Kashmiri Research Project

October 2009
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1 Summary

Introduction

In determining the content of the 2011 Census, the Office for National Statistics (ONS) has undertaken an extensive programme of consultation and question testing. For the ethnic group question in particular, ONS designed an evidence-based work programme to review the question and its response categories, and recommend any changes as appropriate.

A prioritisation tool was used to determine the ethnic groups that would have a tick-box in the ethnic group question for the 2011 Census. The tool considered a range of evidence available for each group against seven criteria which fell under four themes:

1. Strength of need for information on that group
2. Lack of alternative sources of information
3. Clarity and quality of the information collected and acceptability to respondents
4. Comparability with 2001 data

It has been suggested that Kashmiris are an ethnic group experiencing social exclusion and economic disadvantage, and that the difficulty of identifying Kashmiris has meant that their needs are often overlooked. In most official surveys like the census, it is believed that they largely report their ethnic group as Pakistani. The case for a Kashmiri tick-box scored highly in the prioritisation exercise but the group did not score as highly as other ethnic groups and when initial recommendations were made, a Kashmiri tick box was not recommended for inclusion in the 2011 Census.

Since the finalisation of the 2009 Census Rehearsal questionnaires and the publication of the White Paper, ‘Helping to shape tomorrow’ in December 2008, there has been parliamentary scrutiny, public debate and engagement with stakeholders over the issue of the inclusion of a Kashmiri tick box in the 2011 Census. ONS considered the concerns raised and decided to carry out further investigation and evidence gathering to contribute to the existing knowledge about the Kashmiri community in England.

The testing consisted of:

- A postal test of 27,000 households in England, with half of the sample receiving a questionnaire with a Kashmiri tick-box, and the other half without a Kashmiri tick-box. The sample was selected from areas with a high Pakistani population as recorded in the 2001 Census, to improve the chances of reaching Kashmiri populations.
- Focus groups and interviews with a total of 48 people with Kashmiri, Indian or Pakistani backgrounds, to assess their views on a tick-box.

In addition, Kashmiri organisations were invited to submit further evidence of the need for a tick-box, in particular any evidence clearly showing the need for equality monitoring or service delivery.

Research objectives

The specific objectives of the research project were to look at:

- The effect that the addition of a specific Kashmiri tick-box would have on the proportion of individuals identifying as Kashmiri, as opposed to when it must be written in as an ‘other’ response.

- The socio-economic conditions of Kashmiris, and how these compare to Pakistanis and other ethnic groups.

- The feelings and opinions of the Kashmiri, Pakistani, and Indian respondents when presented with a census questionnaire with or without a Kashmiri tick-box in the ethnic group question.

Key findings

The main results from the further research were:

- The number of respondents identifying as Kashmiri through the use of the tick-box was a statistically significant increase over the numbers identifying through the write-in option.

- The differences between Kashmiri and Pakistani responses to the socio-economic questions indicating deprivation were small, particularly when comparing similar measures for other ethnic groups.

- The focus groups and interviews suggest that most Kashmiris did not have strong feelings about the need for a tick-box. There was no evidence arising from this research to suggest that the inclusion of a tick-box would have an adverse impact on response levels. However, participants of Kashmiri, Pakistani and Indian ethnicity raised concerns about the potential confusion arising from the inclusion of a Kashmiri tick-box.

Recommendations and conclusions

From the outset, ONS was amenable to investigating the case for a Kashmiri tick-box in the 2011 Census ethnic group question, and considered it along with requests for approximately twenty other new categories. The additional submissions of Kashmiri community groups were examined thoroughly alongside the evidence gathered from the postal test, focus groups and interviews to consider whether the original assessment through the prioritisation exercise would change.

After careful consideration of all the available evidence, ONS recommended against the addition of a specific Kashmiri tick-box in the ethnic group question for the 2011 Census. There was no new or strong evidence that would change the scores of the
original assessment. Thus, the Kashmiri case is still ranked below the two new groups recommended for inclusion (Gypsy or Irish Traveller and Arab) and the third place African and write-in combination, so given the space constraints there was not a strong enough case for inclusion.

The new census question about language will address a key concern expressed by some in the Kashmiri community that service delivery organisations assume that Urdu is the only language need for Pakistanis. By allowing everyone to state their main language in a census for the first time, service providers will have the information required to identify the services needed to support the Kashmiri people who would otherwise be disadvantaged because of language difficulties.

As part of the 2011 Census community liaison programme, ONS will work with groups representing Kashmiris to encourage them to use their influence within their community to explain that people can write in Kashmiri as their ethnic group if they wish.
2 Introduction

In determining the content of the 2011 Census, the Office for National Statistics (ONS) has undertaken an extensive programme of consultation and question testing, beginning in 2005. The research was intended to determine current needs of data users, improve questions that under-performed in the 2001 Census, and update questions to reflect changes in society.

For the ethnic group question in particular, ONS designed an evidence-based work programme to review the question and its response categories, and recommend any changes as appropriate. ONS collaborated with the census offices across the UK to create a prioritisation tool to decide which new ethnic group categories to recommend for inclusion. The tool considered a range of evidence available for each group against seven criteria which fell under four themes:

1. Strength of need for information on that group
2. Lack of alternative sources of information
3. Clarity and quality of the information collected and acceptability to respondents
4. Comparability with 2001 data

The initial assessment ONS gave to the case for a Kashmiri tick-box was that:

- There was some evidence that Kashmiris are experiencing disadvantage, and there was particular policy interest.
- The write-in option in the ethnic group question allows those who feel strongly about identifying as Kashmiri to write it in as an ‘other’ response, but was unlikely to provide a good estimate of the total number of Kashmiris.
- Other census questions will generally be inadequate in providing an alternative to a tick-box. However, by allowing Kashmiris to state their main language in the 2011 Census for the first time, service providers will have the information needed to identify the services to support the Kashmiri people who would otherwise be disadvantaged because of language difficulties.
- Without a Kashmiri tick-box, respondents are unlikely to be confused or burdened. A Kashmiri tick-box would not be mutually exclusive with the Pakistani or Indian tick-boxes and therefore none would offer a complete count.
- Inclusion of a Kashmiri tick-box would not affect comparisons with previous census data.

However, there is not enough space for tick-boxes to be provided for all the groups that are present in large numbers in England and Wales. Only the top two ranked groups could be added to the list that was used in the 2001 Census, and using the tool, ONS determined these to be ‘Gypsy or Irish Traveller’ and ‘Arab’. ONS encourages people who do not feel that any tick-box options are appropriate to use one of the write-in spaces provided.

Despite this outcome, there remained considerable interest in the possibility of including a Kashmiri tick-box in the 2011 Census, among Kashmiri community groups and individuals. Since the publication of the 2011 Census White Paper ‘Helping to shape tomorrow’ in December 2008, the level of interest in this topic has increased.

There is a concern from some Kashmiri groups and individuals that Kashmiris are an ethnic group experiencing social exclusion and economic disadvantage, but that the difficulty of identifying Kashmiris has meant that their needs are often overlooked. In most official surveys like the census, it is believed that they largely report their ethnic group as Pakistani.

The reasons most often cited for identifying Kashmiris as distinct from Pakistanis are:

- **Identity:** although Kashmiris may self-identify as Pakistani, this may not be their strongest or preferred identity. This is linked with the desire by some Kashmiris for a separate Kashmiri state.
- **Resource allocation / service delivery:** local authorities and other organisations may not distribute resources evenly between different parts of the self-reported Pakistani population. Organisations may make assumptions about the needs of this population, for example, that Urdu is the only language required for those with low English language proficiency.
- **Monitoring inequalities:** There is a suggestion that Kashmiris may be more disadvantaged than other Pakistanis as a result of their rural background. Their experiences may be ‘masked’ by those of other Pakistanis when they are combined in the same ethnic grouping.

In considering these statements, ONS found that there was little strong, quantifiable evidence available to support these suggestions. However, ONS recognised that this could be because the 2001 Census and other surveys do not routinely separate Kashmiris from Pakistanis.

In recent months, there has been parliamentary scrutiny, public debate, and engagement with stakeholders over the issue of the inclusion of a Kashmiri tick box in the 2011 Census. ONS considered the concerns raised and decided to carry out further investigation and evidence gathering to contribute to the existing knowledge about the Kashmiri community in England.

