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1991 Census Statistical Paper No 3

ETHNIC MINORITIES IN GREAT BRITAIN:
Economic Characteristics

David Owen

March 1993

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Economic characteristics

1991 Census Statistical Paper no. 3

by

David Owen

National Ethnic Minority Data Archive

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1. Introduction

The 1991 Census provides the first definitive local information on economic activity amongst ethnic minorities. Much is already known about inequalities in access to the labour market between the various ethnic groups resident in Britain, drawing upon the results of the government's Labour Force Survey¹ and successive surveys on ethnic minorities carried out by the Policy Studies Institute². In general, ethnic minorities experience higher rates of unemployment, hold less skilled jobs and are employed in older industries than white people. It is also becoming recognised that there are significant differences in experience between individual ethnic minority groups.

Census data permits patterns of economic activity to be explored using a much more comprehensive source, which covers the whole of Great Britain and is not restricted by the limitations of sampling. However, the Census provides less detail on the skills of the population and the nature of work than the surveys mentioned above. The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of the labour market characteristics of minority ethnic groups in comparison with that of white people at the national scale. The topics covered include rates of labour market participation, unemployment rates, and differences in types of employment and self-employment; skill differentials will be analysed when the 10 per cent data and Sample of Anonymised Records are available.

2. Labour market participation

The magnitude of the labour force is a product of two factors; the size of the population of working age and the propensity for people to become economically active (the "economic activity rate" or labour market "participation rate"). Economic activity is defined as being in work (either for oneself or as an employee), seeking work, or participating in a training scheme (while the 1991 Census also identifies students who are economically active). The economic activity rate is defined as the proportion of the population of working age (conventionally defined as 16-64 for men and 16-59 for women) who are economically active.

Table 1: Population and economic activity by ethnic group in Great Britain, 1991
(thousands)

Ethnic group	Over 16	Aged 16-59/64	Economic -ally active	In Employ -ment	Unemp-loyed/on scheme	Economic -ally inactive
White	41,846.4	31,701.9	25,475.1	22,910.3	2,564.8	16,371.3
<i>Ethnic Minorities</i>	2,018.7	1,887.6	1,301.7	1,030.2	271.5	717.0
<i>Black</i>	628.8	582.1	445.8	338.4	107.4	183.1
Black-Caribbean	390.6	350.8	285.4	224.9	60.5	105.1
Black-African	150.1	146.0	96.9	66.7	30.3	53.2
Black-Other	88.2	85.2	63.4	46.9	16.6	24.8
<i>South Asian</i>	951.2	892.0	576.0	458.1	117.9	375.2
Indian	592.0	547.1	395.1	336.2	58.9	196.9
Pakistani	273.3	261.6	139.3	94.8	44.5	134.0
Bangladeshi	85.9	83.3	41.6	27.2	14.5	44.3
<i>Chinese & others</i>	438.7	413.6	280.0	233.7	46.2	158.7
Chinese	120.3	113.2	73.9	65.7	8.2	46.4
Other Asian	149.3	142.9	95.9	80.4	15.5	53.4
Other other	169.1	157.4	110.2	87.7	22.5	58.9
Entire population	43,865.1	33,589.5	26,776.8	23,940.5	2,836.3	17,088.3

Source: Source: 1991 Census Local Base Statistics (ESRC purchase); Crown Copyright.

Table 1 disaggregates the population aged 16 and over in each ethnic group into the economically active age groups and into the numbers economically active and inactive. One major difference between the white population and ethnic minorities is the fact that the bulk of the latter aged over 16 are of economically active age. Thus, while the majority of the economically inactive white population is retired, other influences on inactivity are more important for ethnic minorities. It is notable that the difference in the number of Blacks and South Asians economically active is much less than the difference in the numbers aged 16-59/64 between the two broad ethnic groups.

The comparison of gender-specific economic activity rates enables contrasts in labour market participation to be revealed more clearly. Table 2 reveals dramatic contrasts between ethnic groups in labour market participation, as well as those existing between men and women. The overall male economic activity rate is well above that for females; nearly 90 per cent of men aged 16-64 are in the labour market, compared to just over 70 per cent of women aged 16-59. The economic activity for both genders is much higher among white people than for people from ethnic minorities, with the differential even greater for women than for men. Turning to inactivity rates, half of all women aged 16 and over are economically inactive, nearly double the corresponding proportion for men. Inactivity rates are slightly lower for ethnic minorities as a whole.

Table 2: Labour market participation by ethnic group and gender, Great Britain 1991

Ethnic group	Males			Females		
	Economically active (000s)	(%)	inact-ive (%)	Economically active (000s)	(%)	inact-ive (%)
White	14,577.7	88.2	26.8	10,897.4	71.4	50.3
<i>Ethnic Minorities</i>	761.9	80.2	23.9	539.8	57.6	47.0
<i>Black</i>	233.7	82.6	22.5	212.1	70.9	35.2
Black-Caribbean	147.4	87.5	19.9	138.0	75.7	33.1
Black-African	52.0	70.8	31.0	44.9	61.9	39.9
Black-Other	34.3	84.1	18.1	29.1	65.5	37.1
<i>South Asian</i>	367.6	80.1	23.9	208.4	48.1	55.5
Indian	231.5	82.8	21.9	163.6	61.1	44.6
Pakistani	103.4	76.0	26.7	35.9	28.6	72.9
Bangladeshi	32.8	74.7	27.6	8.9	22.4	78.2
<i>Chinese and others</i>	160.6	77.2	25.8	119.4	58.0	46.3
Chinese	41.2	72.9	29.9	32.7	57.6	46.9
Other Asian	52.8	78.5	23.8	43.2	57.0	46.1
Other other	66.6	79.2	24.6	43.5	59.4	46.1
Entire population	15,339.6	88.2	26.7	11,437.2	70.6	50.1

Source: 1991 Census Local Base Statistics (ESRC purchase); Crown Copyright.

The contrasts between individual ethnic groups are even more marked. Amongst the ethnic minorities, Blacks as a whole have the highest economic activity rates and lowest inactivity rates, while South Asians display the lowest levels of participation in the labour market (these patterns hold for both men and women). Within the Black group, Black-Caribbeans have economic activity rates similar to whites (higher in the case of females), but participation rates for Black-Africans are relatively low; lower than for any other ethnic group in the case of males. Within the South Asian group, Indians have the highest economic activity rates, and Bangladeshis the lowest, but the differentials in rates between the three ethnic groups is relatively small amongst men. In the Chinese and Others group, the Chinese economic activity rates are relatively low; particularly for men.

Ethnic group differentials in participation rates are far greater for women than for men. For example, while more than three-quarters of Black-Caribbean women aged 16-59 are economically active, only 28.6 per cent of Pakistani women and just 22.4 per cent of Bangladeshi women participate in the labour market. The inactivity rates of these two ethnic groups are correspondingly far higher than for any other ethnic group. The high inactivity rates for white women relative to ethnic minorities reflects the older age structure of this section of the population and therefore includes the effects of retirement and the low participation rates of earlier generations.

