Ethnic Homogeneity and Family Formation:

Evidence from the 1991 Household SAR

Clare Holdsworth and Angela Dale

CCSR Occasional Paper No 7

£3.00

ISBN 1 899005 08 0

Further copies of this paper may be obtained from:

CCSR
Faculty of Economic and Social Studies
The University of Manchester
Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL

Tel: 0161 275 4721; Fax: 0161 275 4722
Email: ccsr@manchester.ac.uk
http://info.mcc.ac.uk/Economics/ccsr

Table of Contents

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to migrants from the New Commonwealth following the second World War, the process of immigration has resulted in a continuously changing construction of ethnic identity in Britain (Ballard, 1994).

The post-war increase in the numbers of 'visible' immigrant groups gave rise to considerable hostility and racial discrimination by a section of the British population who felt threatened by the immigrant groups - although as Ballard (1994) notes, this pattern of behaviour has followed most waves of immigration into Britain. During the 1960s alarmist reports of the size of the black immigrant population generated controversy and was used effectively by several right-wing politicians - for example by Enoch Powell in his notorious 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968, and in a parliamentary bye-election in the same year. In 1973 Nandy wrote 'In the last decade race relations have emerged as social and political issues in domestic affairs to an extent that would have surprised informed observers 20 years ago ..... much of the debate has been, for better or worse, about numbers' (Lomas, 1973).

Alarm over the size and rate of growth of the black population was easily fuelled and difficult to combat in the absence of any reliable information on the true population size of minority groups. The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act introduced controls on immigration which were further tightened by another Act in 1968 which restricted the flow into Britain of East African Asians with UK passports (Jones, 1993). In response to concern over the treatment of minority groups, the first Race Relations Act, designed to outlaw racial discrimination, was introduced in Britain in 1968.

It was therefore paramount that the 1971 Census should provide a reasonably accurate way of counting the black immigrant population together with some background information on their employment and housing. Without this information there was no baseline against which to measure the effect of legislation, particularly at local authority level. It was widely assumed that in the highly charged political climate it was not feasible to ask a direct question on ethnic or racial origin. Therefore the solution chosen was to use country of birth, with an additional question on parent's country of birth as a basis for estimating the size of the ethnic minority population. OPCS used this to derive an indicator to identify people of

New Commonwealth origin, defined as 'persons born in the New Commonwealth[1] who are not of UK descent, plus children born in Great Britain to parents of New Commonwealth ethnic origin ...' (Immigrant Statistics Unit, 1975). The definition included people of mixed descent - that is, those with only one New Commonwealth parent. For persons born in the Indian subcontinent, or with one or both parents born there, an analysis of surnames was used to filter out British expatriates and to identify various religious groups. African Asians were identified by an examination of their own and their parents' birthplaces and their surnames (Sillitoe, 1978).

This solution was heavily criticised by Ruth Glass, who advocated a self-assessment question. However Lomas (1973), drawing a comparison with the self-assessment question in the United States Census argued: 'in the very different cultural and racial climate in Great Britain self-assessment would be an extremely doubtful method of collecting racial statistics and would certainly arouse widespread hostility'.

However, it was argued that this solution would not be adequate for the 1981 Census, as a growing proportion of the black population was British born. Consequently an ethnic group question became the subject of extensive debate and testing in Britain from the 1970s (Bulmer, 1986). The development of the ethnic group question, as used in the 1991 Census, therefore began its development during the 1970s with the intention of including it in the 1981 Census, although, as we shall see, it was not used. The failure to include the question in the 1981 Census must be understood in the context of the continuing insecurity of the black immigrant community and the introduction of further extensions to the Race Relations Act (1976) and further restriction in the immigration legislation (1971 Immigrant Act).

[1] The New Commonwealth is defined as the West Indies (Bahamas, Barbados, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago), India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, parts of Africa (Botswana, Gambia, Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia), parts of the Mediterranean (Cyprus, Malta) etc plus Fiji, Tonga, Western Samoa, Papua New Guinea

3. The development of an ethnic group question for the census

The history of the development of an ethnic group question has been well summarised by Sillitoe and White (1992). They provide a valuable discussion of the requirements and constraints of such a question, highlighting the need to be able to use it to monitor discrimination:

> To be effective an ethnic classification has to be expressed both intelligibly and acceptably to all sections of the population; it has also to furnish the information in the form in which it is needed. To satisfy the main purpose for which the data are wanted in this country it is necessary to distinguish reliably all people who belong to groups which are susceptible to discrimination because of their ethnicity. The only way to find out how the classification needs to be expressed to make it as intelligible and acceptable as possible is to test a variety of alternative designs on samples of all the main ethnic groups.... such tests have demonstrated that the various aims are not always compatible and that the final design has had to be a compromise between conflicting objectives.

They highlight the difficulty of finding a single question which combines acceptability with the most important and salient distinctions, and hint at the difficulty of separating 'race' and 'ethnicity'. Sillitoe and White (1992) acknowledge the biological connotations of 'race', often associated with nineteenth-century eugenics. They define ethnicity as meaning 'a socially distinct community of people who share a common history and culture and often language and religion as well' (p.143), but point out that ethnic groups may also have physical characteristics which render them distinguishable. This often leads to confusion over the distinction between racial and ethnic differences and they express concern (p.143) over including race and colour distinctions into an ethnic group classification. However, although the ethnic group question was directed towards ethnic minorities, one of its main objectives was to highlight discriminatory practices or inequalities, which were based on racial differences. Therefore the structure of the question had to allow the monitoring of discriminatory practices, and also provide distinctions recognised by the groups themselves and which would show socioeconomic and demographic differences. The result is that the question is not designed to distinguish groups such as the Greek and Turkish communities, which preserve an ethnic identification, but are racially White. The Irish are another group for whom the ethnic group question provided no distinct category - although the Irish-born have been identified in many output tables from the 1991 Census.

Although a number of alternative designs for a question in the 1981 Census were tested, the 1979 census tests suggested that the question was not acceptable to a substantial section of the population. There was both a low response to the ethnic group question (particularly from the ethnic minority community) and a high proportion of people who objected to its inclusion. It was therefore decided not to include the question in the 1981 Census. However, a Sub-Committee of the House of Commons Race Relations Committee recommended in May 1983 that a question on racial or ethnic origin should be included in future censuses, subject to confidentiality assurances and a clear intention that the information would be used to promote programmes against racial discrimination and disadvantage (White, 1990).

Following small scale tests a proposal for a question on ethnic group was included in the 1988 White Paper (*1991 Census of Population,* Cm 430) and it was agreed that the 1989 census test should be used to trial such a question. If these trials demonstrated that a question, which met the requirements outlined above, could be asked successfully, then it would be included in the 1991 Census.

The value of the ethnic group question in the census was stated thus:

> The information from the question on ethnic group will enable central and local government and health authorities to allocate resources and plan programmes taking account of the special needs of the ethnic minority groups. It will provide comparisons of patterns of employment, housing and so on of people in different ethnic groups in different parts of the country and this will help identify areas of disadvantage. The information will also help the Government and local authorities carry out their responsibilities under the Race Relations Act 1976. (White, 1990)

By the late 1980s the question was widely supported by immigrant groups and the Commission for Racial Equality and was widely seen as a way of promoting racial equality. The question included in the 1989 test and subsequently in the 1991 Census is shown as appendix 1.

Evidence of how well the question worked comes from two sources. Firstly, a Post-Enumeration Survey of the 1989 test (White, 1990), and secondly, the 1991 Census Quality Check (*OPCS Census Newsletter*, May 1994). Results from the census test were encouraging: less than 0.5% of the sample gave the ethnic question as a reason for not taking part in the

census test, although 10 per cent of informants, including 23% of Black informants, said they were 'too busy' or 'could not be bothered' to take part in the test, whilst language difficulties prevented 8% of Asians from completing the form.

Those who took part in the test were asked if they had any objections to answering any of the questions on the form. Overall, 7% mentioned an objection to the ethnic group question - only 1% higher than the question on long-term illness and 2% higher than the name of employer and address of workplace. However, of those with objections to the question, Black groups were more likely to be represented than other groups - 19% by comparison with 7% for Asian and 5% for Whites. The group whom enumerators failed to contact in the test were also asked if they objected to the ethnic group question. The proportions objecting were very similar to those who had taken part in the test. On the basis of these results it was concluded that the presence of the ethnic group question was not a significant cause of non-response in the census test and that the level of accuracy was acceptably high.

Following the 1991 Census, the Quality Check which formed part of the Census Validation Survey also tried to establish the quality of the response to the ethnic group question. It concluded that there was agreement between the Census Validation Survey and responses to the 1991 Census for 99.6% of 'White' respondents, 88.0% of 'Blacks', 98.7% of 'Asians' and 78.1% of other groups. Hence the gross error for the question was calculated as 0.8%, though for non-Whites it rose to 13.2% (OPCS, 1994).

It is worth noting that in both these checks the question seems to have been better received by the Asian than the black groups. It appears that the categories used to describe the Asian population were readily accepted, perhaps because they have retained more distinctive and more unified ethnic affiliations that can be readily and acceptably categorised using country of origin.

4. Coding the ethnic group question and designing output categories

The 1991 Census ethnic group question (Appendix 1) gave respondents the opportunity to either tick one of the boxes given, or to provide a write-in answer, either under the sub-heading *Black-Other*, or *Any other ethnic group*. If the write-in answers were identical to one of the boxes given, then the respondent was recoded to the appropriate ethnic group.

OPCS found that 98.65 per cent of respondents used a tick box and the remaining 1.35 per cent provided a write-in answer. 94.4 per cent of respondents ticked the White box, or were automatically recoded to that group (table 1 taken from: Table A, Ethnic Group Topic Volume, OPCS).[2]

Table 1: *Percentage of population for Great Britain by output classification ethnic group, 1991 Census*

White	94.5	
Black-Caribbean	0.9	
Black-African	0.4	
Black-Other	0.3	
Indian	1.5	
Pakistani	0.9	
Bangladeshi	0.3	
Chinese	0.3	
Other-Asian	0.4	
Other-Other	0.5	
Total	100.0	(54,888,844)

Source: Table A, Ethnic Group Topic Volume, London: HMSO

[2] A minority of respondents coded in the classifications 1 to 6, may also have provided a write-in answer, so this latter figure will underestimate the total number of write-in answers provided.

The coding of the write-in responses distinguished mixed from non-mixed ethnic groups. This segregation between mixed and non-mixed ethnic groups has led some commentators (Ballard, 1994) to suggest that a racial rather than an ethnic distinction was being used. However, it appears to reflect a pragmatic solution to the problem of interpreting potentially contradictory responses. The categorisation aimed to distinguish responses indicating mixed ethnicity (eg part black part white) from those indicating that the respondent was adding a national or religious description to an ethnic group (eg British Arab or East African Indian). Similarly, a write in answer 'English and West Indian' was taken to refer to a non-mixed ethnicity whilst 'English mother and West Indian father', was coded as of mixed origin.

Based on these distinctions, OPCS derived 35 output categories into which responses to the question were coded, see below left hand column. For most tables, these were condensed into 10 groups, as indicated in the right-hand columns in table 2.

Coding error was restricted to the written-in responses, with checks showing that 76 per cent of answers had been coded correctly to the 35 groups. Of the incorrect codings, over half of the errors made no difference to the 10 output groups used in most tables.

The small number of write-in answers cannot be taken as an indicator of ethnic and cultural homogeneity, as many recognised 'non-visible' ethnic groups (the Irish, the Turkish and Greek Cypriots) were not captured by the structure of the question. The number of answers recoded to White for the output classification is very small, only 0.12 per cent of the final group, indicating that only a tiny minority of 'White' ethnic minorities wrote in a response rather than ticking the 'White' box. For example, an estimated 11,000 respondents gave 'Irish' as a written-in answer (coded group 26), although the country of birth information showed that there were 592,550 respondents born in Ireland, and 780,479 respondents living in a household headed by an individual born in Ireland (includes all Ireland) (*OPCS Census Newsletter,* December 1994).

