissioned by the Scottish Executive Education

Figure 6: Standard Grade attainment by ethnicity and area deprivation



Note: Average 'tariff score' in SQA Standard Grade exams for S4 pupils, where tariff gives higher weight to higher graded passes; 'deprived' means resident in 20 per cent most deprived Datazones from the Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation.

Department, found that attainment at Standard Grade and at Higher Grade improved in proportion to the number of pupils from a non-white background in a school.

The High Level Summary of Equality Statistics (HLSES) report (Scottish Government, 2006) also highlights some other school-based indicators which show the link between aspects of deprivation and particular minority groups. Traveller and other black children are very likely to receive free school meals. These groups and black-Caribbean children were also more likely to be excluded. A higher proportion of minority ethnic pupils than in the majority population were also identified as having special educational needs.

Gypsy/Travellers, attainment and deprivation

Existing literature suggests that the participation of young mobile Gypsy/Travellers in the educational system is problematic, resulting in less access to job opportunities and lower attainment (Dobson *et al.*, 2000, cited in STEP, 2006). The main issues identified are low attendance, particularly at the secondary stages (Jordan, 2001), low attainment (Padfield and Jordan, 2004) and disproportionate disciplinary exclusion.

A recurrent theme in the literature is that pupil mobility results in 'interrupted learning' (OFSTED, 2002), meaning that education lacks continuity and coherence, which in turn results in pupils' marked academic underachievement (Dobson and Henthorne, 1999; Dobson *et al.*, 2000, cited in STEP, 2006; Jordan, 2001). However, against this, it has also been observed that mainstream schools have typically failed to accommodate interrupted learners, and should do more to support such learners. Particular issues include inconsistent and often inadequate support; problems with multiple registration; the failure of schools to pass on records/evidence of attainment; and children identified inappropriately with special educational needs (Lloyd and Stead, 2001; Padfield and Jordan, 2003; Scottish Executive, 2004b; Scottish Parliament, 2005).

The literature is divided on why schools fail Gypsy/Traveller children. Lloyd and McCluskey (2008) found that a key factor is the denial of Gypsy/Travellers' complex identity and culture on the part of school staff, and the possible interpretation of it as deviance. Jordan (2001) has proposed a more fundamental explanation of why schools fail Gypsy/Travellers children, suggesting that the philosophy underpinning mainstream education does not recognise other forms of learning and gaining knowledge. This results in a 'mismatch' between Gypsy/Traveller cultures and preferred learning styles, and their schooling

experience and the teaching styles on offer. Jordan (2001) calls for a change to this philosophy and the introduction of innovative approaches, for instance family learning plans.

Racist harassment and bullying is yet another key factor that has been identified as responsible for Gypsy/Travellers' lack of success in educational institutions (Padfield and Jordan, 2004; Padfield, 2006; Jordan, 2001). Here, the experience of Gypsy/Traveller children is not unique for this age group but symptomatic of the whole Gypsy/Traveller population, with Scottish authorities admitting that Gypsy/Travellers are vilified (Scottish Parliament, 2005). Yet another explanation offered for the difficulties that Gypsy/Traveller children face lies in their parents' desire to preserve cultural and family values, with many parents perceiving inherent dangers and threats in regular school attendance (Jordan, 2001). In particular, drugs, sex education and bad behaviour were identified as being contrary to their cultural mores, with family being viewed as the prime source of education for young people, especially in relation to morality and work skills (Lloyd and McCluskey, 2008; Jordan, 2001). While school is perceived as a place that affords opportunities for learning important basic skills, specifically literacy (Padfield, 2006; Jordan, 2001), Gypsy/Traveller pupils perceive the secondary curriculum as largely irrelevant to their cultural values (Padfield, 2006; Jordan, 2001). There are thus close links between the failure of schools to accommodate the cultural values and norms of Gypsy/Travellers, their educational attainment and their future life chances.

Lloyd and McCluskey (2008) identified a range of government-led initiatives and strategies in recent years designed to support the educational inclusion of Gypsy/Travellers, such as increased monitoring of achievement, attainment and disciplinary exclusion; use of IT; and good practice guidelines. The requirement for flexible and supportive service provision at national policy level was identified in the Additional Support for Learning Act in Scotland (2005) (Lloyd and McCluskey, 2008). However, progress in policy development has not been translated into progress in lived reality, with the level of support from educational services varying substantially (Padfield and Jordan, 2004; Padfield, 2005; STEP, 2006). Indeed, Padfield and Cameron (2009) found that additional support needs (such as mobile Traveller pupils' needs for support) are frequently denied. For instance, ICT, including the use of laptops by mobile Gypsy/Travellers, has been viewed as vitally important for addressing issues resulting from 'interrupted learning'; however, a recent evaluation of inclusive educational approaches for Gypsies and Travellers reported that teachers did not use interactive communications technology or communicate through other means with Gypsy and Traveller pupils who were travelling (STEP, 2006).

Roma, educational attainment and support mechanisms

A study investigating the situation of the Slovak Roma in the Govanhill area of Glasgow (Poole and Adamson, 2008) identified a number of factors that contribute to low levels of educational attendance and attainment. These included the lower value placed on formal schooling in Roma culture, greater reliance on the economic activity of young family members, and the transitory behaviour of Roma. Slovak Roma who took part in the research go back to their 'homeland' regularly, often for long periods. When parents are away from Scotland, the communication between schools and parents is disrupted. In addition, Slovak Roma tend to distrust anyone working for the state, including teachers, stemming from years of discrimination and segregation in the Slovak Republic. Despite these barriers, the study found that growing numbers of Slovak Roma were registering with local primary schools in Glasgow, perhaps facilitated by specialist support workers and a drop-in centre.

Asylum-seekers and educational attainment

The entitlement of asylum-seekers to educational services plays a major role in enabling children and adults to develop their potential and prepare for the job market. Local authorities have a duty to provide nursery places for all three- and four-year-old children regardless of their immigration status (HMIE, 2007).

Young people seeking asylum under the age of 16, either unaccompanied or as part of a family unit, have a statutory right to a school education (Oxfam, 2007). People seeking asylum are eligible to have fees paid at further education colleges for ESOL (English as a second or other language) courses as well as National Certificate courses and other non-advanced courses (HNC/HND) for up to 16 hours per week (Oxfam, 2007). Prior to 2007, barriers to accessing further and higher education caused frustration among young asylum-seekers and their parents (Hopkins and Hill, 2006; HMIE, 2007). However, since 2007 (in Scotland but not in England) asylum-seeking young people who have completed three years in the Scottish education system and meet the entry requirements for university and or college have been eligible for the same fee support as Scottish students (Oxfam, 2007).

The particular importance of education for asylum-seeking children has been emphasised by many service providers, who have cited the normalising experience of going to school (Hopkins and Hill, 2006). School has been seen as not only performing educational functions but also providing a safe place for children to be and learn (HMIE, 2007; Hopkins and Hill, 2006). A report titled *Joint Inspection of Services for Children of Asylum-Seekers in the Glasgow City Council* (HMIE, 2007) found that around half of asylum-seeking children under five attend pre-school provision provided by Education Services and benefit from the experience (HMIE, 2007). Schools were found to have effective induction programmes which helped children settle into education, attendance levels were high, and very few children were excluded (Candappa *et al.*, 2007; HMIE, 2007). Asylum-seeking children are placed into mainstream classes only after they have the appropriate language skills to cope with mainstream teaching (Hopkins and Hill, 2006). Hopkins and Hill (2006) emphasise the importance of ensuring that the educational needs of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children are carefully assessed.

One of the strengths identified by HMIE (2007) was support for children's learning, particularly in English language; almost all children made very good progress in this area. Children's achievement was often related to their competence in English language as well as their length of stay in the UK (HMIE, 2007; Candappa *et al.*, 2007). While Hopkins and Hill (2006) found some evidence that asylum-seeking children may need time to become accustomed to the Scottish educational system and have difficulty in understanding concepts and ideas, the intelligence, knowledge and verbal skills of asylum-seeking children have also been noted (EIS, 2003; Hopkins and Hill, 2006). At primary level, most children made good progress in reading, writing and mathematics and, overall, the majority were achieving national levels of attainment (HMIE, 2007). By the end of S4, children performed very well overall, but did particularly well in science and mathematics. In 2006, children from asylum-seeking families performed, on average, better than other pupils in Scottish Qualification Authority (SQA) examinations.

HMIE (2007) also found that children were overall well integrated in schools and further education colleges. The inspection team found that most staff were quick and effective in responding to racial harassment and bullying, and celebrations of diversity, and mentoring and buddying schemes successfully supported inclusion. However, the lack of after-school services available to unaccompanied asylum-seeking children has also been noted (Hopkins and Hill, 2006). At the post-secondary education stage, HMIE (2007) found that Careers Scotland supported children of asylum-seekers as they moved on into employment, indicating that asylum-seeker children were well supported from induction to school to beyond the school-leaving stage.

Skill development and training among adult asylum-seekers

Since 2002, asylum applicants have not been allowed by law to undertake vocational training (until given a positive decision on their asylum application or until they have waited a year for an initial decision) (Aspinall and Watters, 2010). However, they are allowed to volunteer (Oxfam, 2007). Charlaff *et al.* (2004) revealed that most refugees and asylum-seekers living in Scotland are well qualified. More than 75 per cent of respondents reported that they had completed secondary school education, over half that they had completed college education and 21 per cent that they had completed a university course. They

reported that they had a broad range of skills in trades and professions and were keen to utilise them. The majority of respondents indicated a desire to improve their English language and literacy skills, and to access further training.

Higher and further education and training

Higher education

The poorest and most deprived groups and areas are least represented in Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) data, although recent data in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2010a, p. 59) indicates that the under-representation of the most deprived quintile of neighbourhoods has been slightly reduced. In 2008–9, 14.9 per cent of HE entrants came from the most deprived fifth of areas, which contain 19.0 per cent of the working-age population, a gap of –4.1 per cent. This gap stood at –5.8 per cent in 2001–2. In so far as minority ethnic groups tend to live in deprived areas, we may expect a lower participation rate on this account, although this would be somewhat offset by the relatively higher levels of secondary school attainment achieved by minority ethnic pupils within these areas, as documented above.