3. Types of employment

The distribution of employment is highly uneven within the population and within. Beyond inequities in access to employment, there are differences in the types of job held by different types of people and in different parts of the country. A very important part of inequalities in employment is accounted for by differences in the types of job held, in terms of skills and responsibilities. Unfortunately, the Census does not report the occupational breakdown of employment by ethnic group; nor does it provide an industrial breakdown of employment by ethnic group. These aspects are therefore not considered in this paper, though will be the subject of future research using data from the Sample of Anonymised Records and the 10 per cent data from the Census.

However, the data does permit the examination of two important dimensions of contemporary employment patterns for ethnic groups: the balance of full- and part-time jobs, and the incidence of self-employment.

Table 3: Part-time employment rates by ethnic group, Great Britain 1991

Ethnic group	Part-time employees (000s)	% of GB total	Males (000s)	% employed	Females (000s)	% employed	% female
White	4,188.5	97.2	444.9	3.5	3,743.6	37.1	89.4
<i>Ethnic Minorities</i>	122.9	2.9	27.0	4.6	95.9	21.7	78.0
<i>Black</i>	45.9	1.1	9.4	5.6	36.5	21.4	79.6
Black-Caribbean	28.6	0.7	4.4	4.1	24.2	20.8	84.6
Black-African	11.3	0.3	3.6	10.4	7.7	24.1	68.0
Black-Other	6.0	0.1	1.4	5.6	4.7	20.7	77.6
<i>South Asian</i>	46.3	1.1	11.1	3.8	35.3	21.0	76.1
Indian	34.8	0.8	6.2	3.1	28.7	20.5	82.3
Pakistani	9.1	0.2	3.7	5.2	5.4	22.8	59.0
Bangladeshi	2.4	0.1	1.2	5.3	1.3	24.6	51.8
<i>Chinese and others</i>	30.6	0.7	6.6	5.0	24.0	23.6	78.5
Chinese	8.3	0.2	1.7	4.6	6.6	22.6	80.0
Other Asian	10.4	0.2	2.0	4.5	8.4	23.0	80.9
Other other	11.9	0.3	2.9	5.7	9.0	25.0	75.4
Entire population	4,311.4	100.0	471.9	3.5	3,839.5	36.5	89.1

Source: 1991 Census Local Base Statistics (ESRC purchase); Crown Copyright.

3.1. Full- and part-time employment

The rapid growth of part-time employment has been one of the most dramatic features of employment change in Britain over the last twenty years. Manufacturing employment

reached a peak in 1966, its subsequent decline being partly compensated for by the growth of employment in the service sector. This sectoral shift in the demand for labour was accompanied by a qualitative shift in the type of labour required. Service sector jobs were more likely to be filled by women than by men, while there was also a trend away from full-time jobs (usually defined as 30 hours or more a week) towards part-time jobs. Part-time jobs were more likely to be filled by women than men. All these trends led to substantial increases in female participation in the labour market and the number of women employed. The concomitant of these changes was a permanent increase in the level of male unemployment.

Given that part-time employment is a particular feature of the service sector, and that there are considerable variations in the industries in which particular ethnic minorities are employed³, differences in the incidence of full- and part-time employment would be expected to occur between ethnic groups. Furthermore, part-time employment is typical of the "secondary labour market" in which employees in low-status occupations experience lower wages and poorer working conditions than workers in the "primary" labour market, which may also be reflected in ethnic group differentials in part-time employment.

Table 3 presents the pattern of part-time employment rates in Britain. The overwhelming feature of the table is the strongly gender-specific nature of part-time employment. Women account for nearly 90 per cent of all part-time employees. However, there is a very marked difference between white women and ethnic minority women in the incidence of part-time employment. Nearly two-fifths of the former have part-time jobs, but just over a fifth of ethnic minority women in work are employed part-time. There is relatively little variation in this percentage between ethnic minority groups, but the incidence of part-time employment is highest for Other-others, Bangladeshis and Black-Africans. Amongst ethnic minorities, the dominance of part-time employment by women is less marked than for white people; less than four-fifths of part-time employees are women in this section of the population. This proportion is smallest for the South Asians, and indeed nearly half of all Bangladeshis employed part-time are men. Other high male proportions are displayed by Pakistanis and Black-Africans. For most ethnic minorities, part-time employment accounts for about 5 per cent of total male employment (somewhat higher than the rate for white men), but this proportion is about 10 per cent for Black-Africans. The high incidence of part-time employment for Pakistani and Bangladeshi men is probably a reflection of the low rates of labour market participation by women in these ethnic groups. It is clear from the figures presented here that ethnic minority women are more likely to work full-time than white women, but the position is reversed for men, amongst whom part-time employment is a less significant source of jobs, but more closely associated with the secondary labour market.

3.2. Self employment and small businesses

One of the most dynamic features of employment in the 1980s was the growth of self-employment, strongly encouraged by government policy aimed at increasing the level of 'enterprise' in the British economy. There are two types of self-employment distinguished by the Census: self-employed with employees and self-employed without employees. The first category might be broadly equated with small businessmen, while the latter is a more complex phenomenon. It includes people encouraged to leave the unemployment register and go into business on their own account with the help of grants, together with more peripheral contract workers in low-level occupations such as cleaning, forced into nominal self-employment by the changing employment practices of employers.

Table 4 presents the overall pattern of self-employment by ethnic group, taking both categories together. It makes use of two rates: the self-employed as a percentage of total employment, and as a percentage of the economically active population. The share of ethnic minorities in the total of self-employed people is similar to their share of the population as a whole. However, within this aggregate pattern, Black groups are substantially under-represented while South Asians, particularly Indians, are relatively more prominent. Ethnic group differences in participation in self-employment are more marked when the contribution

to total employment and the share of the self-employed amongst the economically active are considered.

Table 4: Self-employment rates by ethnic group, Great Britain 1991

Ethnic group	Self-employed (000s)	% of GB total	% all econ. active	% all employed
White	2,922.9	95.0	11.5	12.8
<i>Ethnic Minorities</i>	155.5	5.1	12.0	15.1
<i>Black</i>	22.6	0.7	5.1	6.7
Black-Caribbean	13.4	0.4	4.7	6.0
Black-African	5.4	0.2	5.6	8.1
Black-Other	3.8	0.1	6.1	8.2
<i>South Asian</i>	95.0	3.1	16.5	20.8
Indian	67.3	2.2	17.0	20.0
Pakistani	22.6	0.7	16.3	23.9
Bangladeshi	5.1	0.2	12.2	18.6
<i>Chinese and others</i>	37.8	1.2	13.5	16.2
Chinese	17.9	0.6	24.2	27.2
Other Asian	7.9	0.3	8.2	9.8
Other other	12.1	0.4	11.0	13.8
Entire population	3,078.4	100.0	11.5	12.9

Source: 1991 Census Local Base Statistics (ESRC purchase); Crown Copyright.

