

Mapping rapidly changing minority ethnic populations: a case study of York

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Official statistics can be of limited help to those providing services to increasingly diverse populations. Using an innovative approach, this project drew on both formal and informal sources to estimate the size and diversity of York's minority ethnic population and the implications for key agencies.

The project was commissioned by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation's York Grants Committee, which makes modest grants to organisations to help improve the general quality of life in York. The Committee wanted a more up-to-date picture of the city's population than census data offers, to help inform its work.

This report looks at:

- the approach piloted by the project
- what this approach found
- the project team's recommendations for policy and service organisations in York.

The project suggests that York's population is much more ethnically diverse than is often supposed, identifying 78 different first languages within the city.

When they talk about communities, all they see are white, Asian, black and possibly Chinese. They don't see the Italian community, they don't see the Polish community and they don't see the Iranian community.

(Iranian community activist, Manchester, cited in Rutter et al., 2009)

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Executive summary

Official statistics are not much help when trying to make service and policy responses to rapidly growing minority ethnic populations, particularly where recent growth has been from a relatively small baseline. Using an innovative approach, therefore, this research drew on a range of formal and informal sources to establish the size and diversity of York's minority ethnic population and the implications for its key agencies.

Background

The minority ethnic population of the UK is growing steadily; in some areas, particularly rural areas and some towns and cities, growth is relatively rapid. One national study has identified York as a city where the minority ethnic population appears to be growing more rapidly than in most other areas. This is due in part to key areas of the local economy (tourism and higher education) depending heavily on investment by those from other countries.

However, official datasets provide limited help to local authorities anxious to ensure that they are shaping policy development and service delivery to meet the needs of changing demography. This project set out to try and map the size and diversity of minority ethnic groups using not only official national datasets but also a range of other research techniques and data sources. Many of the circumstances in York may apply to similarly sized cities and towns and other local authorities could potentially use this approach.

The approach

The census provides data once every 10 years. Because results are finally available three years after the census is taken, there may be as much as 13 years between the snapshot of one set of data and the next becoming accessible. The Quarterly

Labour Force Survey (LFS) is far more frequent, but only surveys a relatively small number of people: for any single local authority, the number of minority ethnic respondents likely to be captured may be very small – possibly less than 10. In areas where there has been a recent substantial rise in the number of migrant workers, specific datasets such as the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) data or National Insurance numbers (NINOs) may help to give a more rounded picture, but these data generally only apply to a limited range of minority ethnic groups.

This project involved a number of standard research techniques, such as a policy and literature review, secondary data analysis and mapping and qualitative interviews. These were supplemented by a range of less formal techniques, such as the collection of administrative employment data from local organisations, observation and networking.

The methodology was not particularly complex but required the ability to draw together a very wide range of data from very differing kinds of sources. In addition, the researchers had to be very flexible in following up possible lines of enquiry.

The project was complicated by a number of factors, including:

- considerable movement across the York/ North Yorkshire border which affected both housing and labour market issues;
- the reluctance of private sector agencies to provide data;
- inconsistency and gaps in the presentation of data by public sector organisations;
- the pace of change, and the arrival of irregular or non-recorded migrants; and
- the very limited number of organisations in York working directly with Black and minority ethnic (BME) communities.

What this project found

In the 2001 Census York's minority ethnic population (i.e. all those not categorised as White, White other or White British) was 2.1%, and for those not categorised as White British it was 4.9%, much lower than the averages for the UK as a whole.

The project's analysis of administrative data from the employment records of York's public bodies provided a profile of much more ethnically diverse workforces than had been commonly understood.

Most public agencies had reasonably coherent ethnic monitoring schemes although some had invented ethnic categories of their own (e.g. 'Oriental'), which did not match census categories or had drilled down to national categories such as Serbian. In most cases, organisations had failed to achieve a target (which many had set themselves) of minority ethnic recruitment matching the profile of the population at large in York (around 6%). (The team had also hoped to examine data on the grades at which minorities were working but such data was relatively sparse.) The total number of minorities covered by this data alone was itself close to the total number recorded in the 2001 Census but this did not include all private and third sector employers, children under school age and those out of the labour market.

The private sector employs many more people in York than the public sector. However, data from private sector agencies was far less easy to obtain. Most private sector employers did not respond to letters asking for details of their workforce. Those that did respond were either not prepared to release ethnic monitoring data to the team or did not keep such data.

Data on migrant workers is complicated by the fact that many workers may live in one authority and work in another. In this case, many more live in York than the surrounding North Yorkshire area because of the supply of low-cost housing. In addition, those migrant workers who are self-employed are not required to register with the WRS and those leaving the UK are not obliged to de-register. Taking these conditions into account, the study estimated that at least 800 migrant workers were working in the city and many more living there. This cross-border movement points to the need for neighbouring local authorities to collaborate over service provision. The issue of migrant workers also raises the problems of the transitory nature of some minority populations, which is likely to increase their vulnerability.

The less formal types of fieldwork demonstrated that the numbers of minority ethnic establishments and facilities in York are substantially greater and more diverse than is recognised formally by service providers. Places such as restaurants, fast food establishments, places of worship and linked faith-based activities, informal groupings and networks may provide access points for reaching minorities which are as useful as more formal organisational routes.

Despite a popular perception of York as a largely 'White' city with no more than six or seven minority groups present, the study identified 92 different ethnic/national origins present in the city and 78 different first languages (see Table 1). Although a few ethnically-based community organisations had existed for some years, most of the ethnic groups identified took the form of informal networks and groupings, often focused around a specific activity such as worship, language or economic activity.

To estimate the minority ethnic population of York the team drew on the information gathered and made assumptions about the growth of the minority population between 2006 and 2009, about the presence of large numbers of minorities not recorded by official datasets (including irregular workers) and the growth of key industrial sectors, particularly higher education (the city's two universities are committed to substantial expansion including from overseas) and the service sector (e.g. tourism, leisure and financial services), both critical to the future of York's economy. Official data does not inform us of how many people left York. Based on this the team estimates the minority ethnic population (i.e. all groups other than White British) in 2009 to be approximately 21,800, or 11% of York's total estimated population. This estimate is substantially higher than the figures generally used within the city by policy and service agencies and more than twice the size of the BME population recorded in the 2001 Census.

Conclusions and recommendations

The researchers make a number of strategic recommendations for organisations in York, including:

- strengthening the commitment to racial equality across the city, including encouraging major private sector agencies to engage in ethnic monitoring of their workforces, and to combating racism, which some key agencies perceive to be a growing problem in the area;
- as part of this approach, the city could market and profile its commitment to racial equality and diversity more strongly to the outside world;
- the desirability of consistency and coherence in ethnic monitoring across all organisations, including not only collecting data but using it to inform policy development and service delivery, moving away from 'ethnic origin' as the only basis for targeting resources;
- more effective and targeted recruitment of and support for minority ethnic employees;
- greater investment in services and provision for minorities, including support for organisations which are representative of particular minority groups;
- highlighting and responding to the needs of more vulnerable groups, including 'hidden' and irregular workers, of which there is probably a growing number – this is an issue where a response could be led by individual trades unions, the regional Trades Union Congress (TUC) and local advice agencies and the third sector more generally.