According to the HLSES report (Scottish Government, 2006, p. 22), 6.7 per cent of HE students studying in Scotland in 2004–5 were from minority ethnic groups, similar to the proportion in 2003–4. Many of these have come from other countries specifically to study, including 19,000 from countries outside Europe. The largest subgroups within the 6.7 per cent were Chinese (1.6 per cent) and Indian (1.2 per cent). Some caution is needed with these figures, as the ethnicity of 14 per cent of students was not known or disclosed.

This data can be updated to 2008–9 (Scottish Government, 2010a). By that year, 10.6 per cent of students were from minority ethnic backgrounds, with the Chinese and Indian groups again the largest within that. Since the number of such students (27,225) was not very much larger than the number of non-European domiciled students (22,560), one may infer that the majority of these minority ethnic students have come to Scotland specifically to study. These figures may seem to imply that only about 5,000 minority ethnic students whose domicile is in Scotland actually attend university, which would be about 1.9 per cent of the total (rather below their population share). However, this is probably an underestimate, because some of the non-European domiciled students will be of ‘white’ ethnicity, and some of the minority ethnic students are probably under-recorded given the still large number with missing ethnicity (8 per cent in 2008–9).

The number of students coming to Scotland to study from outside Europe has grown strongly, more than doubling in the last decade, and constitutes a substantial proportion (around a quarter) of the total minority ethnic population in Scotland. The majority are postgraduates and, in some cases, may be accompanied by family members. The number of students who stay on beyond their period of study is not known, but the significant proportion of students in the minority ethnic population in Scotland helps to explain some of the mixed findings on employment, occupations and qualifications discussed previously and below.

Further education

Analysis of FE data that examined service take-up and expenditure according to the deprivation level of areas of residence revealed that FE was less biased than HE towards more affluent and middle-class communities (Bramley *et al.*, 2005). In 2004–5, minority ethnic groups accounted for 3.9 per cent of all FE enrolments in Scotland’s colleges. This is slightly above their share of the most relevant age group in Scotland (say 16–29), despite the young age profile of the minority ethnic population. The most common subgroups within this were ‘other’, Pakistani and African. The proportion with no ethnicity recorded was 7 per cent. It seems reasonable to conclude that participation in FE is mainly by Scotland-domiciled

people, those whose primary home is Scotland. The over-representation of minority ethnic groups in the FE sector raises questions about their relatively lower participation in HE, given evidence of overall higher rates of attainment at school-leaving age.

Educational qualifications, ethnicity and pay

At degree level, according to the 2001 Census, all minority ethnic groups in Scotland are at least as likely or more likely to have degrees (or equivalent) than White Scottish (Scottish Executive, 2004a); this may be related to the fact that many are actually students (31 per cent of African and 26 per cent of Chinese), while others may have come to Scotland originally to study. Those most likely to have degrees are Africans, people from 'Other' ethnic groups and Indians. Only 17 per cent of White Scottish and Pakistani individuals have degrees; these are the groups least likely to have degrees. Those most likely to have no qualifications are Pakistanis (43 per cent), Chinese people (38 per cent) and White Scottish individuals (35 per cent). This presents a striking contrast with African people: only 15 per cent of those aged between 16 and 74 years have no qualifications. It is worth noting that the proportion of people who have no qualifications is significantly higher across all ethnic groups in the 55–74 age group than in the 35–54 age group, with the proportion being double that for the younger group in most cases. In the 55–74 age group, the Chinese are the most likely to have no qualifications: 82 per cent compared with 32 per cent of the Africans in the age group, 45 per cent of Bangladeshis and 42 per cent of Indians.

The impact of these differences on individuals' ability to compete successfully in the job market is difficult to predict. However, using data from the Labour Force Survey (over three years from October 2004), Longhi and Platt (2008, cited in Hills *et al.*, 2010) found pay gaps that *could not* be attributed to factors such as qualifications and occupational class. For instance, while white British Jewish men were predicted to earn 24 per cent more than white British Christian men, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim men respectively earned 13 and 21 per cent less than White British Christian men.

4 Ill health

Summary

Understanding of the relationship between ethnicity, health and poverty is in the early stages of development. Analysis of Census data reveals significant ethnic differentials in self-reported health status, long-term illness and disability, which are age related and require further investigation. Some of these patterns of disadvantage overlap with other trends reviewed in previous chapters. Research exploring the relationship between health, poverty and ethnicity has mainly focused on two groups, Irish Catholics in the west of Scotland and asylum-seekers in Glasgow.

Research on Irish Catholics in the west of Scotland has established that socio-economic disadvantage precedes poor health, and that there are significant age-related differences, with health generally being worse among the older cohorts. However, it is not certain that the relatively better health of younger Irish Catholics will be maintained as they grow older. Qualitative data reviewed in this and the previous chapter indicates that problems at work encountered by Irish Catholics can bring about health-related problems. Although the persistence and seriousness of this are not known, this does suggest that poor working conditions in the form of discriminatory practices and lack of social acceptance may contribute to ill health.

Poor mental health is the major issue faced by asylum-seekers and refugees in Glasgow, made worse by destitution. The combination of traumatic experiences in the country of origin and difficult conditions in the UK appears to be a potent contributory factor. The deprivation that has contributed to mental health problems is likely to be compounded by various aspects of environmental, social and economic deprivation, including housing problems, social isolation, stigma and shame, loss of status, racism and hunger. Difficulties in accessing mental health problems limit the opportunities for improvement, with preferred support being assistance from family and friends.

The single study of tooth decay that found no differences between affluent and deprived individuals from black and minority ethnic communities is a useful reminder that, although there may be many grounds for believing that economic disadvantage contributes to poor health, this is by no means universal for each dimension of health. Illustrating the link between poor housing and environmental conditions and poor health, research on the housing needs of Gypsy/Travellers has revealed significant physical and mental health issues that are at least partly contributed by poor housing and exacerbated by lack of access to health services. Finally, the limited research identified in this area indicates the need for further investigation into the relationship between socio-economic status and health between and within ethnic groups.

Introduction

Although the relationship between socio-economic status and poor health has been well established, understanding of the complex relationship between ethnicity, health and poverty is in its infancy. Modood *et al.* (1997) established that socio-economic status is 'an important predictor of health' for minority ethnic groups, as it is in the general population. The study also found that, within certain socio-economic bands, individuals from minority ethnic groups have poorer health than whites, although there is considerable variation by ethnic group. Netto *et al.* (2010) have identified socio-economic status as one of the key

variables that need to be taken into account in designing more effective health promotion interventions for minority ethnic communities. Further, the relative socio-economic disadvantage experienced by various minority ethnic groups mirror patterns of health (Modood *et al.*, 1997).

Ethnicity-related health differentials in Scotland

According to the 2001 Census, the Chinese population has the highest proportion of people with self-reported good or fairly good health (96 per cent), closely followed by the Other Ethnic group and Africans (95 per cent each). This contrasts with 86 per cent of White Irish who reported good or fairly good health.

Self-reported good health is predictably highly correlated with age. Ninety-nine per cent of individuals aged between 0 and 15 years are in good health. In contrast, among people aged 60 years and over, 78 per cent are in good or fairly good health. The four White ethnic groups – White Scottish, Other White British, White Irish and Other White – have a high proportion of people over pensionable age, significantly affecting the overall picture. To consider a more meaningful analysis of self-perception of health, it is necessary to compare the data in each age band. Some highlights are:

- Nearly all children report good or fairly good health.
- The Bangladeshi group report the lowest level of good or fairly good health in the 16–24 age group (85 per cent); however, overall this group is not worse off than other groups when examining the whole age range.
- Pakistanis report the poorest health in the 35–59 age group, with only 81 per cent reporting good or fairly good health. This contrasts with the Chinese in this age group, with 94 per cent reporting good or fairly good health.
- Among those aged 60 and above, only 59 per cent of Pakistanis report good or fairly good health, compared with 81 per cent in the Other White British group, 80 per cent of Bangladeshi and 80 per cent of the Other Ethnic group.
- Considering rates of disability and long-term illness, prevalence within the 16–24 age group is highest among Bangladeshi and Black Scottish/Other Black people (8 per cent each).
- Within the 35–59 age group, the group with the highest rate of long-term illness or disability are Pakistanis (28 per cent).
- At least 40 per cent of people aged 60 years and over report a long-term illness or disability, with the Pakistani group reporting the highest rate (66 per cent).

It is likely that at least some of the interactions between ethnicity and health, and ethnicity, health and age, may be partially explained by the disadvantaged socio-economic position of certain groups, notably the Pakistani population. Poor health may also contribute to a disadvantaged socio-economic position as it impacts on the employment opportunities of those affected and those caring for them.

The health of Irish Catholics and socio-economic position

Research has demonstrated that the mortality of the Irish in Scotland (as well as in England and Wales) shows an excess for most causes of death (Abbotts, 2004). In particular, the excess in deaths from cardiovascular disease was 35 per cent even after adjusting for medical, behavioural and socio-economic

risk factors (Abbotts, 2004). This group is also more likely to exhibit other pervasive (although generally not large) health disadvantage, including poor self-assessed health (at ages 58 and 18). At the ages of 38 and 58, this group is also more likely to have experienced four or more psychosomatic symptoms in the previous month and sadness or depression in the previous year. At 18, they are also more likely to have experienced four or more psychosomatic symptoms in the previous month. They are also more likely to self-assess disability at 58 (Abbotts *et al.*, 2001a; Abbotts, 2004).

As discussed above, health disadvantage is related to age: it is more visible in the oldest group of Irish Catholics than in middle-aged ones, while there is no evidence of any systematic health inequality among 11-year-old Irish Catholics (Abbotts *et al.*, 2001b; Abbotts, 2004). This does not mean that Catholic health disadvantage is not going to show up in the long term in this last cohort, as continuing social disadvantage is likely to be replicated by health disadvantage in adult life, despite its not being apparent during adolescence (Abbotts *et al.*, 2001b; Abbotts, 2004). On the other hand, improved socio-economic position may mitigate some adverse health effects of childhood poverty (Abbotts *et al.*, 2001b).

Abbotts *et al.* (2001b) estimate that about half of the greater ill health amongst middle-aged Catholics in Glasgow can be explained by socio-economic disadvantage, with socio-economic disadvantage preceding ill health. Relative poverty during childhood and adulthood (as measured by father's social class and own current social class) are the main influences on high Irish mortality (Abbotts, 2004).

Walls and Williams's (2004) qualitative research revealed that only some Catholics talked about health problems attributed to 'unmanageable or 'unacceptable' job stress. This was mostly due to their interactional difficulties at work, being unjustifiably denied promotion, or pressures of self-employment, all of which were associated with institutional sectarianism. Abbotts *et al.* (2001a) argue that investigation into anti-Irish discrimination, social support and religious factors may further illuminate the reasons for the poor health status of Irish Catholics in Scotland.