The primary research objectives were to assess:

- The effect that the addition of a specific Kashmiri tick-box would have on the proportion of individuals identifying as Kashmiri, as opposed to when it must be written in as an ‘other’ response.
- The socio-economic characteristics of Kashmiris, and how these compare to Pakistanis and other ethnic groups.
- The feelings and opinions of the Kashmiri, Pakistani, and Indian respondents when presented with a Census questionnaire with or without a Kashmiri tick-box in the ethnic group question.

It was decided that the combination of a postal test using the Census questionnaire and a series of focus groups and interviews would best address the research objectives. In addition, Kashmiri community groups and other interested parties were invited to make submissions to ONS of any information they believed to relate to the case for the inclusion of a Kashmiri tick-box. ONS then reviewed the prioritisation tool scoring in light of the new evidence and considered whether this would affect the recommended ethnic group question for the 2011 Census in England and Wales.
3 Previous information about Kashmiris in England and Wales

3.1 2001 Census results

The 2001 Census did not include a Kashmiri tick-box, although respondents had the option to give an identity of their choice in one of the write-in spaces provided, if they did not believe that any of the given options were appropriate. In the 2001 Census, 23,191 people in England and Wales wrote in Kashmiri as their ethnic group, and 714,826 identified as Pakistani through the tick-box option. Both counts include the 2,497 that did both. This means the Kashmiri write-in population was approximately 3 per cent of the combined Kashmiri and Pakistani population.

Kashmiri organisations have stated that the number of Kashmiris in the UK is substantially higher than was recorded in the 2001 Census. There are various estimates of the size of the Kashmiri population in the UK, ranging from two-thirds to four-fifths of the Pakistani population. This estimate has been used to suggest that the write-in option is inadequate for capturing the Kashmiri population.

3.2 Labour Force Survey

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) is a quarterly sample survey of approximately 50,000 households living at private addresses in the UK. At first contact, there is a face-to-face interview that includes a question asking the ethnic group of the respondent in two or three stages. Stage one asks which broad grouping or ‘heading’ people belong to (‘White’, ‘Mixed’, ‘Asian or Asian British’, ‘Black or Black British’, ‘Chinese’ or ‘Other ethnic group’). Stage two provides more detailed pre-designated options. For example, for respondents identifying as ‘Asian or Asian British’, the pre-designated options are ‘Indian’, ‘Pakistani’, ‘Bangladeshi’ and ‘Other Asian’. If the response is ‘Other Asian’, they are then asked to provide their ethnicity in the third stage.

In this way, the LFS shows the prevalence of people reporting a Kashmiri identity as a response to the ethnic group question when asked face-to-face in the initial interview, rather than using a self-completion questionnaire as in the census.

The results, from the three months April to June 2009, show that 19 respondents stated Kashmiri, which is about 0.02 per cent of the total surveyed. In comparison, there were 1,819 Pakistani responses, or 1.54 per cent. The ratio of Pakistani to Kashmiri respondents is therefore 96:1.
3.3 Local authority surveys

There have been a number of surveys conducted by local authorities with a relatively large Kashmiri and/or Pakistani population where a Kashmiri tick-box has been added to the ethnic group question\(^4\).

Two of these, with the largest sample sizes and most robust statistical design, were run by Leeds and Birmingham City Councils.

Looking at 2001 Census results in the same two local authorities reveals that the ratio of Pakistanis to Kashmiris in the local authorities’ surveys with a tick-box is twice that in the 2001 Census (not taking into account confidence intervals).

While the two results are not directly comparable, it seems that a larger proportion of the combined group will self-identify as Kashmiri with the presence of a tick-box. However the results of both suggest a much lower proportion of Kashmiris within the Pakistani population than the two-thirds to four-fifths suggested by some Kashmiri groups.

Table 3.3.1: Comparison of ratios of Kashmiris to Pakistanis, local authority surveys and 2001 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local authority survey(^5)</th>
<th>Birmingham</th>
<th>Leeds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of people ticking Pakistani</td>
<td>9.27</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of people ticking Kashmiri</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio (Pakistani to Kashmiri)</td>
<td>10:1</td>
<td>12:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of people ticking Pakistani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of people writing in Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio (Pakistani to Kashmiri)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4 Submissions from Kashmiri groups and individuals

The original decision not to recommend a Kashmiri tick-box based on the scoring of the prioritisation tool took into account submissions received by the ONS through consultation and meetings with Kashmiri groups and individuals.

When ONS made the decision to conduct further research on the Kashmiri tick-box decision, Kashmiri community groups and other interested parties were again invited to submit any additional information to ONS for consideration. The primary objective was to assess the evidence base on the case for the inclusion of a Kashmiri tick-box, with particular reference to user need.

The key messages of the comments received as a part of this second round of consultation are summarised below, to provide a brief background into the opinions of Kashmiris and Kashmiri organisations that were received by ONS. Much of the evidence provided was anecdotal, and in support of the inclusion of a Kashmiri tick-box, although a few submissions claimed it would not be justified.

Equality monitoring and policy development

- **Education**: There were some submissions reporting that Pakistanis have higher levels of formal education and better English language skills than Kashmiris. A Joseph Rowntree Foundation report cited suggested that this reflected urban / rural differences in the place of origin between Pakistanis and Kashmiris.
- **Health**: It was felt that the health of Kashmiris is poorer than that of Pakistanis, due to higher rates of poverty and unemployment, and the related lower education levels and English language skills.
- **Discrimination**: It was argued that Kashmiris are discriminated against by Indians and Pakistanis because Kashmiris may be viewed as being of lower status and Kashmiris are more likely to be employed in manual occupations.
- **Media**: It was claimed that there is very little media content in the languages of Kashmir. Even at south Asian media outlets, there are very few Kashmiris working and very little coverage.
- **General disadvantage**: One submission claimed that Kashmiris are more likely than Pakistanis and other south Asian groups to be:
  - unemployed;
  - living in overcrowded conditions;
  - in the criminal justice system;
  - suffering ill health and smoking; and,
  - under-achieving in education and business.

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6 The summary excludes various more general points, such as the heterogeneity of the ‘Pakistani’ category and estimates of the number of Kashmiris living in the UK.
Service delivery

Most of the submissions arguing that Kashmiris had specific service-delivery needs centred around language.

- Kashmiri activists argue that only the dual recognition of Kashmiris as a separate ethnic group, and of Pahari as a separate language, will permit Kashmiris to gain access to public sector jobs and political rights.
- Kashmiris were systematically poorer and less well provided for by the public sector than other ethnic groups.
- A number of Kashmiris felt some services they used did not meet their needs (but not specifically that this was because they were Kashmiri), some were dissatisfied with the lack of information on services available.
- Language was identified as a barrier to access by nearly all respondents.

Some argued that different language provision is the only need for Kashmiris as distinct from Pakistanis, although there were indications that shared services were not suitable for other reasons including issues of disadvantage and status differences. For example, a 2005 report into Kashmiri Older People’s services was submitted that found service providers did not appear convinced that there was a case beyond language for separate service provision for Kashmiris.
5 Description of research project

There were two main components to the research project: a postal test and a series of focus groups and interviews. This section of the report will briefly describe the work that was undertaken.

5.1 Postal test

A split sample design was used to test the effect of a separate Kashmiri tick-box in the ethnic group question. There were two versions of the census questionnaire, the only difference being the presence or absence of a specific Kashmiri tick-box. Households were randomly assigned into two groups—one half received a questionnaire with a Kashmiri tick-box (see Figure 5.1.1, below) and the other half received a questionnaire without a tick-box.

Figure 5.1.1: Version of ethnic group question with Kashmiri tick-box

As Kashmiris comprise only a comparatively small proportion of the British population, it was necessary to select areas where they were more likely to reside.
Consequently, the postal test design targeted those Output Areas (OAs) where at least 40 per cent of the population had identified themselves as Pakistani in the 2001 Census. Of these OAs with a high proportion of Pakistani responses, 196 OAs were randomly chosen, to include the desired sample size of around 27,000 households. The selection process also excluded any OAs that would be part of the Census Rehearsal in October 2009, or a large scale test happening in Birmingham at the same time.