The researchers suggest that understanding the changing nature of the labour market is key to understanding the growth of the minority ethnic population.

The project also identified recommendations for specific York-based organisations, the potential of better cross-organisational working and planning (e.g. between housing and education services), and for further investigation of some key areas, including the social and economic needs of specific minority groups, and ways in which informal networks and support groups could be sustained with modest resource inputs.

The research team suggests that, with relatively modest investment, local authorities making use of this approach to mapping the size and diversity of their minority populations have the potential to make a disproportionately positive impact on their quality of life.

A note on terminology

Terminology is often complicated and contested in this territory. Except where stated, we have chosen to regard anyone who would not correspond to the White British category in the 2001 Census as a member of a minority ethnic group. Thus people of, for example, Turkish, Rumanian, Polish or Italian origins, and indeed some who may have answered 'Mixed heritage' to the 2001 Census question – regardless of skin colour – are included as members of minority ethnic groups.

Clearly, for those whose skin colour is commonly described as black, yellow or brown, the issue of visibility and thus of the potential to be the victim of a racist attack or abuse is heightened.¹ However, as is clear from the recent media attacks on migrant workers from East and Central European countries acceding to the European Union (EU) in 2004, and the actual experience of racist attacks on A8 migrant workers,² skin colour alone is not a determining factor in shaping racism or xenophobia and from this point of view alone it is appropriate to include White Other as a minority.

The point critically is that anyone coming from another country or ethnic origin, regardless of their willingness to adopt the cultural customs common to a particular UK place, will – at least for the first years of their settlement, and possibly for all their life – have specific cultural, religious, linguistic and other needs to which UK legislation requires public authorities to respond. Even those perhaps regarded as closest to White British in their ethnic categorisation may suffer significant discrimination: for example, some of York's Traveller community, subject to the greatest levels of social exclusion (Neale *et al.*, 2009), may have been recorded as White Irish in the 2001 Census.

1 Background

This is the report of a small-scale piece of research conducted in York during 2009. The local context for the research was that the minority ethnic population was believed to be changing rapidly – both numerically and also in terms of its diversity (i.e. the numbers of different ethnic origins represented among its population) – but that official statistics provided an inadequate basis for agencies concerned with making policy or delivering services to its local populations, and specifically to minority ethnic populations within its boundaries. Also the census data – eight years on from 2001 – is now dated. The national context is that, despite the requirement of the Race Relations Amendment Act (RRAA) 2000, following the racialised murder of Stephen Lawrence, that public bodies should do all they can to promote racial equality and equality of opportunity, and eliminate racial discrimination, there is ample evidence from a range of sectors (see e.g. Blofeld, 2004; Cabinet Office, 2005; Craig, 2007; Craig *et al.*, 2007a; Platt, 2009) that many public bodies are still failing to take this requirement seriously. This is particularly the case in those areas that are thought to have relatively small minority ethnic populations where the maxim of ‘numbers not needs’ still appears to inform policy-making and service delivery (NYBSB, 2007).

Since the ‘ethnic question’ (a question or series of questions asking respondents about their ethnic origin and related issues) was introduced in the 1991 Census, the decennial censuses have been the main large-scale source of demographic data regarding Black and minority ethnic (BME) groups in the UK. Leaving aside that the nature of the question itself has changed from census to census, and new categories introduced (e.g. the categories of Mixed heritage, Black British, Black Asian etc. introduced in 2001, and the questions themselves are due to be changed again for the 2011 Census), the fact that the census occurs only every 10 years is particularly problematic for areas where minority ethnic populations are changing relatively rapidly. And other national datasets such as the Labour Force Survey (LFS) (and its derivative Annual

Population Survey) are of little assistance in this regard since their coverage is relatively small (about 40–50,000 respondents in the case of the LFS) and would provide a minuscule sample in relation to a city the size of York (of perhaps 120 respondents, three or four of whom would be of minority ethnic origin) on a representative basis.

Given that the outputs of the 2011 Census will only become fully available in 2014, this means that bodies concerned with policy and service issues may have a 13-year gap between the data from the 2001 Census and the full publication of the 2011 Census. This is no sensible basis for decision-making affecting the life chances of citizens – and particularly, in this context, minority ethnic citizens – within any local authority area, and most of all, those where the profile of the local population is changing rapidly.

York was chosen for this study for several reasons. First, some well-informed estimates of its non-White British minority ethnic population suggested that it may have *increased* substantially¹ since the relatively low 2001 Census figure of non-White people of 2.2% or about 4,000 people (York’s population then being about 181,000) (see e.g. Parkinson *et al.*, 2006, which reviewed the population of 56 cities in England and found that the rate of increase of non-White populations was greatest in three cities, of which York was one²). This was confirmed by some early anecdotal evidence with several respondents stating that, on the basis of a number of guesstimates, they had put the minority ethnic population at nearer 6–6.5%, although it was not always clear what definition they were using for ‘minority ethnic’, particularly whether this included or excluded the White Other/Irish categories; these guesstimates were partially confirmed by the 2006 mid-censal estimates provided by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and adopted by various City of York Council working groups.

The diversity of the city's resident population was also confirmed by organisations in 'the front line' such as Future Prospects, whose customer data we were able to examine, and in schools data³ – the Children's Services Department has witnessed a fourfold increase in children from minority ethnic groups from about 500 to over 2,000 in the past 10 years with about 50 different first languages spoken by school pupils. Some ten years ago, about 25% of all minority ethnic school students were associated with parents at the University of York; the figure is now nearer 5%, not because of a reduction in people from minority ethnic groups at the University but because of demographic change elsewhere in the city's population.⁴

Second, physical access for the research team, who all lived in and around York, was relatively easy and costs incurred in travel and time were minimised.