The health of asylum-seekers and refugees and destitution

In line with research in other locations, Scottish studies (Refugee Survival Trust, 2005; Mulvey, 2009; Roshan, 2005; Sherwood, 2008; Hopkins and Hill, 2006) show a complex interaction between poverty and ill health among asylum-seekers. The studies unequivocally demonstrate that mental health problems are the main health issue that asylum-seekers and refugees face, particularly if destitute. Smart (2009) shows that vulnerability to mental ill health among the asylum-seeking population is linked to legal status: refused asylum-seekers are more vulnerable than other asylum-seekers and refugees, as are asylum-seekers and refugees who have been destitute for more than six months.

Mental health issues that affect asylum-seekers and refugees include acute anxiety and stress; depression; feelings of extreme vulnerability and powerlessness; aggravated trauma (Refugee Survival Trust, 2005); and lost feelings of belonging and identity (Hopkins and Hill, 2006). The Refugee Survival Trust (2005) found that depression was caused by a combination of traumatic pre-flight experiences and being in a desperate situation in the UK. Supporting this, Roshan (2005) reported most of the families appeared emotionally scarred by their experiences of rape, torture and murder. Another contributory factor was the length of time they were left waiting and the growing sense of hopelessness this entailed.

Once in the UK, asylum-seekers often do not understand the complexities of the asylum process (Roshan, 2005), and their wait for the outcome of the asylum case is marked by uncertainty and fear of the future (Mulvey, 2009; Sherwood, 2008). This is compounded by the problems of daily life:

- housing problems, such as not having secure accommodation; homelessness and eviction (Refugee Survival Trust, 2005);

- social isolation/loneliness, including being detached from families (Mulvey, 2009; Hopkins and Hill, 2006; Roshan, 2005; Sherwood, 2008);
- stigma and shame attached to being an asylum-seeker or refugee; shame resulting from powerlessness or using vouchers; forced inactivity and being made 'useless'; loss of status or being 'second class' and dependency on benefits (Mulvey, 2009; Roshan, 2005; Sherwood, 2008);
- racism within their communities and from service providers (Sherwood, 2008) and repeated questioning by immigration officials or lawyers (Mulvey 2009; Refugee Survival Trust, 2005);
- hunger (Refugee Survival Trust, 2005).

Further, access to specialist mental health services by asylum-seekers and refugees is hindered by the fear that disclosure of their illness might worsen their circumstances and contribute to stigmatisation (Sherwood, 2008). Asylum-seekers and refugees affected by mental health problems are less able to solve problems and are thus more vulnerable (Sherwood, 2008; Refugee Survival Trust, 2005). The Refugee Survival Trust (2005) found that destitute asylum-seekers and refugees went through a 'spiral of vulnerability', in which mental distress caused by destitution made people incapable of accessing help. Intermediary factors mentioned by respondents were lack of energy and self-esteem, memory problems and an inability to concentrate. Together, these studies indicate that the deprivation that has contributed to mental health problems among asylum-seekers is compounded by their experience of ill health, and that routes out of poverty and ill health are limited. Further, in many cases, mental distress has a direct impact on physical health, including sleep difficulties, headaches, nose-bleeding, shivering, flashbacks and panic attacks (Refugee Survival Trust, 2005).

With regards to coping mechanisms, asylum-seekers and refugees mostly want someone to talk to and share problems with (Roshan, 2005). Approaching family and friends appears to be the preferred solution in mild cases, although some people are concerned about loss of confidentiality.

Dental health and socio-economic position of children from black and minority ethnic groups

In an epidemiological survey of dental caries (tooth decay) in five-year-old children attending multi-ethnic schools in Greater Glasgow, Conway *et al.* (2007) found that this was significantly higher in children from black and minority ethnic backgrounds than in their white counterparts. Importantly, the researchers established that poor dental health was correlated with ethnic group but not with deprivation category: among black and minority ethnic groups affluent children were as likely to have tooth decay as deprived children.

Ill health and disabilities among Gypsy/Travellers

The ill health of many Gypsy/Travellers has been identified in housing studies (Lomax *et al.*, 2003; Craigforth, 2009), which have revealed a high proportion of Gypsy/Travellers with health problems, especially arthritis and asthma. To some extent this was related to poor site conditions which posed difficulties for those with physical disabilities. Mental health issues have also been identified within this community, seemingly with little access to formal or informal support (Craigforth, 2009; Netto *et al.*, 2004):

I haven't got anybody for me – they have seen me out there roaring and crying.

Netto *et al.*, 2004, p. 25

Lomax *et al.* (2003) found that, in some cases, lack of access to health services and poor living conditions had forced individuals to give up their travelling culture. Others had physical impairments that had motivated them to leave their sites and live in a house. Specialist provision or responsibilities for health services for Gypsy/Travellers and raised awareness of the health needs of this community were recommended.

5 Review of statistical datasets

Summary

The Census remains a key source for profiling the scale, location and characteristics of minority ethnic populations, particularly in a context such as Scotland, where numbers are relatively small. However, the infrequency of the Census, the fact that it does not directly measure income or poverty, and doubts about whether full Censuses will be held in future, make it important to consider other sources. Nevertheless, specialised datasets linked to the Census (e.g. SLS, SARS) offer increasing prospects for more sophisticated research into outcomes, particularly in the health field.

Large-scale official surveys are the primary source for monitoring progress against poverty and equalities targets as well as for analysing relationships including the causes of poverty and deprivation. However, such surveys cannot easily provide robust evidence on the conditions facing small minority groups within the population, particularly where these are geographically scattered. While one can look at the UK-wide condition for certain ethnic groups it cannot be assumed that the relative position of these groups is the same in Scotland as in England. The SHS is a potentially key resource of this kind, but current attempts to enhance the income side of this dataset are somewhat inconclusive. The other key survey in terms of having a reasonable sample size is the Labour Force Survey (Annual Population Survey).

Administrative data is of growing potential and actual use in monitoring aspects of poverty, notably small area poverty and related outcomes through Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). Several administrative datasets include ethnic information for individuals, so enabling more incisive and up-to-date analysis of outcomes for different groups, although in some areas (notably health) ethnic coding is very uneven. There are opportunities for research exploiting these datasets in areas such as welfare benefit takeup and employment over time, educational experience and attainment, and aspects of health.

Introduction

The main aim of this part of the work is to review potential sources of quantitative evidence on the extent and incidence of poverty, deprivation and related problems among minority ethnic populations in Scotland, with some reference to the wider UK context. It scopes out feasible approaches and measures using particular sources, and identifies their limitations in terms of ethnic classification, poverty measures, sample sizes and sample design. This draws on datasets currently held and in use on other related projects, or on published sources including those referred to below. Some of these key analyses have been included in the preceding chapters.

Important groundwork has already been undertaken, particularly by Analytical Services within the Scottish Government, notably through the Office of the Chief Statistician (2004) *Analysis of Ethnicity in the 2001 Census* and the subsequent (Scottish Government, 2006) *High Level Summary of Equality Statistics: Extracted Trends by Ethnic Group* (HLSES for short). Some further use of Census information can be made to establish the association of aspects of poverty/deprivation with minority ethnic populations on an area basis. However, to establish relationship at individual/household level requires the analysis of large-scale micro-datasets from official surveys, or possibly from administrative record systems. The main relevant surveys are discussed below, the emphasis being upon surveys particularly

relevant to poverty with a large enough sample in Scotland to identify any significant ethnic differences. The potential use of administrative datasets in the current context is also reviewed, based on extensive previous experience of working with these (Bramley *et al.*, 1998, 2005; Bramley and Watkins, 2008), most recently in work for JRF on the public service costs of child poverty.

The Census

The great value of the Census is that it is intended to be a comprehensive count of all the people living in Scotland and that a range of useful socio-demographic, economic and cultural information is collected from all individuals/households. It thus avoids the problems of sampling from small populations which plague the use of large-scale surveys, as discussed below. Therefore, it can be reported for small ethnic groups as well as small geographical areas. The Census is the bedrock of 'Neighbourhood Statistics' and traditionally the way neighbourhoods are characterised.

The disadvantages of the Census include the fact that it is done only once every ten years; it does not allow access to individual records for the full dataset (and hence limits flexible cross-tabulation or cross-classification); it probably under-represents certain hard-to-reach groups; and it does not record the most important factor for poverty, namely income. A new Census will take place in April 2011, but again this will not include any direct question on income. The longer-term future of the Census is in some doubt, as there is a view that it is too expensive and that sample surveys are more cost-effective.

While not providing a direct measure of poverty, the Census does offer a range of measures of related demographic, 'proxy' or 'social outcome' measures which are of considerable interest. We do not attempt to reproduce all of the conclusions of this study, but rather have highlighted some of the more interesting findings at different points in this report.

Other Census-related sources and issues

Certain specialised datasets have been created based on or linked to the Census that are worthy of note. The Longitudinal Survey (LS) links events related to vital statistics (births, marriages and deaths) to Census records for the same individuals/households. Further linkage to health records may also be feasible. The LS has been developed more recently in Scotland than in England and analysis of this source is in its infancy. Small sample numbers for minority ethnic groups would still be a problem in Scotland. A special unit at St Andrews University has been established to develop the Scottish Longitudinal Survey (SLS) and other longitudinal studies in Scotland.

Boyle *et al.* (2008) provide a useful review of the SLS's potential with particular reference to health. The SLS has a sample of over 250,000 (over 5 per cent) and links records between 1991, 2001 and any intended Censuses and vital events as well as key National Health Service (NHS) records. The Census provides information about ethnicity and country of birth (and from 2001 religion), basic demographic data for individual, household and family, migration, economic activity, occupation class and qualifications, travel to work, disability, self-rated health and care-giving. Linked data supplies information on births (including stillbirths), immigration and emigration (including re-entry), deaths (including infant mortality, widowhood), marriage and divorce. Key linked NHS records include hospital inpatient episodes (SMR01), admissions for mental health (SMR04) and cancer registrations. There is clearly scope for new studies to look at the links between ethnicity, migration and various factors, particularly health related.