Table 2: Output categories from the 1991 Census

		Output Classification	Number
0	White	White	1
1	Black-Caribbean	Black-Caribbean	2
2	Black-African	Black-African	3
3	Indian	Indian	5
4	Pakistani	Pakistani	6
5	Bangladeshi	Bangladeshi	7
6	Chinese	Chinese	8
	Black-Other: non-mixed origin		
7	British	Black-Other	4
8	Caribbean Island, West Indies or Guyana	Black-Caribbean	2
9	North American, Arab or Iranian	Other-Other	10
10	Other African countries	Black-African	3
11	East African, Asian or Indo-Caribbean	Other-Asian	9
12	Indian sub-continent	"	9
13	Other-Asian	"	9
14	Other answers	Black-Other	4
	Black-Other: mixed origin		
15	Black/White	Black-Other	4
16	Asian/White	Other-Other	10
17	Other mixed	Black-Other	4
	Other ethnic group: non-mixed origin		
18	British - ethnic minority indicated	Other-Other	10
19	British - no ethnic minority indicated	"	10
20	Caribbean Island, West Indies or Guyana	Black-Caribbean	2
21	North American, Arab or Iranian	Other-Other	10
22	Other African Countries	Black-African	3
23	East African, Asian or Indo-Caribbean	Other-Asian	9
24	Indian sub-continent	"	9
25	Other-Asian	"	9
26	Irish	White	1
27	Greek (including Greek Cypriot)	"	1
28	Turkish (including Turkish Cypriot)	"	1
29	Other European	"	1
30	Other answers	Other-Other	10
	Other ethnic group: mixed origin		
31	Black/White	Other-Other	10
32	Asian/White	"	10
33	Mixed White	White	1
34	Other mixed	Other-Other	10

Distinctions based on religion were not incorporated into the ethnic question (Sillitoe and White, 1992). Consequently, none of the 35 categories were based on religious affiliation and a response of 'Jewish' was coded as 'Other-Other' in the 10 output groups. No category was provided for groups such as Gypsy, Romany or Traveller. If such information was written-in under the Black-Other subheading on the census schedule it was coded as Black-Other in the output variable; if written-in under the 'Any other ethnic group' subheading it was coded as 'non-mixed origin' and coded in the output categories as Other-Other

The most homogeneous of the output categories were: Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese, as these were derived almost exclusively from tick boxes (only identical write-in answers were automatically recoded). East African Asians were recoded to Other-Asian, not Indian, for the output variable, although country of birth information indicated that many East African Asians described themselves as Indian, with 16.8% of all 'Indians' born in East Africa. This seems to reflect the strong affinity retained by those of Indian origin, even though their migration is long standing.

Black-Africans were derived from responses to the tick box, and from any write-in answers indicating sub-saharan African origin. Write-in answers accounted for 2 per cent of the Black-African output group. The Black-Caribbean category was derived in the same way: that is, it comprised those who indicated a Caribbean origin. The write-in answers accounted for only 1.33 per cent of the output category. If the respondent had indicated their ethnic origin as Black-Caribbean, even if written in under 'Any other ethnic group', it was recoded to Black-Caribbean. The Black-Other group is derived only from answers given under the 'Black-Other' section of the ethnic group question and was set up to capture the Black population who did not fall into one of the two tick box categories. Those categorised as 'Black-Other' have provided answers that do not refer to either Caribbean or African ethnicity. One-third of those in the Black-Other output category were coded as Black British (category 7 in the extended 35 category output variable); 14 per cent as Black-White (category 15), with the remainder divided between the miscellaneous groups, Other Answers and Other Mixed (categories 14 and 17).

Compared to Black-Other, the Other-Asian group is more specific. It appears from the sub-groups which form the basis of the Other-Asian category that the majority of respondents gave answers indicating Asian geographical origin or nationalism, e.g. Japanese, Vietnamese, whilst Black-Other captures a racial distinction of predominantly British born individuals.

The last category in the output variable is labelled 'Other-Other' and consists of an ethnically diverse group, many of whom indicated that they were British (eg answering Scottish, Welsh) but supplied no information on ethnicity. Others indicated a black/white or Asian/white mixture but wrote this in under the 'Any other ethnic group' heading rather than the 'Black-Other' heading.

In the following sections we use the SARs to explore further the construction and composition of the 10 output ethnic groups.

5. Age Structure and Country of Birth

The ethnic minority groups identified in the 1991 Census are all associated with recent immigration to Britain, and this is reflected in the age structures of eight of the nine ethnic groups. The age structure of all 10 ethnic groups are illustrated by population pyramids in figures 1a to j. Each band in the pyramids corresponds to the percentage of the total male and female populations in each age-group. The percentage of each age-group that is non-UK born is also illustrated in the pyramids.[4] Compared to the age structure of the majority White population, all of the other ethnic groups are characterised by relatively few people in the older age-groups (70 plus), and a concentration of the non-UK born population in the age-groups 30 plus. Almost all of the ethnic minority population over 30 are non-UK born. The Black-Other group has a very small number of older non-UK born members and, as illustrated by its pyramid's broad base, has by far the youngest age structure of all of the ethnic groups, suggesting that this group consists almost entirely of UK born children of immigrants.

[4] Berrington has constructed similar pyramids for the ethnic groups classified in recent sweeps of the Labour Force Survey, (Berrington, 1994).