Third, York was surrounded by, and in terms of employment and housing strongly linked to, the deeply rural county of North Yorkshire that had witnessed a substantial increase in migrant workers over the period from 2004 (Audit Commission, 2007). Because of the shortage of affordable housing in rural areas generally and specifically in North Yorkshire, it was likely that many of those migrant workers working in North Yorkshire would gravitate towards York, among other neighbouring urban areas, in search of cheap housing to rent. This raises particularly problematic issues for local authorities where migrant workers live but do not work and vice versa. This has been found to be the case in other studies (Adamson *et al.*, 2008). North Yorkshire County Council commissioned research early in 2009 into the housing needs of migrant workers which was later extended to incorporate those living in York; this report was due to be available in the summer of 2009.⁵

Fourth, despite the increasing numbers of tourists from other countries coming to what is widely seen as a heritage city, a strong perception remains of it (voiced by many visitors and residents alike) that York is essentially a White city, with the difficulties and legacies in a more broadly multicultural society that that implies. For example, it is clear that racism

remains a serious problem in the area, an issue commented on publicly on several occasions in 2009 by the regional director of the Crown Prosecution Service, Robert Turnbull, and reflected in the work of the York Race Equality Network (YREN), the city having witnessed several appalling racially motivated assaults in recent years.⁶ Issues related to the development of a harmonious and secure city for White and non-White citizens alike are clearly still to be resolved properly.⁷ This process is not helped by the racist agitation of far-right political parties such as the British National Party, which, as the recent leak of their membership files showed, have a significant presence in rural North Yorkshire⁸ and have fed off xenophobic interpretations of the impact of immigration.

Fifth, the city has two universities, both of which are committed – with particular numerical success in the case of the University of York – to attracting overseas students. These populations, while largely transient in relation to a settled population and thus invisible to most official statistics, nevertheless impact, as we shall see, on a city's culture, its services and its profile.

Sixth, while the city was not formally designated by the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) as a dispersal area in 1999 (Lewis *et al.*, 2009) for refugees and those seeking asylum, it is clear that NASS actually encouraged by more informal means (e.g. responding to bids from private landlords prepared to house refugees) the settlement of some refugees in the city a few years ago, and these have formed the basis of one of the faster growing minority ethnic populations in the city.

Last, given the growing concern in policy literature about cohesion, and about social exclusion, York is an area where 'participation in the running and planning of local services has never been particularly high in the case of those who are most deprived, ... [including] ... BME communities' (YREN, 2007). This view was again confirmed by BME spokespeople. As we point out, current legislation at the very least makes it clear that minority ethnic groups should have a clear and effective role in the development of policies and services in the city and our minority ethnic

respondents – some of them in discussions before the study was commissioned – made it clear that they did not feel that that role had yet properly been accorded to minority ethnic groups in the city.

With these issues in mind, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF), through its York Committee, commissioned this study to be about changes in the city. Many of these factors would of course more or less equally characterise other small cities or large towns in the UK – such as Chester, Lancaster, Lincoln, Gloucester, Norwich or Exeter – and it is hoped that the experience recounted here might be of value to such places as they also seek to respond to the growing influences and needs of a multicultural society. Because of this, Chapter 2 sets out in some detail the way in which the study was conducted.

The map, figures and tables included here show what was known about York's minority ethnic population in detail at the time of the 2001 Census. At this point, York had a minority ethnic population (including White Other and White Irish) of 4.9% (8,839 people), or of 2.1% in all non-White categories (broadly Black and Asian populations, 3,385 people) (see Table 1). White Other formed the largest single group among the non-White British groups, followed by White Irish. Of the non-White groups, Chinese, Indian and Bangladeshi have the greatest numbers.

Table 2 shows the location of the different groups by ward. Overall Heslington has the largest non-White British population, followed by Micklegate, Fishergate and Clifton. Heslington has the largest numbers of White Other, Chinese or Other Ethnic Group and also had a sizeable Asian population. Fishergate and Micklegate also had large numbers of White Other and mixed ethnicities. Fishergate was the only ward with large numbers of Asian Other. The high concentrations of certain minority ethnic groups in particular wards shows a strong association with particular housing types; thus people from lower-income minority ethnic groups tend to be concentrated in areas of private rented accommodation.

The blue figures in Table 1 show 2006 estimates used by the City of York's Social Inclusion Working Party, based on ONS mid-term estimates. The White Other population varied in 2001 from almost 14% of the total population in the Heslington ward (in which the University is based) to 1% or less in several wards. The point of including the second and third largest minority ethnic groups is that the largest is typically White Other, which obscures as much as it reveals, as we note elsewhere.

The 2006 estimates (said to be accurate to 100 people) show all minority ethnic groups increasing in size and proportion of the population as a whole, with the total BME population (i.e. everyone excluding the White British category) to be 9.1% of the population, or 17,500 people, an increase of 85%. The mid-2006 figure for York's BME population (excluding all White categories) was estimated by regional analysis to be 5.0%⁹ (YNYPU, 2009). The wards with the largest total BME population were Heslington (28.1%), Fishergate (9.2%) and Guildhall (8.3%); these are populations dominated respectively by the University, by historical settlement patterns and by city centre retail establishments.

Table 1: Population (2001 Census; 2006 estimates in blue)

	%	Number of people
Total population	100 100	181,076 191,800
White	97.9	177,191
White British	95.1 91.0	172,237 174,500
White Irish	0.7 0.7	1,217 1,300
White Other	2.1 3.4	3,737 6,600
Mixed	0.6 1.0	1,128 1,900
White and Black Caribbean		244 500
White and Black African		107 200
White and Asian		456 700
Other Mixed		321 500
Asian or Asian British	1.9	1,380 3,600
Indian	0.3	538 1,500
Pakistani	0.1	198 800
Bangladeshi	0.2	363 600
Other Asian	0.2	281 700
Black or Black British	0.6	344 1,200
African Caribbean	0.1	140 400
African	0.1	164 700
Other Black	0.1	40 100
Chinese or other Ethnic Group	0.9	1,033 2,900
Chinese	0.4 0.9	643 1,800
Other Ethnic Group	0.2	390

Note: The 2006 Census estimate of the UK minority ethnic population (i.e. all groups except White British) was 15.8%, of which 5.6% were White Irish and White Other. Percentages have not been given for small numbers.
Source: 2001 Census

A population projection undertaken by the University of Leeds for Yorkshire Futures (Stillwell *et al.*, 2006) suggests that by 2030 the total population of York will be 211,330, of which the total White population (including White Irish and White Other) will be 199,782 (94.5%), and the total minority ethnic group population, excluding White Other and White Irish, will be 11,547 (5.5%). This shows an overall growth of the minority ethnic population of more than 53% between 2005 and 2030, with the Chinese population more than doubling. The data outlined earlier suggests, however, that this may be based on a considerable under-estimate of the overall rate of growth of York's BME population.