The majority (67 per cent) of the OAs were located in northern England (Sheffield and further north), 25 per cent in central England (Stoke on Trent to Worcester, including Birmingham) and 8 per cent in the south (Luton to Woking).

The day chosen for the test was Sunday, 5 July, 2009. Questionnaires returned to ONS by Friday, 14 August, six weeks later, were entered in the database for analysis, while any received after this date were excluded. The figure below shows that the rate of return had slowed considerably by this time.

Figure 5.1.2: Questionnaire returns by date received

The response rate after two weeks was less than expected, so it was decided to send reminder notices to those households that had not yet responded. To inform the 2011 Census general enumeration procedures, the non-responding households were randomly assigned to one of three groups of equal size: one would receive a letter in an envelope by post, the second a reminder card by post, and the third would be a control group and not receive any reminder notice.

Before the analysis on the information collected could begin, it was necessary to examine the differences between people who responded without a reminder, and those that responded after receiving either the reminder letter or postcard (two-thirds of the non-responding group). First, the two groups were checked to see if there was a geographic bias or clustering of where the reminded households that responded were located. Then the responses to some key questions were checked (such as age and ethnic group). It was found the two groups were similar in most measures and there was no undue influence of the reminder letters on a specific segment of the
population that would justify their exclusion from the final analysis. Thus all
responses received on or before the cut-off date were included in the dataset.

The final response rate, as of 14 August, was around 14 per cent, which was just
below the expected response rate of 15 to 20 per cent. This level of response rate is
typical of this kind of voluntary test, without public awareness and advertising
campaigns or field staff. In addition, the areas included were chosen for their high
level of Pakistani residents (according to the 2001 Census), and ethnic minority
groups tend to have higher rates of non-response than the general population.

The final analysis is based on 3,852 responding households and 9,728 individuals.
The size of the responding group is large enough for robust analysis of the
responding households. Due to time constraints, no analysis of non-response bias
through follow up with non-responding households was possible. However, there
would be no differential non-response effect between the two halves of the sample,
as individual households were randomly allocated into the two groups (with and
without a Kashmiri tick-box).

5.2 Focus groups and interviews

The primary objective of the focus groups and interviews was to gain an
understanding of how Kashmiris, Pakistanis and Indians would feel about the
inclusion of a Kashmiri tick-box on the 2011 Census ethnic group question.

This qualitative research was conducted by Stimulating World, a firm with
considerable expertise in this type of social research. Eight mini-groups of four
participants each and eight ‘paired depth’ interviews of two participants each were
conducted, with a total of 48 people of Kashmiri, Pakistani, and Indian ethnic origin.
As part of the research design, participants were varied in age (age 20 and above)
and sex, and sessions took place in both Leeds and London to cover both the North
and South of England.

In the focus groups, all four participants were in the same ethnic group but with a mix
of ages and sexes. For the interviews, the two participants were of the same ethnic
group and sex.

A series of research questions was investigated by trained moderators and
interviewers, to find out how participants felt about their ethnic identity and the
addition of a Kashmiri tick-box.

More specifically, the research was designed to ask how Kashmiris respond to the
inclusion of a Kashmiri tick-box, and what would influence their decision whether or
not to use it. Similarly, those with Pakistani and Indian backgrounds were asked
about their reaction to the Kashmiri tick-box. Interviewers also focussed on possible
confusion for respondents, both with and without the specific Kashmiri tick-box
alongside ones for Indian and Pakistani.
6 Results

The following sections of the paper will identify the major findings from the postal test, then, from the focus groups and interviews.

6.1 Postal test results

This section presents the results of the postal test in a series of research questions. These questions look at how the results compare to other measures of Kashmiris (the 2001 Census and local authority surveys), responses to the ethnic group question on questionnaires with and without a Kashmiri tick box, the incidence of multiple response, and a socio-economic comparison of Kashmiris, Pakistanis and other ethnic groups.

How do the postal test results compare to the 2001 Census and local authority surveys?

The version of the postal test question without a Kashmiri tick-box is similar to the 2001 Census question, and the ratio of Pakistanis to Kashmiris is also quite similar: 21.5 : 1 in the postal test compared to 20:1 and 25:1 in the census results for Birmingham and Leeds (please see Table 3.3.1).

Two local authority surveys have a Kashmiri tick-box, and the ratios of Pakistanis to Kashmiris were 10:1 and 12:1, meaning fewer Pakistanis per Kashmiri than the 2001 Census results. The version of the postal test question with a Kashmiri tick-box had a ratio of 3.7:1. Thus, while all three surveys with Kashmiri tick-boxes result in fewer Pakistanis per Kashmiri than the questions with no Kashmiri tick-box, the postal test had the greatest proportion of Kashmiri responses. This may be partially accounted for by the different geographic areas covered in the local authority surveys and the postal test.

Table 6.1.1: Ratios of Pakistanis to Kashmiris in the postal test survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri Postal Test areas</th>
<th>Question without Kashmiri tick-box (4,944 people)</th>
<th>Question with Kashmiri tick-box (4,784 people)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of people ticking Pakistani</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of people ticking or writing in Kashmiri</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio (Pakistani to Kashmiri)</td>
<td>21.5 : 1</td>
<td>3.7 : 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Only single responses were included.
How many respondents identify as Kashmiri when a tick-box is present compared to when they have to use the write-in response option?

Table 6.1.2 Responses to ethnic group question in postal test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>With Kashmiri tick-box</th>
<th>Without Kashmiri tick-box</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticked Kashmiri only</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticked both Kashmiri and Pakistani only</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticked both Kashmiri and Indian only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticked Kashmiri in other combinations</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticked Pakistani only</td>
<td>1474</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticked Pakistani multiple response</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticked Indian only</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticked Indian multiple response</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri write-in responses</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other responses</td>
<td>2267</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response to ethnic group question</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total individuals</td>
<td>4784</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
* Not applicable because this version of the questionnaire did not have a separate Kashmiri tick-box.

For the group completing a questionnaire with a Kashmiri tick-box:

- **8.4 per cent** of all individuals (403 people) indicated Kashmiri ethnicity with a tick-box, as a single response.
- **9.7 per cent** (463 respondents) ticked Kashmiri if those 60 individuals who ticked Kashmiri and another tick-box in combination are included.

For the group completing a questionnaire without a Kashmiri tick-box:

- **1.9 per cent** of all individuals (96 individuals) indicated Kashmiri ethnicity (in any combination) by writing in on the questionnaire where a separate tick-box was not provided.

These results should not be taken as indicative of the proportion of these ethnic groups in the general population of England and Wales, because the areas covered by the postal test were selected on the basis of having at least 40 per cent Pakistani population in the 2001 Census. This was with the intention of including as many Kashmiris in the sample as possible.

Is there any evidence of a statistically significant ‘shift’ from people identifying as Pakistani to Kashmiri with the addition of a Kashmiri tick-box?

The proportion of respondents identifying as Kashmiri was 6.5 percentage points greater in the group with a Kashmiri tick-box, at 8.4 per cent, compared to 1.9 per cent in the group without a tick-box. This increase in the number of people identifying as Kashmiri in the presence of a tick-box was statistically significant.
The presence of the tick-box led to a statistically significant increase in the proportion of people identifying as Kashmiri in all age groups, except among those aged 65 to 74, but the effect of this ‘shift’ seemed to decrease in strength as the age group increased (see Table 6.1.3).

Young adults aged 16 to 24 were more likely to identify as Kashmiri than other age groups, both using the write-in option and with a tick-box option. Their self-identification as Kashmiri increased by 10 percentage points with the addition of a tick-box. Children aged under 16 also showed a relatively large increase in identification as Kashmiri when given the tick-box option (9 percentage points). In both cases, it is not clear to what extent these responses were chosen by the person themselves or by someone completing the questionnaire on their behalf.

