

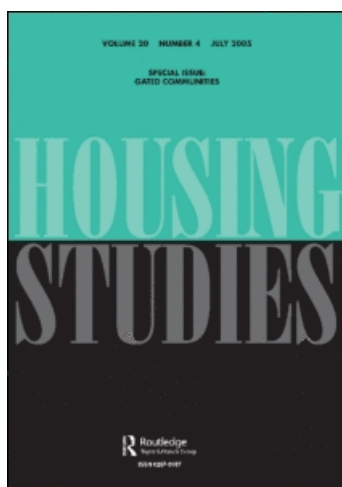
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Jennifer McGarrigle ^a; Ade Kearns ^b

^a Centro de Estudos Geograficos, University of Lisbon, Portugal ^b Department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow, UK

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Living Apart? Place, Identity and South Asian Residential Choice

JENNIFER MCGARRIGLE* & ADE KEARNS**

*Centro de Estudos Geograficos, University of Lisbon, Portugal, **Department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow, UK

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ABSTRACT *This paper looks at changing patterns of residence for South Asians (Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi and other South Asians as represented in the census) in Greater Glasgow, as well as considering what South Asians' motivations for choice of residential location are, and how these relate to issues of personal identity. Providing a single account for the city of Glasgow proves difficult, since there are big differences in experience between traditional areas of settlement and suburbs north of the city centre, compared with those in the south of the city. Whilst the study finds evidence of greater residential mixing by South Asians within the city (contrary to the self-segregation claim), there are also indications that these are somewhat 'bounded choices' made by people trying to balance competing identities and cultural claims and aspirations, and not simply a desire to 'mix'. Equally, one must be careful to interpret suburbanisation as a particular form of 'integration' founded on a normality that involves greater privatisation and socio-economic aspirations and little expectation of social interaction with white neighbours.*

KEY WORDS: Discrimination, segregation, mixing, ethnic identity

Introduction

In recent times questions surrounding 'race' as a spatial divider have come to the forefront of the political and media agenda in Britain, resulting in a revived interest in the causes and significance of residential segregation. Indeed, this is not unique to the UK context, but is apparently an international concern. In the words of Musterd & De Vos (2007, p. 334): "In the international literature, these thoughts can be found under the headings of 'worlds apart,' 'apartheid', 'divided cities', 'dual cities', 'parallel societies' and many variations on this theme (Boal, 1999; Marcuse & van Kempen, 2000; Massey & Denton, 1993; Phillips, 2006)". In Europe, this reflects a general concern among politicians that residential segregation or clustering will inhibit integration, equality outcomes and result in fragmented societies. It has led to policy responses and debates, particularly in the UK (Peach, 2007),

Correspondence Address: Jennifer McGarrigle, CEG, Faculdade de Letras, Alameda da Universidade, 1600-214 Lisbon, Portugal. Email: JMcGarrigle@fl.ul.pt

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Sweden (Andersson, 2007) and the Netherlands (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2007), among other countries, favouring ethnic and social residential mixing (Musterd & Andersson, 2005).

There have been many attempts to explain patterns of residential segregation amongst minority groups over the past 40 years. Most have seen it as resulting from constraints faced by migrant groups, in terms of economic inequality and institutional discrimination and/or from choices reflecting culture-based clustering trends (Andersson, 1998; Ratcliffe, 2004). The more pragmatic contributions to this debate have attempted to balance both ideas and recent literature has tended to emphasise the interaction of both choice and constraint in determining residential segregation (Harrison with Davis, 2001; Phillips, 2003; Ratcliffe, 2004) and also the benefits as well as the disadvantages of clustering (Musterd & De Vos, 2007). The differences in housing and labour market positions and settlement patterns of minority ethnic groups in the UK, never mind across Europe, suggest, however, that explanations of segregation will not be uncomplicated.

There has been a more recent shift in contemporary debates with particular governments questioning multicultural models of integration as resulting in subgroups that fail to interact with mainstream society and other cultures (Musterd & De Vos, 2007; Mitchell, 2004), exemplified by residential segregation. In this ambit, political rhetoric has often turned to focus on the separatist tendencies of particular minority ethnic groups as the causal and sustaining factor of social, cultural and residential segregation and the focus has returned to favour more assimilationist views. This has been especially the case in the UK as a consequence of the disturbances in northern English towns in 2001 and more recently of the 7/7 bombings. On a European level, other national events and the aftermath of 9/11 have also given credence to such views. This discourse, in the example of the UK, whilst advancing new and pressing policy concerns onto the agenda regarding multiculturalism, community cohesion and belonging in British society, has propagated narrow views of South Asians based on oversimplified explanations. New Labour's subsequent community cohesion agenda and the current debate on the failings of multiculturalism have at times overlooked actual residential patterns and the real choices and opportunities open to minority ethnic groups. Other authors have highlighted the lack of empirical evidence upon which discussions of 'increasing segregation' have been based and indeed, found that residential patterns reflected a 'development toward integration' (see Musterd & De Vos, 2007, p. 351; Peach, 2007; Simpson, 2004).

This paper, based on a spatial analysis of the changing ethnic geography of Greater Glasgow and in-depth interviews with 40 migrating South Asian (Indian and Pakistani) households, contributes to the evidence base for the above debate by exploring two key questions. First, whether South Asian groups are continuing to segregate through residence or whether there is also an increasing tendency to mix residentially. Second, based on accounts from South Asian households, the paper explores residential motivations and the basis of South Asian identity and its relationship with place.¹

The first two sections of the paper review the long-standing debate on the explanations and implications of ethnic segregation, followed by an account of the more recent debate which links the notion of 'mixing' with the achievement of 'community cohesion'. The next section describes the research and study area of Greater Glasgow, before analysing patterns of residential change in three ways: by mapping changes in population groups within localities across the conurbation; by examining the degree of clustering by neighbourhood, within localities; and by using conventional indices of segregation. The paper then reports the qualitative findings regarding South Asians' motivations for moving

to the suburbs. Here, competing cultural aspirations and expectations are important, particularly in relation to the role that place plays as an identifier: many South Asian movers simultaneously sought both higher social positioning as well as cultural distance. The concluding section discusses the utility of segregation measures, the difficulties of interpreting residential mixing and the particular take on 'integration' adopted by Indian and Pakistani suburbanites.