Table 2: Population by ward

	All people				White				Mixed								Asian or Asian British					Black or Black British					Chinese or Other Ethnic Group		
		All White	British	Irish	Other White	All Mixed	White and Black Caribbean	White and Black African	White and Asian	Other Mixed	All Asian or Asian British	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Other Asian	All Black or Black British	British	Caribbean	African	Other Black	All Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	Chinese	Other Ethnic Group						
Acomb	7,728	7,680	7,568	38	74	26	4	15	7	9	3	3	0	3	6	0	0	3	3	7	7	0							
Bishopthorpe	3,797	3,759	3,702	16	41	16	0	9	7	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	10	7							
Clifton	12,017	11,688	11,365	84	239	98	22	33	31	133	42	25	57	9	25	9	9	11	5	73	54	19							
Derwent	3,534	3,514	3,455	9	50	10	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	7	3							
Dringhouses and Woodthorpe	10,737	10,575	10,378	67	130	61	7	26	25	45	19	4	15	7	11	3	3	5	3	45	37	8							
Fishergate	7,921	7,531	7,148	73	310	99	24	38	27	215	30	39	39	107	17	8	8	6	3	59	18	41							
Fulford	2,592	2,527	2,455	8	64	15	0	12	3	34	7	5	14	8	3	3	3	0	0	13	7	6							
Guildhall	6,678	6,442	6,068	85	289	67	9	25	27	95	48	19	17	11	24	5	5	16	3	50	29	21							
Haxby and Wigginton	12,466	12,342	12,129	48	165	30	14	8	8	34	20	0	5	9	10	4	4	6	0	50	40	10							
Heslington	4,120	3,574	2,957	41	576	87	8	39	34	108	51	10	16	31	43	6	6	37	0	308	185	123							
Heworth	11,744	11,539	11,276	81	182	66	20	25	9	94	56	8	30	0	16	9	9	4	3	29	15	14							
Heworth Without	3,787	3,732	3,668	22	42	20	3	6	6	12	0	4	5	3	3	0	0	3	0	20	7	13							
Holgate	11,564	11,391	11,097	94	200	69	16	25	17	62	29	0	27	6	17	6	6	8	3	25	13	12							
Hull Road	8,270	8,042	7,765	61	216	65	10	28	19	83	35	7	28	13	10	4	4	3	3	70	37	33							
Huntington and New Earswick	12,089	11,900	11,700	55	145	42	12	19	5	112	44	6	48	14	11	6	6	5	0	24	12	12							
Micklegate	10,994	10,652	10,149	132	371	107	19	46	30	127	48	14	45	20	28	11	11	17	0	80	54	26							
Osbaldwick	3,143	3,109	3,057	12	40	4	0	4	0	13	10	0	0	3	8	0	0	3	5	9	6	3							
Rural West York	10,285	10,161	10,027	36	98	36	11	15	10	24	15	3	0	6	34	23	8	8	3	30	27	3							
Skelton, Rawcliffe and Clifton Without	12,158	11,927	11,642	63	222	64	16	25	23	77	34	30	3	10	27	13	13	11	3	63	51	12							
Strensall	7,863	7,710	7,594	31	85	47	19	13	10	50	19	12	6	13	38	26	9	9	3	18	15	3							
Westfield	13,689	13,532	13,249	136	147	86	26	29	23	34	17	6	8	3	13	4	4	9	0	24	9	15							
Wheldrake	3,900	3,864	3,788	25	51	13	4	6	0	14	6	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	9	3	6							

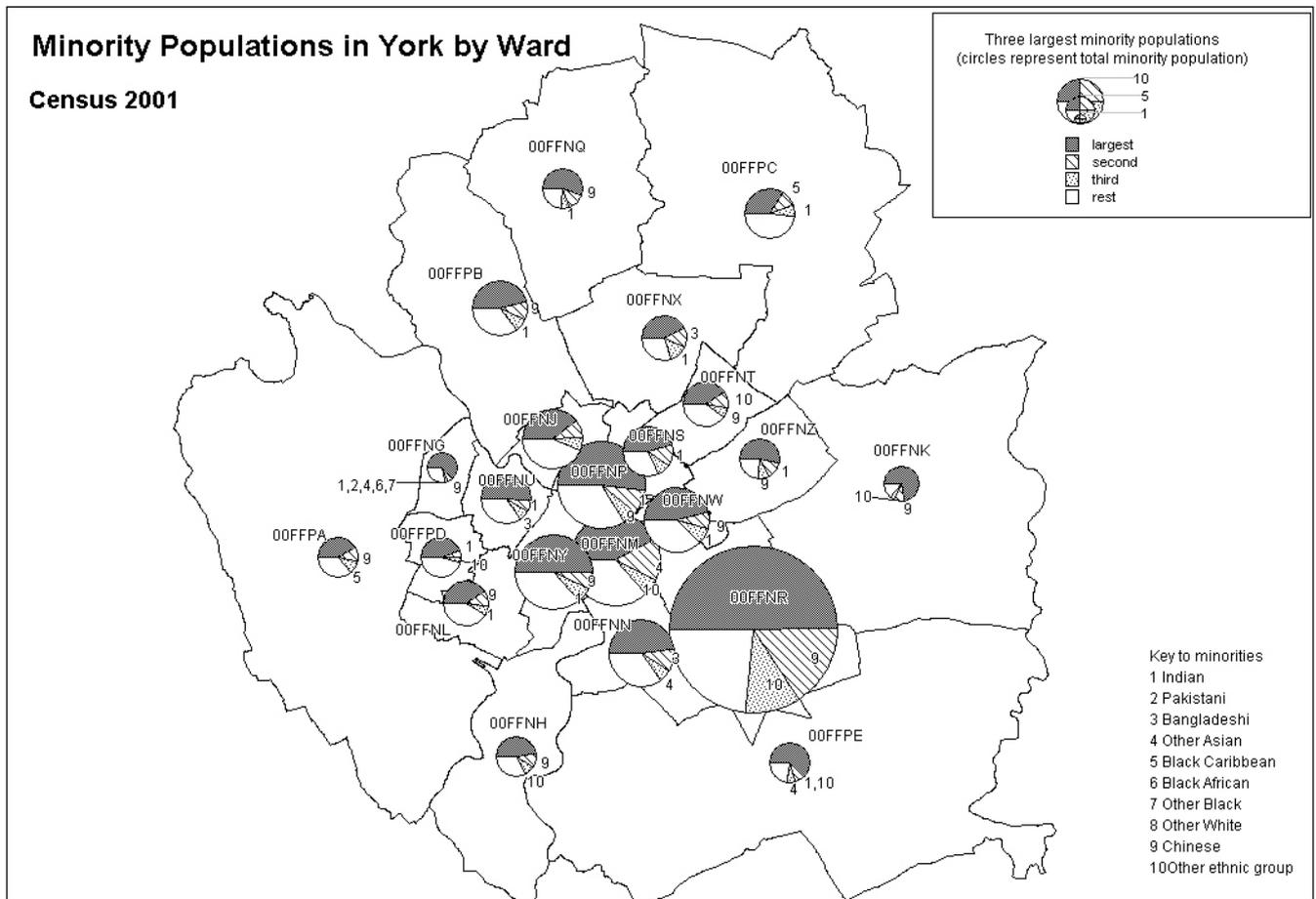
Table 3: York – largest minority ethnic populations by ward