Table 6.1.3 Kashmiri identification with and without a tick-box, by age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>With Kashmiri tick-box (proportion)</th>
<th>Without Kashmiri tick-box (proportion)</th>
<th>Overall mean differences (proportion)</th>
<th>P value (* for statistically significant)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 to 15</td>
<td>.112</td>
<td>.019</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>.000 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 to 24</td>
<td>.138</td>
<td>.031</td>
<td>.101</td>
<td>.000 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 34</td>
<td>.078</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td>.002 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 44</td>
<td>.098</td>
<td>.019</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>.000 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 54</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td>.071</td>
<td>.000 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 to 64</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>.003 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 to 74</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td>.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 and over</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>.031</td>
<td>.004 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proportion of respondents who ticked Kashmiri as their ethnic group was identical in the north and combined central/south areas, at 8.4 per cent of each. The proportion writing in Kashmiri was higher in the central/south area, at 3.0 per cent, than in the north, at 1.4 per cent. The differences between tick-box and write-in response levels were found to be statistically significant in both geographic areas (see Table 6.1.4).

Table 6.1.4 Kashmiri identification with and without a tick-box, by geography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geography</th>
<th>With Kashmiri tick-box (proportion)</th>
<th>Without Kashmiri tick-box (proportion)</th>
<th>Overall mean differences (proportion)</th>
<th>P value (* for statistically significant)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>.084</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>.070</td>
<td>.000 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central / South</td>
<td>.084</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>.055</td>
<td>.000 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Standard errors for both age and geography groups are shown in Annex A, at the end of this report. Central and south areas were combined to have a large enough number of respondents to make meaningful comparisons.
How often did respondents provide multiple responses?

Instructions for the ethnic group question clearly ask for a single response, but on the paper questionnaire it is possible for respondents to tick more than one box, or to tick and write-in a response. For the 2011 Census outputs, coding rules will be used to determine how to allocate those people with multiple responses into one response category. This was not done for the postal test, and as a result some analysis is restricted to those with a single response only to ensure accurate comparability between groups, as otherwise the same respondent could be included in two groups.

Overall, 423 individuals ticked more than one tick-box, including write-in responses in one of the ‘other’ categories. This represents 4.5 per cent of all individuals who provided an ethnic group response.

For the group completing a questionnaire **with** a Kashmiri tick-box:

- 5.4 per cent (249 individuals) gave more than one response to the ethnic group question.
- 0.9 per cent (42 individuals) ticked Kashmiri and Pakistani only.
- 0.4 per cent (18 individuals) ticked Kashmiri and another tick-box, or Kashmiri, Pakistani and another.
- 2.4 per cent (108 individuals) ticked Pakistani and another tick-box (not Kashmiri).
- 0.2 per cent (10 individuals) ticked Kashmiri and also wrote Kashmiri (or something related) in one of the ‘other’ write-in spaces.
- 1.0 per cent (46 individuals) ticked Pakistani and also wrote Pakistani (or something related) in one of the ‘other’ write-in spaces.

For the group completing a questionnaire **without** a Kashmiri tick-box:

- 3.7 per cent (174 individuals) gave more than one response to the ethnic group question.
- 0.2 per cent (8 individuals) ticked Pakistani and wrote in a variation of Kashmiri in a write-in space.
- 1.2 per cent (57 individuals) ticked Pakistani and also wrote in a response that included a variation of Pakistani.

Prior to the research project, there was some concern that the addition of a Kashmiri tick-box would increase the rates of multiple response to the ethnic group question, because some respondents could identify as both Kashmiri and Pakistani or Indian. The results show a small percentage ticked Kashmiri in combination with other tick-boxes, which suggests that this ‘multi-ticking’ was not a substantial problem in the postal test.

**Does the presence of the Kashmiri tick-box lead to a greater number of people writing in other ethnic groups from the Indian sub-continent?**

There was a suggestion that seeing the Kashmiri tick-box on the questionnaire may lead other ethnic groups from the Indian sub-continent (such as Sikh, Punjabi, Gujarati) to write in their ethnic group. Respondents may also expect to see their ethnic group to have a tick-box, and space constraints on the questionnaire would prevent all these being added.
It was found that in the Kashmiri postal test sample, there were only two write-ins from these ethnic groups (both Sikh), although this may have been a result of the characteristics of the areas chosen in the sample and would be different in the 2011 Census. This outcome is not to say, however, that a Kashmiri tick-box would not lead to calls from other community groups for their own tick-box. The likelihood of this occurrence was not directly tested by this research project.

**Is there a difference in the age distribution of ethnic groups in the sample?**

The ages of individuals were grouped into eight age bands. The resulting distribution of those people with Kashmiri and Pakistani ethnicity (as reported in tick-box or write-in responses combined) was that a higher proportion were in the age groups up to age 44, and a lower proportion than those aged 45 and over, compared to all individuals.

The age distributions for Kashmiri and Pakistani responses are shown separately in the figure and table below.

**Figure 6.1.5: Age distribution of Kashmiri and Pakistani respondents**

![Age distribution graph](image)

**Table 6.1.6: Age distribution of Kashmiris and Pakistanis in the postal test**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Kashmiri ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box) (per cent)</th>
<th>Pakistani ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box) (per cent)</th>
<th>Kashmiri write-ins (questionnaire without Kashmiri tick-box) (per cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 to 15</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 to 24</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 34</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 44</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 54</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 to 64</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 to 74</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 and over</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While all three of these groups show a general decline in the proportion of individuals as the age increases, the decline is particularly steep for the Pakistani group. As a result of the differences in the age distributions between the three groups, and in accordance with standard statistical practice, the results that compare Kashmiris and Pakistanis in the following tables were adjusted by age and sex to enable unbiased comparison of the groups. The Pakistani tick-box and Kashmiri write-in groups were adjusted to match the Kashmiri tick-box group. However, the figures showing results for all ethnic groups are unadjusted by age and sex so the Pakistani result will differ slightly from the adjusted value presented in the tables. Please see Annex B for a more detailed description of the methodology that applies to this section.

Are Kashmiris more socio-economically disadvantaged than Pakistanis?

The information collected in this postal test is a rich source for the study of Kashmiri and Pakistani respondents, as the geographic areas included were chosen because of a relatively high concentration of Pakistanis in the 2001 Census.

Previous consultations found that there is particular policy interest in the degree to which Kashmiris experience disadvantage in comparison to other ethnic groups, and Pakistanis in particular. A few submissions received by ONS argued that information on educational achievement and socio-economic status of Kashmiris is needed to monitor inequalities and achievement levels, and to direct appropriate resources.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that Kashmiris are likely to suffer racial discrimination and disadvantage. Not fully recognising this group in the census makes it difficult for decision-makers to measure and respond to specific aspects of socio-economic and cultural disadvantage.

A number of questions asked in the census relate to the notion of socio-economic status, health and well-being. Analysis comparing the results for Kashmiris and Pakistanis was conducted on the following questions for individuals:

- Qualifications
- Current employment
- Ever worked
- Health status
- Long term illness or disability
- Language

And for households:

- Tenure
- Ratio of people to rooms and bedrooms in accommodation
- Ratio of people to vehicles

As it was not possible to carry out any coding of multiple responses, only respondents with a single ethnic group response were included in the analysis.

In the tables, the Pakistani results were adjusted to match the age and sex distribution of Kashmiri tick-box respondents. Likewise, the responses of people who had written-in Kashmiri as their ethnic group in the questionnaire version without a Kashmiri tick-box were adjusted to match the age and sex distribution of the Kashmiri tick-box group.
In Figures 6.1.8, 6.1.10, 6.1.12, 6.1.14, 6.1.17, and 6.1.21, the results were not adjusted by age and sex because the numbers of respondents in certain ethnic groups were not large enough. Also, the numbers of people stating ‘Gypsy or Irish Traveller’ or ‘Mixed White and Black African’ as their ethnic group were too small for these results to be reported. The purpose of presenting these findings is to illustrate the overall patterns and degree of variation across all ethnic groups.

Please refer to Annex B for a more detailed explanation of the methodology used in this section of the report.

The best measure of true Kashmiri and Pakistani differences comes from the half of the sample that completed a questionnaire with a Kashmiri tick-box. This measure of the Kashmiri population includes those who would identify as Kashmiri by writing it in as an ‘other’ response if there was no Kashmiri tick-box, as well as those who identify as Kashmiri only with the presence of a tick-box.