Competing Explanations for Segregation

Although segregation was adopted as an impartial term of analysis for spatial differentiation within cities, whether by class, ethnicity or life cycle, by the Chicago School in the 1920s, it has accrued a distinctly negative association related predominantly with ethnicity (Droogleever Fortuijn *et al.*, 1998). In general, the American experience has dominated much of the research tradition, and debate in this area has formed along the lines of cultural-ethnic explanations on the one hand and socio-economic explanations on the other (Andersson, 1998, p. 406). A similar polarity of views has partly characterised the European debate, and models explaining segregation have been dominated by the choice and constraint debate. According to Ratcliffe (2004, p. 66) this debate in essence is "a reworking in a substantive context of the structure-agency dualism". Those adopting the choice based stand argue that individual actors make informed or rational choices, related to their ethnic and cultural backgrounds and/or to their reason for migrating, about where they settle (Ballard & Ballard, 1977; Dayha, 1974; Lewis, 1994). Evidence of this is the fact that there is decisive ethnic grouping, i.e. clear decisions on the part of particular minority ethnic individuals to live together, with "immigrants of the same origin want[ing] to stick together", rather than immigrants being segregated in their entirety from wider society (Andersson, 1998, p. 407; Andersson, 2007; O'Loughlin & Glebe, 1984). Contemporary political debates in the UK have returned to more cultural explanations. There has been a focus on the so-called separatist tendencies of particular minority ethnic groups living 'parallel lives' in an attempt to preserve social, ethnic or religious identities as being a barrier to social inclusion and cohesion (Independent Review Team, 2001; Ouseley, 2001).

Earlier cultural explanations were overwritten by later research that prioritised social exclusion and racism (Andersson, 2007; Brama, 2006), discriminatory policies, housing market dynamics and the characteristics of the housing stock (Musterd & Fullaondo, 2008). Proponents of the constraint theory of segregation attribute little worth to the idea of 'voluntary segregation'. Rather, they contend that the spatial pattern of minority ethnic groups is dictated by their weak position in the housing market and low socio-economic position (Rex & Moore, 1967; Sarre *et al.*, 1989; Smith, 1989). The disadvantage minority ethnic groups face due to their racial status, sometimes referred to as 'ethnic penalties', such as fear of harassment and discriminatory practices in housing institutions, further exacerbates this (Harrison *et al.*, 2005, pp. 18–20; Sarre *et al.*, 1989).

More recent contributions have stressed the dialectic relationship between choice and constraint, given that the realities of people's experiences reflect elements of both, and indeed elements of inclusion and exclusion. Furthermore, the complexity of the interplay of structural constraints and agency/choice and the significance of diverse experiences and other forms of difference has been given recognition in explanations of segregation (Ratcliffe, 2004, p. 71). Phillips (2003, p. 47) concedes that it is probable that residential

patterns are rather a reflection of ‘bounded choices’, meaning choices realised within the context of constraints, be they structural, cultural or other household factors. For example, also highlighting the importance of the temporal dimension, cultural factors and clustering to preserve them, may be a resource for new migrants, but may also act as a simultaneous constraint for some long settled migrants (related to religious and cultural obligations). Other authors have stressed the factors that make living in an ethnic cluster attractive, such as the development of social capital (Phillips, 2003; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993) and ethnic entrepreneurship (Bowes *et al.*, 2002; Kloosterman & Rath, 2003), whilst concurrently being a response to wider exclusionary forces or a defence mechanism against hostility (Özüekren & van Kempen, 2002; Peach, 1998; Phillips, 1998; Tomlins *et al.*, 2002; van Kempen & Ozuekren, 1998).

Further to the dialectical relationship between social agency and systematic processes is the changing nature of both elements in this relationship. Ratcliffe (2004, p. 68) asserts that both are not static, but change over time due to both general social change and policy or legal interventions, such as improvements in discriminatory practices in public and private institutions, changes in the housing market as well as demographic, socio-economic and generational changes within the minority ethnic population itself. Sarre *et al.* (1989) argued for a more dynamic form of analysis, that considers social structures as constantly changing ‘at micro-, meso- and macro-levels’, meaning the actor faces constantly changing opportunities and constraints (Ratcliffe, 2004, p. 69). In a similar vein, Harrison with Davis (2001, p. 9) contend that rather than structural factors and agency or choice being deemed as opposing explanations we see ‘patterns of effects’. Indeed, in line with this the authors offer a model that accents the importance of both diversity of experience and the effects of structural factors. They broaden the analytical framework by extending the notion of diversity through developing the idea of ‘difference within difference’. This recognises the fact that individuals negotiate their identities and may have more than one affiliation as well as strategies and experiences that are more complex than the differentiations between general categories of difference, such as social class, ‘race’ and gender. This echoes Ratcliffe’s (2004, p. 33) reservation that ‘race’ and ethnicity have tended to take precedence over class and social stratification as a mono-causal explanation of residential patterns. “Diversity of household experiences, strategies and identities”, write Harrison with Davis (2001, pp. 8–9), “occurs alongside or within a broader and persisting pattern of differences”. Moreover, difference is not only an “expression of choice”, but is regulated and developed through structural processes (p. 8). Similarly, structures or structural constraints may indeed be influenced or changed by the choices and conduct of individual actors (p. 37), highlighting what Ratcliffe (2004) and Sarre *et al.* (1989), building on Giddens’ theory of structuration, describe as a two-way interaction. On a final note, it is also important to mention the ‘spatial-temporal element’ as another dimension of segregation (Droogleever Fortuijn *et al.*, 1998; Musterd & Fullaondo, 2008). Explanations of segregation are likely to differ across cities and points in time given that processes and patterns are heterogeneous across Europe.

Changing Discourses of Segregation and Politics of Identity in the UK

At the European level, there has been renewed debate on segregation. This is related to the fear that spatial segregation will increase and produce ‘American conditions’ contributing to a disintegration of social cohesion and impede integration (Droogleever Fortuijn *et al.*,

1998, p. 367; Musterd & De Vos, 2007). Examples of this can be found in political discourse and policy responses in various European states. Immigrants have been portrayed in German media and political debates as retreating into mono-cultural communities resulting in 'parallelsellschaften'. Not dissimilar to the terminology employed in the UK, these 'parallel societies' are considered to hinder social cohesion and integration, on the one hand, while providing conditions for fundamentalism and anti-democratic sentiment on the other (Schönwälder, 2007, p. 7). Segregation, although absent from public debate since the 1970s, has become a pressing policy concern in the Netherlands. Dutch policy has also shifted from a celebrated multicultural model to take a more assimilationist stance, albeit more subtle than in the 1970s (Uitermark *et al.*, 2005). Assimilationist measures, under the guise of 'urban restructuring', have targeted ethnic neighbourhoods in the attempt to produce more mixed neighbourhoods (Musterd, 2002; Musterd & Ostendorf, 2007). Another example can be seen further north in Sweden. As in other countries, initiatives that were seen as being emblematic have now been deemed as causal factors in processes of ethnic concentration and isolation. The Million Homes Programme, which was once an exemplar of Swedish state-led urban planning, has been cast as causing ethnic segregation (Andersson, 2007). Policy responses have included anti-segregation measures across several Swedish cities. Increasingly so, there is a perception that lack of integration is related with residential segregation. However, the idea that this relationship is always negative or even clear has been questioned in the literature (see Musterd & De Vos, 2007; Phillips, 2006).