Figure 1:
Age distribution of ethnic group populations and % non UK born, by sex

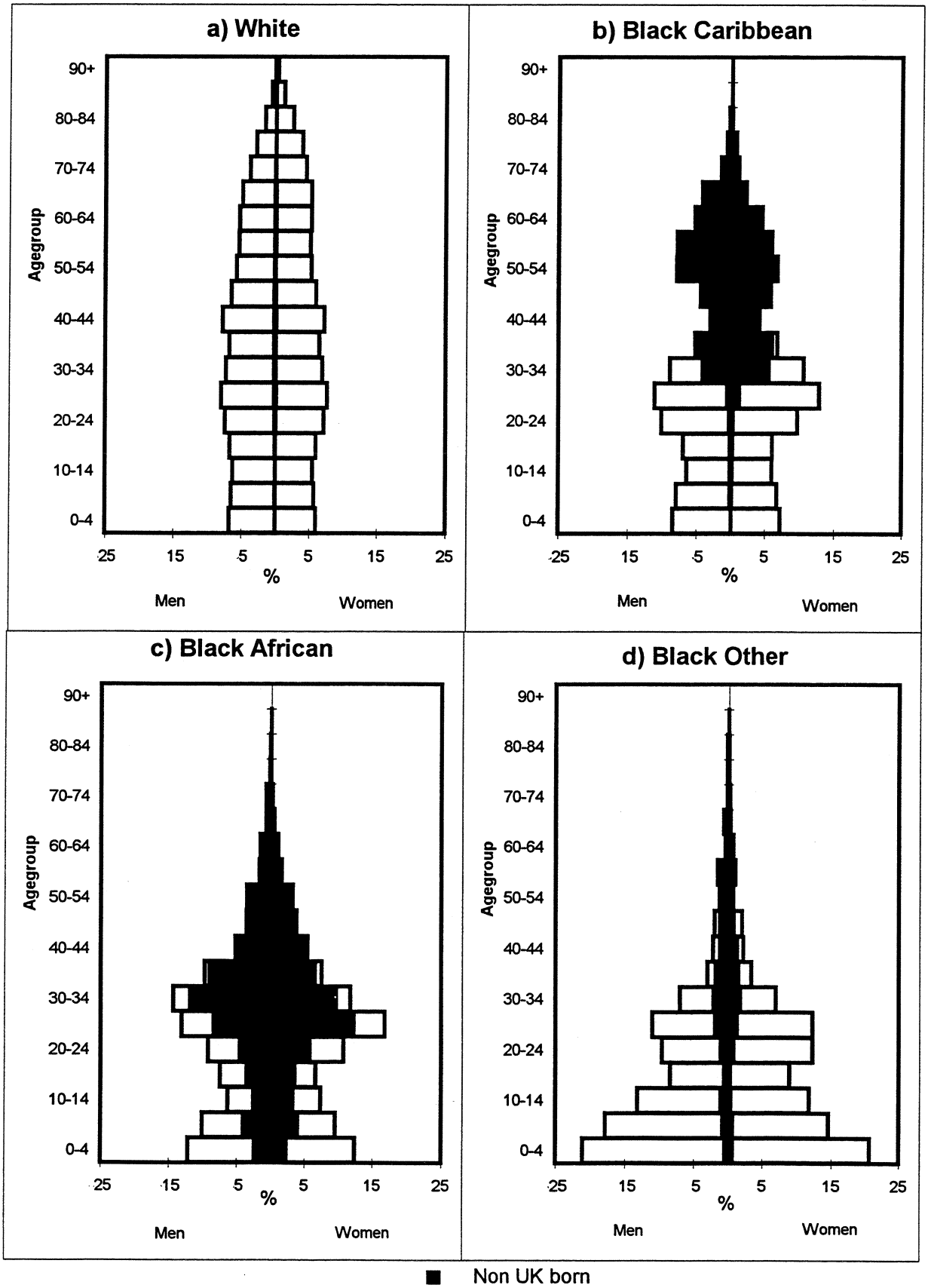


Figure 1:
Age distribution of ethnic group populations and % non UK born, by sex

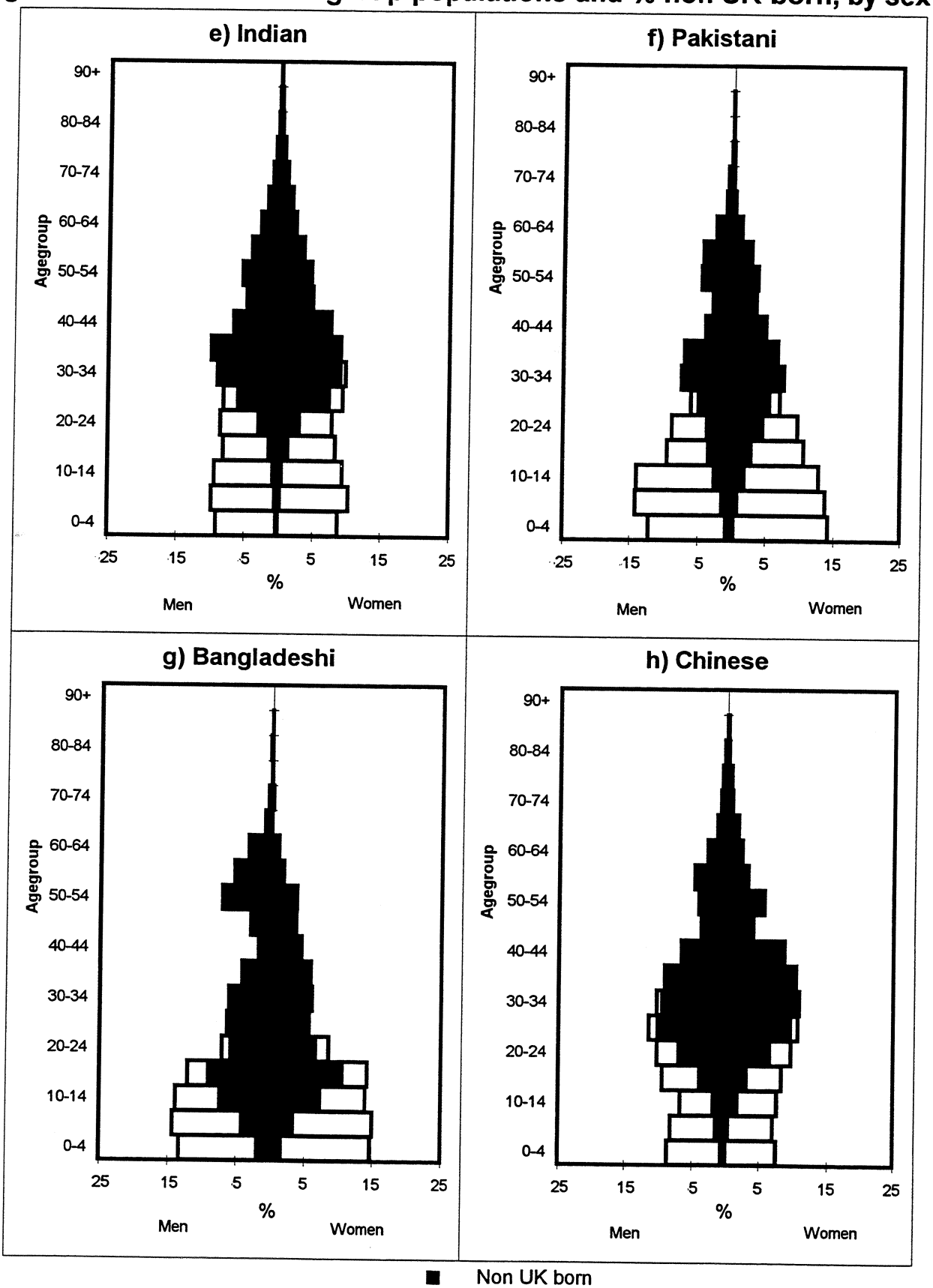
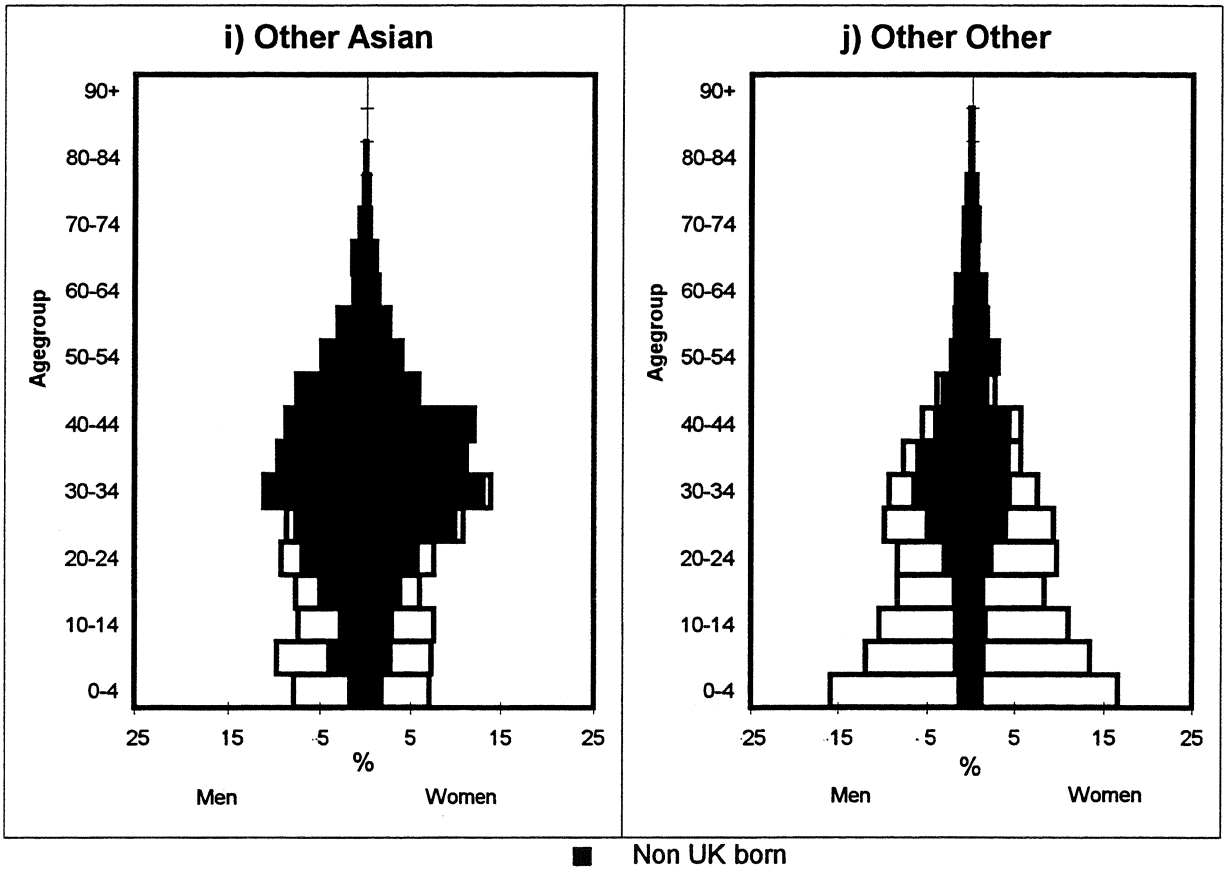


Figure 1:
Age distribution of ethnic group populations and % non UK born, by sex



The Black-Caribbean pyramid has, in contrast, a relatively narrow base, which may suggest that UK born children of immigrants are choosing a different ethnic identity from their parents, as suggested by Ballard and Kalra (1994). However, the age structure of this group is unbalanced at other ages; in particular there are few Black-Caribbeans in the age-groups 35 to 50. This may reflect a decline in immigration to Britain in the late 1960s (assuming that the majority of migrants arrive in their twenties) and also a return of Black-Caribbeans to the Caribbean. The small number of both men and women in this age-group will partly explain the relatively small number of children, particularly in the age-group 10 to 20.

Another characteristic of populations based on recent immigration patterns is an imbalance in the sex ratio. For example, in the Black-Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations, there is a greater proportion of men in the older age-groups associated with the first wave of immigration, in the early 1950s. This is not so marked in the other ethnic groups, particularly the Other-Asians, where there is a pronounced female bias in the middle age-groups, which is associated with mixed-marriages of Asian women and White men (see below).

The Black-Caribbean population is characterised by very small numbers of non-UK born members below the age of 30. However, in the other ethnic minority groups (excluding the Black-Other), there is a significant number of non-UK born younger members. In particular, the Black-African, Bangladeshi and Other-Asian categories have a significant number of non-UK born children, indicating that these populations have entered Britain more recently. However the Black-African population is predominantly represented by adults aged 20 to 40, a large number of whom may well be overseas students, only temporary resident in Britain.[5]

Of the Asian groups, the Indian group has the most stable population structure and that most resembling the White majority. The other Asian groups have more distinctive age structures. In particular, the structure of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations is much younger than the other groups, while both the Chinese and Other-Asian groups have a relatively smaller proportion in younger ages. Finally, the Other-Other group most closely resembles the Black-

[5] Analysis of the 2% Individual SAR reveals that one quarter of non-UK born Black Africans aged 18 to 40 are full-time students.

Other group, in that it has a smaller non-UK born population, and a relatively younger age structure, though these characteristics are less marked than for the Black-Other population.

There are, therefore, substantial differences between the age structures of the nine non-White ethnic groups and the White majority population. In particular the age structures of the ethnic minorities tend to be younger than that of the White population, associated with both different levels of fertility and the timing of immigration. The ethnic minority age structures are also more varied with concentrations in certain age-groups and, in some age-groups, pronounced biases in the sex ratio. These differences indicate the importance of using age/sex standardisation techniques for analyses likely to be influenced by age and sex effects.

6. Ethnic Homogeneity

The composition of each ethnic group, particularly the Black-Other group, may be examined utilising the household SAR, by comparing the ethnicity of either household or family members.[5] Tables 3a and 3b illustrate this analysis at the level of the household, from a comparison of ethnic group for all household members and dependent children against the 'head of household's' ethnic group.[6] Both tables illustrate a high level of homogeneity, especially among the White and Asian groups, with between 96.2 and 99.7% of household members and dependent children within each ethnic group 'headed' by an individual from the same ethnic group. These proportions are only slightly lower for Black-African, Black-Caribbean and Chinese and Other-Asian groups. However, this pattern is reversed for both the Black-Other and the Other-Other groups. The latter are divided between households headed by individuals from either the White or Other-Other groups, while members of the Black-Other population are distributed between White, Black-Caribbean and Black-Other household heads.

[5] This analysis assumes that in multi-ethnic households the household head, or who ever fills in the census form, consults all household members when completing the Census form, and records accurately the ethnic group of all household members.

[6] The head of household is taken as the first person entered on the census household form who is usually resident and aged 16 and over. The definition of a dependent child used in this analysis is all children aged less than 16 and all full-time students aged 16 to 18.

Table 3a: Ethnic group of household members (excluding household head) by ethnic group of household head.

Ethnic group of hh member row %	Ethnic group of household head										
	White	Black Carib	Black African	Black Other	Indian	Pakis-tani	Bangla-deshi	Chinese	Other Asian	Other Other	*Total No People*
White	99.6	0.1	-	-	0.1	-	-	-	-	0.2	*296897*
Black-Carib	11.2	86.0	1.0	1.0	0.4	-	-	-	0.2	0.3	*2570*
Black-African	10.0	3.2	84.1	0.2	0.7	0.4	0.4	-	0.6	0.3	*1223*
Black-Other	38.4	27.0	5.3	24.9	1.1	0.1	-	0.4	1.6	1.1	*1344*
Indian	2.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	96.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.3	*5837*
Pakistani	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.1	97.1	0.1	-	0.3	0.1	*3544*
Bangladeshi	0.4	-	-	0.3	0.1	0.2	99.0	-	0.1	-	*1082*
Chinese	13.5	0.4	0.1	-	1.0	-	-	83.8	0.1	1.0	*893*
Other-Asian	18.1	0.4	0.1	0.5	2.3	2.8	0.1	0.4	74.1	1.4	*1284*
Other-Other	40.9	6.7	1.5	1.1	4.0	3.1	0.5	1.3	4.2	36.8	*2127*

 1% Household SAR. Usual residents, all households with 2 or more members.

Table 3b: Ethnic group of all dependent children by ethnic group of household head.

Ethnic group of dependent child row %	Ethnic group of household head: White	Black Carib	Black African	Black Other	Indian	Pakis-tani	Bangla-deshi	Chinese	Other Asian	Other Other	*No of Children*
White	99.5	0.1	-	-	0.1	-	-	-	-	0.2	*107785*
Black-Carib	7.2	90.4	0.7	1.0	0.5	-	-	-	-	0.3	*1034*
Black-African	5.4	3.1	89.7	-	0.5	0.2	0.3	-	0.7	0.2	*609*
Black-Other	39.7	26.3	5.6	24.2	1.1	0.2	-	0.4	1.5	1.0	*927*
Indian	0.8	-	0.2	-	98.2	0.1	0.2	-	0.2	0.3	*2650*
Pakistani	0.8	0.1	-	0.2	0.7	97.8	0.2	-	-	0.2	*2094*
Bangladeshi	0.1	-	-	0.4	-	0.1	99.3	-	-	-	*700*
Chinese	2.6	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	95.9	-	1.2	*345*
Other-Asian	7.7	0.4	-	0.2	3.0	5.0	0.2	0.2	81.7	1.6	*496*
Other-Other	40.9	8.2	1.9	1.4	5.0	4.1	0.6	1.5	4.8	31.6	*1350*

 1% Household SAR. All children aged less than 16 and full-time students aged 16 to 18.

This suggests that second generation Black-Caribbeans are being categorised as Black-Other, and that a large number of Black-Other members come from a mixed ethnic background. Hence the Black-Other and Other-Other groups reflect a mixed ethnic composition.