Similarly, the Pakistani group is most accurately defined by those who ticked Pakistani in the sample that received a questionnaire with a Kashmiri tick-box. Respondents who ticked Pakistani in the half without a Kashmiri tick-box may also include some respondents who would have indicated their ethnic group as Kashmiri if a Kashmiri tick-box had been present on the questionnaire.

The group that identified as Kashmiri by writing in their response, in the half the sample without a Kashmiri tick-box, represents a particular sub-group of the overall Kashmiri population, roughly one-quarter of the whole Kashmiri population that would be identified through the use of a tick-box. As with any sub-group, the characteristics of this group often differ from the larger group. The results for this group are included in the tables for completeness but are not representative of the overall Kashmiri population.

The analysis did not test the statistical significance of the differences between Kashmiri and Pakistani respondents. Given the similarity of the responses to most questions considered, it was found that Kashmiris and Pakistanis were not substantively different enough to warrant carrying out further analysis.

Qualifications

The question about qualifications asks ‘Which of these qualifications do you have?’ with a series of tick-box response categories listing academic and vocational qualifications.

Table 6.1.7: Number and percentage of people with no qualifications in the postal test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifications (age 16 and over)</th>
<th>Kashmiri ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)</th>
<th>Pakistani ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
<th>Kashmiri write-ins (questionnaire without Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No qualifications</td>
<td>n=105</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 40.1</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures have been adjusted for differences in the age and sex distribution of respondents.

- A similar proportion of those who ticked Kashmiri (40.1 per cent) and Pakistani (37.4 per cent) reported having no qualifications in the question on qualifications achieved, a difference of 2.7 per cent.
Table 6.1.8: Percentage of people with and without qualifications in the postal test (all ethnic groups)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed White &amp; Black Caribbean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed White &amp; Asian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladeshi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB: These figures were not adjusted by age and sex due to the small number of respondents in some ethnic groups. The Pakistani result in this figure will therefore differ to the one in Table 6.1.7. Direct comparisons between Kashmiri and Pakistani groups should only be made from the table that has been adjusted for age and sex.

- When looking at other ethnic groups, the variation between the highest (Irish) and lowest (Mixed White and Black Caribbean) proportions with no qualifications is around 40 percentage points, indicating greater variation between other ethnic groups than between Kashmiri and Pakistani respondents.

Currently employed

The question about being currently employed asks whether someone was carrying out any work in the week prior to the postal test.

Table 6.1.9: Number and percentage of people who were and were not currently employed in week prior to the postal test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Currently employed (age 16 to 64)</th>
<th>Kashmiri ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)</th>
<th>Pakistani ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
<th>Kashmiri write-ins (questionnaire without Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>n 109</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 46.6</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>n 125</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 53.4</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>68.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures have been adjusted for differences in the age and sex distribution of respondents.
• The proportion of Pakistanis employed in the week prior to the postal test was less than those identifying as Kashmiri with a tick-box (42.1 per cent compared to 46.6 per cent).

**Figure 6.1.10:** Percentage of people who were and were not currently employed in the week prior to the postal test (all ethnic groups)

NB: These figures were not adjusted by age and sex due to the small number of respondents in some ethnic groups. The Pakistani result in this figure will therefore differ to the one in Table 6.1.9. Direct comparisons between Kashmiri and Pakistani groups should only be made from the table that has been adjusted for age and sex.

• As with the qualifications figure, there are much greater differences between other ethnic groups than between the Kashmiri and Pakistani respondents.

**Ever worked**

If the respondent was not currently working, they were asked ‘Have you ever worked?’ with a Yes or No response. If they respond Yes, they are also asked for the year that they last worked.

**Table 6.1.11:** Number and percentage of people who had ever worked or not in the postal test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ever worked (age 16 and over)</th>
<th>Kashmiri ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)</th>
<th>Pakistani ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
<th>Kashmiri write-ins (questionnaire without Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures have been adjusted for differences in the age and sex distribution of respondents.

• The proportion of Pakistanis saying ‘Yes’, at 56.8 per cent, was similar to the Kashmiris who identified using a tick-box, at 55.7 per cent.
Figure 6.1.12: Percentage of people who had ever worked or not in the postal test (all ethnic groups)

NB: These figures were not adjusted by age and sex due to the small number of respondents in some ethnic groups. The Pakistani result in this figure will therefore differ to the one in Table 6.1.11. Direct comparisons between Kashmiri and Pakistani groups should only be made from the table that has been adjusted for age and sex.

- Pakistanis are slightly more likely to have ever worked than Kashmiris, but the difference between the two groups is small, particularly given the wide range of responses given by other ethnic groups.

Health status


Table 6.1.13: Number and percentage of people by health status in the postal test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health status</th>
<th>Kashmiri ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)</th>
<th>Pakistani ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
<th>Kashmiri write-ins (questionnaire without Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very good / good</td>
<td>n 283</td>
<td>1057</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 74.3</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>58.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>n 59</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 15.5</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad / very bad</td>
<td>n 39</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 10.2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures have been adjusted for differences in the age and sex distribution of respondents.

- The five response categories (very good, good, fair, bad and very bad) were grouped into three (good or very good, fair, bad or very bad). This was done, in part, to compare to the 2001 Census results, which had a health question with three response categories (good, fairly good, not good).
• In the postal test, the results for Pakistanis are very similar to those of Kashmiris in all three response groups, with the greatest difference being just 1.2 per cent.
• Kashmiris were slightly more likely to report bad or very bad health, whereas Pakistanis showed a greater proportion stating a fair or very good / good health condition.
• The 'not good' category from the 2001 Census can be compared to the ‘bad or very bad’ combined response in the postal test. Rates for Kashmiris in the 2001 Census are based on those who wrote-in their ethnic group as Kashmiri on the questionnaire.
• The 2001 Census rates for Kashmiri and Pakistani respondents reporting ‘not good’ health are close together, at 9.0 and 9.5 per cent.

**Figure 6.1.14:** Percentage of people by health status in the postal test (all ethnic groups)

[Graph showing percentage of people by health status for various ethnic groups]

NB: These figures were not adjusted by age and sex due to the small number of respondents in some ethnic groups. The Pakistani result in this figure will therefore differ to the one in Table 6.1.13. Direct comparisons between Kashmiri and Pakistani groups should only be made from the table that has been adjusted for age and sex.

• The Kashmiri and Pakistani results are again similar in comparison to the variations across other ethnic groups.
In both the 2001 Census and the postal test, Kashmiris report a similar health status to Pakistanis. There is, however, wide variation in rates between other ethnic groups.

There is greater confidence in the results from the 2001 Census than the postal test, as census results are based on a much larger number of people and is more representative of the overall population.

**Long term illness or disability**

The question about long term illness or disability asks ‘Are your day-to-day activities limited because of a health problem or disability which has lasted, or is expected to last, at least 12 months?’ with a series of tick-box response categories: ‘Yes, limited a lot’, ‘Yes, limited a little’, and ‘No’.

**Table 6.1.16:** Number and percentage of people by long term illness or disability status in the postal test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long term illness or disability</th>
<th>Kashmiri ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)</th>
<th>Pakistani ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
<th>Kashmiri write-ins (questionnaire without Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limited a lot</td>
<td>n=44</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 12.4</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited a little</td>
<td>n=35</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 9.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, not limited</td>
<td>n=276</td>
<td>1055</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 77.7</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>73.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures have been adjusted for differences in the age and sex distribution of respondents.

- Kashmiris indicating their ethnic group with a tick-box showed similar limiting health conditions to Pakistanis.
- Kashmiris were slightly more likely to report some limitation, either a little or a lot, than Pakistanis.
Figure 6.1.17: Percentage of people by long term illness or disability status in the postal test (all ethnic groups)

NB: These figures were not adjusted by age and sex due to the small number of respondents in some ethnic groups. The Pakistani result in this figure will therefore differ to the one in Table 6.1.16. Direct comparisons between Kashmiri and Pakistani groups should only be made from the table that has been adjusted for age and sex.

- Kashmiris and Pakistanis were quite similar in their response to this question.