Another specialised Census-based resource is the Survey of Anonymised Records (SARS). This essentially takes a small sample of individual and household records and makes this available, in an anonymised form, similar to the data derived from a sample interview survey. This enables the researcher to create his/her own composite variables (e.g. measuring multiple deprivation) and to design particular cross-tabulations or statistical models to test for particular relationships. Again, sample numbers would limit the power of this source for investigating minority ethnic groups in Scotland.

There is an issue about obtaining more *current population data* than that available from the Census. What is the current population of key minority ethnic groups in Scotland? The main official source here will be the Annual Population Survey (APS), which is based on the Labour Force Survey/ Integrated Household Survey, discussed further below. This will provide estimates down to local authority level, subject to some sampling error. Again, small numbers will be an issue for minority ethnic groups in Scotland.

Related to this issue is the need to obtain resident population numbers to act as bases for measures, such as deprivation indicators or service usage indicators, from administrative data. For example, a number of administrative sources may yield numbers of minority ethnic people using particular services or having particular problems. However, to judge whether these numbers are high or low requires some estimates for the current numbers of the resident population in these groups. At national level these may be estimated from the APS. However, at local level the sample numbers would be insufficient. There may be a case for investigating ways of estimating numbers of minority ethnic people in particular age groups from administrative data. One example is the School Census (ScotXed), which could give reasonable estimates down to local authority and smaller area level of the current minority ethnic child population. Another example is the use of ethnic codes on the Department of Work and Pensions (DWP) benefits data (discussed below). This could potentially identify the number of dependent children (from Child Benefit) and the number of retirement pensioners.

Large-scale official surveys

We start with some general remarks about ‘surveys’, used as shorthand for large-scale official sample interview surveys of households or individuals. Surveys are the main way we measure poverty. They are also a key way of measuring a range of other conditions or outcomes that may be related to poverty and thus of interest in their own right, as proxies for poverty, or as evidence of the wider ill-effects of poverty.

Surveys offer the key advantage of the ability to analyse different factors and their relationships in a flexible way at individual level, whether with ethnicity or any other socio-demographic characteristics. In this respect they differ from the routinely available data from the Census or many administrative systems, which essentially provide counts for predefined categories. Flexible combination of attributes may also be used with surveys to create particular, more complex measures. In effect, the official poverty measures are of this kind, because they combine different sources of income, impute missing data and ‘equivalise’ using information about who is in the household.

Sample surveys are an efficient way of collecting rich data which, for the most part, can provide a representative picture for the country as a whole. Generally, estimates are also possible at regional level and with some surveys at a more local level. However, they have a general weakness of not being able to give robust estimates for small subgroups of the population, whether based on smaller geographical areas or demographic groups with relatively low numbers. This is because the accuracy of a sample survey estimate depends on the absolute size of the sample population. This is the fundamental limitation with these sources for minority ethnic communities in Scotland, who according to the APS in 2009 still represent only 3 per cent of the Scottish population.

In some countries, such as England, it is feasible and cost-effective to boost sample numbers for some minority ethnic groups, by ‘stratifying’ the sampling frame and oversampling in ‘strata’ with a high minority ethnic presence. In general, UK surveys seek random samples across a reliable ‘frame’ that encompasses the whole population; currently, this is usually done using the Postcode Address File. This contains no information on the ethnicity or any other characteristics of residents. Therefore, stratification can only be based on small area characteristics, using mainly Census data that may be very dated. Nevertheless, in parts of England there are concentrations of minority groups at neighbourhood level that can be targeted efficiently through stratification. Such concentrations barely exist in Scotland (apart from a couple of areas in Glasgow noted in the Introduction) so this option is not available.

It is tempting to infer the characteristics of black and minority ethnic groups in Scotland from the UK or Great Britain (GB) or even England figures in the relevant surveys. Some of the figures quoted in the Scottish Government High Level Equality Statistics (HLES) for minority ethnic groups are in fact just UK/GB figures, and this is the reason. However, the dangers of that approach in neglecting the distinctive profile of minority ethnic communities in Scotland are obvious. As was shown in Chapters 1 and 3, in certain key respects (e.g. relative poverty and qualification levels), the Scottish minority ethnic groups differ from their English equivalents. Despite this, studies carried out on UK/GB-level survey datasets may still be relevant, at least in suggesting possible patterns and hypotheses, which may then be explored further through other means. A good example of this is Kenway and Palmer (2007), key highlights of which were drawn out in Chapter 1.

Family Resources Survey/HBAI

The Family Resources Survey (FRS) is the government's main source of detailed information about households' incomes and other financial resources. The Survey is sponsored by DWP and has been running since 1993/4 as an annual (financial year) cross-sectional interview survey with an achieved sample of around 26,000 per year across GB. This collects information for private households, including household characteristics; income and receipt of Social Security benefits; tenure and housing costs; assets and savings; carers and those needing care; and employment. A multi-stage stratified random sample is used. Response rates are typically between 65 per cent and 70 per cent. This is adequate for national and regional estimates but has limitations at lower spatial scales.

The survey is the best source and benchmark for income measurement in the UK, and it can provide a good picture for UK-level subpopulations including minority ethnic groups. For example, it is possible to explore different definitions of income and resources and see how these vary between different groupings within the household (individual, family, benefit unit, whole household) and what they mean when adjusted for household composition and for housing costs. However, the small share of minority ethnic groups in Scotland's population means that the typical annual datasets can yield virtually no useful information of this kind for Scotland specifically. In order to make any use of this source it is necessary to aggregate samples across years, and this limits the extent to which it is possible to comment on recent trends.

The data reported in Chapter 1 was obtained using the recently released Households Below Average Income (HBAI) multi-year pooled dataset, which is data derived from the FRS. This has the advantage of having pre-processed the underlying FRS data to provide the standard poverty measures currently used in UK, particularly households whose equivalised income falls below 60 per cent of the UK median, before and after housing costs. There is now also a material deprivation score based on lacking essential items on a standard checklist and now utilised in the European Union Standard of Living (EU-SILC) surveys. This provides an alternative indicator of poverty, and can be combined with the low-income measure.

To explore the use of this data we take ten years of survey data pooled together to create a more viable sample size for minority ethnic groups in Scotland. We also group ethnic categories together into five broader groupings; the basis for this was evidence from England that leads us to expect some similarity within certain groupings (e.g. Pakistani/Bangladeshi; Black British/Black Caribbean/Black African). Even after these measures the sample numbers in Scotland are small, in the range 45–165 for the four minority ethnic groups.

Scottish Household Survey (SHS)

The survey covers approximately 15,000 household interviews per year and is designed to provide robust data at local level using two years of data. It collects the usual range of household socio-demographics

plus more detail about a range of service and environmental issues that are of interest to central and local government in Scotland. The topics vary considerably over time, and include a reasonable suite of questions on local service usage and quality. We have used the SHS to analyse:

- usage rates for GP consultation by deprivation;
- needing and using care by deprivation;
- proxies for various housing need indicators by locality;
- being in financial difficulty/financially excluded by type of neighbourhood.

In general, it is desirable to pool several years of data together. We have a set of data pooled for 1999–2005 with additional geographic referencing (Datazone) as used for several projects including the Fife Social Justice Analysis system, the JRF ‘Cleaner Sweep’ study and the Scottish Government Housing Need and Affordability study. We can illustrate the potential of the survey using data from this, as in Chapter 2, while recognising it is slightly out of date.

This survey suffers from the usual problems of having a small sample for ethnic group analysis, but it has a larger sample in Scotland than other key UK sources such as FRS and British Household Panel Survey. In the illustrative tables provided in Chapter 2 from this source, it was decided to combine the minority ethnic groups into one category partly for this reason.

Income and poverty measurement in the SHS

The SHS includes information about income and other evidence relating to poverty, for example financial difficulties. However, there are limitations with the way income information is collected in SHS, as in a number of government surveys. The main limitation is that income information is collected only for the householder and partner, with no attempt to gather details of the income of other adult household members, for example the adult children of older families or lone-parent households, or unrelated singles sharing with others. The Scottish Government Analytical Services have recently attempted to overcome this limitation, in order to be able to offer estimates of poverty comparable with UK HBAI estimates at a more local level. The method used is a form of ‘imputation’ which imports information about the non-householder incomes from ‘similar’ individuals/households in the FRS (Scottish Government, 2010b). We had hoped to use this new version of the income variable, including imputed incomes for ‘other adults’ in the household, to report poverty measures by ethnic groups more comparable with those in HBAI and FRS, as discussed earlier. However, owing to discrepancies between the results of this exercise and the existing SIMD low-income scores, and pending further quality assurance investigations, we cannot publish any tables from the new analysis, which is currently treated as an experimental statistic under development.

The SIMD measures are designed to be applicable to small geographical areas and to use (regularly updated) information from administrative sources. The SIMD measure of low income is based on the number of people claiming means-tested income-related benefits (e.g. Income Support) and tax credits. In our view, it is not surprising that low-income poverty measured from household surveys, based on full self-reported information about incomes, differs somewhat in its geographical pattern from indicators of poverty based essentially on benefit take-up. This issue was examined in some depth in Bramley *et al.* (2000), where a similar finding emerged. The difference in poverty prevalence between poor urban areas (e.g. Glasgow) and more affluent suburban and rural areas is much greater using benefit-based measures such as SIMD than it is using income survey information. A number of factors contribute to this, including:

- differential take-up of benefits, including differences by tenure (much lower for private tenants and owner-occupiers) and age group (much lower for older people);
- the differential prevalence of low pay and 'in-work poverty' (low-paid work, including part-time work, marginal self-employment and family employment, tends to be more common in remote rural areas, for example);
- the phenomenon of 'asset-rich, income-poor' older households (their income may be very low, but they may own their home and a range of durable goods and other assets that help them to experience an adequate or better standard of living).

This is indirectly relevant to the measurement and assessment of poverty among minority ethnic communities in Scotland. It is quite likely that several of the factors just mentioned, which lead to a deviation between different measures of poverty, are quite significantly different for some of the minority groups from the mainstream population (e.g. in-work poverty, tenure, age).

Labour Force Survey/APS/IHS

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) is the largest of the government's rolling surveys and is a key source on employment/unemployment and related matters, while also producing useful demographic data. The LFS originated to meet a common requirement across the EU to generate consistent labour market and unemployment data, including the International Labour Office unemployment rate, which currently provides the main official measure of unemployment. The survey sample includes approximately 100,000 adults annually, but also compiles information about the households involved.