However, this household analysis is very limited, as it does not identify parents and children. For example, if there is more than one family unit in a household, such as a lone mother living with her parents, then household-based data cannot easily distinguish all three generations. To incorporate this dimension, it is necessary to work at the level of the family. Using family level data it is possible to identify family members, so as to distinguish relationships between them. Comparisons of the ethnicity of children[8] living with a couple or with a lone parent are given in table 4. The table is for all children living with parents in these families and does not distinguish step or adopted children. Taking the figures on the left-hand side of table 4 first, for children living with both parents, by far the majority of children from all ethnic groups live with parents of the same ethnic group, except for children from the Black-Other and Other-Other groups. Within these two groups, more children (66.7% and 55.3% respectively) are reported as living with parents of different ethnic group. For lone parent families, the pattern is repeated with over two-thirds of Other-Other and Black-Other children living with a lone parent from a different ethnic group. This analysis demonstrates, therefore, that for the seven ethnic groups derived from tick-box answers, almost all children have the same ethnic identity as their parents. Of the three groups derived from write-in answers, not recoded to the seven 'tick-box' categories, only Other-Asian children tend to live with parents from the same ethnic group, whilst the majority of Black-Other and Other-Other children live in mixed-ethnic families. This reinforces the view that the Other-Asian category represents a variety of distinct ethnic identities, whilst both the Black-Other and Other-Other groups represent mixed ethnicities and, in the case of the Black-Other group, emerging identities among respondents of Black-Caribbean descent.[9]

---

[8] This analysis includes all children who are living with parents.

[9] Analysis of the OPCS Longitudinal Study (Dale and Holdsworth, 1995), demonstrates that 79 per cent of the Black British group in 1991, who were traced to the 1971 Census, were coded in 1971 as West Indian. However, given that all respondents had to be aged 20 and over in 1991, this only represents a subgroup of the 1991 Black-Other population, as over half were aged under 20.

Table 4: *Difference between children's and parents' ethnic group for all children living with one or both parents.*

*Figures in top row (**bold**) give row % within each family type, a) and b), figures in lower row (italics) give row % for all children living in either family type.*

	Difference between children's and parents' ethnic group					
	a) Children living with both parents			b) Children living with lone parent		
Child's ethnic group *row %*	Same as both par.	Diff fr. 1 par.	Diff fr. both par.	Same as parent	Diff fr. parent	*Total in ethnic group*
White	**99.3**	**0.6**	-	**99.6**	**0.4**	
	80.4	*0.5*	-	*18.9*	*0.21*	*152757*
Black-Caribbean	**86.6**	**8.0**	**5.3**	**92.3**	**7.7**	
	40.7	*4.4*	*2.4*	*48.4*	*4.2*	*1539*
Black-African	**81.9**	**8.9**	**9.2**	**93.0**	**7.0**	
	51.2	*5.8*	*5.7*	*34.7*	*2.6*	*688*
Black-Other	**15.4**	**17.9**	**66.7**	**22.3**	**77.7**	
	7.2	*8.3*	*34.4*	*11.2*	*38.9*	*1108*
Indian	**97.1**	**2.2**	**0.7**	**97.1**	**2.9**	
	87.0	*2.2*	*0.6*	*9.9*	*0.2*	*3382*
Pakistani	**97.8**	**1.8**	**0.5**	**96.3**	**3.7**	
	86.6	*1.7*	*0.4*	*10.9*	*0.4*	*2421*
Bangladeshi	**99.9**	-	**0.1**	**100.0**	-	
	90.3	-	*0.5*	*9.2*	-	*782*
Chinese	**95.9**	**1.4**	**2.7**	**94.6**	**5.4**	
	83.2	*1.2*	*2.4*	*12.6*	*0.7*	*424*
Other-Asian	**80.0**	**7.2**	**12.8**	**82.6**	**17.4**	
	67.8	*6.2*	*10.9*	*12.5*	*2.6*	*611*
Other-Other	**28.7**	**16.0**	**55.3**	**33.4**	**66.6**	
	17.9	*11.2*	*37.6*	*11.1*	*23.3*	*1575*
Total 100%	*130735*	*1312*	*1217*	*31017*	*1006*	*165287*

To consider further the structure of the Black-Other group, we have selected the Black-Other children and examined their parents' ethnicity, as illustrated in tables 5a and 5b. Table 5a, for children living with two parents, illustrates the heterogeneity of this group. No one pattern emerges, although the two largest groups are for children with two Black-Caribbean parents, or with a Black-Caribbean father and White mother. Among children living with one parent, almost half are living with a White parent, with the majority of the remaining children evenly divided between Black-Caribbean and Black-Other parents. There is evidence therefore that a significance proportion of children with Black-Caribbean parents (95 of the 553 in the household SAR) whose ethnic group was given as a write-in answer under the Black-Other subheading, were consciously ascribed an ethnic identity different from their parents which established their British, as opposed to Caribbean, roots. However a similar proportion of Black-Other children came from a mixed ethnic background, with either one White and one Black parent, or two Black-Other parents; hence the Black-Other group is not simply a proxy for British-born Black-Caribbeans, but is more complex.

Table 5a: *Ethnic group of parents of Black-other children, for children living with both parents.*

	Ethnic Group of Mother								
Ethnic group of Father	White	Black Carib	Black African	Black Other	Indian	Chinese	Other Asian	Other Other	*Total*
White	49	22	10	21	4	2	2	-	*110*
Black-Carib	117	95	-	17	8	-	-	-	*237*
Black-African	31	10	4	1	-	-	-	-	*46*
Black-Other	40	5	3	80	1	-	1	1	*131*
Indian	6	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	*10*
Chinese	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*1*
Other-Asian	1	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	*16*
Other-Other	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*2*
Total	*247*	*132*	*17*	*121*	*16*	*2*	*17*	*1*	*553*

 1% Household SAR.. Usual residents, all dependent and non-dependent children, cells refer to the number of children.

An alternative approach to understanding changes in inter-generational ethnic identities is to examine the ethnicity of children of Black-Caribbean parents (table 6). This analysis reveals that of all children living with two Black-Caribbean parents, 83.5 per cent are also Black-Caribbean, and only 12.7 per cent Black-Other. Of children with one Black-Caribbean parent and one parent of a different ethnicity, over one-third are identified as Black-Other, one-fifth White, and only 13.4 per cent Black-Caribbean. Conversely, for children living in one parent households headed by a Black-Caribbean parent, 80.2 per cent are also Black-Caribbean.

Table 5b: Ethnic group of parent for all Black-Other children living with lone parents.

Ethnic group of parent	Black-Other Children %	*Total Number of Children 100%*
White	48.1	*267*
Black-Caribbean	20.9	*116*
Black-African	5.0	*28*
Black-Other	22.3	*124*
Indian	0.5	*3*
Pakistani	0.4	*2*
Chinese	0.4	*2*
Other-Asian	0.7	*4*
Other-Other	1.6	*9*
	Total	*555*

A more complete analysis of changes in inter-generational ethnic group membership would examine the ethnicity of young Black-Caribbeans living away from the parental home. As it is likely that in many cases the census schedule was filled in by a parent, the ethnic identity given for children may not necessary reflect their own identity, but that ascribed by their parents (as noted above, the comparison of inter-generational ethnic identify depends on this not being the case). It is not possible to examine this dimension of ethnic identity using the SARs. However, this analysis does reaffirm the heterogenous nature of the Black-Other group, which incorporates respondents of mixed ethnicities, Caribbean descent and other smaller Black ethnic groups and does not therefore represent one specific ethnic group.

Table 6: *Ethnic group of children living with a) 2 Black-Caribbean parents b) 1 Black-Caribbean parent and 1 parent from another ethnic group c) 1 Black-Caribbean parent only.*

	Ethnic group of children						
Children living with	White	Black-Caribbean	Black-African	Black-Other	All Asian	Other Other	*Total*
row %							
2 Black-Caribbean parents	1.2	83.5	0.9	12.7	0.1	1.6	*750*
1 Black-Caribbean parent, 1 other parent	21.4	13.4	2.0	35.8	1.8	25.6	*500*
1 Black-Caribbean parent only	2.4	80.2	1.2	12.4	0.1	3.8	*932*
Total	*138*	*1440*	*28*	*390*	*11*	*175*	*2182*

 1% Household SAR Usual residents, all dependent and non-dependent children.

7. Inter-ethnic unions

Of the Black-Other children in the household SAR, 448 out of 553 were of mixed ethnicity. However, the total number of children, across all ethnic groups, from mixed partnerships is relatively small, reflecting the small number of mixed ethnic unions. Previous analyses of inter-ethnic unions utilising the Labour Force Survey (Jones, 1984, Coleman, 1985, Berrington 1994) have demonstrated that the majority of unions are between partners of the same ethnicity. Tables 7a and 7b present a similar analysis for marital and cohabiting unions for the Household SAR. The number of cross-ethnic unions is small, 1.1 per cent of all marital and 2.7 per cent of all cohabiting unions in the household sample, although there are much higher levels amongst the non-White groups and considerable variation between different ethnic groups. For example, 0.5 per cent of all White married men have a wife of a different ethnic group, compared to 6 per cent of Pakistani men, 4 per cent of Bangladeshi men and 53 per cent of Black-Other men. Most cross-ethnic marriages involve one White partner, which is not surprising given that the majority of the population are White. However, amongst all groups except the Chinese and the Other-Asians, mixed marriages are more likely to involve a White women than a White man. Amongst the Other-Asian group, marriages are particularly likely to involve an Other-Asian woman and a White husband (31 per cent) rather than vice versa (14 per cent). This pattern may be associated with the greater proportion of Other-Asian women, as identified in the population pyramids. These results are therefore congruent with previous analyses using the Labour Force Survey.

The proportion of inter-ethnic cohabiting unions is slightly higher, (2.7 per cent compared with 1.1 percent) though as Berrington (1994) points out this is confounded by the relatively young age of cohabitants and the fact that cohabitation is more common within the Black groups compared to the other ethnic minority groups, who also have a greater tendency to form inter-ethnic unions. Among groups where cohabitation is unusual, such as Indian, where a member of that group does cohabit, then it is more likely to be with someone from a different ethnic group, usually White. The overall effect is that there are more inter-ethnic cohabiting unions, compared to the proportion of inter-ethnic marriages. The patterns of inter-ethnic cohabiting unions are similar to marital unions, with the largest number of these unions occurring between Black-Caribbean men and White women, where there are over three times as many unions as between Black-Caribbean women and White men.

Table 7a: Number of marriages by ethnic group of husband and wife.

	Ethnic group of wife										
Ethnic grp of husband	White	Black Carib	Black African	Black Other	Indian	Pakis-tani	Bangla-deshi	Chinese	Other Asian	Other Other	*Total*
White	115109	79	36	43	63	10	-	73	137	111	*115661*
Black-Carib	135	511	7	9	4	1	-	1	2	8	*678*
Black-African	41	14	189	4	2	1	-	-	-	2	*253*
Black-Other	51	3	2	52	1	-	-	-	2	-	*111*
Indian	108	2	3	1	1754	16	-	5	4	4	*1897*
Pakistani	34	-	-	1	6	771	-	-	4	3	*819*
Bangladeshi	4	-	2	-	4	1	213	-	-	2	*226*
Chinese	33	-	-	-	2	-	-	227	-	-	*262*
Other-Asian	51	4	-	1	3	4	1	2	291	6	*363*
Other-Other	188	2	-	2	6	4	-	2	5	185	*394*
Total	*115754*	*615*	*239*	*113*	*1845*	*808*	*214*	*310*	*445*	*321*	*120664*

 1% Household SAR . Usual residents, cells relate to number of unions, not individuals.

Table 7b: Number of cohabiting unions by ethnic group of male and female partners.

Ethnic grp of male cohabitee	Ethnic group of female cohabitee: White	Black Carib	Black African	Black Other	Indian	Pakis-tani	Bangla-deshi	Chinese	Other Asian	Other Other	*Total*
White	11041	23	5	20	8	-	-	6	11	28	*11142*
Black-Carib	90	88	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	4	*187*
Black-African	7	2	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*28*
Black-Other	25	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	1	*36*
Indian	26	-	1	-	8	2	-	-	-	1	*38*
Pakistani	8	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	*12*
Bangladeshi	3	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	*7*
Chinese	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	*8*
Other-Asian	4	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	5	-	*11*
Other-Other	30	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	6	*38*
Total	*11235*	*113*	*28*	*31*	*18*	*7*	*4*	*14*	*17*	*40*	*11507*

 1% Household SAR.. Usual residents, all dependent and non-dependent children, cells refer to the number of children.