Figure 6.1.18: Percentage with long term illness in the 2001 Census, England (all ethnic groups)

• The question asked in the postal test is different from the 2001 Census question, so the results cannot be directly compared between the two. However, the proportion of people who reported a long-term illness is a similar measure, and again shows the relative closeness of the Kashmiri and Pakistani responses.
Language

The question about language asks ‘What is your main language?’ with ‘English’ as a tick-box and a write-in space for other languages.

**Table 6.1.19:** Number and percentage of people whose main language is English and Other in the postal test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Kashmiri ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)</th>
<th>Pakistani ticks (questionnaire with Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
<th>Kashmiri write-ins (questionnaire without Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>n 163</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 61.0</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>n 104</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 39.0</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures have been adjusted for differences in the age and sex distribution of respondents.

- The question that asks for a person’s main language will be included in the census for the first time in the 2011 Census. It will allow for a write-in response if the answer is not English. The results will allow local authorities, for example, to understand at a detailed geographic level the languages spoken by residents, which will be of use in reducing language barriers that prevent access to local services.
- Pakistanis were more likely than Kashmiris to have English as their main language. The 11.5 per cent difference in response is the largest of the questions analysed. These results can be interpreted within the context of the English language proficiency question, which is asked of those whose main language is not English.

**Table 6.1.20:** Number and percentage of people with various levels of English language proficiency in the postal test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English language proficiency</th>
<th>Kashmiri ticks (form with Kashmiri tick-box)</th>
<th>Pakistani ticks (form with Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
<th>Kashmiri write-ins (form without Kashmiri tick-box)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>n 24</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 11.9%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not well</td>
<td>n 54</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 26.9%</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well</td>
<td>n 62</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 30.8%</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>n 61</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 30.3%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures have been adjusted for differences in the age and sex distribution of respondents.

- From these results, the level of proficiency is similar among Kashmiris and Pakistanis, despite the difference in main language. A lower level of English as the main language does not necessarily mean lower English language abilities. In fact, a greater proportion of Kashmiris than Pakistanis reported their English proficiency to be ‘speak English very well’ (30.4 per cent versus 27.6 per cent).
Figure 6.1.21: Percentage of people whose main language is English and Other in the postal test (all ethnic groups)

NB: These figures were not adjusted by age and sex due to the small number of respondents in some ethnic groups. The Pakistani result in this figure will therefore differ to the one in Table 6.1.19. Direct comparisons between Kashmiri and Pakistani groups should only be made from the table that has been adjusted for age and sex.

- There is a relatively large difference between Kashmiris and Pakistanis in this question, with Pakistanis having a higher proportion of people whose main language is English.

Socio-economic questions about households

In addition to the individual-level results presented above, the questions asked about the entire household provide further information on whether or not Pakistani and Kashmiri households are different in terms of deprivation or disadvantage.

The entire household was assigned into an ethnic group on the basis of the response of ‘Person 1’ on the questionnaire, although there were a few cases of households where the other residents had different ethnic group responses from ‘Person 1’.

Tenure

In the question about tenure of dwelling, it is expected that notably higher rates of home ownership would be an indicator of greater wealth. The percentage of households who own their house outright was slightly higher for Kashmiris (51.7 per cent) than for Pakistani-headed households (48.5 per cent). Combining these rates with those who own with a mortgage or loan produces a result of 82.4 per cent for Kashmiris and 79.9 per cent for Pakistanis. The close results suggest a similarity in rates of home ownership among Kashmiris and Pakistanis.

Number of residents per room / bedroom

The number of rooms and bedrooms in a dwelling are especially relevant when compared to the number of people in the household, and they are an indication of overcrowding. The majority of households had a ratio of one person per room or
fewer, with little variation between Pakistanis (89.2 per cent) and Kashmiris (86.9 per cent).

In the case of number of residents per bedroom, the proportion of households with a ratio below two people per bedroom is also quite similar among Kashmiris and Pakistanis, with Kashmiri households having the greater proportion at 94.2 per cent, closely followed by Pakistanis at 92.9 per cent.

**Number of residents per vehicle**

The ratio of people to vehicles gives an indication of household disposable income and wealth. About half of the Kashmiri (52.1 per cent) and Pakistani (50.6 per cent) households have more than three residents per vehicle. Again, the relative similarity of this outcome suggests a degree of similarity between Kashmiri and Pakistani households.

**Summary of socio-economic comparison**

In comparing ethnic groups, differences in the responses to census questions would be expected. The postal test found that Kashmiris and Pakistanis were generally quite similar in their response to many of the questions examined. The greatest difference was found to be the higher proportion of Pakistanis whose main language was English. Overall, however, the differences were not substantial and did not indicate a large disparity in the socio-economic conditions between Kashmiris and Pakistanis.

The household level analysis of living conditions, such as housing tenure and number of people per room and vehicle, also revealed little difference between Kashmiris and Pakistanis.

The postal test and 2001 Census results (for the variables analysed) presented for all ethnic groups reveal that for most questions examined, the variation in responses between ethnic groups is consistently greater than the difference between Kashmiris and Pakistanis.

**Is there any evidence of respondents indicating Kashmiri origins in other questions but not identifying as Kashmiri in the ethnic group question?**

Individuals’ responses to the citizenship, national identity, and country of birth questions were analysed, in combination with the ethnic group response. In some cases, the number of respondents providing certain combinations of answers is small, but gives an idea of the interaction between the questions related to ethnic group.

**Citizenship**

There were three individuals who wrote in Kashmiri as their citizenship response, but had indicated their ethnic group as Pakistani. These were on the questionnaire without a Kashmiri tick-box. It is interesting that these respondents wrote in their
citizenship response, but at the ethnic group question chose to tick Pakistani rather than write in Kashmiri.

**National identity**

There were six cases of people who wrote in a Kashmiri-related national identity but whose ethnic group was Pakistani—these all came from the group without a Kashmiri tick-box on the questionnaire. Despite having Kashmiri national identity, these people ticked Pakistani rather than write-in their ethnic group as Kashmiri.

**Country of birth**

There were eight people whose country of birth was Kashmir but who had reported their ethnic group as Pakistani, half from each questionnaire type (with or without a tick-box). This number, while small, demonstrates that there are people who decide to give Pakistani as their ethnic group despite having been born in Kashmir.

In all these cases, it is possible that these people would have identified as Kashmiri in the ethnic group question if a tick-box was present, but did not identify strongly enough to write in Kashmiri.
6.2 Focus group and interview results

Some key findings that help to answer the research questions are provided below.

How do people with Kashmiri origins respond to the inclusion of a Kashmiri tick-box in the census ethnic group question?

There was a range of opinions among Kashmiri participants about the inclusion of a Kashmiri tick-box. There were people who were very relaxed and flexible about the issue and those who were more resolute in their opinions and who strongly wanted the inclusion of the tick-box. The majority of participants were between these two extremes of opinion.

If people with Kashmiri origins do not tick a Kashmiri box when presented with one in the census question, what is preventing them from doing so?

Many Kashmiris (and some Indians) in the sample were confused in general about how to identify themselves on questionnaires. Some said they had never seen a Kashmiri tick-box on a questionnaire (some did not even notice the inclusion of the Kashmiri tick-box on the census questionnaire). Others said that since they had never seen a Kashmiri tick-box before, that they had got into a habit of ticking Indian or Pakistani. Many said that it was easier just to tick a box than write in. Most said they did not enjoy completing questionnaires and that their aim was to get the information down as quickly as possible.

For others it was not felt to be important enough to them emotionally and they simply did not think about it. A few participants said they were concerned that if they wrote in Kashmiri the questionnaire would be returned to them and they would be told they had not completed it properly with an internationally recognised country / ethnicity.

Finally, some Kashmiris simply did not self-identify as Kashmiri over and above Pakistani or Indian.

What factors may influence Kashmiris’ response?

The interviews and focus groups revealed three main factors that were expected to have an impact on the readiness with which respondents would tick or write in Kashmiri over another ethnic group response:

- age
- level of politicisation, and
- regularity of visiting Kashmir

Age

There was a feeling in some of the sessions that the issue of the tick-box matters more to the older generation of Kashmiris. It was asserted that those who were born in the UK, or had lived here for most of their lives, had become more distanced from their roots and their priority was focusing on their lives in the UK. There was also a
feeling that things had moved on in Kashmir while the older generation in the UK remembered it as it was.