Ward name	Ward code	Minority ethnic groups as % of total population	Largest minority	% of population	Second largest minority ethnic group	% of population	Third largest minority ethnic group	% of population
Acomb	00FFNG	1.67	White Other	0.96	Chinese	0.09	Indian, Pakistani, Other Asian, Black African, Other Black	0.04
Bishopthorpe	00FFNH	2.26	White Other	1.08	Chinese	0.26	Other Ethnic Group	0.18
Clifton	00FFNJ	4.98	White Other	1.99	Bangladeshi	0.47	Indian	0.35
Derwent	00FFNK	1.98	White Other	1.41	Chinese	0.20	Other Ethnic Group	0.08
Dringhouses and Woodthorpe	00FFNL	2.95	White Other	1.21	Chinese	0.34	Indian	0.18
Fishergate	00FFNM	9.18	White Other	3.91	Other Asian	1.35	Other Ethnic Group	0.52
Fulford	00FFNN	5.09	White Other	2.47	Bangladeshi	0.54	Other Asian	0.31
Guildhall	00FFNP	8.27	White Other	4.33	Indian	0.72	Chinese	0.43
Haxby and Wigginton	00FFNQ	2.38	White Other	1.32	Chinese	0.32	Indian	0.16
Heslington	00FFNR	28.06	White Other	13.98	Chinese	4.49	Other Ethnic Group	2.99
Heworth	00FFNS	3.37	White Other	1.55	Indian	0.48	Bangladeshi	0.26
Heworth Without	00FFNT	2.72	White Other	1.11	Other Ethnic Group	0.34	Chinese	0.18
Holgate	00FFNJ	3.37	White Other	1.73	Indian	0.25	Bangladeshi	0.23
Hull Road	00FFNW	5.60	White Other	2.61	Chinese	0.45	Indian	0.42
Huntington and New Earswick	00FFNX	2.80	White Other	1.20	Bangladeshi	0.40	Indian	0.36
Micklegate	00FFNY	6.76	White Other	3.37	Chinese	0.49	Indian	0.44
Osbaldwick	00FFNZ	2.35	White Other	1.27	Indian	0.32	Chinese	0.19
Rural West York	00FFPA	2.26	White Other	0.95	Chinese	0.26	Black Caribbean	0.22
Skelton, Rawcliffe and Clifton Without	00FFPB	3.92	White Other	1.83	Chinese	0.42	Indian	0.28
Strensall	00FFPC	3.15	White Other	1.08	Black Caribbean	0.33	Indian	0.24
Westfield	00FFPD	2.39	White Other	1.07	Indian	0.12	Other Ethnic Group	0.11
Wheldrake	00FFPE	2.23	White Other	1.31	Indian, Other Ethnic Group	0.15	Other Asian	0.13

Note: Where there is more than one minority ethnic group listed in a category the percentages of population are equal.

Source: 2001 Census

Figure 1



2 A brief history of minority ethnic settlement in York

The history of York's minority ethnic communities has yet to be written although there have been occasional pamphlets and lectures focused on specific groups.¹ This brief summary is drawn from conversations with local respondents from minority ethnic groups, and previous attendance at occasional talks, many of the writers and speakers occupying prominent economic or social positions, and some of them among the earliest arrivals in the city. It should give some context to the following discussion.²

The earliest (unwelcome) migrants to the city may have been Nubian soldiers serving with the Roman Army, followed several hundred years later by Scandinavians (Vikings!).

Jewish people have been resident in the city for more than a thousand years, Clifford's Tower being the site of a major medieval atrocity when the entire Jewish population was imprisoned and burnt to death by local landowners to avoid having to pay their debts. A small Jewish population slowly emerged in the city again and continues to have a presence, although it is not large enough to sustain a synagogue.

Probably the first minority ethnic people migrating to the city in recent times have been those of Chinese (Hong Kong) origin; some arrived in the city around the time of the Second World War to establish the archetypal Chinese laundry, in the Lowther Street area. By the mid-1950s, as individual families could afford to buy their own washing machines, the need for laundries began to diminish, and the slowly growing Chinese community turned to food production, opening the first Chinese restaurants and, later, takeaways, as demand for Chinese food began to emerge. This has been the main basis of the expansion of the Chinese community ever since; the UK Chinese community, although relatively small (about 0.25 million) by UK BME standards, is significant because, as a result of its focus on restaurants and

takeaways, it is spread across every local authority within the UK and virtually every small or medium-sized town, often being the only food outlet open late at night. More recently, Chinese or 'oriental' food supermarkets have opened in the city, such as the one in George Hudson Street, catering both for the Chinese community and retail needs but also for the wider population's taste for exotic food. Several more recently arriving grocers, such as the Freshways Store on the Hull Road and the 'Korean' store at the south end of Ouse Bridge, offer food products from a wide range of national origins. Characteristically, families running Chinese restaurants or takeaways have lived 'above the shop' or in relatively low-income areas within or near the city centre (e.g. Micklegate, Fishergate or Clifton/Rawcliffe). York's Chinese population is growing more rapidly than most minority ethnic populations, which is reflected in the numerical growth of these food outlets.

In the past decade or so, as universities have realised the significance of fee income from overseas students, many, including the University of York, have targeted Hong Kong Chinese students for both undergraduate and postgraduate study. This has substantially boosted the Chinese population in the city on a continuing basis. For the past few years there has been both a Chinese Community Association and focuses for the Chinese population to meet, for example at St Helen's Church (for those of the Christian faith) and at several local community centres.

The first South Asian people arrived in the city around the late 1960s; one Indian woman, now in her 90th year, came (she thinks as the first such arrival) as a psychiatrist and other individuals also came to take up professional posts, for example in medicine, engineering or academic work. Unlike many large cities in the UK, there has been no significant chain migration process whereby family or clan members follow early migrants to a particular locale and indeed, the history of migration

to York might be regarded as a composite of individual processes, leading to what in general terms might be called a pattern of 'accidental settlement'. This is not to say that people ended up in York accidentally (although some appeared, from their accounts, to have done so or came intending to stay for a short period but have remained much longer), but that the overall picture of historical settlement has no clear pattern to it. Thus many of the early settlers in York came as a result of individual decisions; for example, some Sikhs came from larger more multicultural towns and cities such as Leicester and Wolverhampton to establish shops and small businesses or to work in local factories, including the then Rowntree factory. The first Sikh settlers came to York in 1976 (Noake, 2007).