Focusing on the Black-Other group, table 7a shows that Black-Other men in a marital couple are evenly divided between those with a Black-Other wife and those whose wife is White. Amongst Black-Other wives, just over a third have a White husband, almost half have a Black-Other husband and the rest have a Black-Caribbean or Black-African husband. The pattern of marital-union formation among Black-Other adults is therefore distinctive, as around half are with a partner of a different ethnic group. This pattern may reflect a difference in ethnic identity among members of the Black community who enter mixed-ethnic unions, compared to those who marry within their ethnic group.

8. Family Formation

Tables 4 to 7b also show important distinctions between the living arrangements among the different ethnic groups. For example, taking the figures presented in tables 7a and 7b, 20 per cent of all unions involving one Black-Caribbean partner are cohabiting unions, with 9 per cent of these involving at least one White partner. In addition table 4 shows that almost half of Black-Caribbean children live in one parent households. These differences in patterns of family formation for children and adult women are illustrated in figures 2a to 4. The Household SAR has been utilised to establish household types based on the Overton and Ermisch classification of minimal household units (Overton and Ermisch, 1984; Holdsworth, 1995). There are four basic units: unmarried adults, which includes all adults not in a couple or who do not have a dependent child; one parent families with dependent children;[10] couples without dependent children (including both cohabiting and marital unions); and couples with dependent children.[11] Figures 2a to 2d illustrate these four types of living arrangements for women aged 16 and over (excluding those who are dependent children) by age for four combined ethnic groups: White; Black (including Black-Caribbean, Black-African and Black-Other); Indian; and Pakistani and Bangladeshi combined. It has been necessary to combine

[10] A one parent family is defined as a family with only one parent present with dependent children. The marital status of the parent is not taken into account; hence in many cases the parent heading the family may be married, but they are not recorded as living with a spouse. Lone grandparents living with grand-children are also classified as one parent families.

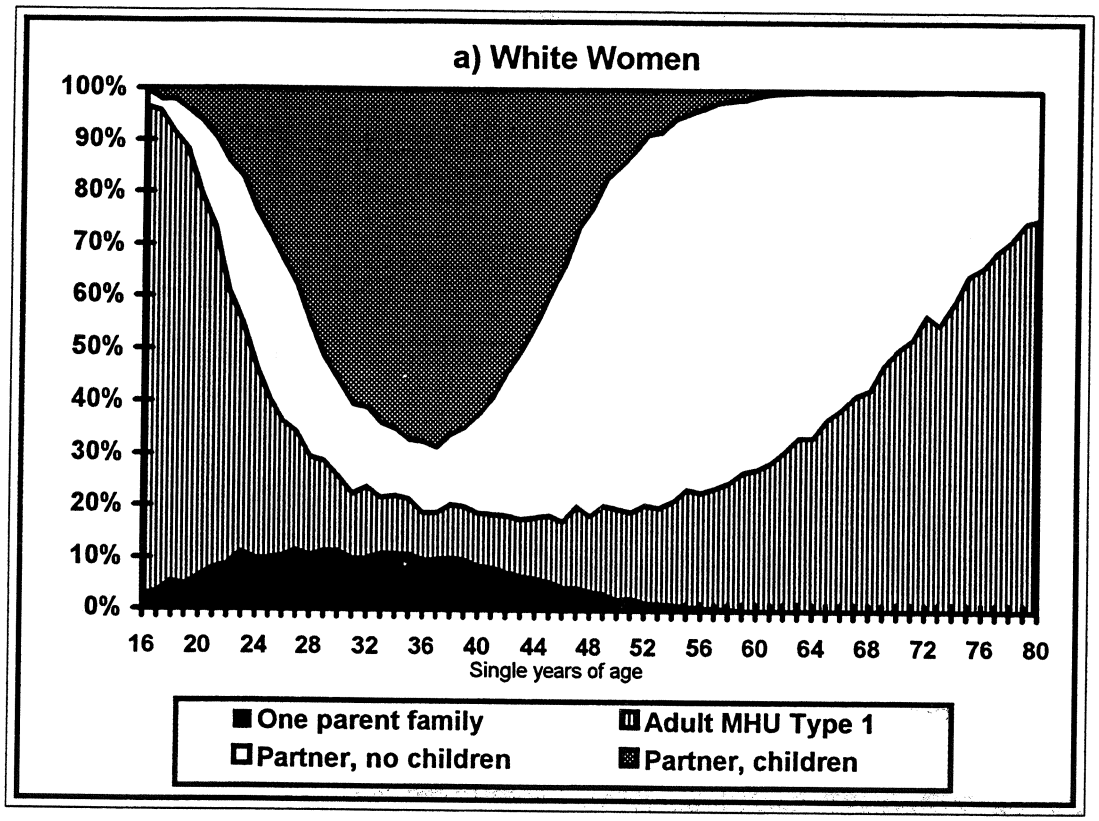
[11] The definition of non-dependent children used to define minimal household units differs from that used in the Census. All students aged 16 to 18 living away from the parental home are defined as non-dependent children. All dependent children aged 16 and under who are not living with their parents but with other relatives or other adults, are also classified in the first minimal household classification. Consequently, they are not counted as dependent on the adult relatives with whom they are residing.

the groups in this way as the numbers in the three Black groups and for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are too small to distinguish differences in family formation by age. To compare the differences between the Black groups, the distribution of minimal household unit types for all women aged 16 and over in each ethnic group is illustrated in figure 3.

For all four ethnic groups, the majority of women in their late teens are non-dependent children living with their parent(s) and are therefore classified as unmarried adults in MHU type 1. However, women in their twenties and thirties have very different living arrangements across the four ethnic groups. In particular, there is a much higher proportion of Black women heading one parent families compared to the other three groups, especially at younger ages. This would therefore suggest, as Berrington (1994) argues from analysis of the Labour Force Survey, that the traditional Caribbean pattern of visiting unions and childbearing outside marriage is being practised by British born Black women and men. However, the proportion of women heading one-parent families is similar for Black-African and Black-Other women, roughly 20 per cent for all three black groups (figure 3), hence the formation of one-parent families is common among all Black women. Within the Asian groups, there is a greater proportion of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women heading one parent families, compared to Indian women, although it is important to note that the majority (85 per cent) of Pakistani and Bangladeshi lone mothers are either married or widowed (table 8). These women are also more likely to be non-UK born. Asian lone mothers are also older than their Black and White counterparts which is due, in some cases, to grandmothers living with grandchildren being classified as lone mothers.

The larger proportion of Black women heading one parent families is offset by a much smaller proportion of Black women living with partners and children in their twenties and thirties. By contrast the majority of Asian women in this age-group live with dependent children and partners. This is associated with both early and universal marriage among Asian women (Berrington, 1994; Coleman and Salt, 1991), but also the high proportion of older women living with a partner and dependent children, which suggests that more Asian women have children at older ages. The patterns of living arrangements of Black and Asian women are therefore very different, reflecting both the importance of cultural traditions and social circumstances within each ethnic group (Heath and Dale, 1994).

Figure 2:
Position within minimal household units for women aged 16 and over, by age and ethnic group



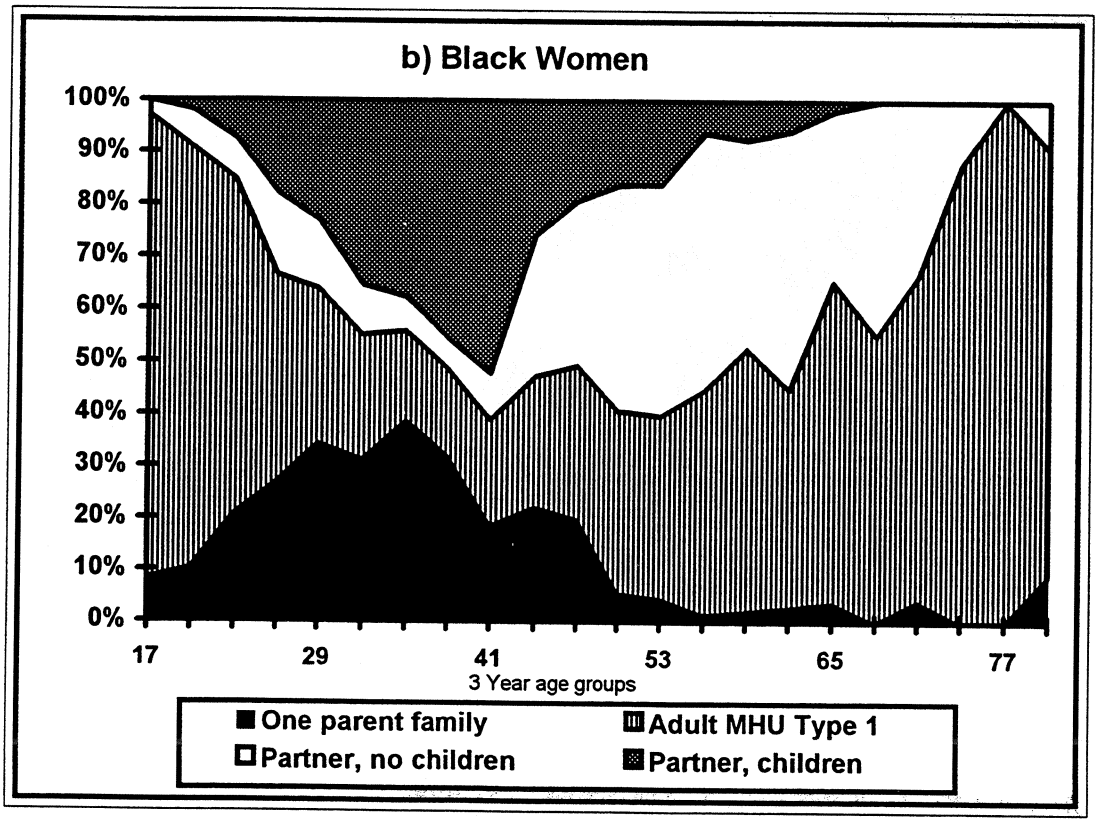
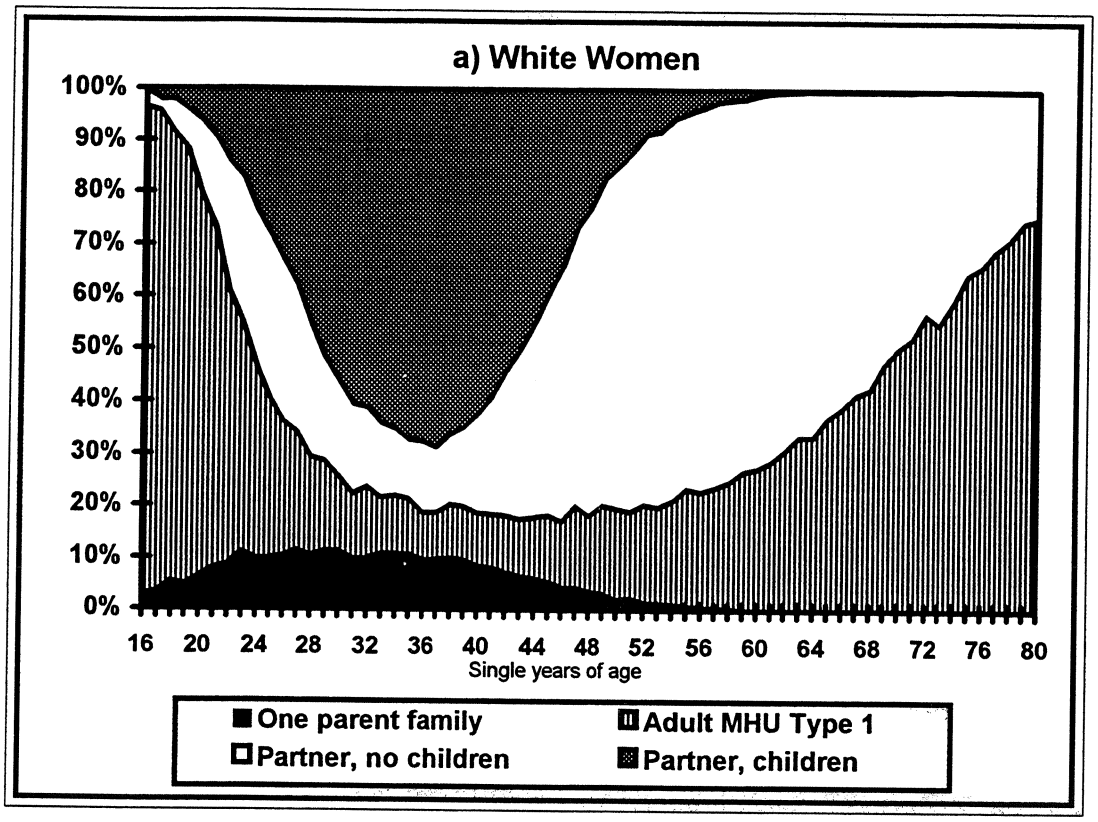