For the specific case of the UK, in New Labour's early term issues of race and ethnicity were high on the political agenda, mainly in the context of their commitment to multiculturalism and in line with an inclusion, equality and diversity agenda (Harrison *et al.*, 2005). However, ethnic segregation per se was not at the forefront of government debates or intervention throughout the late 1990s. It was launched firmly on to the agenda in the aftermath of the 2001 race disturbances in Burnley, Oldham and Bradford, three northern English towns, and more recently, of the London transport bombings by 'home-grown' terrorists in 2005. In the wake of the bombings, the Director for the Commission for Racial Equality made a speech warning that Britain was 'sleepwalking into segregation' and that residential isolation was on the increase, especially among South Asian groups (Phillips, 2005).

In response to the 2001 disturbances, three reports were undertaken: two local reports on Burnley and Oldham; and a third, by a Review Team, led by Ted Cantle, commissioned by the then Home Secretary David Blunkett. The objective of the latter was to review the situation in the three towns affected as well as in other parts of England, with the goal of developing national policies to promote community cohesion. The Cantle Report in particular drew attention to the 'self-segregation' of minority groups whereby communities were described as living, working, and socialising separately (Independent Review Team, 2001, p. 9). The lack of equal opportunity was also pointed out (p. 11); however, this was largely overlooked by public debate. Indeed, media discussions focused on the retreat of Asians as a way of preserving Muslim values (Amin, 2002a, p. 5). This rhetoric, at a time of considerable political change in response to 9/11, shifted the focus from the exclusion and lack of equal opportunities that might exist in these communities on to their so-called 'voluntary segregation'. The most frequently quoted illustration of this appears in the Cantle Report, where it is asserted that separate educational facilities, social and cultural networks and language as well as physical divisions mean that,

“many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives” (Independent Review Team, 2001, p. 9). The other reports also problematised ethnic segregation, which was hailed as a process that urgently needed to be reversed (Ouseley, 2001). The isolationist discourse employed marked this as a difficult task, complicated by the resistance of minority ethnic communities to mixing: “the fact that it is mainly self-segregation makes the task all the more challenging” (Ritchie, 2001, p. 4). It is worth noting that no detailed consideration of the relationship between residential segregation and ethnic separation in other socio-spatial domains has been provided.

Among the 67 recommendations in the Cantle Report, housing (policy and provision) was highlighted as being “a major determinant of the shape of communities” and as being key to diffusing these patterns and leading to more mixed environments in other domains (Independent Review Team, 2001, p. 43). The report urges the formation of more, “ambitious strategies to provide more mixed housing areas and to provide supportive mechanisms for minorities facing harassment and intimidation”, while simultaneously taking into consideration the problem of low demand housing, the effects of poverty and the fostering of contact between communities (Independent Review Team, 2001, p. 43).

Following the various recommendations, community cohesion became a policy concern mainstreamed by central government and a series of policy measures were implemented. The Community Cohesion Unit (CCU) was developed within the Home Office. The goal of which is to support and develop good practice and act as an advisory board on creating more cohesive communities. A short time later, in 2003, the Community Cohesion Pathfinders Programme was launched by the Home Office and the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, to develop best practice guidelines for local authorities, which became responsible for implementing the agenda. In 2004, a consultation process was developed as a first step to establishing a government wide strategy for community cohesion and race equality (Home Office, 2004). The subsequent report highlights challenges that must be tackled, specifically “the impact of exclusion and racism, the rise in political and religious extremism and segregation that can divide our communities” (Home Office, 2004, p. 3). In a similar vein to the Cantle Report, it reiterates the separatist tendencies of minority communities in developing cultural and social barriers and subcultures of difference (Home Office, 2004, p. 16; Harrison *et al.*, 2005, p. 84). Besides this, the report highlights the need to create a shared identity and citizenship. *The End of Parallel Lives?*, a follow-up to the first Cantle Report was also published in 2004. Although there was continued emphasis on the aspects of the previous report noted above, there was also an encouraging move toward recognising the importance of linking the equality and the community cohesion agenda to respond to disadvantage (cf. Harrison *et al.*, 2005, p. 86), to some extent echoing the Home Office report.

The subsequent academic debate on this policy development has drawn attention to the fact that before the 2001 disturbances little was known of its theoretical or conceptual moorings. Robinson (2005, p. 1415) argues that, “conceptually speaking, it represented an empty vehicle into which the preoccupations of public policy were poured”. This was, he contends, actualised by drawing on discourses of communitarianism, seen as a means to restore social cohesion and moral order, and changes in New Labour’s stance towards multiculturalism. This illustrates well the logic behind the government’s retreat from multiculturalism. In the context of communitarianism, communities themselves, in the words of Back *et al.* (2002, p. 448), “are commonly charged with the responsibility for being the arbiters of moral worth” and places where people learn “civilised behaviour”.

However, when dominant moral values are not homogeneous or mono-cultural, the local is not considered to exemplify accepted forms of citizenship or cultural values. To the contrary, as Back *et al.* (2002, p. 448) express, the community, “rather than the arbiter of moral worth, becomes a battleground of competing ethics”. Segregation is problematic from this point of view as it is seen to produce communities that are divided from the mainstream moral and value system (Robinson, 2005). The government’s approach embodies this and represents the idea that there is a dominant model of citizenship to be adhered to in the public sphere (Mitchell, 2004). Thus in this context the so-called separatism of particularly South Asian communities has been represented officially as being a failure of multicultural policy (Phillips, 2005).

Studying Ethnic Minority Residence and Identity in Glasgow

The research conducted in the Greater Glasgow conurbation is now used to address two key questions arising out of the recent research and debates reviewed above:

Question 1:

Do ethnic minorities (in particular South Asians in this instance) continue to segregate through residence, or is there evidence of a tendency to residentially mix with the indigenous population?

Question 2:

What do South Asians’ own accounts of their housing movements tell us about their motivations, the basis of their identity and its relationship to place?

The research comprised two parts. First, patterns of South Asian settlement across the Glasgow metropolitan area were compared from 1991 to 2001 at postcode sector level (using 1991 definitions of postcode sector). The metropolitan area comprises Glasgow City plus six surrounding council areas,² and contains 239 postcode sectors. This wider area is important since past work has focused only on Glasgow City despite its narrow spatial confines. In 2001 this study area had a total population of 1.7 million people (one-third of Scotland’s total population), including 32 250 South Asians, 59 per cent of Scotland’s total South Asian population; see Table 1.