Table 5: "Entrepreneurship" rates by ethnic group, Great Britain 1991

Ethnic group	Self-employed with employees (000s)	as % of GB total	as % of all econ. active	as % of all emp -loyed	as % of all self-employed
White	978.7	93.7	3.8	4.3	33.5
<i>Ethnic Minorities</i>	65.3	6.3	5.0	6.3	42.0
<i>Black</i>	5.5	0.5	1.2	1.6	24.2
Black-Caribbean	3.0	0.3	1.0	1.3	22.2
Black-African	1.5	0.2	1.6	2.3	28.1
Black-Other	1.0	0.1	1.6	2.1	25.6
<i>South Asian</i>	41.5	4.0	7.2	9.1	43.7
Indian	29.2	2.8	7.4	8.7	43.3
Pakistani	8.7	0.8	6.3	9.2	38.5
Bangladeshi	3.7	0.4	8.8	13.6	72.7
<i>Chinese and others</i>	18.3	1.8	6.5	7.8	48.4
Chinese	10.4	1.0	14.1	15.8	58.1
Other Asian	3.5	0.3	3.6	4.3	44.0
Other other	4.4	0.4	4.0	5.1	36.8
Entire population	1,044.0	100.0	3.9	4.4	33.9

Source: 1991 Census Local Base Statistics (ESRC purchase); Crown Copyright.

For ethnic minorities as a whole, self-employment is a more important form of economic activity than for white people. However, there is a marked contrast between the experience of Black groups and all other ethnic minorities. For all Black ethnic groups, the percentage of the employed and economically active populations self-employed is just over half the national average rate. The corresponding rates for South Asians as a whole are nearly three times higher, while more than a quarter of Chinese in work are self-employed. Bangladeshis display a smaller probability of being self-employed than the other South Asian groups, while "Other Asians" and "Other Others" also experience relatively low rates of self-employment.

Those people who are self-employed with employees may be regarded as small businessmen, a category of activity which has received considerable encouragement in recent years. Table 5 analyses the incidence of such "entrepreneurs" amongst ethnic groups. Ethnic minorities are more prominent than amongst the population as a whole in this category, but once again Black ethnic groups are far less well represented than Asians. Indeed, the proportion of entrepreneurs amongst the economically active and employed populations is only about a third of the corresponding rate for white people and less than a fifth of the rates for South Asians. The Chinese stand out as having the highest rates of entrepreneurship, followed by Bangladeshis in terms of their contribution to the total in work. Indians and Pakistanis display similar rates of entrepreneurship. The significance of small businessmen for job creation is illustrated by the last column in the table, which expresses the number self-employed with employees as a percentage of all persons self-employed. The differentials around the national average proportion of just over a third are repeated between the individual ethnic groups, illustrating that self-employed people in ethnic minorities are more likely to create jobs than the population as a whole. The proportions are particularly high for the Bangladeshis and Chinese.

4. Unemployment

The numbers of people in employment increased during the 1980s, but this increase was insufficient to keep pace with the number of people needing jobs. As a result, mass unemployment was a feature of the decade. The 1991 Census was taken when Britain had just entered the longest economic recession since the Second World War and unemployment had started its rapid increase from just over 1.5 million in mid-1990 to over 3 million at the time of writing. Since unemployment rates have risen considerably since April 1991, it is possible that the differentials reported in this section will also have widened in the last two years.

The unemployment rate is defined as the percentage of the economically active population not in work. It has long been recognised that ethnic minorities suffer a greater probability of being unemployed than white people, which is confirmed by Table 6; the ethnic minority unemployment rate is nearly twice the white rate for men and almost 2.5 times higher than the white rate for women. However the table also demonstrates substantial variations in experience between individual ethnic groups, and illustrates that aggregates of "Blacks", "South Asians" and "Chinese and Others" conceal substantial diversity.

Considering first the three broad ethnic categories, Blacks suffer the highest unemployment rates, while Chinese and others display the lowest unemployment rates; though this is still well in excess of the rate for white people. The differentials are more marked for men than for women. The pattern underlying these broad differentials is more complex. Bangladeshis suffer the highest unemployment rates of any ethnic group, with an extraordinarily high female rate of nearly 35 per cent, five times higher than the aggregate female unemployment rate of 6.8 per cent. The next highest unemployment rates are experienced by Pakistanis and Black-Africans, for each of whom males and females experience similar rates. Black-Caribbeans and Black-Others each suffer near 25 per cent male unemployment rates, but far lower female rates. These groups are followed by the Other-others and Other-Asians. For Indians, the unemployment rate is about 25 per cent higher than the white unemployment rate for men, but more than twice as high for women.

The Chinese experience male unemployment rates similar to the white rate, with the female rate about a third higher.

Table 6: Unemployment rates by ethnic group, Great Britain 1991

Ethnic group	Unemployed (000s)	On scheme (000s)	Unemployment rates		
			Persons (%)	Males (%)	Females (%)
White	2,246.1	318.6	8.8	10.7	6.3
<i>Ethnic Minorities</i>	238.4	33.1	18.3	20.3	15.6
<i>Black</i>	94.0	13.3	21.1	25.2	16.6
Black-Caribbean	53.8	6.7	18.9	23.8	13.5
Black-African	26.1	4.1	27.0	28.9	24.7
Black-Other	14.1	2.5	22.2	25.5	18.3
<i>South Asian</i>	105.0	12.9	18.2	19.2	16.5
Indian	51.7	7.2	13.1	13.4	12.7
Pakistani	40.1	4.4	28.8	28.5	29.6
Bangladeshi	13.2	1.3	31.7	30.9	34.5
<i>Chinese and others</i>	39.4	6.8	14.1	15.5	12.1
Chinese	7.0	1.2	9.5	10.5	8.3
Other Asian	12.8	2.7	13.4	14.2	12.3
Other other	19.5	3.0	17.7	19.7	14.8
Entire population	2,484.5	351.7	9.3	11.2	6.8

Source: 1991 Census Local Base Statistics (ESRC purchase); Crown Copyright.

The extremes in unemployment rates tend to occur in ethnic groups with relatively small numbers in the labour force; as witnessed by the relatively small absolute number of Bangladeshi and Chinese unemployed. However, the differentials in experience between Indians, Blacks and Pakistanis are substantial and confirm the findings of many other studies of ethnic minority experience in the labour market. The Black unemployment rates also appear to be reduced by participation in government training schemes, since Blacks account for the majority of people from ethnic minorities on such schemes. In the final section of this paper, the geographical patterns underlying these national averages will be explored.