Figure 2:
Position within minimal household units for women aged 16 and over, by age and ethnic group



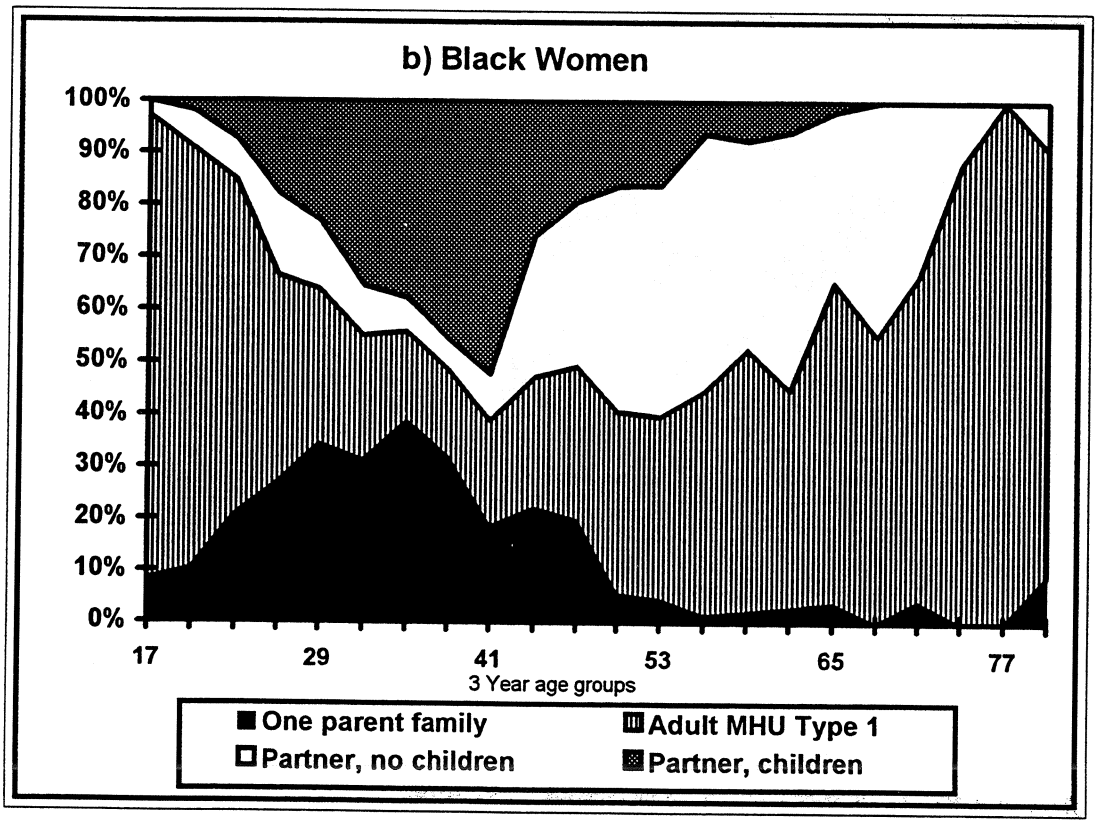
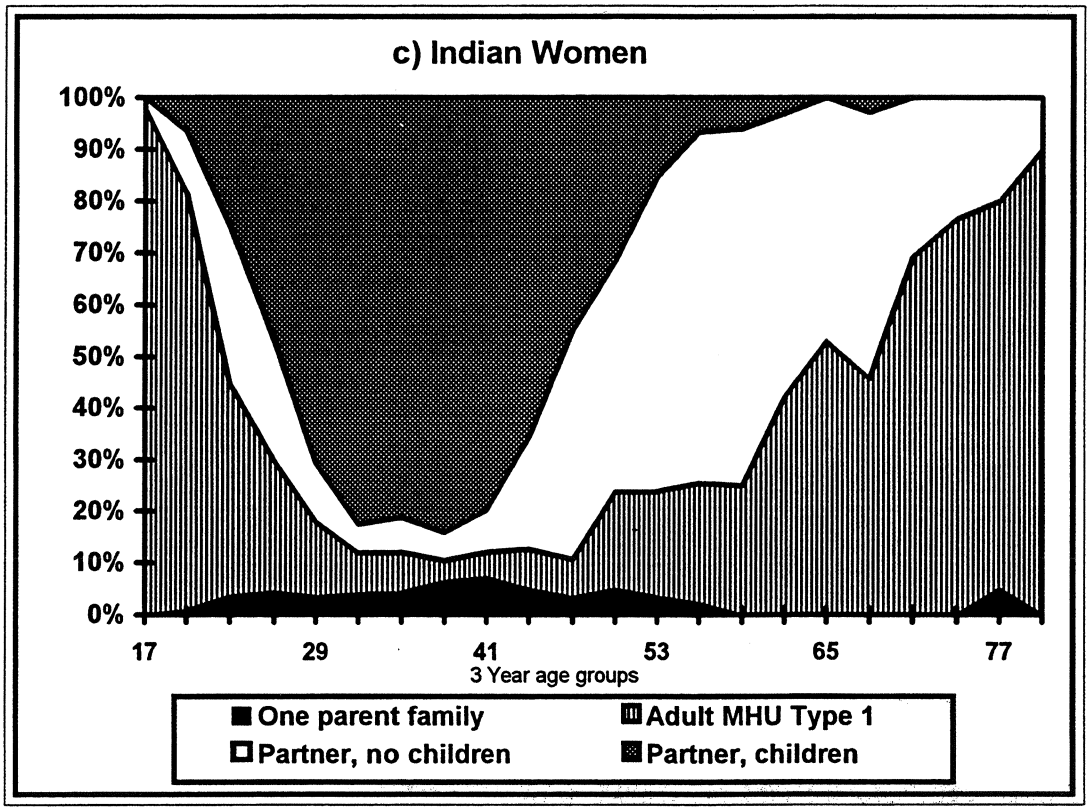
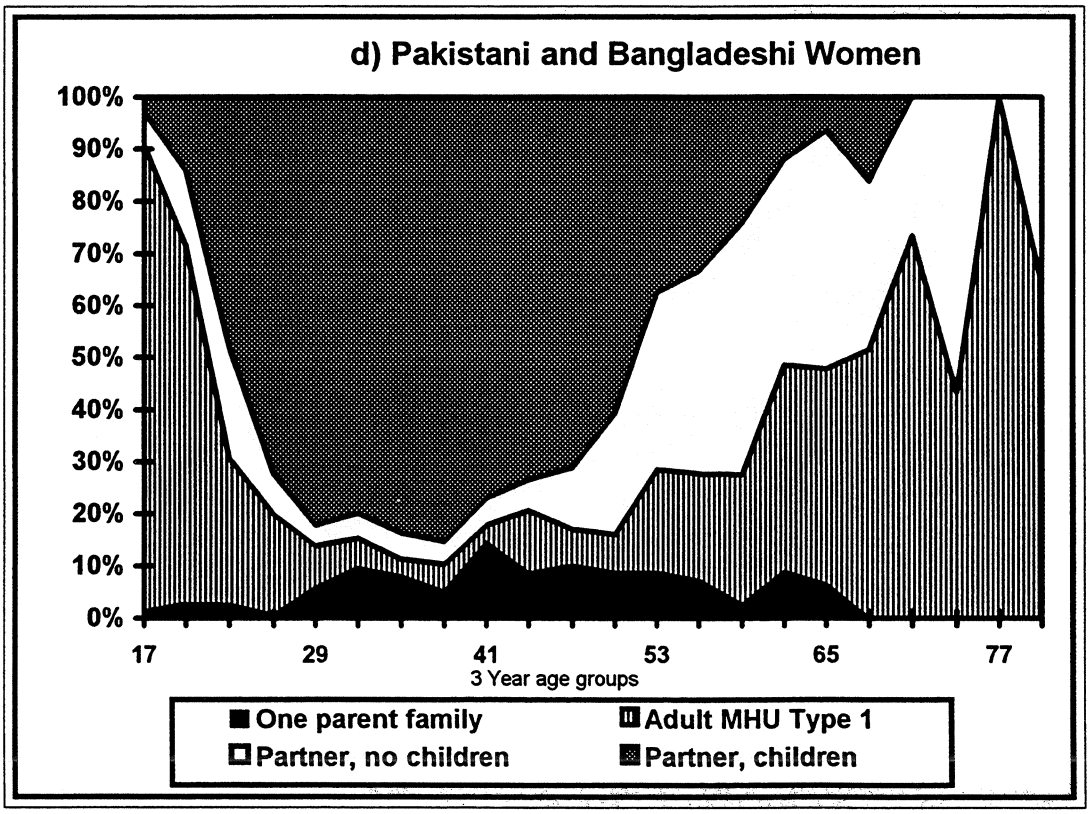


Figure 2:
Position within minimal household units for women aged 16 and over, by age and ethnic group





At older ages there is a greater proportion of White women living with a partner and no dependent children than in the other three groups (figures 2a to 2d). The smaller percentage of Asian women in this category may be explained by a higher rate of widowhood among Asian women and a large number of older Asian women with dependent children, particularly among Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. Among Black women the pattern at older ages is affected by lower partnership rates.