The survey has now been incorporated into the government's Integrated Household Survey, which contains a common core of questions shared across several surveys (LFS, English Housing Survey, General Household Survey). This provides a larger overall sample for basic demographics and forms the basis of what is now called the Annual Population Survey (APS) at local level. This provides a sort of rolling sample census and may in the long run form the basis for replacing the traditional Census.

We provide in Chapter 2 some illustrative indicators to give a flavour of what the survey can provide. However, the usual limitation of sample numbers applies when considering minority ethnic communities in Scotland, so it is necessary to pool years to get robust numbers for these smaller population groups. Pooling years is feasible, but experience with doing this over the period 1992–2008 showed that there are significant changes in the names and coding of certain variables, and careful checking and recoding is necessary to cope with this. Ethnicity codings have also changed over this period. The figures given in Chapter 2 are based on a pooling of two years, 2002 and 2008, for Scotland, and grouping all minority ethnic groups together.

The sample numbers for all visible minority ethnic groups in Scotland rose from 180 (1.3 per cent) in 1992 to 225 (1.8 per cent) in 2002 and 278 (2.7 per cent) in 2008. Of the last figure, 163 were Asian, 100 mixed/other (including 28 Chinese) and 15 black. The survey now also asks about religion, but the numbers under the various minority religion headings are very small (Muslim 112, Hindu 26, Buddhist 23).

Administrative datasets

Administrative datasets have become increasingly important in the last decade as their utility in the era of universal computerisation has come to be realised and exploited. Assuming that a common approach is adopted, administrative data has certain decisive advantages over the alternatives of the Census and sample surveys. Compared with the Census, it has the advantage of being continuously updated. It

may also permit more precise categorisation of people in terms of their eligibility for particular benefits or the nature of the conditions which they have. Compared with sample surveys, administrative data has the decisive advantage of being 100 per cent records of everyone, or everyone using relatively universal state services. Thus, the problems of small sample numbers are overcome. However, in the context of ethnicity, this assumes that ethnicity is recorded consistently and universally within the systems, and as we see below this cannot be taken for granted, although policy focus on equalities has created a strong presumption towards recording ethnicity.

The 100 per cent coverage characteristic has been particularly important in enabling administrative data to be analysed down to small geographical areas, and this has provided the main basis for the recent approach to indicators of multiple deprivation exemplified by the IMD/SIMD systems. This characteristic has to some extent tilted the emphasis towards analyses of need, take-up and outcomes on an area basis rather than on the basis of individual characteristics, which still tend to be mainly the prerogative of survey-based approaches. This is less useful for looking at minority ethnic groupings in Scotland because such groups remain rather thinly scattered in geographical terms.

Administrative data also tends to have a bias towards emphasising those who actually use services or successfully claim benefits. This may tend to neglect groups or areas with unmet needs. An important example of this is the difference mentioned above between survey-based measures of low-income poverty and measures based on the take-up of means-tested benefits. Other examples may include unmet healthcare needs or unrecognised educational or housing needs.

Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)

The current system of profiling neighbourhood-level multiple deprivation, known as SIMD (IMD in England), is now well established and has gone through several updating iterations. This system draws heavily on administrative datasets, including several described further below. It still makes some use of Census indicators, for example in the housing domain, where there is a lack of appropriate rolling administrative systems.

The SIMD system has been widely welcomed and used in contexts such as community planning in Scotland. Nevertheless, it is important to be aware of its limitations. In a review carried out for the Scottish Parliament, Bramley (2005) identified some problems. There was an overemphasis on ranking areas at the expense of measuring the absolute scale of deprivation on the different domains. Procedures for dealing with small numbers were also questionable, as was the way many indicators were transformed from their original units into rankings and then re-scaled. The combined effect of these procedures was that the index was considerably less useful than it might have been, for wider purposes; it was unfortunate that it could not easily be aggregated to different geographical levels or used to measure change over time. For resource allocation purposes it is unhelpful that it could not readily indicate how much more deprivation there is in one area than another. SIMD also failed to highlight deprivation that is not geographically concentrated, the general situation in remote rural and island areas.

Improvements made to the index since 2005 go some way towards meeting some of the criticisms, for example in relation to including additional domains (crime and environment) and in enabling some measures of change over time.

SIMD focuses on small areas and is therefore most useful, in the current context, for characterising the dimensions of deprivation that affect areas known from the Census to contain significant numbers of people from black and minority ethnic groups. They can also be used as cross-classifying categories in analysis of other administrative or survey datasets, given postcoding of the administrative records. This is illustrated in Chapter 3 in the case of educational attainment.

DWP benefits and tax credit data

Comprehensive computerised administrative records of DWP benefits and tax credits are now a major source for IMD/SIMD and community planning monitoring, available locally and for small areas through the Neighbourhood Statistics Websites. Oxford University (Social Research Centre) undertakes the analysis of these for IMD/SIMD.

The Work and Pensions Longitudinal Study (WPLS) is an exercise in linking these records over time for individual cases. This contains ethnicity information, although there is some doubt about how complete the ethnicity flag variable is. It is also worth pointing out that access to the data is quite restricted at present.

Oxford University is currently undertaking a project for DWP on the dynamics and characteristics of deprived areas, part of which involves the tracking of individuals over time in terms of changes to status and geographical location. In theory it should be possible to track differential outcomes for minority ethnic groups, but this is not something planned within the current project. That might be the subject for a future project.

More broadly, a good place to start for information on other administrative datasets is the Administrative Data Liaison Service, an ESRC-funded service that Oxford runs jointly with the Universities of St Andrews and Manchester. The website is www.adls.ac.uk and this contains information about available administrative data, including details of variables available. This team is still building up the database of information on administrative data and, although it is not comprehensive in terms of currently available data, the major administrative datasets are there, particularly those they have used to construct indicators of deprivation.

NOMIS unemployment data

This is a long-established administrative dataset which provides regular counts for regional and local areas and is relevant to poverty in the form of unemployment. Strictly, this refers to people who are eligible for unemployment benefit, or Job Seekers Allowance (JSA) as it has been more recently known. Official unemployment rates and international comparisons rely more nowadays on the LFS, which uses the standard International Labour Office definition. Claimant unemployment data has arguably been progressively made less useful by restrictions in eligibility and the shifting of some groups onto other benefits (notably Incapacity Benefit in the 1990s). Despite this limitation, claimant data is still useful for local and up-to-date monitoring.

Data can be accessed via the NOMISweb system at Durham University (<https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/Default.asp>). A key point is that claimant unemployment can be broken down by ethnicity (self-described), although it should be noted that a significant number refuse to answer this question. The kind of output that can be obtained from this source is illustrated in Chapter 1.

NHS patient and linked data

There are potentially rich administrative datasets within the NHS, from the point of view of analysing mortality, morbidity and the use of services in considerable detail. However, there is unevenness in data quality and accessibility between different parts of the service, and weaknesses in terms of what socio-demographic information is recorded, not least in relation to ethnicity. Even where data exists, ethical and patient confidentiality considerations present considerable barriers. The comments offered here are based partly on previous research by one of the authors on the relationship between deprivation and service usage/cost (Bramley *et al.*, 2005; Bramley and Watkins, 2008), and partly on a personal communication with a public health specialist with detailed knowledge of the administrative and research data held by the Information Services Directorate of the Scottish Health Department.

In general, the data on service utilisation is more systematic, detailed and analysable for hospital in- and out-patient activity than it is for the primary care and community sectors. In the case of primary care, general practitioners (GPs) are independent contractors and are not required to share their data on a common basis. In the case of the community sector, the culture and practice of data recording is less well developed. Scotland has, however, had something of an advantage over England in terms of the ability, in a research context and with appropriate safeguards, to link data about patient treatment episodes and subsequent outcomes (e.g. mortality) as well as home circumstances, through the use of unique identifiers known as CHI numbers.

In general, and with some partial exceptions, NHS datasets do not record ethnicity. Some particular datasets (e.g. sexual health) are exceptions in having good detail of this kind. Ethnic recording on hospital discharge data (SMR01) is improving only gradually, standing at 37.5 per cent of in-patient discharges in 2010, roughly double the level of two years earlier, with a somewhat lower rate applying to out-patient data. Ethnic recording is very uneven geographically, with some hospitals/boards (e.g. Golden Jubilee, Lanarkshire, Borders) having ethnic codes on 65–99 per cent of records, whilst in other areas it is at a much lower level and effectively not usable (e.g. 4–7 per cent in Lothian and Forth Valley, zero in the three Island Boards and Tayside) (data from ISD monitoring, http://www.isdscotland.org/isd/files/Final%20Briefing%20Paper030810-Aug10_CF.pdf).

The Scottish birth record (SMR02) has poor ethnicity information. Prescribing data, which provides good detail for small geographical areas, has no data about people's characteristics at all. Some individual GP practices do record personal attributes such as ethnicity completely. However, GP attitudes to data access for research are very variable. It is sometimes possible to persuade groups of GPs to share data, although many difficulties with ethics remain.

One study at least has managed to forge a link between individual Census records for the whole Scottish population and deaths and admissions for certain key conditions, including chronic heart disease, cancer and mental health (Fischbacher *et al.*, 2007; Bhopal *et al.*, 2010). The method of data linkage was ingenious, using name and address information and specialised software; only selected Census attributes (education, tenure, employment status, car ownership) were extracted for this ongoing study, partly to help protect the anonymity of the individual records.

The ethics of such data linkage are a potentially arguable issue. Boyd (2007) discusses this, pointing out that informed consent is impractical (certainly retrospectively, and in general with Census data), and that although privacy concerns can be addressed there might be some danger of group stigmatisation and resulting harm, although with less likelihood in a mature democracy. It can also be argued that the benefits of identifying the extent to which various ethnic groups are able to access appropriate health services outweigh these concerns. The earlier discussion of the SLS is also relevant here, because this also contains a built-in linkage between Census, vital events and health records, for a relatively large sample.

School Census and linked attainment data

During the last decade or so quite powerful datasets have been created through the integration of data on schools, pupils and attainment. Linkage of this data at individual pupil level and tracking of progress over time is achieved through use of a Unique Pupil Reference Number (UPRN). In England and Wales this data is generally known as PLASC (Pupil-Level All Schools Census) and is used to produce published school performance league tables. In Scotland a system known as ScotXEd performs the function of linking pupil and school data to SQA examination/assessment performance. In both Scotland and Wales there has been a move away from published school performance tables, particularly using testing at key stages, but the data can still be analysed in ways that are of interest in the current context; for example published data from these can be used to track attainment by ethnic groups, broken down by SIMD category (as illustrated in Chapter 3).