The second part of the research consisted of 40 in-depth interviews with South Asian (Indian and Pakistani) homeowners in four case-study areas: two areas of traditional core Asian settlement within Glasgow, namely Woodlands, north-west of the city centre, and Strathbungo/Pollokshields on the inner, south-side of the city; and two areas of suburban settlement, namely Bearsden to the north-west of the city, and Giffnock to the south of the city. The Register of Sasines, a register unique to Scotland, containing data on all property transactions, was used as the sampling framework. Data were extracted from the register for each of the four local case-study areas from 1991 to the end of 2003 (at the time of obtaining the data this was the most recent available). South Asian buyers were identified in each area using Nam Pehchan, a name analysis computer programme developed by Bradford City Council. It also identifies the specific religious and language origin of the name as well as matching it with gender (for additional information see Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2006; Harding *et al.*, 1999; Nanchchal *et al.*, 2001). A total of 100 South Asian homeowners were then randomly sampled in each area over three points in time; from this

Table 1. South Asian population by district and conurbation, 2001

	All people	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Other South Asian	Total South Asian	South Asian (%)	South Asian % of national pop.
Scotland	5 062 011	15 037	31 793	1 981	6 196	55 007	1.09	100.0
Glasgow City	577 869	4 173	15 330	237	2 020	21 760	3.76	39.6
East Dunbartonshire	108 243	1 533	504	38	192	2 267	2.09	4.12
East Renfrewshire	89 311	686	1 769	13	153	2 621	2.93	4.8
North Lanarkshire	321 067	527	1 756	19	213	2 515	0.78	4.6
Renfrewshire	172 867	461	497	8	103	1 069	0.62	1.94
South Lanarkshire	302 216	536	968	29	165	1 698	0.56	3.08
West Dunbartonshire	93 378	103	180	1	43	327	0.35	0.59
Glasgow Conurbation	1 664 951	8 019	21 004	345	2 889	32 257	1.94	58.64

100, 10 were randomly selected and interviewed. Religion was used as a proxy to distinguish between Indian and Pakistani households.³ To identify potential Indian respondents, names associated with the Sikh and Hindu religion were selected, and to identify potential Pakistani respondents names associated with the Muslim religion were identified. This is justified by the fact that the 2001 Census revealed the Indian population in Glasgow to be in the vast majority Sikh or Hindu, 51 per cent and 24 per cent, respectively, 4.4 per cent are also Muslim, with affiliation to all other religions being below 3 per cent. The Pakistani population was shown in the 2001 Census to be 84 per cent Muslim with affiliations to all other religions being below 1 per cent. This was a proxy measure and not always accurate because of course the language and religious origin of a name does not denote culture or religious affiliation. The interviews covered the following range of topics: housing history, residential motivations, views of current neighbourhood, the role of the traditional core area, the development of community attachment (suburban interviewees), and future aspirations.

Changing Patterns of Residence in Greater Glasgow

Changing Context

Historically, geographies of 'race' and ethnicity have paid little attention to Scotland because 'race' problems have tended to be located in England (Hopkins, 2004; Miles & Dunlop, 1987) and the Scottish minority ethnic population assumed to be small. However, this is changing as research in Scotland has highlighted racism as an everyday problem and 'race' and ethnicity issues have been placed on the political agenda since devolution in 1999 (Arshad, 2003; Hopkins, 2004). Policy responses to population decline have included attracting international migrants, especially through the Scottish Executive's *Fresh Talent* initiative, in contrast to the tightening of border controls in England. At a local level, Glasgow City Council has adopted a policy of housing asylum seekers and refugees (the largest number of dispersed asylum seekers in the UK), which will see the city's population become more ethnically diverse. Furthermore, Hopkins (2004, p. 259) argues that a racialisation of religion, particularly Islam, has taken place in Scotland like the rest of the UK since 9/11, with the victimisation of Muslims leading to a 'reformulation of Scottish racism'.

Localised Changes in South Asian Settlement

Migration to Scotland from Asia has its origin in the British Empire based on trading relations between Scotland and India (Audrey, 2000). The first main juncture in the process of migration from South Asia to Scotland was the later recruitment of Indian seamen by companies such as Glasgow's East Indian Sea Company and Anchor Line (Maan, 1992). Many exited ships and took temporary and some permanent residence in the UK. In Glasgow, they settled initially in a variety of seamen's hostels and homes near the docks. Despite this early migration, by 1940 there were still only 400 Indians in Glasgow who mostly owned or rented from fellow countrymen in the Gorbals, an inner-city locale on the south bank of the River Clyde (Maan, 1992). After India's independence in 1947 and the formation of the state of Pakistan, there was large-scale migration to Britain and, between 1950 and 1960, the number of South Asians in Scotland rose to 4000. The majority were employed in factories or the transport

industry. In the 1960s and 1970s, a process of family reunification occurred making it necessary to obtain larger properties. These were bought outside the Gorbals, mainly due to slum clearance at the time. The former minority ethnic inhabitants of the Gorbals spread to Govanhill and Pollokshields on the inner south-side of the city and Garnethill/Woodside on the inner west-side to Woodlands in the West End (Kearsley & Srivastava, 1974), areas in which cultural amenities and places of worship were established.

Clustering in these established areas of traditional settlement in Glasgow has been maintained over time. However, the census analysis revealed these areas, often characterised as being static, to be more dynamic than they have traditionally been assumed to be. Between 1991 and 2001, there were changes in the concentration of the South Asian population and interesting changes within the populations of these areas. To illustrate this, the paper will compare the two main core settlement areas, north and south of the city centre.

North of the city centre, in the Woodlands/Garnethill core area, the South Asian proportion of the total residential population fell over the period by 5 percentage points (from 22 per cent to 17 per cent), but within this there was a 25 per cent reduction in the, larger, Indian population and a 10 per cent increase in the Pakistani population. The areas immediately adjacent to this core settlement area in the north also saw declines in the South Asian population. There are several reasons for this decline in the northern core. First, there has been suburbanisation of Indians and Pakistanis (see below). Second, according to qualitative evidence, within the popular and trendy 'west end' of the city, increases in house prices have forced many younger South Asian house-buyers to move out of the area, many buying in the south of the city, which has become a more buoyant market generally. This is a new discovery, as previously it was assumed that there was limited cross-river movement by South Asian house-buyers.⁴ However, it is not possible to tell whether these cross-river buyers re-located to the southern core, adjacent areas or to the suburbs.