6. The youth labour market

Ethnic minority populations are distinctive for being relatively youthful in comparison with the white population. Thus it is worthwhile to give more detailed consideration to this highly distinctive section of the labour market. High youth unemployment was a notable feature of the 1980s, resulting from the pressures of large numbers of people entering the economically active age groups at a time when labour demand was declining. One response to this was the considerable expansion of government training schemes, particularly targeted at school leavers. The previous section showed that Black people formed the majority of persons from ethnic minorities participating in such schemes. The economic boom of the late eighties temporarily eased the situation, but renewed recession has brought back high youth unemployment; with large numbers of young people, ethnic minorities will be particularly vulnerable to youth unemployment resulting from depressed labour demand during the 1990s.

The 1991 Census permits some features of the labour market experience of 16-24 year olds to be identified. The major distinguishing feature of the youth labour market is the potential for young people to choose to participate in further or higher education rather than to join the labour force. In recent years the opportunities for doing so have expanded

dramatically, at a time when employers are demanding an increasingly highly qualified workforce. Many young people have taken advantage of these opportunities, following either the negative motivation of avoiding unemployment, or the positive motivation of seeking to maximise their employment opportunities.

Table 7 compares the economic activity rate for 16-24 year olds with the ratio of (economically active and inactive) students to the population aged 16-24 and the unemployment rate disaggregated by gender. In broad terms, participation in the labour market and in the education sector are inversely related. White people display the highest economic activity rates and the lowest educational participation rates, but still dominate higher and further education in numeric terms. For ethnic minorities as a whole, only half of 16-24 year olds participate in the labour market. Educational participation rates are highest in the Chinese and others group, the highest rate being that for the Chinese, amongst whom students represent over 86 per cent of 16-24 year olds. For this ethnic group a significant proportion of students will therefore be 'mature' students aged over 25. Black-Africans also display a very high proportion of students. About equal numbers of Indians and Other-others participate in the labour market and education, while Black-Caribbeans and Black-Other display behaviour more similar to white people, with about two-thirds economically active. Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are distinctive in having both low economic activity rates and low proportions of students, indicating relatively high rates of inactivity for other reasons, such as family responsibilities.

Table 7: Economic activity of 16-24 year olds by ethnic group in Great Britain, 1991

Ethnic group	Aged 16-24 (000s)	Economic activity rate	Students (%)	Unemployment rate		
				Persons (%)	Males (%)	Females (%)
White	6,508.7	72.4	25.8	14.6	17.4	11.4
Ethnic Minorities	484.3	53.4	47.6	28.1	30.9	24.9
<i>Black</i>	143.5	64.3	42.1	32.4	37.8	26.8
Black-Caribbean	74.3	70.6	28.2	31.1	37.6	24.1
Black-African	35.3	49.7	81.6	38.7	41.6	35.9
Black-Other	33.9	65.7	31.3	30.6	35.2	25.5
<i>South Asian</i>	239.5	50.2	42.3	26.6	27.5	25.4
Indian	127.6	52.2	46.3	21.2	23.4	18.8
Pakistani	83.3	48.4	38.0	35.8	36.1	35.3
Bangladeshi	28.7	47.0	36.8	25.9	20.5	36.2
<i>Chinese and others</i>	101.2	45.7	68.3	23.4	26.4	20.0
Chinese	28.0	36.7	86.0	14.8	15.4	14.2
Other Asian	29.1	42.5	73.6	25.8	29.4	21.6
Other other	44.1	53.5	53.6	25.8	29.4	21.9
Entire population	6,993.0	71.1	27.3	15.3	18.1	12.1

Source: 1991 Census Local Base Statistics (ESRC purchase); Crown Copyright.

Unemployment rates for 16-24 year olds are far higher than for all economically active persons; the aggregate and white rates are both 6 percentage points higher while that for ethnic minorities is ten percentage points higher than the figure for all age groups. Within this context, the ethnic group differentials reported above for the labour force as a whole are broadly repeated. Black-Africans experience the highest unemployment rates, with all the Black groups having unemployment rates over 30 per cent. Pakistanis also experience higher unemployment rates than for the working population as a whole, in excess of 35 per cent. The Chinese again experience unemployment rates comparable to white people, with Indians

displaying the next lowest unemployment rates, at over a fifth. One notable feature is the fact that unemployment rates for 16-24 year old Bangladeshis are far lower than the rates for all economically active Bangladeshis (though, unusually, the females rate is far higher than that for males).

7. The geography of unemployment

The spatial incidence of unemployment in Great Britain is highly uneven. In the aggregate, the pattern of high unemployment rates in the "North" and the "inner cities" and low rates in the "South" and the "suburbs" was long established, until the current recession, caused these differentials to diminish. Table 8 therefore presents a more complex geography of unemployment. The inter-regional differential in unemployment rates is much smaller than in previous decades, but the lowest unemployment rates are still to be found in the economically successful regions of East Anglia, the South West, East Midlands and the South East. North and North West England, Wales and Scotland still have the highest regional rates. However, a large city effect is also apparent. All the metropolitan counties (except West Yorkshire) have unemployment rates above 10 per cent, the highest being in Merseyside, but the main concentrations of ethnic minority settlement in Greater London and the West Midlands metropolitan county experience around 12 per cent unemployment.

Table 8: Regional unemployment rates by ethnic group, Great Britain 1991

Standard region / metropolitan county	Overall	Percentage unemployed			
		White	Black	South Asian	Chinese & others
South East	8.7	7.8	21.4	15.4	14.0
<i>Greater London</i>	11.6	10.0	22.5	15.8	16.0
East Anglia	6.8	6.8	9.7	17.6	8.8
South West	7.6	7.5	16.8	13.0	10.3
West Midlands	9.6	8.7	21.8	22.4	17.4
<i>West Midlands MC</i>	12.4	10.9	22.5	23.3	20.7
East Midlands	8.2	7.9	18.4	15.8	13.6
Yorkshire & Humberside	9.8	9.4	21.1	26.5	16.4
<i>South Yorkshire</i>	12.5	12.2	25.2	30.3	18.9
<i>West Yorkshire</i>	9.5	8.6	19.9	26.7	17.8
North west	10.9	10.6	24.5	23.8	16.0
<i>Greater Manchester</i>	11.1	10.6	24.6	24.3	17.1
<i>Merseyside</i>	15.8	15.7	30.9	12.6	18.1
North	11.5	11.4	20.2	19.1	12.7
<i>Tyne & Wear</i>	13.8	13.8	22.2	18.5	14.5
Wales	10.1	10.1	23.4	14.7	13.7
Scotland	10.4	10.3	15.3	16.5	11.5

Source: 1991 Census Local Base Statistics (ESRC purchase); Crown Copyright.