There was a sense that many of the younger generation were less involved in the issues and more readily accepting of multiple identities.

Level of politicisation

Some participants were more political in their approach, and they tended to express more extreme views about Kashmiri issues. However, even these participants with a high level of politicisation seemed to be somewhat removed from the political people in their community who they felt were championing the issue. They were clearly in favour of the Kashmiri tick-box.

The majority of participants, however, showed few political leanings and seemed more concerned with their day-to-day lives. They had not really given much thought to the inclusion of Kashmiri tick-boxes on questionnaires.

Regularity of visiting Kashmir

A number of respondents were making regular or at least occasional visits to Kashmir. This tended to bring the issue of a separate Kashmiri tick-box more front of mind for them, but ties to Kashmir through regular visits did not appear to be directly related to the strength of opinion about the issue.

What reasons were given in support of having a Kashmiri tick-box?

Many participants agreed that the tick-box could help Kashmiris identify themselves more easily.

Some Indian and Pakistani participants felt that everybody has a right to their own opinion and could therefore feel empathy with the Kashmiris who were fighting for their rights.

Some Indians and Pakistanis simply had no issue with Kashmiris wanting their own tick-box. They adopted a 'live and let live' approach. Others thought the matter might be important in Pakistan and India, but that it did not matter as much in the UK.

How do people who identify as Pakistani / Indian and do not have Kashmiri origins react to the inclusion of a Kashmiri tick-box?

In general, Indians were tolerant about the issue and demonstrated few concerns about Kashmiris having their own tick-box. In contrast, Pakistanis were very resolute that Kashmiris should not have their own tick-box.

Pakistani respondents were firm in their opinion that Kashmiri identity is bound up with Pakistan. They found it hard to empathise with Kashmiris within Pakistan wanting to break away and to have their own tick-box. The majority opinion was that Azad Kashmir, which translates as ‘Free Kashmir’, is a part of Pakistan and is treated equally and respected.
The Pakistanis asserted that Kashmir was a state and that there were other states in Pakistan, for example Sindh and Punjab, which were not arguing for their own tick-boxes.

Some argued that the issue of the tick-box was a political issue and that the British Government should not get involved.

Overall, Pakistani participants thought that including the Kashmiri tick-box would create problems that would exceed any potential benefits.

The Indians in the research sessions seemed to be more flexible in their approach to identity in general – both their own and Kashmiri identity.

Indians expressed the opinion that the inclusion of the tick-box would make it easier and quicker for Kashmiris to identify themselves. They sometimes knew of Kashmir’s long history and that at one time Kashmir was a separate state. Hence, there was a degree of empathy for the Kashmiri cause, expressed particularly by the younger generation.

Some were aware that there were political sensibilities to take into consideration, that there is Indian administered Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistani Azad Kashmir. Some Indians spoke with regret that there was conflict in Jammu and Kashmir.

However, they went on to argue that if Kashmiris got their own box, others would also want one. They were concerned for the other minorities who may also want their own tick-box.

**Are people (both those who do and don’t identify as Kashmiri in everyday life) confused by the presence of a Kashmiri tick-box alongside the Pakistani and Indian tick-boxes?**

When asked directly about their feelings about the Kashmiri tick-box, there were serious questions raised by participants across all groups about the potentially confusing nature of having the Kashmiri tick-box. Pakistanis in particular could not understand why a state within their country was being treated as a separate nation/ethnicity, particularly when there were other states that could, arguably, also be entitled to their own tick-box.

For some Kashmiris, it could be confusing because they did not know whether they were supposed to tick both the Kashmiri box and the box for Indian or Pakistani.

**Are people (both those who do and don’t identify as Kashmiri in everyday life) unhappy or confused when there is no Kashmiri tick-box option?**

Those Kashmiris who tended to be more relaxed and flexible about their identities, claimed that the presence, or not, of a Kashmiri tick-box made no difference to their lives.

Participants from all three groups (Indian, Kashmiri and Pakistani) referred to the possibility of the Kashmiri tick-box to cause political trouble.
Another key argument against the tick-box was that it could make other ethnic groups also campaign for their own tick-box. Many participants concluded that eligibility for a tick-box would have to come down to the number of that particular ethnic group in the UK. Many, Kashmiris included, questioned whether there would be enough Kashmiris in the UK to warrant the inclusion of a separate tick-box.

**Were there differences of opinion between the North and South of England?**

There was a strong awareness of political issues in the north (Leeds) and knowledge about Kashmiri groups lobbying in Bradford. However, attitudes between north and south did not differ substantially.
7 Implications on the prioritisation tool scores

The decision on which ethnic groups to recommend for inclusion as distinct categories in the 2011 Census questionnaire was based on the outcome of the prioritisation exercise. This section of the report provides an overview of how the prioritisation exercise was designed and applied, and the assessment of the Kashmiri situation both before and after the research project.

7.1 Background to the prioritisation exercise

ONS and the other UK census offices used a prioritisation tool to rank requests for additional ethnic group tick-boxes. The tool works by assessing potential tick-box categories against seven principles grouped into four themes:

1. Strength of need for information on that group
2. Lack of alternative sources of information
3. Clarity and quality of the information collected and acceptability to respondents
4. Comparability with 2001 data

Potential tick-box categories were identified throughout an extensive period of consultation with data users in preparation for the 2011 Census. Over twenty new tick-box categories in the ethnic group question, including Kashmiri, were investigated using the above criteria. ONS gave a score (2, 1, 0) to each category for each principle in accordance with the level of supporting evidence and analysis (high, medium, low). The purpose of the scoring was to record how ONS assessed the different evidence gathered and to ensure a level of consistency in relation to each principle.

The size of the ethnic group population is not in itself a factor considered, so the case for a group with fewer members is not necessarily disadvantaged in comparison to a larger group. The prioritisation exercise is designed to measure the strength of evidence based on the principles, regardless of the number of respondents expected to make use of the tick-box.

Due to space constraints in the ethnic group question and the fact that it is one of a suite of questions measuring aspects of ethnic background (including religious affiliation, national identity, language and, to a lesser extent, passports held—as a proxy for citizenship), ONS decided to give principles relating to theme two (lack of alternative sources) more weight than the others, at 50 per cent of the total score. To calculate this, original scores on the two principles in this theme were multiplied by 2.5 and added to the remaining five.

The case for a Kashmiri tick-box scored highly and was in fourth position in the prioritised list of potential new tick-boxes, based on the weighted total score. However, space constraints mean that a maximum of two new tick-boxes can be listed in the question. As a result, ONS recommended that the top two groups on the

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ranked list, ‘Gypsy or Irish Traveller’ and ‘Arab’, should be added as a tick-box category to the ethnic group question in the 2011 England and Wales Census.

### 7.2 Prioritisation exercise reviewed following the research project

The information gathered in the Kashmiri research project was used to re-examine the evidence in support of adding a Kashmiri tick-box, using the principles of the prioritisation tool. The score for each factor, before and after the additional research, is shown below:

#### 1 Strength of need for information on that group

1.1 Group is of particular interest for equality monitoring or for policy development  
Previous score: 1   Reviewed score: 1

1.2 Group is of particular interest for service delivery  
Previous score: 1   Reviewed score: 1

There was little evidence from the socio-economic analysis in the postal test, or from the additional evidence gathered from Kashmiri organisations, to suggest that the scores for these criteria should be revised.

#### 2 Lack of alternative sources of information

2.1 Write-in answers are not adequate for measuring this group  
Previous score: 2 (maximum)   Reviewed score: 2

2.2 Other Census information is inadequate as a suitable proxy  
Previous score: 1   Reviewed score: 1

The postal test results do suggest that there are potentially higher numbers of Kashmiris than was recorded by the write-in responses to the 2001 Census, and that people were more likely to identify as Kashmiri with the presence of a tick-box. However, this outcome would be found for almost any ethnic group, and the score for this factor was already at the maximum level of two.

Analysis of national identity, country of birth and citizenship questions by ethnic group revealed that none of these variables would provide a suitable proxy for identifying Kashmiris. The language question continues to be of some use in identifying those that speak a language of Kashmir. Therefore, the research project did not change the assessment of the adequacy of using other census information as a proxy for ethnic group responses.