In contrast, to the south of the city centre, the core South Asian settlement area of Strathbungo increased its South Asian population over time from 33 per cent to 36 per cent of the total population. Qualitative evidence suggested that rather than the population being inert there was population turnover here, with the core area continuing to be significant as a place of first settlement with newcomers replacing out-movers. The South Asian population is also more concentrated or clustered both here and in other settlement areas to the south of the city than in the north; see Table 2. Thus, within the Strathbungo/Pollokshields area, 72 per cent of the South Asian population live in census output areas where South Asians are a majority, compared to only 6 per cent of the South Asian population in Woodlands/Garnethill in the north. In contrast to the situation in the north of the city, areas adjacent to the main core settlement area in the south of the city also saw their South Asian population grow as a proportion of the area's total population over time, by as much as 10 per cent.

The suburban experience over time was equally differentiated between the north and south of the city. In the north of the city, the four postcode sectors that make up the area of Bearsden within East Dunbartonshire remained (as in 1991) the main suburban areas of South Asian settlement, with modest absolute growth over time and a proportionate increase of 24 per cent in the size of the still small South Asian population in the district over the decade (see Table 1).

Table 2. Clustering within neighbourhoods¹ north and south of the city, 2001

Type of area ³	Locality	Post-code sector	South Asian % of postcode population	Distribution of South Asian Population Across Clusters within Each Locality ²			
				South Asian population > 50% of output area ⁴	South Asian population > 20% < 50% of output area	South Asian population > 10% < 20% of output area	South Asian population > 2% < 10% of output area
Core Area North	Woodlands	G3 6	16.9	5.8	57.4	22.9	3.4
Adjacent North	Port Dundas	G4 9	13.8	0	43.1	42.8	13.9
Core Area South	Strathbungo/ Pollokshields	G41 2	35.6	71.6	19.5	6.5	2.1
Adjacent South	Pollokshields East	G41 4	25.3	22.7	58.8	12.1	6.4
Adjacent South	South King- ning Park	G41 1	22.9	55.2	27	15.9	1.8
Adjacent South	Dumbreck	G41 5	22.9	33	40.6	20.6	5.7
Adjacent South	Crosshill	G42 8	19.6	10.9	60.5	21.9	5.2
Adjacent South	North King- ning Park	G51 1	15	43.9	24.6	18.8	12.1
Adjacent South	North Govanhill	G42 7	11.2	0	28.8	46.2	24.8
Intermediate	Kings Park	G44 4	3.8	0	0	39.2	55.7
Intermediate	Shawlands	G41 3	8	0	35.8	38.7	23.7
Intermediate	Netherlee	G44 3	4.04	0	0	50.8	27.3
Suburb	Newlands	G43 2	6.5	0	41.2	28.5	26.6
Suburb	Griffnock	G46 6	7.5	0	21.2	50.3	26.6

Table 2. Continued

Type of area ³	Locality	Post-code sector	South Asian % of postcode sector population	Distribution of South Asian Population Across Clusters within Each Locality ²			
				South Asian population > 50% of output area ⁴	South Asian population > 20% < 50% of output area	South Asian population > 10% < 20% of output area	South Asian population > 2% < 10% of output area
Suburb	Nitshill	G53 7	4.3	0	34.3	37.8	22.2
Suburb	Newton Mearns	G77 6	6.4	0	6.3	53.2	38.8
Suburb	Thornliebank	G46 8	2.98	0	26.8	15.7	50.2

Notes: ¹This Table includes those localities (postcode sectors) with the largest percentages of South Asian population in 2001 and those with the largest proportionate increase in their South Asian populations over the period 1991–2001, all in the south of the city. ²The last four columns show the percentage of the postcode sector's South Asian population residing in output areas with various sizes of South Asian clustering. ³Postcode sectors were divided into core settlement areas and those areas adjacent to core areas, intermediate between the latter and the suburbs and suburban areas. ⁴Clustering was measured at the finer spatial scale of the output area, comprising a target population of 125 persons each. For more information on output areas in Scotland; see http://www.statistics.gov.uk/geography/census_geog.asp#oa

South of the city, five suburban postcode sectors all within East Renfrewshire (Newton Mearns, Giffnock, Netherlee, Thornliebank and Newlands), which were areas of South Asian settlement a decade earlier, saw notable increases in their South Asian population over time. The South Asian population within East Renfrewshire grew relatively by 82 per cent over a decade, with the South Asian population within any one suburb in 2001 ranging from 3 per cent in Thornliebank and 4 per cent in Netherlee, to 6 per cent in Newlands and Newton Mearns, and 7.5 per cent in Giffnock.

Beyond this, South Asian households have begun to move into suburban areas in the south of the city in which there were previously relatively few South Asian households, forming a column due south moving out of the inner city (see Figure 1).

As in previous periods, despite the existence of a significant social rented stock, there was no movement of the South Asian population into the East End of the city (where white dominated neighbourhoods and social housing estates exist in large quantities) nor into the north of the city.⁵ This reflects general tenure preferences and perceptions of places open to South Asians. Thus whilst processes of dispersal are occurring, there appears to be a continued racialisation of space in the city.

If the degree of clustering within areas of South Asian population growth is examined, as shown in Table 2, it can be seen that a great deal of residential mixing is going on. Thus, of the 13 postcode sectors of growth, only three (Pollokshields East, Crosshill and Dumbreck) have notable shares of their South Asian populations (although in all cases, a minority) living in census output areas that are predominantly South Asian. Certainly, in the suburban areas and the intermediate areas between the core and the suburbs, the vast majority of South Asians live in local neighbourhoods where at least 80 per cent of the population is white. However, from the qualitative evidence it is known that very small-scale re-clustering in the suburbs (where the South Asian population of the census output area is over 20 per cent) is indicative of chain migration among some families in the suburbs and also highlights the ethnic dimension that acted as a 'pull' factor with informal

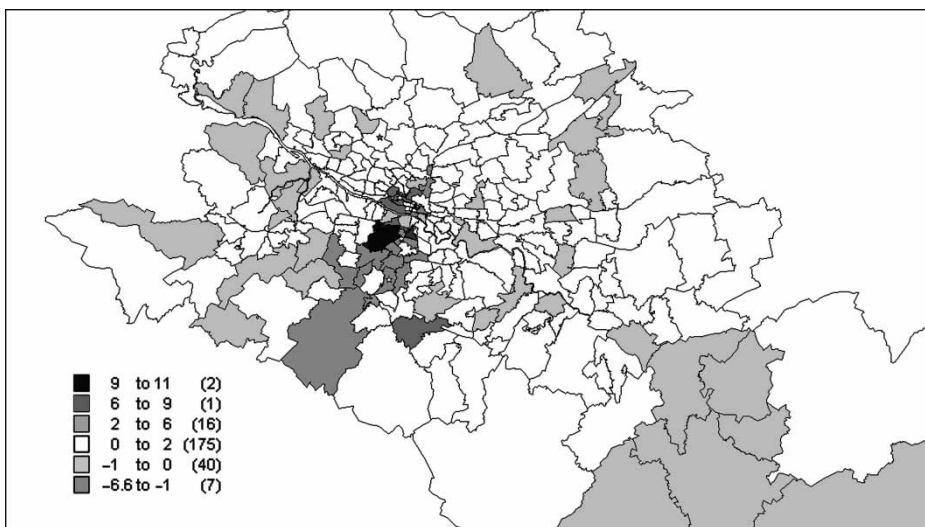


Figure 1. Change in South Asian Population Across Postcode Sectors in Greater Glasgow, 1991–2001

information networks providing migrating households with examples of successful residential outcomes of other Indian and Pakistani households.