Based on several studies covering England (Bramley *et al.*, 2005), Scotland (Bramley and Karley, 2005, 2007) and Wales (Bramley and Watkins, 2011), the following key points can be identified: the data is a census of all pupils in all state-funded schools, so avoiding issues about samples, and a number of key attributes are recorded for each pupil, including age, stage, gender, ethnicity, language, whether in care/looked after, free school meal eligibility, special educational need (SEN) designations, school reference number, home postcode and (for selected year groups) attainment details. There is clearly scope for further analyses of this data in Scotland, to help tease out attainment and other characteristics (e.g. special needs designation) of minority ethnic pupils, controlling for other individual and background characteristics, including neighbourhood or school characteristics.

6 Conclusions, key issues and implications

This chapter draws together the key points from earlier chapters to address the research questions outlined in the Introduction, with the exception of the study quality assessment process and outcomes, which are provided in Appendix I. In doing so, reference will be made to the last audit of race-related research in Scotland (Netto *et al.*, 2001) – henceforth referred to as the 2001 audit – as a means of tracking progress. First, the main patterns and gaps in research are identified and the implications considered. This is followed by discussion of some of the key issues in each of the policy areas covered, and specific gaps in research and suggestions for future research. The implications for information generation and future action by key stakeholders are also considered here. We next review the main quantitative sources of information about poverty and ethnicity in Scotland, and then consider the implications of not filling in the gaps. Finally, the key themes, gaps and areas for further research are summarised in Table 3.

Patterns and gaps in research

Few studies in Scotland have directly investigated poverty and ethnicity since 2001, with the exception of two recently published qualitative and small-scale studies on poverty in refugee communities. However, research on the employment, educational attainment, housing need and ill health of various minority ethnic communities has provided valuable insights into different dimensions of deprivation. Cumulatively, this presents a multifaceted, albeit fragmented, perspective on the relationship between poverty and ethnicity. Various aspects associated with ethnicity, such as length of residence in the UK, legal status, belonging to a travelling culture and religion, interact with economic, social, material and environmental deprivation. All minority ethnic groups appear to be disadvantaged according to one or more indicators of poverty. For instance, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis and black households have lower income levels according to HBAI data. Qualitative research illustrates the disadvantage experienced by other ethnic groups that are not captured through survey data, notably among A8 migrants, asylum-seekers, refugees and Gypsy/ Travellers. Further, fear of racial harassment, discussed further below, is a cross-cutting theme across all minority ethnic groups.

It is likely that the disadvantage experienced by a group in one policy area is likely to be reflected or reinforced in other areas, although there are gaps in research that can support this. This suggests that research focusing on poverty within two or three ethnic communities, within a particular geographical context, as has already been commissioned by the JRF, would make a valuable contribution in two respects: (a) enabling the experience of poverty in different groups to be compared and contrasted and (b) exploring the impacts of poverty on the relationships between groups in defined geographical areas. While the ongoing research has understandably been concerned with eliciting community perspectives on poverty, a valuable complement to this study would be an examination of the extent to which measures are being taken to counter this phenomenon in these areas. A study of the impact and dynamics of poverty on the relationships between ethnic groups in urban areas, particularly in areas of deprivation with a high concentration of minority ethnic groups, would also complement the rural focus of the ongoing JRF study.

Most studies offer cross-sectional insights into the nature and extent of poverty; less is known about routes into and out of poverty. Similarly, few studies have examined the circumstances of individuals over their life course or compared differences between different generations of minority ethnic communities (for instance, between those who had migrated to the UK and those who were born in the

country). Most studies tend to examine employment, housing, educational attainment and health on an individual basis. There is little information relating to levels and patterns of household expenditure, debts and borrowing. Significantly, given that the minority ethnic population is younger than the majority population and growing, research relating to child poverty has not been identified. Here, it is worth noting that Kenway and Palmer (2007) found that half of minority ethnic young children live in poverty.

The vast majority of the studies undertaken have been small local qualitative studies. Many of the findings of the local studies replicate each other, with slight variations. The majority of the studies have been policy oriented. A small number of national studies, including those commissioned by the Scottish Executive/Government on homelessness and educational experiences of minority ethnic communities, have been undertaken. Interrogation of statistical datasets has been rare, although, where undertaken, this has provided valuable insights, for example into differences in vulnerability to homelessness between ethnic groups.

The persistent lack of comparative and longitudinal studies is worth noting. A small number of studies have made contributions to theory building and deepened understanding of key concepts, such as education, racial equality and homelessness, examining differences in perspectives between and within ethnic groups, and have considered the implications for more responsive and innovative policy and practice. There is undoubtedly more scope for theory development to be encouraged within the scope of policy-oriented research.

The 2001 audit observed that

across each subject area examined, the relative absence of evaluative studies is striking, given the current emphasis on mainstreaming equality issues.

Netto *et al.*, 2001, p. 163

Sadly, there is little evidence that much progress has been made. Little remains known about practice in relation to employers' recruitment and progression practices in relation to minority ethnic communities, training provision, mechanisms for consulting with minority ethnic groups, services usage by such groups and their satisfaction with services. This contributes to lack of accountability and complacency in engaging with these communities. One of the few significant exceptions to this picture is a study carried out by Audit Scotland (2009), which investigated the impact of the race equality duty on council services. Among the findings of the study were that councils have been slow to use race equality impact assessments, do not consistently prioritise race equality and need more support. It is likely that many of these messages will apply to other public bodies in Scotland.

Ethnic groups, location and study type

The focus of attention has been uneven across ethnic groups in each of the policy areas examined. The recent arrival of new economic migrants aroused considerable interest in their employment circumstances across Scotland. Less attention has focused on the employment position of more established minority ethnic communities. Quantitative analysis of the socio-economic disadvantage of Irish Catholics over time has been supplemented by qualitative studies of their employment experiences. Housing studies on minority ethnic communities focused on a broad range of groups, including Gypsy/Travellers, in the first half of the last decade, but in more recent years specific attention was directed to the housing needs of refugees and A8 migrants. In contrast, in the field of educational attainment, the specific challenges faced by children of Gypsy/Travellers have been the focus of sustained attention over a considerable period of time, with more recent attention paid to the experiences of minority ethnic children as a whole, the children of asylum-seekers and the Slovak Roma community. Little research has examined the links between socio-economic status and health, with exceptions involving Irish Catholics in the west of Scotland and asylum-seekers in Glasgow.

It is worth noting that, where attention has been directed towards a specific group, this has involved A8 migrants, Gypsy/Travellers, asylum-seekers, refugees, the Roma community or Irish Catholics. This presents a contrast to dominant patterns of research relating to ethnicity south of the border, in the sense that research relating to established groups such as the Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese and those of African origin has not been identified. Apart from Irish Catholics, faith groups have not been the focus of research attention.

Many studies have been conducted in rural areas across Scotland, including the Highlands and Islands, Grampian Region, Tayside, Lanarkshire, the west of Scotland, Dumfries and Galloway, and Fife, reflecting the dispersal of A8 migrants across these areas, as well as the presence of Gypsy/Travellers and other minority ethnic communities. Glasgow has been the location of studies relating to asylum-seekers and refugees (since it is the only dispersal site for asylum-seekers in Scotland), A8 migrants and of a small number of qualitative studies on established minority ethnic communities.

Relationship between ethnicity and other dimensions of equality

Attention to the interaction between ethnicity, gender, disability, sexuality, religious orientation and age has been limited. Many of the findings of the review, discussed further below, including enhancing access to appropriate education and widening opportunities to employment among adults, are relevant to addressing child poverty in Scotland. Better information sharing on such activities between those organisations working on child poverty and those working with minority ethnic communities is needed to ensure that the efforts of both are addressing the needs of children in these communities.

A small number of studies have examined the disadvantaged position of minority ethnic women and young people, particularly in the field of employment. The socio-economic position of older Irish Catholics has been contrasted with that of younger Catholics, indicating some interest in inequalities on the basis of age, ethnicity and religion and the extent to which generational disadvantage may be transferred. The position of Gypsy/Travellers with (mainly physical) disabilities has been considered in the context of housing research, and links between poor mental health and destitution have been explored in the case of asylum-seekers. However, beyond this, little attention has been paid to the relationship between multiple identities and forms of discrimination on poverty.

Implications of main patterns of research for information generation

There is a need for focused attention on poverty and ethnicity. A strategic and coordinated approach to research with minority ethnic communities in Scotland that involves key public bodies would provide increased value for money and enable local authorities to share knowledge and exchange good practice. This should include an examination of the causes and forms of child poverty, and possible routes out of this, among and between minority ethnic groups.

There is a need for more:

- research attention to poverty and ethnicity to be directed towards the level of the household, examining sources of income and expenditure;
- longitudinal studies, which study the experiences of individuals over the life course or at key transition points, including school-leaving age;
- comparative studies, which examine the experiences of different groups, including established minority ethnic groups;
- studies which examine the relationships between different ethnic groups, including in deprived areas, where minority ethnic groups are concentrated;
- attention to the impact of multiple discrimination and its relationship to poverty.

In the remainder of this section, we identify specific issues in the key policy areas reviewed and other policy areas, gaps in knowledge in these areas and areas for further research. This is summarised in Table 3 at the end of the chapter.

Income, in-work poverty and employment

The literature reviewed revealed the differential impact of poverty on ethnic groups. While experiences of *destitution* and poverty have been studied only among asylum-seekers and refugees, this does not mean that sections of other groups covered by the review are not facing severe economic deprivation. An investigation into sources of income that includes the use and take-up of benefits, including eligibility, would be useful since some evidence suggests that minority ethnic groups experience more limited entitlement to benefits and are less likely to claim the benefits that they are entitled to (Platt, 2007).

Unemployment rates are higher for people from certain established minority ethnic groups than for the white majority (but very low in the case of A8 migrants). This is supported by analysis of SHS, LFS, NOMIS unemployment and Census data. *In-work poverty* is also experienced by many minority ethnic groups, including A8 migrants and Asian people concentrated in low-paid employment, and this may extend to other groups, not identified by research.

Also of concern is a mismatch between educational qualifications and levels of employment among certain groups, evidenced in research with Irish Catholics and A8 migrants. Again, it is likely that this reflects a wider pattern that holds across other minority ethnic groups. The potential for religious discrimination, in addition to racial discrimination, as evidenced in the case of Irish Catholics, may also apply to other faith groups. Further, the extent to which *self-employment*, common among certain ethnic groups, is a positive choice or due to the lack of viable alternatives is not known, and is worthy of further investigation.