Table 8: *a) Marital status and b) Country of birth of women heading one parent families by ethnic group.*

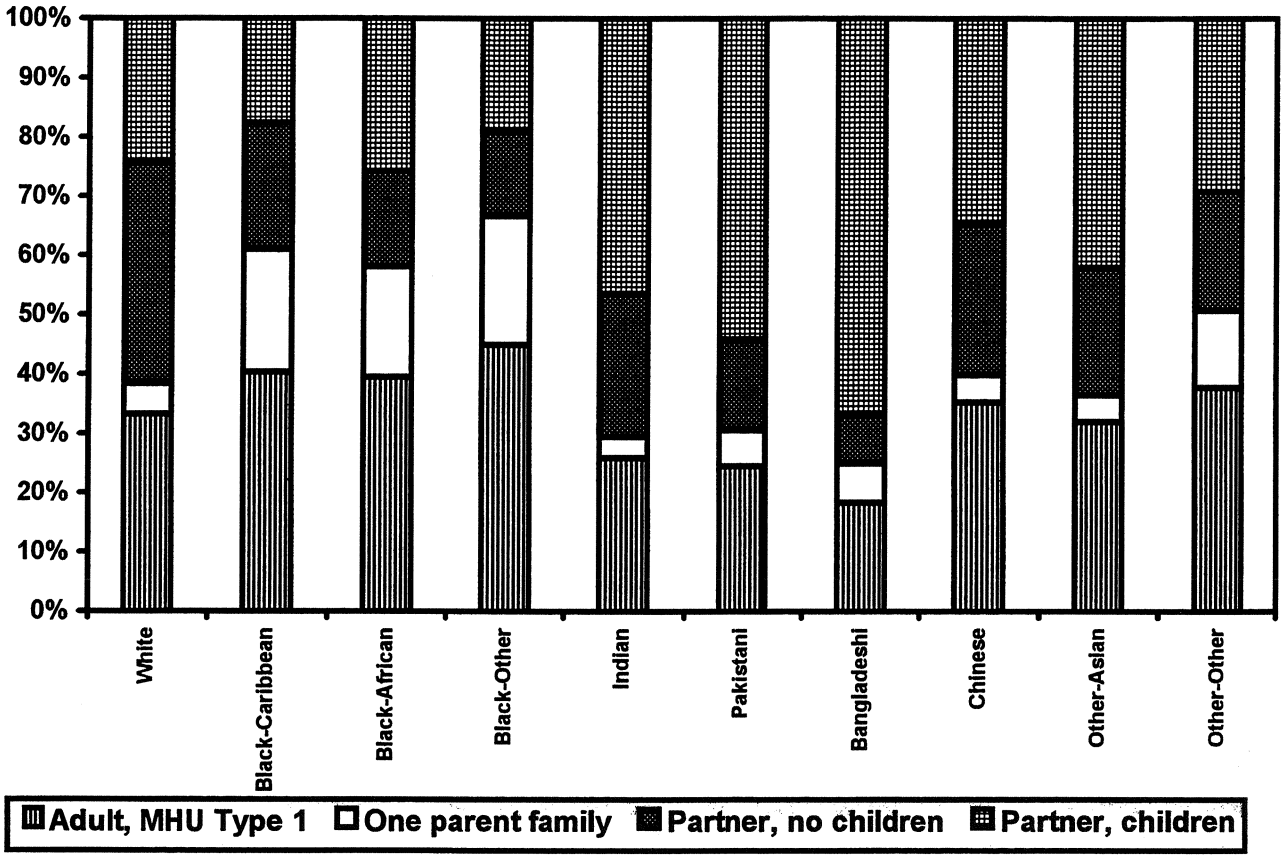
a) marital status

row %	Single	Married	Remarried	Divorced	Widowed	*Total*
White	34.6	18.2	2.5	39.2	5.5	*10451*
All Black groups	69.6	12.5	0.7	14.0	3.2	*598*
Indian	10.4	40.6	1.0	20.8	27.1	*96*
Pakistani & Bangladeshi	3.3	52.2	-	12.2	32.2	*90*
All Women	*36.0*	*18.4*	*2.3*	*37.5*	*5.8*	*11235*

b) Country of birth

row %	UK-born	Non UK-born	*Total*
White	95.7	4.3	*10451*
All Black groups	52.7	47.3	*598*
Indian	17.7	82.3	*96*
Pakistani & Bangladeshi	7.8	92.2	*90*
All women	*92.0*	*8.0*	*11235*

Figure 3: Position within minimal household units for all women aged 16 and over, by ethnic group

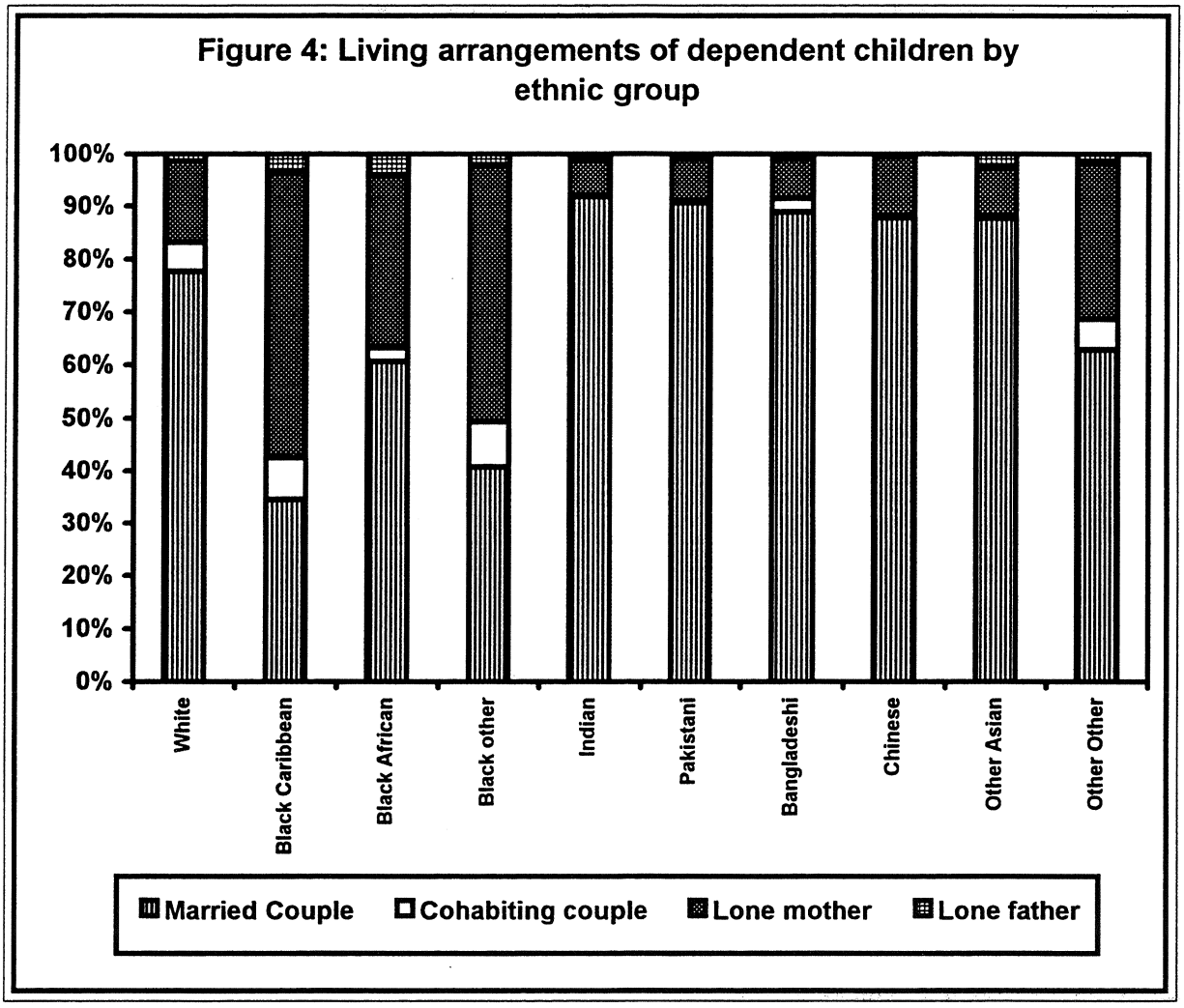


Crown Copyright. 1% Household SAR. Usual residents, excluding full-time students aged 16 to 18 living in parental home.

The breakdown of MHU position by family type, reveals some important differences in family formation by age. However, overall patterns of living arrangements (figure 3) are influenced by the age structure of the ethnic minority groups. The larger proportion of lone mothers among Black women, and of couples with dependent children among Asian women, in comparison to the greater proportion of White women with a partner and no dependent children, is partly due to the younger age structure of ethnic minority groups, in addition to the differences outlined above. In particular the large proportion of women from the Black-Other group heading one parent families, and in MHU type 1, may be associated with the young age structure of this group.

The Household SAR may also be used to examine the living arrangements of dependent children, as illustrated in figure 4. The differences observed in the living arrangements of women in different ethnic groups, are also reflected in their children's family type, with almost half of all children from the Black-Caribbean and Black-Other groups living in one-parent families headed by women (a much smaller minority live in one parent families headed by a man). Children living with cohabiting parents tend to be concentrated among the White, Black-Caribbean, Black-Other and Other-Other groups, the highest proportion of children living with married parents are found amongst Asian children.

This analysis of living arrangements may be extended to examine household formation. Figures 5 and 6 illustrate household types for couples with dependent children and one parent families (headed by women). The ethnicity of the mother in each family has been taken to represent family ethnicity. While the concept of family ethnicity may be relatively unproblematic for most White and Asian families, the analysis of ethnic homogeneity illustrates the difficulty of establishing family ethnicity for the Black groups, particularly the Black-Other group, where the ethnic composition within households and families is very heterogeneous. Therefore in the majority of Black-Other families, other family members may not belong to the same ethnic group.



Crown Copyright. 1% Household SAR. Usual Residents. All children aged less than 16 and all full-time students aged 16 to 18.

Figure 5: Living arrangements of women in partnerships with dependent children by ethnic group