Measuring Segregation Across the City

Statistical measures of segregation have well-documented caveats related to making comparisons over time, their dependence on the scale of analysis, and the fact that different types of change can produce similar measures on the various indices available (Gorard & Taylor, 2002; Simpson, 2005). Nevertheless, while they must be interpreted with caution, they provide a useful overview of the general situation in the city.

The index of dissimilarity (see Peach & Rossiter, 1996, p. 112) was calculated at postcode sector level for 1991 and 2001: this is on a scale from 0 to 1, with higher values reflective of higher levels of spatial segregation. Segregation between whites and South Asians overall dropped from 0.58 to 0.54 from 1991 to 2001, although still considered to be 'moderately high' in conventional interpretations of the statistic.⁶ Segregation fell between whites and all South Asian groups over the period, but as Table 3 shows this drop was least in the case of Pakistanis. Segregation between the majority and minority groups is highest between whites and Bangladeshis and lowest between whites and Indians. Generally, however, segregation is lower between different ethnic minority groups themselves than between whites and ethnic minorities. It is important to note that these statistics are measured across the entire Greater Glasgow area and can be considered a more accurate reflection of settlement patterns than measures taken just for the city of Glasgow itself, which as noted has a tight administrative boundary that excludes the (mostly white) suburbs.

Place and Social Identity

Social Distances and Social Gradients

The suburbanisation of Indian and Pakistani households was enabled by economic advancement and indicative of widening class distinctions among the South Asian group. In Glasgow's case, the role that successful South Asian businesses have played in the process is significant. However, upward professional mobility and entrepreneurship is not

Table 3. Indices of dissimilarity for Greater Glasgow, 1991–2001 (postcode sector)

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

the whole story when it comes to financing suburban moves. The pooled resources of non-professional employees in extended households also enabled suburban migration. On the other hand, some people with high incomes chose to stay in the core area for religious and cultural reasons, illustrating that choice based arguments to explain clustering continue to be relevant.

The types of services and markets available in the suburbs, which can be linked to social aspirations or an increased quality of life, acted as a strong attraction. In particular, proximity to good schools and large properties with private gardens were highlighted as being important 'pull' factors for many of the interviewees. Although ties, in differing degrees, were maintained with the core and continued to be very important, there was a sense that a move constituted a strategy to establish some social distance. Moving out and creating distance socially also signified 'moving up', and was, in the opinions of some interviewees from the area of core settlement, something that was becoming a natural progression. Indeed, several of those interviewees living in the core had aspirations to live in the suburbs that they were unable to realise, due to financial constraints and high house prices in the suburbs. This also had a temporal dimension relating to generation, with younger respondents more likely to want to suburbanise. As the following man still living in the traditional area of ethnic settlement stated:

[People] start to wonder, is this a natural progression to move out of the city, they think, is it just the way it should be done? You know, you're used to people living here all their lives and you start to think, you know, why am I still here? Is it because am I not conforming to some thing you do, like they aren't keeping up... You do think that you are kind of stuck, still here. (Pakistani male, core dweller)

The role of residential processes in forming or expressing social identity was important to many of the households who had migrated to the suburbs. Movement to the suburbs for some was a strategy to achieve distinction from the core area of traditional settlement and to live in a place that they felt was a more accurate identifier of who they were. Some suburban interviewees described their social networks in the core area as being comprised of 'educated Asians', whilst they mixed less with the wider community. Although closeness to cultural and religious facilities was convenient, solidarity with their ethnic group was not a reason for living in the ethnic cluster, or the former a strong enough reason to stay in the core. As Gans (1972, p. 33) wrote, ways of life are functions of class and lifestyle rather than a consequence of residential location or indeed ecology. Despite this, the feeling that the middle-class suburban residents were more like them, in desiring a particular environment and shared values, especially educational ones, was something that gave them a sense of belonging and satisfaction:

People here are amicable, they are courteous, they are owner-occupiers and they are well established. Therefore their children go to better schools and therefore their behaviour everything is better. (Pakistani male, suburban dweller)

These findings remind us of the work of Savage *et al.* (2005), who explored the ways in which class cultures were linked to or formed through residential processes, rather than being a product of occupation and employment. They confirmed through in-depth

qualitative study in middle-class neighbourhoods that place of residence was more pertinent as a key social identifier. In the authors' words:

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

As such, movement into a traditionally white middle-class neighbourhood constituted part of the interviewees' social trajectory that could only be expressed through residential processes, rather than solely through their professional life or education. As the following woman stated:

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

Negotiating Cultural Expectations

Suburban migration, whilst establishing social distance, also mitigated restrictive cultural and familial expectations that some interviewees felt were linked to living in the core. Social and cultural expectations, high levels of public exposure and the feeling that personal behaviour was monitored through discourses of Islam diminished some of the respondents' sense of personal privacy and the control they felt they had over their own lives. The latter is an aspect highlighted by Dwyer (1999) and in the Scottish context by Hopkins (2004). Whilst the area of core settlement and the community there continued, in varying degrees, to be important, a move to suburbia loosened the hold that the local framework of public life had on their private lives. This led to increased personal freedom and the ability to realise particular lifestyle preferences. This is exemplified by the comments of two women:

You would go out to get a pint of milk and it would take about an hour because you would meet five people on the way to the shops. They're like that: 'God', you know, 'where have you been?' You know: 'I've just been out to get milk and oh god guess who I saw?' And you stop and you talk and it's like: 'Oh my god did you see that?' Or whatever. We wanted to have privacy, you know? (Pakistani female, suburban dweller)

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

More profound changes were occurring *within* households influencing residential behaviour. Some of the younger group of respondents aged between 20 and 45, had questioned the rationale underlying extended family living, concluding that co-location to achieve its benefits was not relevant within the context of their lives. One man explains why, from his personal experience:

When you have different sections of the family staying together there are always possibilities of tension ... I mean a good example is when relatives who visited, viewed it as my parents' house, so they didn't pay any sort of respect to our privacy or our children's in any way ... We were almost like guests in the house ourselves as well as lodgers, that played on my mind too ... and it got to the stage when you think you should move on and take responsibility for your own life. (Pakistani male, suburban dweller)

This process was rarely simple and created tensions and sometimes divisions within families. As the following man describes:

My mum and dad took it very bad when my two older brothers moved out, they fell out and everything. Initially it was really hard for my mother, it was the idea that the family could fall apart and now everything is finished. (Pakistani male, suburban dweller)

In contrast to culture and choice based explanations of clustering, here we see a new dimension related with time and generation, whereby cultural practices act as a constraint. These shifting cultural values among the Pakistani interviewees, alongside economic advancement, served to widen locational choices as some interviewees used the opportunity upon leaving the family home to move out of the core to adjacent, intermediate or suburban areas. This highlights well not only the dialectical relationship between social agency and structural factors, but the changing character of both elements in this relationship, particularly changes in cultural practices and economic circumstances. Although undoubtedly an important change in the role that family plays in the residential patterns of some, especially Pakistani, households, the relevance of family and 'not living too far away' continued to be important.