The range of issues that remain unexplored suggests that a major study into the employment experiences and aspirations of people from a range of ethnic backgrounds would be useful. This can examine their career aspirations, educational qualifications, past and previous experiences of employment, and the nature of discriminatory practices experienced in the workplace. In parallel, a study that explicitly explores actual and potential racial discrimination in recruitment and progression practices, including the forms it might take and covering various levels of organisational hierarchy, would be useful.

Implications of the review for anti-poverty initiatives, employment practices and information generation

The implications of the review should be considered within the policy framework for tackling poverty and income inequality in Scotland, *Achieving our Potential*. The disproportionate representation of some minority ethnic communities in low pay is of high relevance to the strategy of targeting support for those in the lowest income deciles. This strongly suggests that a proactive approach to including minority ethnic communities and ongoing assessment of the effectiveness of these initiatives is needed.

The high unemployment rates of certain ethnic groups, and the highly gendered employment patterns in certain groups, suggest that initiatives that facilitate access to education and training and increase the availability of affordable child care need to engage more proactively with families from these communities.

Evidence of the potential for straightforward discriminatory practices to continue to operate suggests that greater effort should be invested in holding public organisations, particularly large ones, to account in reporting on the ethnic compositions of their workforces at various levels of organisational hierarchy. Measures to reduce staffing levels should be sensitive to this dimension to ensure that existing inequalities in employment are not exacerbated.

Housing need

In the face of appreciable levels of housing need (including overcrowding and poor living conditions) and over-representation in homelessness statistics, minority ethnic under-representation in social housing remains an issue of concern. Research that examines the measures taken by social housing providers and homelessness service providers to ensure progress in racial equality, including review of ethnic monitoring of applications and lets, would contribute to our understanding of the lack of minority ethnic representation in the sector. In addition, recent cuts to social housing require that increased research attention be paid to their position in the private rented sector, as this sector increases in importance.

Quantitative research indicates that individuals from minority ethnic communities are more likely to be unhappy with the conditions in their neighbourhoods than the white population. This is consistent with the recurrent fear of racial harassment that emerges in qualitative research among refugees and other minority ethnic communities. This suggests the need for continuing community development efforts, combined with effective measures for addressing racial harassment through anti-social behaviour policies and practices. Further research efforts may contribute to this through an action research project which evaluates the role of community development activity in improving relationships between ethnic groups in areas that are perceived to be particularly unsafe by minority ethnic groups.

Implications for housing practice, community development and policing

The repeated calls for ethnic monitoring of applications and lets among all social housing providers, for the results to be published annually and for these to be subject to ongoing review should be heeded. Such data should also inform the activities of mainstream homelessness service providers, which appear to be inaccessible to many individuals from minority ethnic communities.

Fear of racial harassment, with certain (deprived) areas clearly identified as being safer places to stay in than others, suggests a need for better information sharing on the extent and nature of this phenomenon at the local level to inform both community development and policing activities.

Educational attainment

The relationship between ethnicity, poverty and educational attainment has not been explicitly examined in Scotland, which may be viewed as a major gap in research. Initial analysis suggests that, generally, the attainment of pupils from minority ethnic communities is higher than for White UK pupils, and that this is the case even in areas of deprivation. Bridging two key policy areas – housing and education – the key influence of the home as a learning environment is worthy of closer attention, with a comparative study of two or more ethnic groups within a defined geographical area likely to yield valuable insights.

The positive picture of minority ethnic attainment in secondary schools presents a striking contrast to the statistics on higher education in Scotland. This suggests an under-representation of minority ethnic individuals residing in Scotland on a long-term basis, which should be examined further. A study of young school leavers would play a valuable role in understanding this apparent mismatch. The study should cover their aspirations for higher education in Scotland and employment.

Ill health

Although the relationship between socio-economic status and poor health has been well established, understanding of the complex relationship between ethnicity, health and poverty is in its infancy. Analysis of Census data (Scottish Executive, 2004a) reveals significant differences in self-reported health,

long-term illness and disability between ethnic groups, some of which are age related. This is supported by research on Irish Catholics, which establishes that, while socio-economic disadvantage precedes poor health, work conditions and discriminatory practices can contribute to ill health. In another illustration of the links between poverty and ill health, research on the housing needs of Gypsy/Travellers has revealed health issues that are at least partly contributed to by poor living conditions, and exacerbated by lack of access to health services. Among asylum-seekers, the major health issue is poor mental health, made worse by destitution, traumatic experiences in the country of origin and difficult conditions in the UK. Individuals suffering from poor mental health find it difficult to access appropriate services for a number of reasons, including fear that it would worsen their circumstances. Future research could explore the impacts of poverty on physical and mental health, recovery and the measures that need to be taken by health services, perhaps by joint working with housing and social care providers.

Implications of the review for public health

Public health policy needs to be informed by greater understanding of the complex relationships between ethnicity, ill health, and poor living and environmental conditions, as revealed through this study. The evidence to date highlights the need for information sharing across (mental) health, housing and social care in relation to individuals from economically disadvantaged minority ethnic communities, including asylum-seekers and Gypsy/Travellers.

Planners and providers of health promotion interventions need to take into account the barriers posed by poor health, minority status and socio-economic disadvantage in accessing and sustaining participation in these interventions.

Tackling racial harassment

A dominant theme running through much of the literature is vulnerability to racial harassment. Certain groups appear to be particularly vulnerable, including Gypsy/Travellers and refugees, but little is known about the extent of the phenomenon at the local level, and what can be done to ameliorate this. Some challenging questions need to be asked: To what extent is Scotland genuinely welcoming of migrants or minority groups? To what extent do the trends at local levels reflect wider political and exclusionary discourses? For instance, to what extent are efforts made to inform the general public of the circumstances that lead individuals to claim asylum? Again, better information sharing between major public bodies linked to a political commitment to invest in community relations work, particularly in deprived areas, is vital to ensuring safe spaces for all who reside in the country.

Immigration policy

The most distressing material reviewed was that relating to the destitution of asylum-seekers. This is of relevance to immigration policy, broader attitudes to asylum-seekers in Scotland and other parts of the UK, and the relationship between reserved and devolved powers of central and Scottish government. Some searching questions need to be posed here: Is there scope for Scotland to take a different stance from that adopted by the increasingly restrictive approach to immigration taken by Westminster? Can it afford not to, given its worrying demographics? Responses to such questions need to be openly discussed and debated, informed by current and reliable data.

Quantitative sources of information about poverty and ethnicity in Scotland

The last audit of ethnicity-related research in Scotland (Netto *et al.*, 2001) noted the absence of current, robust statistical data analysis across all subject areas and the need for such analysis to monitor change or lack of it in key policy areas. One of the major contributions of the current study lies in the review of current datasets, including administrative datasets, with the intention of investigating their potential for improving understanding of the relationship between ethnicity and poverty.

The Census and related datasets (such as the SLS and SARS) subject to ongoing development continue to remain important sources of information but, given the infrequency of the Census and the lack of information on income and other aspects of poverty, it is important to consider other sources of information. Several large-scale official surveys are of limited value in gaining information about the minority ethnic population in Scotland given their small size and the lack of concentration of individuals from these communities at neighbourhood level. However, by pooling data across years to boost sample numbers and grouping ethnic categories, some useful insights into broad patterns of disadvantage can be obtained, for instance by interrogating the Scottish Household Survey.

The use of administrative data, which typically covers the whole relevant population, circumvents problems of small samples, but these sources are uneven in their inclusion of complete ethnic recording. There is scope for more research, including modelling of key outcomes, using a number of these sources including the School Census (ScotXEd) and DWP pension and benefits data. It may also be worth investigating ways of estimating numbers of minority ethnic people in particular age groups from these administrative data.

Administrative-based small area indicators, typified by SIMD, are most useful for contextualising the experiences of individuals/groups. Datasets such as the DWP Claimant Count of Unemployment can give up-to-date information on unemployment levels and changes by ethnicity and area. In general, NHS datasets have not recorded ethnicity in the past, but ethnic coding is now gradually being added to some key hospital-based data, with very uneven coverage. Highly innovative studies linking health records to individual census records have shown how ethnic differences in key health status and outcomes can be analysed, but these raise some ethical and data protection issues. Quite powerful analyses of school pupil and attainment data linked to neighbourhood data have shed light on the influence of a range of factors including ethnicity, language, mobility and poverty on educational need and performance in England and Wales, and there is scope for more research of this kind in Scotland using the ScotXEd system. There is also an opportunity to explore welfare benefit outcomes over time for different ethnic groups using the DWP longitudinal dataset (WPLS).

Implications of gaps for development of effective policy

Gaps in knowledge hinder the development of informed policy-making and resource allocation. In the current recessionary climate, knowledge of those most likely to be worse hit by the cuts is needed. As Hills *et al.* (2010) point out, some of those who have the lowest economic resources, including homeless asylum-seekers and Gypsy/Travellers, are not included within the household population and may risk being marginalised. The same report raises the fundamental ethical question of whether the costs of recovery will be borne those who have benefited the least or by those who have gained the most. Below we consider the impact of gaps in knowledge in terms of two major areas for progressing racial equality: service provision and employment practices.

The Audit Scotland (2009) report on the impact of the race equality duty on councils indicates that awareness of the extent, existence and nature of poverty within these communities is likely to be low. While filling in information gaps does not in itself mean that ethnic inequalities will be narrowed, the availability of current, reliable information can provide the basis on which sound policies and practices

can be developed. Without such information, there is a danger that policy-making may be informed by widespread stereotypical and negative views of minority ethnic communities, perpetuated by certain sections of the media (see, for example, Leudar and Hayes, 2008; Lynn and Lea, 2003; Equal Opportunities Commission, 2010).

The other major area that gaps in knowledge will impact on is employment and in-work poverty. One of the key issues identified in the review is that Scotland does not appear to be benefiting from the considerable knowledge, skills and experience of its diverse minority ethnic communities. There is evidence of significant barriers to gaining employment and progression within the labour market, a trend that is in danger of worsening in the current financial climate. Evidence that suggests that young people from minority ethnic communities who are living in Scotland may not be going to Scottish universities merits further investigation. Statisticians have called attention to an ageing population and declining fertility rates, which are likely to impact on Scotland's economic growth (Lisenkova *et al.*, 2008). While these trends have prompted the Scottish Executive/Government to attract new migrants through the Fresh Talent Initiative, the existing pool of knowledge and skills among the local minority ethnic population should not remain untapped. The findings of Hills *et al.* (2010) that 'straightforward discrimination in recruitment' continues to operate, particularly in the private sector, is sobering, and is worthy of further investigation in the Scottish context.