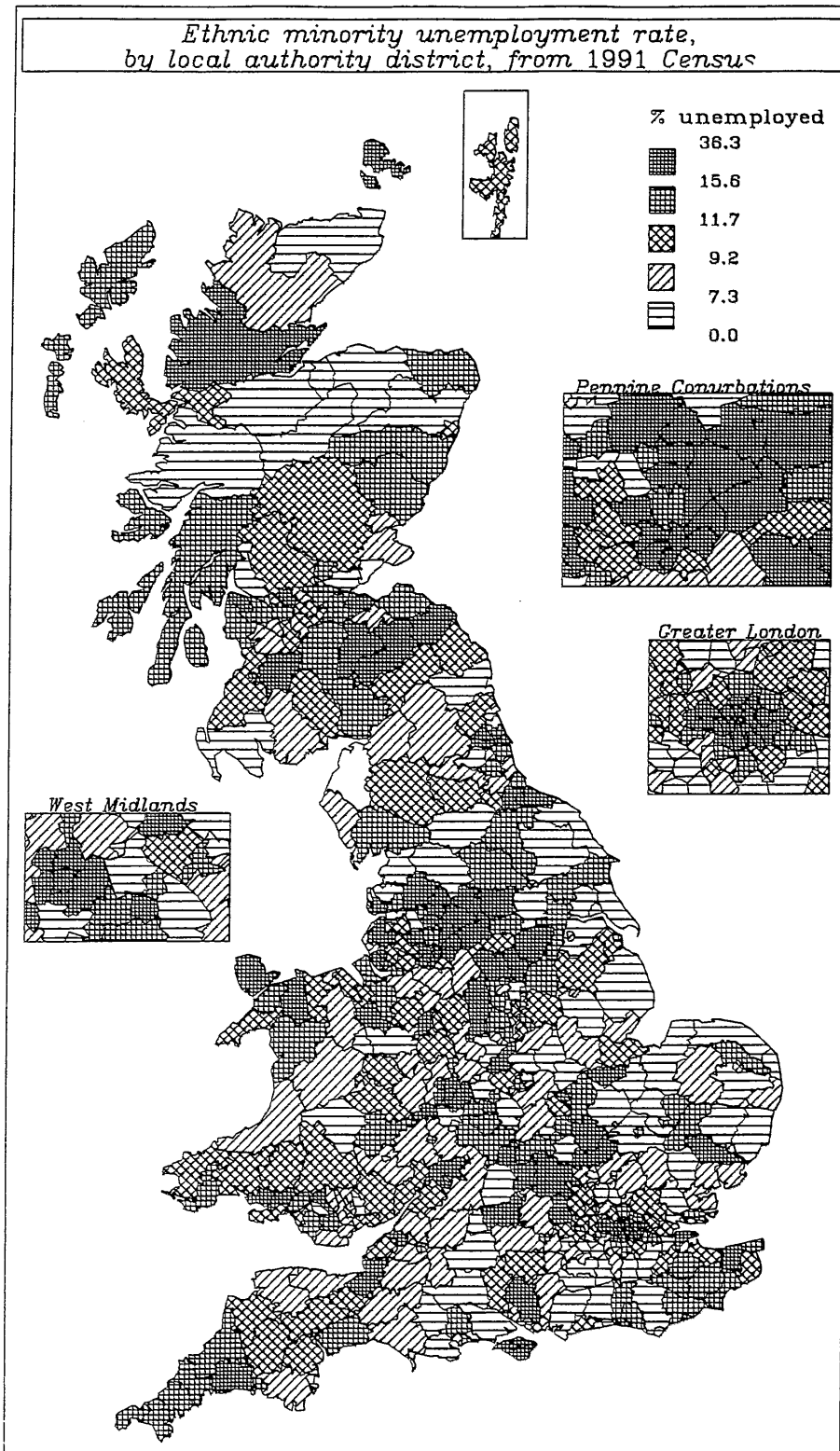
The white unemployment rate closely mirrors the overall rate, and is the lowest for any of the four broad ethnic categories except in Merseyside, where the rate for South Asians is somewhat lower than the overall rate. The overall ranking of unemployment rates by ethnic group is broadly reflected in most regions, but the Black unemployment rate is not always highest. It ranges from a low of just under 10 per cent in East Anglia to a high of over 30 per cent in Merseyside. The Black unemployment rate is well over 20 per cent in the main concentrations of Black ethnic groups⁴, but is lower than the South Asian rate in the West Midlands, Yorkshire and Humberside and Scotland. The South Asian unemployment rate is highest in the metropolitan counties of Yorkshire, Greater Manchester and the West Midlands

and in the Northern region. Chinese and others have a lower unemployment rate than the other ethnic minority groupings in all regions and metropolitan counties except Merseyside. The unemployment rate for this group is most similar to the white rate in East Anglia, the South West, Merseyside, the Northern region, Tyne & Wear and Scotland.

The detailed geography of ethnic minority unemployment is presented in Figure 1, and in the Appendix tables which display the highest and lowest unemployment rates by local authority district for each ethnic group. The patterns presented are quite complex. Focusing first on the South-East, there is a clear division between the inner-city and the outer London Boroughs and surrounding commuter towns; unemployment rates for ethnic minorities are in the highest quintiles in the Inner London Boroughs, declining to the average and below in the hinterland of London. Ethnic minority unemployment rates are again high in other concentrations of ethnic minority settlement in the region, such as around Luton. High rates are also found in the less prosperous parts of the region, such as in northern Kent. The urban areas of the Midlands, and in particular the urbanised parts of northern England also have high ethnic minority unemployment rates, with low unemployment rates in the surrounding suburban and rural areas. However, a notable feature of the map is the occurrence of high unemployment rates in many rural areas in more remote areas such as Cornwall, north-west and south Wales, and southern and north-west Scotland. This is largely a consequence of the small size of ethnic minority populations in these areas, amongst whom a small absolute number of unemployed can represent a large proportion of the total economically active population. Having said this, many of these very remote areas suffer relatively high overall unemployment rates, particularly outside the summer months.