Challenging Stereotypes

Alongside the fact that the situation of the interviewees is similar to elements of the work by Savage *et al.* (2005) on place and identity, the study found an additional ethnic inflection. In general, the interviewees felt that their social identity was misconstrued or over determined by assumptions attached to their ethnicity, and that social distinctions within the Asian community were lacking. One Indian woman expressed this in the following way: "People assume we Asians are all the same". Indeed, recent research in Scotland has found that Sikhs and Hindus have been subject to increased victimisation since 9/11, relating to particular phenotypical features, namely skin colour, presumed to confirm their affiliation to Islam (Hopkins, 2004; Scottish Executive, 2002). This was demonstrated in the research here through the negative perception several of the Indian interviewees had of the spatial concentration of Asian groups. Often, people whose children had attended the local, predominantly Asian, school, talked of concerns

they had about their children being exposed to too little of the Scottish culture. These interviewees placed a strong emphasis on moving away from not only the Muslim community but the Asian community in general to an area where, in their own words, they would be more 'integrated'. Two Indian women described their desire to live in more mixed communities as being related to aspirations for their children in the following terms:

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

I only have one son and I didn't want him to only mix with Asians. I wanted to move out to Bearsden [suburb] so that he wouldn't have problems in later life. Because I think if you have grown up with all Asian friends then getting a job with white British people can be hard because you have been in this wee [little] community all your life. (Indian female, suburban dweller)

Although concerns were usually centred upon their aspirations for their children, this was also indicative of a desire to distance their personal identity from associations with Pakistanis living in the core, which they saw as being the locus for stereotypes. They resented their 'Scottishness' being diluted, which was clearly part of who they felt they were and who they wanted to be. As one woman commented:

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

In summary, suburbanising for some reflected a clear effort to disperse from the ethnic cluster. This involved re-establishing identity on a basis that involved more than ethnicity, allowing them to fit, or buy, into a system that reflected better their values and social and economic progress, or more simply their desired lifestyle. Contrary to trying to preserve religious and ethnic identity, suburbanisation for some interviewees appeared to be a critical reaction to or a desire to enrich the one dimensional identities ascribed to them relating to ethnicity and religion. To a certain degree, suburbanisation could be interpreted as an emulation of white middle-class aspirations and as the arbiter of having achieved status. These aspirations, and the desire for privacy and a more individual identity, which relied less heavily on their ethnicity or on being 'Asian', seem to coincide with a more general set of aspirations to be found in all groups with growing resources.

The Role of Religion

Further to the previous discussion, the importance of other forms of difference related to education and class were more important for some of the interviewees than ethnicity or religion as part of their public identity—expressed through where they live. This was particularly so for Indian interviewees. One Indian woman describes her feelings regarding her religious beliefs:

I feel religion is a very personal thing it's a private thing, it should not be paraded in front of everybody. I tend to make the children pray at home and then once a month or once every two months we go to the temple. We all get together and they see the community spirit, they see everything. But to go there every day or even every week I feel it is too much you know because it starts in the home, you know at home, not just outside. (Indian woman, suburban dweller)

That is not to say that other people in other contexts may not consider religion as being central to their identity and as influencing their residential location. Indeed, inter-ethnic, and at times intra-ethnic differences in the centrality of religion to personal identity were evident among the interviewees. Many Pakistani respondents, while moving to create social distance, felt that their Islamic background was a central part of their social identity. Their religion appeared to be a more assertive and public aspect of their identity compared to the Indian respondents. This was manifest in how these respondents used space throughout the city on a daily basis, often commuting back and forth to the core for prayers and Koran school and thus between different communities and social realities. The ways in which these respondents were balancing class and career aspirations and their religious identity highlight the complexity of cultural identification and the ways in which this is negotiated with other differences (see also Dwyer, 1998, 2000; Hopkins, 2006; Phillips, 2006). For a couple of interviewees this balance was a difficult one and in the end religious practices dictated they return to the core, as the following man describes:

I have six children and to trek back and forth, back and forth to bring the children to mosque school and then to go to daily prayers myself it was just too difficult, so I had to move back to Woodlands. We never got to relax in our house. (Pakistani male, core dweller)

This point highlights well the different pluralities of affiliations that shape individual experiences and strategies accentuated by Harrison with Davis (2001). Moreover, it can be seen that even when financial issues do not act as a constraint on residential choices, oppositely religious obligations played a role in determining the residence of some Pakistani Muslim interviewees in the core. Furthermore, this complicates the assumption that class or income completely mediates any influence of ethnicity. In this example, changing structural factors and different affiliations have somewhat inversed early explanations of minority ethnic settlement patterns. The significance of the temporal and dynamic dimension in any analysis of residential patterns is clear, as structural factors for some parts of any given group, in this case suburban residents, have changed over time, subsequently influencing the choices that individuals have in concurrence with other personal affiliations.

Social Affinities and Belonging

A sense of belonging amongst the households in the suburbs appeared to be cultivated by common concerns and a sense of social affinity between residents. In practical terms, this could be seen as practices they had in common such as equal material achievements, keeping themselves to themselves and educational values for their children. These aspects were not expressed amongst neighbours, but rather formed the basis of what might be described as imaginary bonds. As one suburban interviewee highlights:

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

Undoubtedly, these aspects were important in making people feel satisfied in their neighbourhood. However, suburban migration seemed to be related less to the desire to belong to a place locally and more with being part of a system that is broader than location. The latter involved a wider use of spaces on a daily basis and increased mobility across the city, juxtaposed with making personal life more private. Moreover, while developing social affinities with other residents was an important part of settling into the suburban neighbourhood, this appeared to be related less to integration in the sense of forming new social relationships and interdependencies across ethnic boundaries. Indeed, there was no real increase in social interaction to cause or lead to such associational integration. This was partly symptomatic of the general relationships and private lifestyles of those living in the suburbs. As expressed by the following man:

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

So perhaps a move to the suburbs, which led to more privatised lives, is akin to what we have seen in the general population, and in a sense appears to be 'integration' into 'normal' residential migratory patterns.