#### 3 Clarity and quality of the information collected and acceptability to respondents

3.1 Without this tick-box respondents would be unduly confused or burdened and so the quality of information would be reduced  
Previous score: 0   Reviewed score: 0

3.2 The addition of the tick-box and/or revised terminology is clear and acceptable to respondents (both in wording and in the context of the question,
for example providing mutually exclusive categories) and provides the required information to an acceptable level of quality

Previous score: 1   Reviewed score: 1

The focus groups and interviews found Kashmiris were not confused by the absence of a Kashmiri tick-box.

The focus groups and interviews also showed that participants were sometimes unsure of their response with a Kashmiri tick-box present. However, the low level of multiple responses in the postal test does not provide any evidence to suggest that people were confused by the presence of the Kashmiri tick-box.

The scores in this theme were not changed by the research project’s findings.

4  Comparability with 2001 Census data

4.1  There will be no adverse impact on comparability

Previous score: 2 (maximum)   Reviewed score: 2

No evidence was gathered to suggest this score should be changed, and it was already at the maximum score.

The total score remained at 8, and when weighted to make section 2 on alternative sources worth half the total score, the score was 12.5, as it was before further research was conducted. It was this weighted score that was used for ranking purposes, and as the scores had not changed, Kashmiri was still in fourth place on the list, after Gypsy or Irish traveller (18 points after weighting), Arab (16 points), and African with write-in response combination (13.5).
8 Decision on the Kashmiri tick-box

After careful consideration of all the available evidence, ONS recommended against the addition of a specific Kashmiri tick-box in the ethnic group question for the 2011 Census.

The additional submissions of Kashmiri community groups were examined thoroughly and incorporated into the discussions. Previous research and surveys brought to the attention of ONS, as well as the postal test and qualitative research described in previous sections, were also key components.

8.1 Reasons for decision

The principal reasons behind the decision not to recommend the inclusion of a specific Kashmiri tick-box are summarised in this section of the report.

From the outset, ONS was amenable to investigating the case for a Kashmiri tick-box in the 2011 Census ethnic group question, and considered it alongside requests for approximately twenty other new categories.

The case for a Kashmiri tick-box scored highly in the prioritisation exercise but not as high as the two new ethnic group categories that are being recommended. Space is very limited as this is already the largest question on the census questionnaire, and introducing further tick-boxes would mean removing something else or making unacceptable compromises with questionnaire layout.

The socio-economic conditions of Kashmiris and Pakistanis were measured using the responses to questions in the postal test. As would be expected, some differences were found, but overall the differences were small and the results did not provide strong evidence of disparities between Kashmiris and Pakistanis.

ONS does accept that there may be differences between Pakistanis and Kashmiris in terms of some socio-economic characteristics, but these do not appear to be as large as the differences between Pakistanis and Kashmiris together and other groups. ONS acknowledges that any of the specific tick-box categories may include smaller sub-groups with characteristic differences but for practical reasons the number of categories must be limited.

Many of the arguments for information on Kashmiris are related to the need to ensure that services are provided in the appropriate languages. Kashmiris speak more than one language from the Kashmir region, so this information is better collected using the language question, which is new for the 2011 Census, than the ethnic group question.

The addition of a Kashmiri tick-box increases the likelihood of multiple ticking because people could consider themselves to be both Kashmiri and Pakistani, Indian, or another ethnic group. The overall rate of multiple response in the postal test was low, but the focus groups and interviews revealed that the addition of a Kashmiri tick-box may cause confusion among respondents over which box to tick.

On the whole, focus group participants were not strongly supportive of the tick-box, while others felt it was not justified and questioned why other south Asian groups
were not similarly listed with a tick-box. The presence of the tick-box caused confusion to some respondents who were surprised to see it listed on the questionnaire.

The additional submissions that were received from Kashmiri community organisations and individuals were thoroughly reviewed. The information did not provide sufficiently strong evidence to change the recommendation to not include a Kashmiri tick-box.
9 Engaging the Kashmiri community in the 2011 Census

The lack of a Kashmiri tick-box will not prevent valuable information about the Kashmiri community being available from the 2011 Census results. As with all ethnic groups, Kashmiris that choose to identify as Kashmiri will be able to write-in their ethnic group on the questionnaire. ONS will code the written-in responses to this question, as was done following the 2001 Census.

ONS will investigate how to make data from write-in responses more readily available for data users. The intention for the 2011 Census is to use new technologies to allow for a flexible, user-defined, set of outputs.

Although the results suggest that national identity would not make a good proxy for ethnic group, the new national identity question enables respondents to provide a fuller picture of their identity. Independently of their ethnic group response, people can provide multiple national identity responses, including the option to write in Kashmiri if desired.

The new question about language will address a key concern that service delivery organisations assume the only language need for Pakistanis is Urdu. By allowing everyone to state their main language in a census for the first time, service providers will have the information required to identify the services needed to support the Kashmiri people who would otherwise be disadvantaged because of language difficulties.

As part of the 2011 Census community liaison programme, ONS will work with groups representing Kashmiris to encourage them to use their influence within their community to explain that people can write in Kashmiri as their ethnic group if they wish. They will also be asked to support high levels of participation in the overall census operation, and will be provided with publicity materials, translations and advice to help them with these efforts.
10 Annex A: Standard error tables

These tables provide standard error figures to accompany Tables 6.1.6 and 6.1.7.

All population estimates made from a sample are subject to errors of estimation arising from taking a sample rather than a census. Standard errors give a measure of the range of this error and can be used to construct confidence intervals (CIs). The CIs give the bounds of the range within which the population parameter will fall, at a given level of statistical certainty.

Table 10.1 Kashmiri identification with and without a tick-box, by age group—standard errors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>With Kashmiri tick-box</th>
<th>Without Kashmiri tick-box</th>
<th>Overall mean differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>proportion</td>
<td>standard error</td>
<td>proportion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 to 15</td>
<td>.112</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 to 24</td>
<td>.138</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td>.031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 34</td>
<td>.078</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 44</td>
<td>.098</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 54</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.021</td>
</tr>
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<td>.011</td>
<td>.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 to 74</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 and over</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.2 Kashmiri identification with and without a tick-box, by geography—standard errors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geography</th>
<th>With Kashmiri tick-box</th>
<th>Without Kashmiri tick-box</th>
<th>Overall mean differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>proportion</td>
<td>standard error</td>
<td>proportion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>.084</td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central / South</td>
<td>.084</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>.030</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11 Annex B: Socio-economic analysis methodology

Data tables

The methodology explained below applies to the results for all the questions that were included in the section on socio-economic characteristics of Kashmiris and Pakistanis (in section 6.1 of report).

- The analysis was restricted to respondents with a single ethnic group response. Note that the proportion of individuals with more than one ethnic group ticked is relatively low (4.5 per cent overall).
- Students answering the questionnaire at their home address who live away during term-time were excluded from this analysis as they would not be counted at their home address in the 2011 Census.
- Those respondents with age and/or sex missing were excluded from this analysis as the weightings could not be applied (there were very few of these cases).
- The question about qualifications was analysed only for those aged 16 and over as anybody under 16 would be filtered away from this question in the 2011 Census.
- The question about currently working was limited to those individuals age 16 to 59 (women) and 16 to 64 (men), and the question about having ever worked was limited to those age 16 and over.

Figures

Notes about the series of figures showing postal test results to the socio-economic questions for all ethnic groups:

- Kashmiri and Pakistani results are based on the half of respondents whose questionnaire had a Kashmiri ethnic group tick-box, while all other ethnic groups were a combination of both questionnaire types. This was done to ensure the best possible definition of those who identify as Kashmiri or Pakistani, and yet increase the number of respondents included in the other ethnic groups to strengthen the comparability across the ethnic groups.
- The percentages for Pakistanis in the figures differ from those in the associated tables, due to rounding, non-adjustment for age and sex, and the inclusion of those respondents whose age and sex was not known (these people were excluded from the analysis that appears in the tables, as this information was required to do the adjusting—numbers in the figures were not adjusted).