Figure 1

The geography of unemployment for ethnic minorities



7. Conclusions

This Statistical Paper has illustrated the clear differences in labour market outcomes which exist between ethnic groups in Great Britain. It has demonstrated that the three broad ethnic groupings have very different circumstances, but has further shown that even the disaggregation of ethnic minorities as a whole into these three categories disguises very great variation between the nine individual ethnic minority groups. The key findings may therefore be summarised as;

- White people have economic activity rates around ten percentage points higher than people from ethnic minorities as a whole;
- There are substantial differentials in economic activity rates between ethnic minorities. Black-Caribbean people display similar rates to white people, but those for Asian groups are much lower. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women display very low participation rates;
- Part-time employment is more typical of white women than ethnic minority women;
- Self-employment is more significant for ethnic minorities than for white people. However, Chinese and South Asians are far more likely to be self-employed than Black people;
- The Chinese are also more likely than any other ethnic group to be self-employed with employees. Black people are far less likely to be business on their own account than other ethnic groups;
- Unemployment rates are higher for both men and women amongst ethnic minorities than for white people. Bangladeshis have the highest unemployment rates, followed by Black ethnic groups and Pakistanis, while the Chinese experience rates most similar to those for white people;
- Young people from ethnic minorities are more likely to stay in education than young white people. Black-Caribbeans are most likely to join the labour market while Chinese are most likely to be students;
- Unemployment rates are higher for 16-24 year olds than for the entire working population. The Black and Pakistani ethnic groups suffer the highest unemployment rates;
- The national pattern of unemployment rates by ethnic group is fairly constant across all parts of Britain. Unemployment rates are highest in the areas of highest overall unemployment, in the more urbanised parts of Britain, notably the metropolitan counties of northern England;
- However, high unemployment rates for ethnic minorities are also found in smaller and more remote places.

Though the 1991 Census provides the first definitive information on the economic circumstances of ethnic minorities, the standard output from the Census still fails to answer key questions about their experience in the labour market. Prominent amongst these are the role of industrial and occupational segregation in determining ethnic group differences in achievement in the labour market and differences in incomes between ethnic groups. Other data sets produced from the Census (such as the Sample of Anonymised Records) and other surveys (e.g. the Labour Force Survey) will be used in further investigation of these questions.

Notes and references

- 1 Owen, D. and Green, A. (1992) 'Labour market experience and occupational change amongst ethnic groups in Great Britain', *New Community*, 19, 7-29.
- 2 e.g. Brown, C. (1984) *Black and White Britain: The Third PSI Survey* (Heinemann, London).
- 3 Owen and Green, op. cit., p18.
- 4 Owen, D. (1992) *Ethnic Minorities in Great Britain: Settlement Patterns*, NEMDA 1991 Census Statistical Paper no. 1, CRER, University of Warwick.

APPENDIX

Highest and lowest local authority unemployment rates by ethnic group

This Appendix presents the 20 highest and lowest local authority district unemployment rates for each of the 9 minority ethnic groups identified in the Census, the three broad aggregates of ethnic minorities and ethnic minorities as a whole.

The unemployment rate is the proportion of the economically active population in an ethnic group unemployed. However, the extremely high and low unemployment rates which occur in less populous districts with small ethnic minority populations are omitted from the tables. These tables list only those districts in which the unemployed from a given ethnic group account for a larger share of district unemployment than that group's share of national unemployment, as long as there are more than 5 persons unemployed in that ethnic group in the district. These shares are as follows;

All ethnic minorities: 9.6%; All Black groups: 3.8%; All South Asian groups: 4.2%; Chinese and other ethnic groups: 1.6%; Black-Caribbeans: 2.2%; Black-Africans: 1.1%; Black-Others: 0.6%; Indians: 2.1%; Pakistanis: 1.6%; Bangladeshis: 0.5%; Chinese: 0.3%; Other-Asians: 0.5%; Other-Others: 0.8%.

Unemployment rates are usually used as an indication of labour market conditions or the economic prosperity of an area. This interpretation is not valid for local authority districts, which are neither self-contained local labour market areas, nor cities in functional terms. The unemployment rates presented here are best interpreted as social indicators, representing geographical differences in prosperity of the members of an ethnic group resident in a district.

Note: the source of the data in these tables is the 1991 Census of Population, obtained through the ESRC purchase. This data is Crown Copyright.

Table A1: Extreme unemployment rates for all ethnic minorities

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 Oadby and Wigston	8.31	1 Tower Hamlets	36.29
2 Kingston upon Thames	8.41	2 Calderdale	33.03
3 Hillingdon	9.90	3 Hackney	29.35
4 Harrow	10.35	4 Blackburn	28.80
5 Barnet	11.47	5 Oldham	28.59
6 Charnwood	11.63	6 Bradford	28.13
7 Wellingborough	11.65	7 Manchester	27.91
8 Hounslow	12.67	8 Hyndburn	27.14
9 Woking	12.87	9 Southwark	25.82
10 Croydon	12.98	10 Lambeth	25.40
11 Redbridge	13.34	11 Birmingham	25.25
12 Merton	13.67	12 Newham	25.18
13 North Hertfordshire	13.67	13 Haringey	24.50
14 Watford	13.84	14 Nottingham	24.24
15 Enfield	14.12	15 Rochdale	24.13
16 Crawley	14.12	16 Bolton	24.05
17 Slough	14.88	17 Islington	23.34
18 Reading	15.11	18 Kirklees	22.73
19 Gloucester	15.67	19 Preston	22.56
20 North Bedfordshire	16.05	20 Peterborough	22.43

Highest and lowest local authority unemployment rates by ethnic group (continued)

Table A2: Extreme unemployment rates for all Black groups

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 Watford	12.61	1 Manchester	30.01
2 Wellingborough	12.75	2 Hackney	29.00
3 Harrow	13.16	3 Kensington and Chelsea	28.65
4 Slough	13.38	4 Wolverhampton	28.11
5 Northampton	13.74	5 Haringey	27.18
6 Gloucester	14.58	6 Lambeth	26.75
7 Ipswich	14.79	7 Tower Hamlets	26.57
8 Redbridge	15.08	8 Southwark	26.43
9 Croydon	15.55	9 Newham	26.20
10 Reading	15.72	10 Camden	25.52
11 Luton	15.73	11 Islington	25.39
12 Wycombe	15.81	12 Westminster, City of	25.17
13 Hounslow	16.10	13 Hammersmith and Fulham	24.64
14 Enfield	16.19	14 Nottingham	24.35
15 North Bedfordshire	16.80	15 Greenwich	23.20
16 Merton	16.92	16 Birmingham	22.29
17 Barking and Dagenham	17.29	17 Leicester	22.26
18 Kirklees	17.73	18 Lewisham	21.48
19 Barnet	17.74	19 Bristol	21.38
20 Trafford	18.22	20 Brent	21.32

Table A3: Extreme unemployment rates for Black-Caribbeans

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 Harrow	9.36	1 Wolverhampton	28.15
2 Redbridge	11.31	2 Manchester	28.05
3 Watford	11.68	3 Kensington and Chelsea	27.36
4 Wellingborough	12.29	4 Hackney	26.25
5 Merton	12.57	5 Lambeth	25.41
6 Enfield	12.59	6 Sheffield	24.60
7 Gloucester	12.72	7 Southwark	23.50
8 Northampton	12.74	8 Walsall	23.30
9 Croydon	12.85	9 Hammersmith and Fulham	23.17
10 Slough	12.99	10 Tower Hamlets	23.06
11 Ipswich	13.10	11 Dudley	23.03
12 North Hertfordshire	14.72	12 Islington	22.28
13 Reading	14.75	13 Nottingham	22.16
14 Rugby	14.95	14 Camden	21.97
15 Luton	15.36	15 Haringey	21.79
16 Ealing	15.38	16 Birmingham	21.65
17 North Bedfordshire	15.57	17 Westminster, City of	21.48
18 Waltham Forest	15.64	18 Leicester	21.20
19 Aylesbury Vale	15.68	19 Bristol	20.61
20 Wycombe	16.09	20 Sandwell	19.35