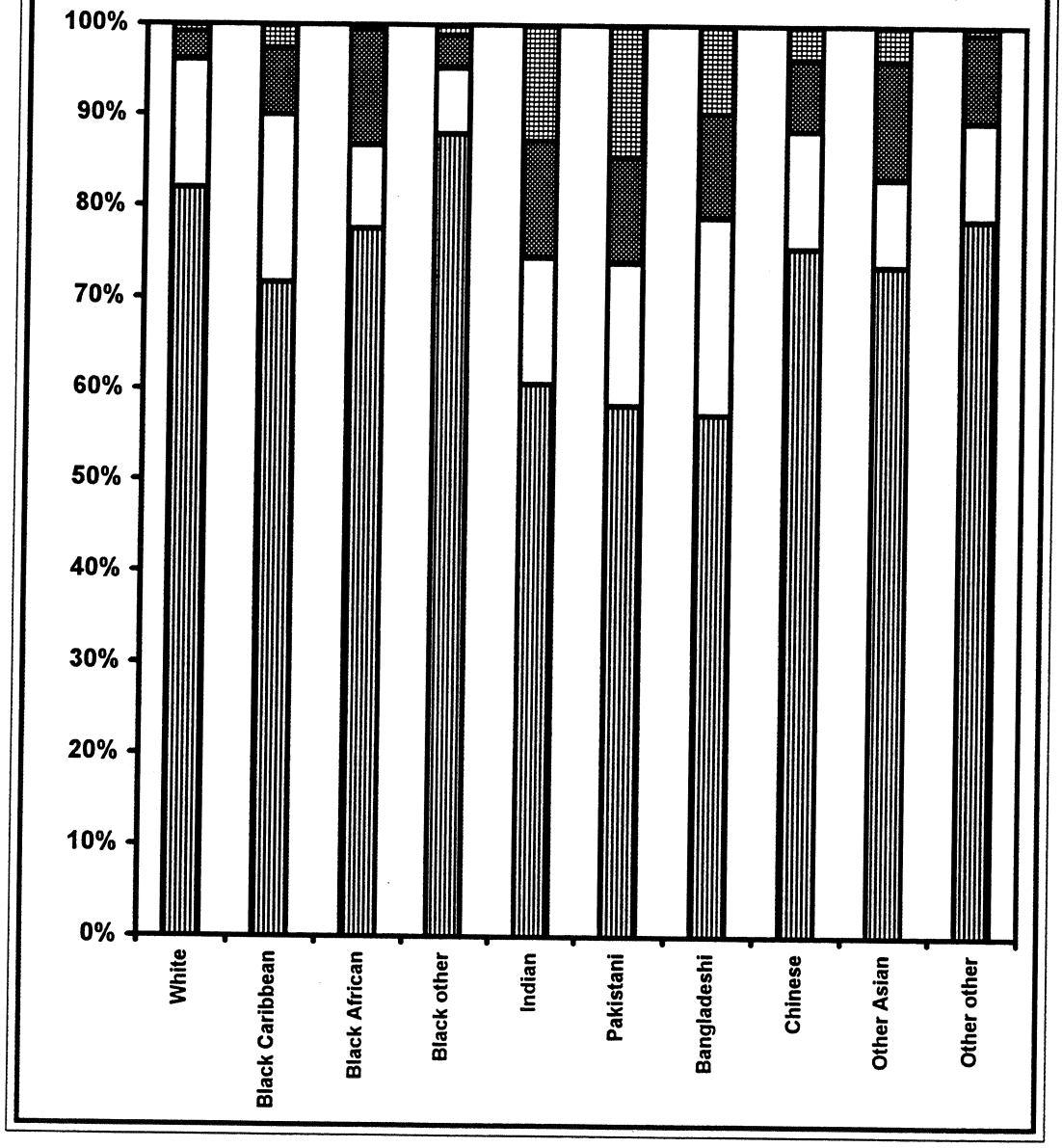
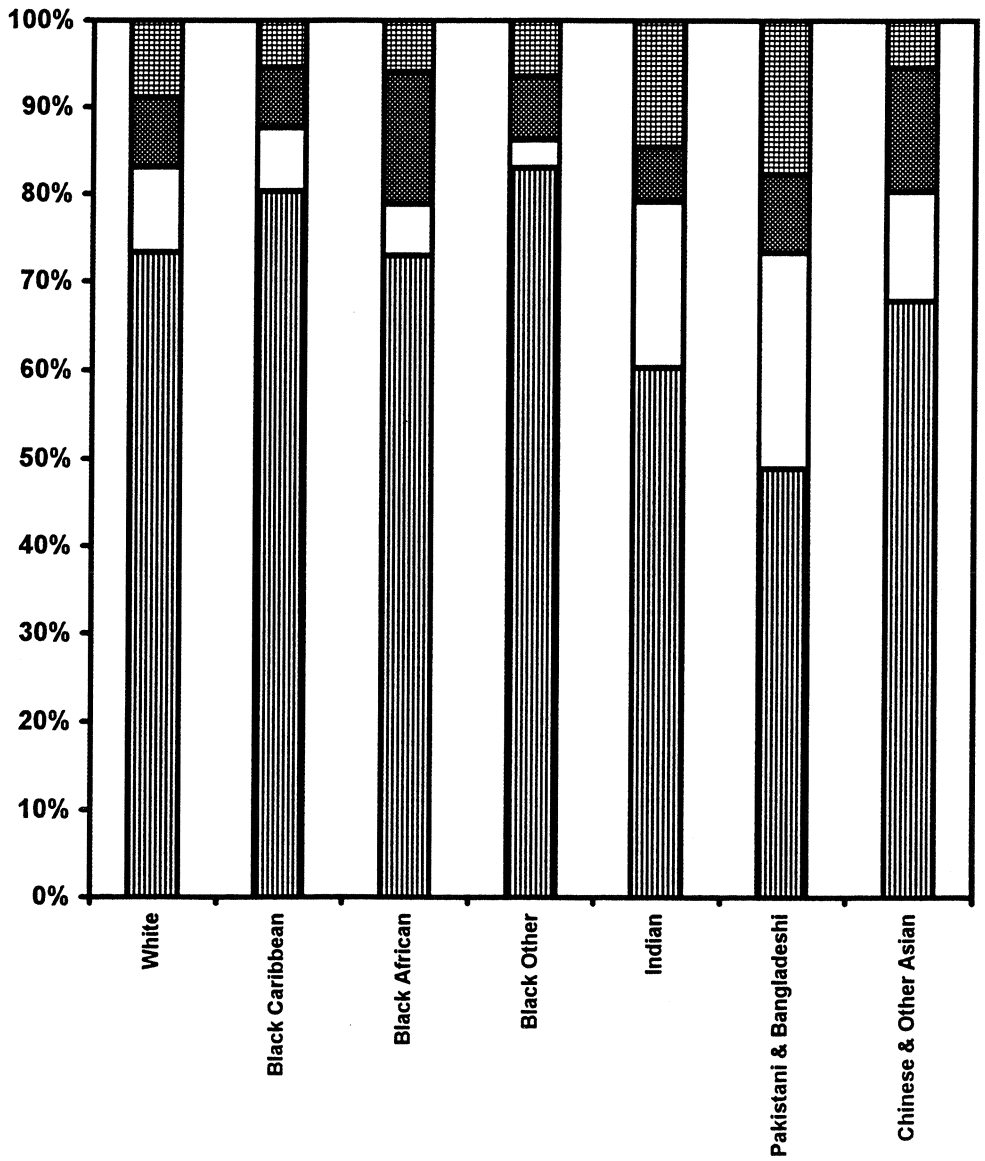


Figure 6: Living arrangements of women in one parent families, by ethnic group



- Two or more family units (complex households)
- With dependent and non-dependent children
- With dependent or non-dependent children and other adults
- With dependent children only

Taking couples first, White and Black women in couples are more likely, than Asian women, to live with partners and dependent children only. The most striking difference occurs among Pakistani and Bangladeshi families, of whom around half live in either complex households (households with more than one family unit), with other adults and non-dependent children, or with non-dependent children. The same pattern holds for one parent families, though a slightly greater proportion of White lone mothers live with other adults, compared to couples with children. This may reflect the relatively insecure position of these families, particularly the poor employment opportunities of lone mothers.

Finally, the differences observed in both living arrangements and family formation will also affect the average household size between the different ethnic groups, (table 9). In general, Asian households, noticeably Pakistani and Bangladeshi households, are larger than White or Black households. This will be influenced by the living arrangements outlined above, as a higher percentage of Asian households include more than one family unit, and/or non-dependent children, than White and Black households. The younger age structure of the Asian groups will also increase household size, as will the relatively small proportion of both Asian one-parent families and Asians living alone, and to a certain extent, differential fertility (Berrington, 1994).

Table 9: Mean Household size by ethnic group

Ethnic group of household head	Mean household size
White	2.44
Black-Caribbean	2.53
Black-African	2.85
Black-Other	2.50
Indian	3.83
Pakistani	4.81
Bangladeshi	5.18
Chinese	3.02
Other-Asian	3.21
Other-Other	2.76
Total Population	2.48

9. Conclusion

Comparisons of the ethnic composition of households and families members in the Household SAR have demonstrated that, for both the White and the majority of ethnic minority groups, there is a strong degree of ethnic homogeneity, with most household and family members recording the same ethnic group. The comparison of ethnic composition of households and families therefore illustrates that responses to the 1991 Census question on ethnic group remain stable across generations, particularly for the White and Asian groups. However, the majority of Black-Other respondents do not live in a households headed by a Black-Other individual, while half of Other-Other respondents live in households headed by someone from another ethnic group (usually White). Further, parents of Black-Other children come from a number of different ethnic groups. The majority of Black-Other children live with either one White and one Black parent or two Black parents. A minority of Black-Caribbean children are ascribed to an ethnic group which differs from their parents, 12 per cent of children living with two Black-Caribbean parents are Black-Other, while of Black-Other children, 17 per cent have two Black-Caribbean parents. However these figures will, to a certain extent, underestimate the number of Black-British respondents of Caribbean descent, for two reasons. First, as noted above, this analysis assumes that all household members' ethnic groups are accurately coded on the Census form (see footnote 5), which in practice may not always be the case. Second, the analysis of Black-Other children does not include children living away from the parental home, who may be more likely to refer to themselves as Black-British. The 553 children included in the analysis account for one third of the Black-Other group in the household SAR, hence a significant proportion of the Black-British group may come from outside of this subgroup. However, from this analysis it is possible to conclude that, while some Black children of Caribbean descent did choose an ethnic group which establishes their British - as opposed to their Caribbean - roots they only represent a minority of children. In so far as responses to the 1991 Census are concerned, classification of Black ethnic groups is relatively stable across generations.

The Household SAR has also been used to examine patterns of household composition and family formation. Each ethnic group is distinguished by differential patterns, reflecting the reproduction of cultural traditions among both non-UK born and UK born ethnic minority

groups. In particular, there is a larger proportion of one-parent families among Black-Caribbean women, while Asian women at all child-bearing ages are more likely to be married with dependent children. These patterns of family formation for women are reflected in the living arrangements of dependent children, with over half of all Black children living in one-parent families, while practically all Asian children live with a married couple. There are also differences in household composition between the different ethnic groups. Though the majority of households in the Household SAR contain one family unit, the breakdown by ethnic group reveals that among Asian households, there is a higher proportion of complex households. In contrast, the composition of Black households is more similar to that of White households.

The diversity outlined above, can only generalise across the broad experiences of different ethnic communities within Britain. However, despite the level of generalisation that has to be made when utilising the ethnic group question in the SARs, this analysis has demonstrated that it is possible to define patterns of family formation and household composition for ten ethnic groups.

References

Ballard, R. (1994) 'What should we mean by ethnicity?' (Seminar paper, presented to Manchester Census Group, Manchester University)

Ballard, R. and Kalra, (1994) 'The ethnic dimensions of the 1991 census: a preliminary report', (University of Manchester: Manchester Census Group Occasional Paper).

Berrington, A. (1994) 'Marriage and family formation among the white and ethnic minority populations in Britain', *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* **17**, 517-546.

Bulmer, M. (1986) 'A controversial census topic', *Journal of Official Statistics.* **2**, 471-480.

Coleman, D. (1985) 'Ethnic intermarriage in Great Britain', *Population Trends*, **40.**

Coleman, D. and Salt, J. (1991) *The British Population: Patterns, Trends and Processes,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Hann, C. (1994) 'Census categories: should they be changed?', *Social Research Association News*, November, 4.

Heath, S. and Dale, A. (1994) 'Household and family formation in Great Britain: the ethnic dimension', *Population Trends*, **77**, 5-13.

Her Majesty's Government (1988) '1991 Census of population' *Cmnd. 430* (London: HMSO).

Holdsworth, C. (1995) 'Minimal Household Units' *SARs Newsletter*, **5**, 3-7.

Immigrant Statistics Unit (1975) 'Country of birth and colour 1971-4', *Population Trends*, **2**, 2-8.

Lomas, G. (1973) *The Coloured Population of Great Britain* (London: The Runnymede Trust).

Jones, P. (1984) 'Ethnic intermarriage in Britain: a further assessment' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, **7**, 398-405.

Jones, T. (1993) *Britain's Ethnic Minorities* (London: Policy Studies Institute).

Marsh, C. (1993) 'The Sample of Anonymised Records', in Dale, A. and Marsh, C. (eds) *The 1991 Census User's Guide* (London: HMSO).

Ní Bhrolcháin, M. (1990) 'The ethnicity question for the 1991 Census: background and issues', *Ethnic & Racial Studies, 13*, 542-567.

Overton, E. and Ermisch, J. (1984) 'Minimal Household Units' *Population Trends*, **35**, 18-22.

Sillitoe, K.(1978) 'Ethnic origins 1, 2, and 3', *Occasional Papers 8, 9 and 10* (London: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys).

Office of Population Census and Surveys (1994) *Census Newsletter*, (December and May).

Sillitoe, K. and White P.H. (1992) 'Ethnic group and the British census: the search for a question', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Series A*, **155**, 141-164.

White, P. (1990) 'A question on ethnic group for the census: findings from the 1989 census test post-enumeration survey', *Population Trends*, **59**, 11-20.

Appendix 1 1991 Census Questions on County of Birth and Ethnic Group

10 Country of birth

Please tick the appropriate box.

If the 'Elsewhere' box is ticked, please write in the present name of the country in which the birthplace is now situated.

England ☐ 1
Scotland ☐ 2
Wales ☐ 3
Northern Ireland ☐ 4
Irish Republic ☐ 5
Elsewhere ☐

If elsewhere, please write in the present name of the country

11 Ethnic group

Please tick the appropriate box.

If the person is descended from more than one ethnic or racial group, please tick the group to which the person considers he she belongs, or tick the 'Any other ethnic group' box and describe the person's ancestry in the space provided.

White ☐ 0
Black-Caribbean ☐ 1
Black-African ☐ 2
Black-Other ☐
please describe

Indian ☐ 3
Pakistani ☐ 4
Bangladeshi ☐ 5
Chinese ☐ 6
Any other ethnic group ☐
please describe