The most significant single (forced) migration of South Asian people into York came in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a result of the expulsions from East Africa (particularly Kenya and Uganda) by Africanising regimes. This group were largely Gujarati Hindus, descendants of Indian-indentured migrants to Africa at the beginning of the 20th century, who had been active in business, banking and retailing, but included some Sikhs (who migrated within the UK later on to York) and Indian Muslims. This 'mass' in-migration – partly a result of the government's policy of red-lining (directing the new refugees away from cities with large existing minority ethnic populations) – provoked a series of responses including the establishment of a welfare committee, in which the University of York was active, an Asian Association which met for a while in a Lowther Street church owned by the then Ripon and York St John College, and home tutoring organised by the York and District Community Relations Council (later North Yorkshire Racial Equality Council), established as a result of lobbying by prominent local South Asians in 1976. The Asian Association had an important effect in terms of promoting a cultural identity through celebrations of key festivals such as Diwali, but as some of the key activists moved away, for example, to London and Leicester, in search of better opportunities and a stronger cultural context, the Association began to lose impetus. The building was eventually closed and the Association closed down. One difficulty – still faced by refugees to this country – was that the

qualifications obtained by these migrants in their country of origin were not accepted as equivalent to UK qualifications and many therefore worked in jobs well below their previous skill levels. Thus some graduate teachers ended up working in the chocolate factories in semi-skilled work.

By this time, in the early 1980s, the separate South Asian communities were large enough to establish their own (limited) facilities; in the early days there was considerable cross-cultural support in this process of cultural establishment. Thus, one Hindu activist was prominent in arguing for a Muslim burial ground and for a mosque, recognising that Muslims in particular needed somewhere for a collective act of worship. Conversely, a Muslim restaurateur provided supplies of food for Diwali festivals. In the early years these were sold from street stalls as there was no place for Muslims to hire or use. Connections between the different faith groups were also facilitated by the use of common buildings – a community building in Lowther Street, also used on occasion as a church, also became a *madrassa* (school) at weekends for young Muslims to receive instruction. In recent years York St John University has been prominent again in establishing an InterFaith Group that provides a means for Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Jews in the city to communicate. The lack of awareness of multiculturalism, or confidence to talk about it, within York at the time was demonstrated as a policeman from Leicester accepted an invitation to give a lecture on community relations, an invitation to which police in York then felt unable to respond.

It remains the case that some of the minority ethnic groups continue to feel a sense of cultural dislocation and isolation and have argued for the need for specific facilities to enable their group to become more visible. As Noake puts it, 'how important it was for a strong Sikh community to exist in York if they were to ensure that their children received a more positive experience ... as a Sikh that did not rely on constant travel to more established centres like Leeds' (Noake, 2007, p. 244).

The Indian community, covering mainly Hindus and Sikhs, formed an Indian Cultural Association in the 1990s. This still meets at York St John University

for significant events and, until recently, was supported by a small grant for Diwali celebrations. A small room is made available for separate prayer meetings for Hindus and Sikhs on a monthly basis – there is no Hindu or Sikh *gurdwara* (temple) in the city. Broader cultural change has also impacted on York's small minority ethnic communities. After the East African migration, many of this community would meet at the University of York's Central Hall to see Hindi and Urdu films. This collective activity was undermined by the growth of home videos and no longer occurs.

The East African refugees included a few of Muslim faith, some of whom recently established the Fourth Avenue Mosque, but the growth of the Muslim-oriented population has generally been a more recent phenomenon, driven in part by the rapid growth of restaurants (mainly staffed and owned by Bangladeshi and, to a much lesser extent, Pakistani people). In 1976 there were two 'Indian' restaurants in York, one owned by a Pakistani man; now there are probably more than 40, mostly owned by Bangladeshis. Although these early restaurants played a key role in the growth of a minority ethnic community in York, this population remains less well-connected to York; most of those owning and working in these restaurants – which developed from the late 1970s onwards – do not live in the city but historically have come in from neighbouring cities, although a few have now settled in the city. Some arrived to set up restaurants in York having worked in other towns and cities in the region. Respondents cited the cost of housing in York and the lack of culturally appropriate facilities (places for worship, community centres, food supplies, cinemas) as a reason for not living in the city. As one respondent put it, 'I have been here for 40 years ... fool ... I should have lived in Leeds, York is not a place to live, it is a place to work. It is a White city...'. Only a few of the restaurants are able to provide accommodation, and this only for single men. Some restaurateurs also commented that as their own children were moving into more high status occupations, they continued to be dependent on workers from outside the city.

Both mosques, which are attended by a similar range of minority ethnic groups, are able to provide

a limited focus for community social events as well as religious activities. The larger Bull Lane Mosque was established in the 1980s, with most of its early attendees being of Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin. Its establishment was supported not only by local Asian people from other faith backgrounds, but also by collections in other cities. The ethnic diversity of its congregation has increased, particularly in the last few years, as a result of more widespread trends discussed elsewhere, but particularly in relation to the increasing significance of higher education in the city. A dispute in the 1990s led some members to leave and establish the newer and smaller mosque at Fourth Avenue, Tang Hall, raising the funds by local subscription. As noted elsewhere, the two mosques are not distinguished by adherence to a different *fiqh* (Islamic orientation) although Bull Lane appears to attract a greater part of the mixed student population, and those of Gulf Arab or Turkish origins (for whom *jumma* – Friday prayers – are delivered in Arabic and Turkish as well as English), while the Fourth Avenue Mosque appears to be based more on the 'home' population of settled residents. Both mosques assert that the separation came about because of personality differences rather than because of sectarian or ethnic differences and both are open to all Muslims; this differentiates York from cities such as Bradford where mosques are more commonly organised along ethnic and sectarian lines with differing emphases on particular *hadiths* (sayings) of the prophet Mohammed. Some respondents argued that this is a reflection both of the origins of the minority ethnic community in York (with many having moved from more established multicultural societies) and the small size of local minority ethnic communities.

In general, the South and South East Asian communities have grown steadily but modestly over the past 30 years. Other much smaller groups, such as Black African groups, have followed similar trajectories but from even smaller beginnings. For example, the first few Ghanaians arrived in the late 1960s and by 2005 a Ghana Independence anniversary in the city attracted more than 100 Ghanaians.

The major boost to York's BME population came in the 1990s as a result of the three key factors outlined in Chapter 1: the growth of higher education; the arrival of refugees and those seeking asylum; and the recent arrival of a potentially short-term migrant workforce. The latter should not be dismissed as a short-term issue as it is likely that international migration for both refugee and economic purposes will continue to have a growing impact on the city, and other cities like it. The result, as we shall see, is an enormous growth in ethnic diversity in the city. This has been accelerated both by the impact of European enlargement, with substantial numbers of East and Central European migrant workers coming to the area from 2005 onwards, and by a rapid increase through the 1990s of refugees seeking asylum. Two of York's largest minority ethnic groups – Polish and Turkish/Kurdish respectively – have resulted from these phenomena. Continuing growth in higher education and the offering of new university disciplines (such as law and business studies) have led to a further widening of ethnic diversity, with, for example, substantial postgraduate students from a number of Gulf States.