Highest and lowest local authority unemployment rates by ethnic group (continued)

Table A4: Extreme unemployment rates for Black-Africans

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 Epsom and Ewell	11.84	1 Newham	39.58
2 Barnet	21.22	2 Haringey	38.68
3 Hounslow	21.85	3 Cardiff	35.63
4 Barking and Dagenham	22.60	4 Tower Hamlets	32.62
5 Wandsworth	24.20	5 Ealing	32.39
6 Merton	24.72	6 Hackney	32.20
7 Croydon	24.96	7 Manchester	31.41
8 Redbridge	26.50	8 Westminster, City of	31.31
9 Hammersmith and Fulham	26.63	9 Kensington and Chelsea	31.08
10 Enfield	26.63	10 Islington	30.41
11 Harrow	26.75	11 Southwark	29.85
12 Lewisham	28.05	12 Brent	29.78
13 Greenwich	28.14	13 Camden	29.22
14 Waltham Forest	28.19	14 Lambeth	28.70
15 Lambeth	28.70	15 Waltham Forest	28.19
16 Camden	29.22	16 Greenwich	28.14
17 Brent	29.78	17 Lewisham	28.05
18 Southwark	29.85	18 Harrow	26.75
19 Islington	30.41	19 Hammersmith and Fulham	26.63
20 Kensington and Chelsea	31.08	20 Enfield	26.63

Table A5: Extreme unemployment rates for Black-Others

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 Forest Heath	2.85	1 Liverpool	37.06
2 Harrow	13.67	2 Nottingham	36.41
3 Barnet	15.25	3 Manchester	35.32
4 Wycombe	15.44	4 Hackney	33.67
5 Wellingborough	15.50	5 Preston	31.13
6 Redbridge	15.54	6 Lambeth	29.73
7 Watford	16.13	7 Greenwich	29.35
8 Enfield	16.41	8 Wolverhampton	29.19
9 Northampton	16.50	9 Southwark	28.68
10 Merton	16.67	10 Tandridge	28.57
11 Croydon	16.68	11 Hammersmith and Fulham	28.42
12 Cambridge	17.46	12 Leicester	28.39
13 Hounslow	17.53	13 Tower Hamlets	28.27
14 Bromley	19.01	14 Leeds	27.74
15 Ipswich	19.45	15 Gloucester	27.60
16 Luton	19.85	16 Kensington and Chelsea	27.12
17 Ealing	19.98	17 Cardiff	27.12
18 Waltham Forest	20.03	18 Birmingham	26.99
19 Reading	22.33	19 Islington	26.64
20 Trafford	22.39	20 North Bedfordshire	26.13

Highest and lowest local authority unemployment rates by ethnic group (continued)

Table A6: Extreme unemployment rates for all South Asian groups

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 Oadby and Wigston	8.55	1 Tower Hamlets	44.35
2 Harrow	9.65	2 Calderdale	39.02
3 Windsor and Maidenhead	10.24	3 Oldham	32.78
4 Rugby	10.26	4 Blackburn	30.29
5 Hillingdon	10.40	5 Burnley	29.85
6 Warwick	10.44	6 Hyndburn	29.84
7 Barnet	10.57	7 Bradford	29.68
8 Wellingborough	10.65	8 Hackney	28.59
9 Merton	11.27	9 Peterborough	27.43
10 Croydon	11.33	10 Birmingham	27.34
11 Hounslow	11.94	11 Manchester	27.33
12 Enfield	12.19	12 East Staffordshire	27.11
13 Charnwood	12.41	13 Wycombe	26.97
14 Brent	12.49	14 Rochdale	25.44
15 Redbridge	13.26	15 Bolton	25.39
16 North Hertfordshire	13.78	16 Newham	25.27
17 Crawley	14.78	17 Kirklees	25.23
18 Ealing	15.23	18 Nottingham	24.67
19 Nuneaton and Bedworth	15.60	19 Preston	23.57
20 Slough	15.77	20 Waltham Forest	23.56

Table A7: Extreme unemployment rates for Indians

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 Kingston upon Thames	6.50	1 Blackburn	28.40
2 Bearsden and Milngavie	7.33	2 Hackney	25.09
3 Blaby	8.11	3 Bolton	24.24
4 Watford	8.30	4 Preston	22.76
5 Oadby and Wigston	8.36	5 Gravesham	22.01
6 Merton	8.78	6 Kirklees	20.53
7 Dartford	9.01	7 Wolverhampton	19.05
8 Harrow	9.09	8 Newham	18.87
9 Enfield	9.21	9 Gloucester	18.54
10 Wellingborough	9.28	10 Trafford	18.53
11 Hillingdon	9.50	11 Sandwell	17.59
12 Croydon	9.72	12 Birmingham	17.58
13 Rugby	9.75	13 Rochester upon Medway	16.66
14 Barnet	9.99	14 Coventry	16.34
15 Bexley	10.08	15 Leicester	15.77
16 Warwick	10.26	16 Greenwich	15.71
17 Charnwood	10.31	17 Bradford	15.42
18 Hounslow	10.58	18 Nuneaton and Bedworth	15.42
19 Luton	11.03	19 Walsall	15.38
20 Slough	11.41	20 Waltham Forest	15.24

Highest and lowest local authority unemployment rates by ethnic group (continued)

Table A8: Extreme unemployment rates for Pakistanis

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 Eastwood	10.93	1 Calderdale	43.59
2 Crawley	17.84	2 The Wrekin	43.16
3 Merton	18.12	3 Sheffield	39.83
4 Croydon	18.70	4 Peterborough	39.37
5 Harrow	19.04	5 Rotherham	39.11
6 Windsor and Maidenhead	19.20	6 Sandwell	38.37
7 Hounslow	20.44	7 Coventry	37.57
8 Redbridge	20.58	8 Birmingham	37.46
9 Brent	20.74	9 Walsall	36.85
10 Woking	21.85	10 Derby	36.32
11 Wandsworth	22.71	11 Bradford	36.06
12 Bury	22.72	12 Newham	35.45
13 Trafford	23.14	13 Newport	35.31
14 Chiltern	23.28	14 Nottingham	35.18
15 Pendle	23.65	15 Oldham	34.31
16 Watford	23.73	16 Middlesbrough	33.92
17 Redditch	24.12	17 Blackburn	33.56
18 Oxford	24.58	18 Wycombe	32.59
19 Ealing	25.62	19 Burnley	32.44
20 Slough	25.68	20 Dudley	32.14