Conclusion

Although the nature and extent of poverty in minority ethnic communities in Scotland have not been the explicit focus of research attention, the review reveals a number of key issues that are of concern within and across several policy areas. This strongly suggests a need for minority ethnic communities to be systematically included in a wide range of anti-poverty policies and strategies at the national and local levels.

The study also indicates that there are several gaps in knowledge that hinder the development of informed policy-making, service planning and resource allocation. In the current recessionary climate, knowledge of the causes, experience and impacts of poverty on those who are most likely to be disadvantaged is needed to help ensure that cuts in public spending do not worsen their situation. Without such information, there is a danger that policy-making may be informed by stereotypical and negative views of minority ethnic communities. The areas for further research identified by the review are intended to help mitigate these effects.

Table 3: Key issues, gaps and areas for future research

Key issues	Main gaps	Areas for future research
<p>A wide range of studies has established various facets of poverty in specific minority ethnic communities, including income poverty, in-work poverty, housing need, educational attainment and ill health</p>	<p>A coherent picture of the relationship between various aspects of poverty within ethnic groups</p> <p>The extent to which public services are addressing poverty in different sections of the local population</p> <p>Longitudinal studies on poverty, including individual routes into and out of poverty</p> <p>Studies of poverty at the household level, including patterns of expenditure, borrowing and debt</p> <p>The relationship between employment patterns, gender roles and the impact of cultural norms relating to child-rearing, care of older people and employment</p>	<p>Studies that examine the dynamics of poverty in relation to service provision using statistical datasets (where appropriate)</p> <p>Longitudinal studies that examine routes into and out of poverty, or persistent poverty</p> <p>Studies that examine income and expenditure at the household level</p> <p>Research that examines the relationship of the position of women within the home and the workplace</p>
<p>High incidence of homelessness and evidence of considerable housing need in certain minority ethnic groups</p> <p>Low representation in social housing</p> <p>High rates of owner-occupation including in poor-quality housing</p> <p>Fear of racial harassment in certain areas</p>	<p>Lack of knowledge of the effectiveness of measures taken by social landlords and local authorities in addressing housing needs in minority ethnic communities</p> <p>Gap in knowledge of the current proportion of minority ethnic communities recording homelessness</p> <p>Research that investigates dynamics of relationships between ethnic groups at a local level</p>	<p>Research which examines the extent to which registered social landlords and local authorities are taking measures to encourage proportionate representation of minority ethnic communities in social housing</p> <p>Analysis of current homelessness statistics to track extent of change over time</p> <p>Action research into intercultural relationships between ethnic groups (minority and majority) at local levels, including areas of deprivation</p>

<p>Some evidence that children from minority ethnic backgrounds are outperforming the majority population in schools</p> <p>Apparent over-representation of minority ethnic young people living in Scotland in the further education sector and under-representation of the same group in the higher education sector</p> <p>Some evidence that many schools may still be in the developmental stages of implementing race equality policies and practices</p> <p>Serious concerns relating to educational attainment of Gypsy/ Traveller children</p>	<p>Relationship between ethnicity, educational attainment (including at school-leaving age) and poverty in areas with varying levels of deprivation</p> <p>The influence of the home as a learning environment across ethnic groups, including in areas of deprivation</p>	<p>Interrogation of ScotXEd data supplemented by qualitative research with school children (or school leavers) from specified ethnic groups within a range of schools in selected areas (in different SIMD bands). This should cover aspirations relating to higher education and employment</p> <p>Qualitative study into the home as a learning environment, which investigates two or more ethnic groups within a defined geographical area</p> <p>Research evaluating policies and practices of educational authorities and schools in developing accessible and relevant education for Gypsy/ Traveller children</p>
<p>High incidence of poverty and unemployment rates in certain ethnic groups</p> <p>Indication of mismatches between educational qualifications and types and levels of employment in certain groups</p> <p>Lack of knowledge of the extent to which self-employment (high in certain minority ethnic groups) is a positive choice or alternative route to employment</p>	<p>Lack of research into in-work poverty between and within ethnic groups</p> <p>Lack of knowledge about how discrimination operates in restricting entry to and progression within the workplace</p> <p>Absence of information relating to benefits take-up</p>	<p>A major study into the employment (and unemployment) experiences and aspirations of people from a range of ethnic backgrounds. This can examine their career aspirations, educational qualifications, and past and previous experiences of employment, and the nature of discriminatory practices experienced in the workplace</p> <p>An exploration of employment discrimination, including its forms at various levels of organisational hierarchy and covering recruitment and progression</p> <p>A national analysis of benefits take-up and eligibility</p>
<p>Significant ethnic health differentials, some of which are age related; some links between poor health and economic disadvantage; some evidence that poor health can be exacerbated through poverty and that poverty can hinder access to health services</p>	<p>Lack of research investigating the links between poverty, key health conditions and socio-economic status; this includes attention to established minority ethnic communities, new economic migrants and Gypsy/ Travellers</p>	<p>Explore the feasibility of using the Census and other datasets to explore relationships between poverty and key health conditions for certain ethnic groups, including mental health</p> <p>Qualitative research examining the relationships between poor health, economic status, and the accessibility and appropriateness of housing, health and social care services</p>

Appendix I

Study quality appraisal

An important part of the review was the appraisal of study quality. Journal papers that had been subjected to peer review were not appraised for study quality, given that this would typically form a key criterion for publication. The following criteria were initially identified:

- understanding of the nature of poverty, including its contributory factors, manifestations and impact;
- clear identification of ethnic groups, with some understanding of the complexity associated with such categorisation;
- contribution to increased understanding of the relationship between poverty and ethnicity;
- clear reporting of research methods, for example number of interviews or focus groups conducted and with whom;
- transparent and appropriate reporting and interpretation of data.

As the research progressed, the lack of research which explicitly explored the relationship between ethnicity and poverty in Scotland became increasingly apparent.

A more analytical approach to appraising the literature was then adopted, in which the primary consideration was its relevance to the current context, that is, the third criterion, rather than the first. All of the studies included in the review clearly identified the ethnic groups that were the concern of the study, but the complexity associated with such identification (for instance, the fluidity of ethnicity according to context or whether individuals' perception of their identity matched with researchers' perception of this) was rarely acknowledged, indicating that the second criterion was only partially met by the majority of studies. However, this was not viewed as a serious concern for the purposes of the review.

All studies included in the review met the main criterion of relevance against which they were assessed. The studies included in the review were all based on primary or secondary data (rather than concerned primarily with theory). In general, methods used were clearly reported and the data transparently presented. Interpretation of the results most commonly took the form of considering the implications for policy and practice. While this was very useful in the local context in which the studies were carried out, little attempt was made to compare and contrast the findings of different studies on the same topic in different geographical areas. This suggests that many of the studies have taken place in isolation from each other, and that learning from the studies is not being shared more widely. More attention could also have been paid to examining progress in terms of policy or practice.

Notes

1 Income poverty and employment

- 1 We grouped ethnic categories together into five broader groupings; the basis for this was evidence from England that leads us to expect some similarity within certain groupings (e.g. Pakistani/Bangladeshi; Black British/Black Caribbean/Black African).
- 2 We consider the sample size and an approximate estimate of the 95 per cent confidence interval applicable to each figure. This is as estimated for a simple random sample, and does not allow for survey design effects.
- 3 Before housing costs (BHC) refers to the income before deducting housing costs (rents, mortgage payments). Income is net of tax and other deductions and adjusted ('equivalised') for differences in household size and composition.
- 4 After housing costs (AHC) refers to income after costs such as rents, water rates and mortgage payments have been deducted.
- 5 The definition of 'destitute' used in the survey was: 'currently with no access to benefits, UKBA support or income, and either street homeless or staying with friends only temporarily' (Smart, 2009, p. 4).
- 6 'The applicant meets the criteria if she is destitute and satisfies one of the following requirements (Mulvey 2009): (1) You are taking all reasonable steps to leave the United Kingdom or placing yourself in a position where you can do so; (2) You are unable to leave the United Kingdom because of a physical barrier to travel or for some other medical reason; (3) You are unable to leave the United Kingdom because the UK Border Agency believes there is no safe route available; (4) You have either applied for a judicial review of your asylum application in Scotland or applied for a judicial review of your asylum application in England, Wales or Northern Ireland and been given permission to proceed with it; (5) Accommodation is necessary to prevent a breach of your rights, within the meaning of the Human Rights Act 1998' (<http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/asylum/support/apply/Section4/>).
- 7 The report defines 'destitution' in the following way: 'Destitution is severe and absolute poverty, which may be short-term and relieved within a week or a month, or it may be chronic and long-lasting. What distinguishes destitution from other forms of poverty is its depth and severity – it is an absolute form of poverty, where a person has no food, no money and no other means of sustaining themselves. Destitution occurs when a person is unable to meet their own subsistence needs and when they have no assets so they become dependent upon charity and the goodwill of others' (Green, 2006, p. 7).

2 Housing need and homelessness

- 1 There was a change in the name of the ethnic variable between 2000 and 2001, so this dataset as supplied does not have ethnic information for the years 1999–2000.

2 ‘“Bedroom standard” is used as an indicator of occupation density. A standard number of bedrooms is allocated to each household in accordance with its age/sex/marital status composition and the relationship of the members to one another. A separate bedroom is allocated to each married or cohabiting couple, any other person aged 21 or over, each pair of adolescents aged 10–20 of the same sex, and each pair of children under 10. Any unpaired person aged 10–20 is paired, if possible with a child under 10 of the same sex, or, if that is not possible, he or she is given a separate bedroom, as is any unpaired child under 10. This standard is then compared with the actual number of bedrooms (including bed-sitters) available for the sole use of the household, and differences are tabulated. Bedrooms converted to other uses are not counted as available unless they have been denoted as bedrooms by the informants; bedrooms not actually in use are counted unless uninhabitable.’ (Extracted from Survey of English Housing Live Tables – Definitions and Terms, <http://www.communities.gov.uk/housing/housingresearch/housingsurveys/surveyofenglishhousing/sehlivetables/surveyenglish/224421/>)

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