Discussion and Conclusions

With regard to the first research question, the quantitative and qualitative findings show that the claim of South Asian self-segregation is not the whole story, and indeed that any general explanation of segregation is not feasible. There is clear evidence from both the 1991 and 2001 censuses that minority ethnic clustering in deprived areas in the inner city is prevailing. However, concomitantly there are clear patterns of dispersal and suburbanisation, albeit selective, out of the traditional areas of core settlement, concurring with evidence from other British cities (Peach, 1998; Phillips, 1998, 2006; Rees & Phillips, 1996; Simpson, 2004). The slow processes of dispersal, as documented

here for Glasgow, necessitate a widening of the geography in which these groups are framed to include wider metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. Certainly, we should be wary of the tendency to focus on the inner city as the dominant spatial unit of analysis for studying the residential patterns of South Asian groups. Furthermore, the dynamics of change within traditional areas of ethnic settlement are often overlooked in the current debate, leading to the assumption that the population there is inert, insular and thus problematic.

The analysis also indicates that patterns of residential segregation alone are a static and outmoded means of portraying or discussing ethnic minority behaviour, either statistically or behaviourally. In the case of the Glasgow conurbation, a 'moderately high' level of segregation on the conventional indices was found to hide the fact that only a small proportion of the city's South Asian population live in neighbourhoods that are predominantly South Asian in composition. In fact, in only two postcode sectors (out of 239 in total) do the majority of South Asians within the area live in South Asian dominated local neighbourhoods, and in the largest settlement area, Strathbungo/Pollokshields, the proportion who do so amounts to only around 10 per cent of the city's total South Asian population. Furthermore, large differences were found in patterns of residential change between the north and south of the city, preventing any simple account being given of movements within just one city.

With regard to the second research question concerning motivations and identities, first it was noted that actual residential preferences found among the interviewees showed a general readiness to live in more mixed areas. This represented a motivating factor for some of the households, in particular Indians, who migrated to the suburbs as a means of socially and spatially integrating, as they saw it. This has also been found in West Yorkshire, where Phillips *et al.* (2003) reported a willingness amongst the majority of Muslim respondents in their sample in Bradford and Leeds for social mixing beyond the traditional areas of settlement providing that they did not feel threatened. This general readiness to live in more mixed areas also represented a response among some to the idea that ethnic clustering is synonymous with a unique and fixed lived experience.

In line with Amin's (2002b) argument that the ethnicisation of the identities of non-white people impedes the identification of or indeed interrelation *with* other sources of identity formation, evidence presented here shows that there are varied identities and motivations at play, especially social class and (professional) status, but also Scottish national identity, consumption, education, changing cultural values and religious beliefs. The residential behaviour and motivations of the Pakistani and Indian households interviewed in Greater Glasgow certainly illustrate very well the notion of 'difference within difference' (Harrison with Davis, 2001). Phillips builds on this by further placing emphasis on the fact that British Muslim identities are constantly negotiated: she argues that the self-segregation debate, "understates the permeability of the boundaries between socio-cultural and religious groups" (2006, p. 30). Evidence presented here complicates the idea that particular minority ethnic groups wish to separate and retreat from British society. Another dimension to the overall picture is offered, one which is not generalisable, but that shows the influence of differing cultural, social and economic conditions in one particular context. For example, the role of religion in the lives of the Indian interviewees had little influence in residential choice, which does not mean it would not in other contexts or did not have with other interviewees, even those within the small sample here. Rather, what the findings may reinforce is the importance of the changing nature of ethnic-cultural and structural factors

over time and the influence this has on the choices that individuals can realise in the context of other personal affiliations and vice versa.

The findings also raise questions about the notion inherent in the community cohesion agenda that residential mixing is a solution to fostering a socially integrated society. It was apparent that the suburban interviewees felt they had socially integrated into an existing social system, but one that was characterised by limited social interdependencies. The lack of social interaction and high degree of privatisation may be seen as characteristic of such places. This has implications for the way in which the notion of integration is understood and suggests that the concept of 'integration' need not necessarily have a relational focus. This definition is distinct from that assumed in the Community Cohesion agenda and in ethnic and migration studies more generally which emphasises the development of interdependencies between groups inhabiting territorial spaces.

Thus, the expansion of South Asian settlement into more mixed areas within the city, alongside larger numbers of whites, cannot be easily explained as a desire to 'integrate'. Often, especially for young people, the movement into adjacent areas and areas intermediate between core areas and suburbs represents a compromise between felt family obligations and familiarity with the core area, and a desire to gain some privacy and distance from religious and family pressures about how to live their lives. In certain inner-city locations, the decision to move to adjacent areas can also be explained by area popularity and relative price movements that force a slightly wider consideration of purchasing areas. It is not possible to tell from the evidence whether any of this also represents a desire to mix with whites, but it is evident that the patterns of residential movement which produce 'mixing' are themselves 'bounded choices'—constrained by cultural conflicts, religious affiliations and by house prices—analogueous to the way in which segregation has also been interpreted as a 'bounded choice'.

The interpretation of ethnic minority suburbanising behaviour is equally fraught with difficulties. Where very small-scale clustering was found among South Asians in the suburbs, this was more for reasons of area selection, security and aiding settling in than for reasons of cultural preservation or wishing to 'live apart'. On the contrary, many South Asian suburbanites moved to the suburbs in order to weaken, not strengthen, their ethnic identity. Conversely, where South Asians reside as a very small minority within suburban areas, this does not necessarily imply that they want to engage in social interaction with their white neighbours since their overriding expectation is to live a privatised lifestyle of limited liability. On the other hand, many suburbanising South Asian parents wanted their children to socially mix with whites and not just Asians. Once again, residential mixing, as the obverse spatial pattern to segregation, is difficult to interpret and tells us very little about intentions or behaviours.

Notes

- ¹ For a fuller account of the research see McGarrigle (2009).
- ² East Dunbartonshire, West Dunbartonshire, North Lanarkshire, South Lanarkshire, East Renfrewshire and Renfrewshire.
- ³ Bangladeshi and Other South Asian homeowners were not interviewed as they were very small in number in the case study areas.
- ⁴ This evidence comes from the qualitative interviews. An analysis of housing transactions by ethnic origin (not possible yet) would be required to quantify this movement.

⁵ This has since changed in the north of the city, where social housing estates have been used as reception areas of asylum seekers and refugees, although obviously this pattern is not the product of voluntary movements.

⁶ An alternative measure, the Segregation Index (see Gorard & Taylor, 2002), was also calculated for both periods and showed a similar 5-point reduction in segregation over the decade.

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