The small size of these early migrant populations created difficulties both for the individuals and in terms of organisational responses. For individuals, these difficulties were reflected in a sense of loneliness and cultural isolation, leading on occasion to depression and breakdown. Respondents noted:

'It was very lonely for me... I had given up work and was at home. There was nobody around, it was pretty isolating, one part of me was always wanting to go to London or somewhere where there was more of our community.'

'Again my heart would pang for community and there wasn't that community.'

'I caught my eldest, she was having a bath and she was really scrubbing herself with pumice ... she said I want to be white like [name]...'

It also exposed people from minority ethnic groups to the impacts of racism. Some respondents

recounted how they were the victims of what they called 'misunderstandings' (although these involved physical attacks and abuse, for example calls to a Sikh man of 'Paki go home'), and many commented that they had had to reach out to neighbours, acquaintances and school staff to address some of these cultural 'misunderstandings'. Some, for example, had gone into their children's schools to introduce staff and other children to cultural customs around food and dress ('why is your dad [a Sikh] wearing a bandage on his head?'). While they tried to integrate into local community life, they felt it was important to maintain aspects of their and their children's identity, for example in terms of food, clothing and going to the nearest temple (in Leeds). One continuing feature of York's multicultural life has been a series of annual dinners reflecting the diversity of food available from cultures resident in the city.

Organisational responses were generally at a low level for much of this period. One South Asian delegation went to the chief education officer in County Hall in Northallerton in 1978 (then responsible for administering education in York) and argued the case for multicultural education in schools, only to be told that there was no problem and no discussion to be had. At the time there had been a small Community Relations Council in York, but this was disbanded in the 1980s following disagreements about its direction, and for a while there was no formal organisational basis for addressing the issues raised by a growing multicultural population, or the impacts of racism. Finally, in 1992, a small self-help group was established, called the York Racial Equality Network (YREN). This initially focused on issues around education and the need to address discriminatory practices in local agencies. By 1994 YREN had adopted a formal constitution and eventually gained modest funding from York City Council and the Commission for Racial Equality to enable it to manage a telephone helpline, provide support for minority ethnic fora of various kinds, publish newsletters, undertake research, continue to challenge racism, discrimination and prejudice, press for culturally sensitive and responsive services and act as a voice for people from minority ethnic groups within the city. It was reconstituted

in 2003 but remains, 15 years on from its formal foundation, the only Black-led organisation in the city and it is arguable that its funding has not kept pace with the growth or increasing diversity of the minority ethnic population, the issues that this population presents or, in recent years, the growth of racism.

Chapter 3 describes how we approached this study.

3 Methodology: how we approached this research

The study lasted just over three months in all, with a further month for writing and checking the findings, the researchers all working on a part-time or limited basis throughout. The total expenditure (about £12,000) to produce this report was actually very modest in relation to the annual budget of the policy or research section of a medium-sized local authority, for example. There is therefore no reason why it could not be replicated elsewhere. Although the stages set out below appear to have a chronological sequence, in fact, by the end of the study, they were all being carried out in parallel as we identified new information, new organisations and new contacts. One of the key qualities, which the fieldwork researchers had in considerable degree, was the flexibility to follow new leads and to respond to new demands as the work developed.

The study started by reviewing existing *policy documents and research* documenting the numbers of and policy towards minority ethnic groups in York and North Yorkshire, located through correspondence, internet searches, searches of local libraries and newspaper archives, and the academic and policy literature, at local, sub-regional and regional levels. This revealed a very limited array of material but was incidentally useful in introducing the study to the major agencies in the city.

Official national statistical datasets were then revisited: as noted, the 2001 Census is the only large-scale dataset of use for all minority ethnic groups, although by the time of the study it was substantially dated. Other datasets such as the LFS were discarded as being of no use. Two particular but new sets of data were examined: the statistics on National Insurance numbers (NINOs) of migrant workers, and data related to registrations by migrant workers in the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) (a monitoring and regulation scheme introduced since the 2004 EU accession of eight Central and East European countries). Data on NINOs has of course been generally available for some time but

the combination of NINOs (which gives a person's place of residence) and WRS (which gives their place of work) has been the means, despite their limitations,¹ by which local authorities have been able best to monitor the activities of migrant workers in their areas (see Adamson *et al.*, 2008, and Chapter 4 of this report for a detailed explanation of how these data can be used).

We next turned to sourcing *administrative data*. This, as researchers have argued for some years, has been a poorly used but potentially very valuable source of data in relation to identifying and mapping those in poverty (Alcock and Craig, 2000), and the same argument applies in relation to mapping local populations by ethnicity. The richest source of data here is the annual return by ethnicity of pupils that each school in each local authority area must submit to the Department for Communities, Schools and Families. While it is clear from examining some of these returns from other local authorities that there may be a high level of 'refusals' (which may be parents unwilling to respond to the question or teachers unprepared to pursue the question for one reason or another), the overall picture can be extremely informative, particularly as some minority ethnic groups – such as Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin people – have younger populations and higher fertility rates than the national UK average.² Their presence in a local population, particularly if relatively small, is likely to be more noticeable by tracking school populations.³

We then turned to examine the administrative records of major employers in the city. *Public bodies* covered by the terms of the RRAA 2000⁴ are required to institute ethnic monitoring arrangements. All of the large public bodies located in the city were able to provide us with some data showing the ethnic origin of their workforce.⁵ In the case of educational establishments, we were also able to obtain a profile by ethnicity of the student body and in a few cases, of private sector organisations supplying services to these public bodies. Most

organisations seemed both able and prepared in a transparent fashion to provide the data requested; some pointed out (perhaps prompted by this enquiry) that their data was not adequately collected or stored and that work was in hand to improve it. Some preferred to characterise our enquiry as conducted under the terms of the Freedom of Information Act (although we had not specified that it was); in instances where organisations might be reluctant for whatever reason to provide data freely, it is presumably open to researchers to use this mechanism to obtain the data. Only one public body failed to provide data despite several requests over several months by the end of this study, and here we did use Freedom of Information legislation. In this case, we had asked the local police force for details of the ethnic origin of those seeking asylum who were required, by virtue of their status, to report to a local police station. Our request was forwarded via the headquarters of the North Yorkshire Police Force, then via the Home Office, to the UK Border Agency which then failed to provide any data. In the case of the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) office in the city, less than five members of its staff of 388 were recorded as members of minority ethnic groups and because of the small number involved, specific minority ethnic groups were not identified.