Table A9: Extreme unemployment rates for Bangladeshis

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 North Dorset	6.67	1 Calderdale	63.89
2 Adur	9.52	2 Wyre Forest	57.14
3 Oadby and Wigston	10.00	3 Falkirk	50.00
4 Epsom and Ewell	11.36	4 Kettering	44.44
5 Tewkesbury	12.50	5 Charnwood	41.18
6 East Northamptonshire	12.50	6 Burnley	39.35
7 Maldon	14.29	7 Rossendale	37.86
8 Gordon	14.29	8 North Bedfordshire	37.73
9 Fareham	15.38	9 Forest Heath	33.33
10 Purbeck	16.67	10 Mid Suffolk	33.33
11 Chester-le-Street	16.67	11 Glyndwr	33.33
12 Gosport	16.67	12 Dumbarton	33.33
13 Hereford	16.67	13 East Kilbride	33.33
14 Ribble Valley	16.67	14 Scunthorpe	32.12
15 Rushcliffe	16.67	15 St.Albans	32.09
16 Nairn	16.67	16 East Staffordshire	30.77
17 St.Edmundsbury	18.18	17 Redditch	29.41
18 Eastbourne	18.75	18 Hyndburn	28.57
19 Worcester	19.35	19 Merthyr Tydfil	28.57
20 Fenland	20.00	20 Bassetlaw	27.27

Highest and lowest local authority unemployment rates by ethnic group (continued)

Table A10: Extreme unemployment rates for Chinese & other ethnic groups

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 Epsom and Ewell	3.71	1 Hackney	31.85
2 St.Albans	4.90	2 Tower Hamlets	27.45
3 Spelthorne	6.91	3 Southwark	25.85
4 Elmbridge	7.00	4 Greenwich	25.55
5 Woking	7.01	5 Lambeth	24.58
6 Hertsmere	7.08	6 Birmingham	24.43
7 Windsor and Maidenhead	7.20	7 Manchester	24.24
8 Sutton	7.22	8 Lewisham	23.60
9 Runnymede	7.74	9 Haringey	22.28
10 Hillingdon	8.08	10 Newham	21.88
11 Welwyn Hatfield	8.54	11 Islington	20.25
12 Milton Keynes	8.81	12 Blackburn	19.49
13 Reading	8.84	13 Waltham Forest	19.41
14 Kingston upon Thames	8.97	14 Cardiff	19.04
15 City Of London	9.00	15 Leicester	18.24
16 Richmond Upon Thames	9.10	16 Hammersmith and Fulham	18.14
17 Barnet	9.13	17 Ealing	16.82
18 Watford	9.48	18 Trafford	15.72
19 Bromley	9.89	19 Brent	15.56
20 Croydon	9.94	20 Hove	15.29

Table A11: Extreme unemployment rates for Chinese

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 Hillingdon	4.64	1 Hackney	32.44
2 Epsom and Ewell	5.41	2 Lambeth	27.71
3 Guildford	5.58	3 Southwark	26.72
4 Harrow	5.59	4 Lewisham	25.87
5 Reading	5.76	5 Tower Hamlets	24.22
6 Hounslow	5.93	6 Greenwich	21.11
7 Milton Keynes	6.13	7 Liverpool	17.69
8 Redbridge	6.33	8 Ceredigion	17.24
9 Suffolk Coastal	6.36	9 Manchester	15.21
10 Runnymede	6.50	10 Bexley	15.18
11 Kingston upon Thames	6.51	11 Islington	15.17
12 Wokingham	6.51	12 Birmingham	15.03
13 Woking	6.51	13 Newcastle upon Tyne	13.64
14 Croydon	6.63	14 Haringey	13.31
15 Barnet	6.94	15 Waltham Forest	13.26
16 Colchester	6.94	16 Gedling	12.61
17 Bromley	6.99	17 Cardiff	12.16
18 Richmond Upon Thames	7.09	18 Newham	12.12
19 Welwyn Hatfield	7.11	19 Camden	11.82
20 Hove	7.19	20 Brighton	11.79

Highest and lowest local authority unemployment rates by ethnic group (continued)

Table A12: Extreme unemployment rates for Other Asians

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 Epsom and Ewell	2.74	1 Meirionnydd	61.54
2 Elmbridge	4.57	2 Hackney	35.09
3 Windsor and Maidenhead	5.65	3 Greenwich	33.18
4 Sutton	6.30	4 Tower Hamlets	30.78
5 Bromley	7.00	5 Manchester	29.44
6 Woking	7.09	6 Birmingham	28.54
7 Barnet	7.12	7 Lewisham	27.16
8 Richmond Upon Thames	7.40	8 Southwark	26.62
9 Hillingdon	8.21	9 Bearsden and Milngavie	24.14
10 Westminster, City of	8.26	10 Newham	23.34
11 Kingston upon Thames	8.42	11 Blackburn	23.04
12 Three Rivers	8.42	12 Waltham Forest	21.91
13 Camden	8.55	13 Northampton	21.89
14 Runnymede	8.70	14 Lambeth	20.32
15 Spelthorne	8.76	15 Leicester	19.40
16 Kensington and Chelsea	8.95	16 Islington	18.47
17 Watford	9.09	17 Haringey	17.76
18 Milton Keynes	9.13	18 Barking and Dagenham	16.67
19 Croydon	9.46	19 Peterborough	16.57
20 Oxford	10.00	20 Gravesham	16.45

Table A13: Extreme unemployment rates for Other-Others

Lowest Districts	Rate	Highest Districts	Rate
1 St. Albans	9.20	1 Haringey	31.29
2 Hillingdon	9.86	2 Hackney	29.82
3 Elmbridge	9.90	3 Sheffield	28.95
4 Sutton	10.64	4 Manchester	28.68
5 Crawley	11.26	5 Tower Hamlets	27.56
6 Croydon	11.53	6 Newport	27.52
7 Richmond Upon Thames	11.58	7 Lambeth	25.66
8 Bexley	11.67	8 Birmingham	25.58
9 Slough	11.68	9 Cardiff	25.47
10 Kingston upon Thames	11.76	10 Hammersmith and Fulham	25.24
11 Windsor and Maidenhead	11.91	11 Newham	25.07
12 Guildford	12.50	12 Islington	25.05
13 Reading	12.53	13 Southwark	24.48
14 Harrow	12.78	14 Bradford	23.62
15 Cambridge	12.84	15 Blackburn	23.62
16 Welwyn Hatfield	13.11	16 Nottingham	23.08
17 Redbridge	13.20	17 Kensington and Chelsea	23.04
18 Merton	13.30	18 Ealing	22.46
19 Watford	13.38	19 Westminster, City of	22.09
20 Barnet	13.94	20 Leeds	21.59

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