The public sector bodies in York from which data was gathered were as follows:^{6, 7}

- Askham Bryan College (a land-based higher education establishment)
- Defra
- North Yorkshire County Council (staff outposted in York for, for example, cleaning and catering)
- North Yorkshire Fire and Rescue Service
- North Yorkshire Learning and Skills Council
- North Yorkshire Police Force
- Royal Mail

- UK Border Agency (reporting refugees at York Police Station)
- University of York
- NHS North Yorkshire and York (formerly York and North Yorkshire Primary Care Trust)
- City of York Council (including a separate analysis for York schools)
- York College (a sixth form and further education establishment)
- York Hospitals NHS Foundation Trust (covering York District Hospital and other smaller establishments)
- York St John University

The story with *private sector* establishments was very different. At the prompting of the local office of the Department for Work and Pensions, we assembled a list of all employment agencies based in the city (65 in all). Our intention was, from responses to the questions in our letter, to identify agencies which had more contact with minority ethnic or migrant workers and to follow up the letter with a short interview exploring the number and diversity of workers they had placed. In the event, only one of the employment agencies answered our letter. We also wrote to 66 further private sector companies with workforces of 100 or more: we had 25 responses to this letter, in nine of which we were informed (via the Royal Mail) that the company had 'gone away'. Of the remaining 16, one (a financial sector organisation) provided data drawn from a national database, and six provided some very limited data. The remaining nine, including prominent local employers such as a large supermarket (300–1,000 employees) and a building company (3,000–5,000 employees), did not give any information or said they were unable to do so as they had no system for recording ethnicity. One healthcare provider told us that 'I cannot see any benefit to us or how providing such information can benefit the York community'. Those not answering the letter included other major local employers

(each with 1,000–3,000 employees), and three supermarkets (each with 300–1,000 employees).

One worrying outcome of this reluctance to provide information is that some of the private sector organisations, without any legislative requirement to do so, clearly do not appear to take the issue of racial equality seriously. Another is that some of the private sector agencies contract services to public sector agencies. It is arguable that the latter are failing in their statutory duty to promote 'race' equality if they do not apply the same criteria of 'race' equality, including the maintenance of adequate ethnic monitoring systems, to those organisations from which they buy goods and services, often at substantial cost to the public purse. The other concerning aspect of this picture is that a considerable volume of research both in relation to more settled minority ethnic groups and more recent migrants has shown that while many minority ethnic workers often find it easier to access work in the private sector, by the same token this work is often more likely to be such that workers are more highly exploited, with poor conditions, low wage levels (often well below the minimum wage) and inadequate health and safety provision (see e.g. Craig *et al.*, 2007b; TUC, 2008). We return to this issue later on in Chapter 6.

The next stage of the study was to identify and contact *voluntary sector organisations*⁸ that had a focus on working with minority ethnic groups. Because York has historically had a very small minority ethnic population, investment in this kind of activity has been very limited. The City of York Council's major investment in this area, strictly from a public sector organisational base but working to some degree with more of a third sector ethos, was the organisation Future Prospects, also supported by training providers such as the Learning and Skills Council. For some years this has provided a city centre single gateway focusing on employment and training services for those wishing to enter the labour market. By its very nature, it is now significantly involved with minority ethnic groups, with which it started work in 2000. Although some of this business was with long-settled minority ethnic groups, for example women from South Asia who had little grasp of the English language, more

recently it had had a relatively substantial volume of users from the East and Central European migrant worker population, to the point where it had eventually appointed a Polish national on to its staff. In 2001 about 7% of its work was with minority ethnic groups (excluding White Other) with a further 1% of White Other clients. By 2007, about 11% was from minority ethnic groups (excluding White Other), with a further 11% from White Other groups, meaning that 22% of its total workload was for BME groups (with almost a tripling of its workload in six years). The issues faced by minority ethnic groups needing support for securing employment include language and communication problems (such as literacy and a lack of translation support), immigration advice, exploitation from local employers and bullying and intimidation from housing providers and consequent risk of homelessness.

York Council for Voluntary Service (CVS), the third sector umbrella organisation characteristic of most areas in the UK, had been instrumental in setting up the original Community Relations Council in York in the 1980s. This folded in the late 1980s, to be replaced, some years later, by YREN (see Chapter 2). York CVS retained contact with some key minority ethnic 'leaders'⁹ and was able to signpost us to them. Because of its key position in the third sector, it also continued to have demands made of it from time to time by individuals from newly arrived minority ethnic groups and from policy agencies. In late 2007 it had convened a conference, on behalf of the Inclusive York Forum, on the needs of BME groups in the city but, despite a commitment then from the City of York Council that its findings would be taken forward, the general view from respondents was that little had happened in the intervening period.

YREN is the only Black-led organisation in the city but recently lost part of its core funding when the Commission for Equality and Human Rights replaced the national Commission for Racial Equality. As a result, with only one full-time staff member supported by part-time administrative help and the work of volunteers, it is able to undertake little work other than casework (through interviews and a telephone line) and representing the interests

of BME groups at a range of partnership bodies in the city. Although YREN has a Black-led board of trustees, most of these are on the board as individuals and not as representatives of community organisations.

Refugee Action York (RAY) was established in 2006 as a result of the increasing incidence of issues relating to refugees and those seeking asylum in the city. Initially a campaigning group run from a committed individual's house, it had attracted City of York Council funding to employ a part-time development worker and was beginning to achieve a higher profile, particularly through campaigns to prevent the deportation of specific refugees seeking asylum (see e.g. *York Evening Press*, 13 August 2009). Much of its work had focused on the needs of Kurdish and Turkish refugees, and they gave us some access to these communities. A new organisation, YUMI (York United Multicultural Initiative), a voluntary network with one part-time paid coordinator, also funded by a small grant from the City of York Council, had emerged in the past few months aiming to develop links between different minority ethnic groups at a cultural level through the establishment of a multicultural centre. Because of its approach, through food-related and other cultural events, it had identified people from a wide range of ethnic origins now present in the city, although it was still attempting to develop a particular orientation for its work.

Finally, York now houses two mosques. These are obviously oriented to the needs of the Muslim population in the city although there appears to be little to differentiate the two mosques (the Bull Lane Mosque and the Fourth Avenue Mosque) other than their size (the Bull Lane Mosque occupies a substantial community building, the Fourth Avenue Mosque a semi-detached house), length of establishment (the Bull Lane Mosque has been present for some years, the Fourth Avenue Mosque has only emerged in the last few years) and resources (see Chapter 2).¹⁰ The Bull Lane Mosque is better-known in policy circles and is seen as representative of the Islamic population. Up to 300 Muslims may attend the Bull Lane Mosque for *jumma*, with about 100 others attending the Fourth Avenue Mosque. York has no formally recognised

places of worship for other religions, other than various forms of Christianity. Thus Hindus or Sikhs, for example, have to travel to Leeds (35 miles) or Scunthorpe (45 miles) to attend a temple or *gurdwara*.

Next we attempted to identify *community sector organisations* in the city. This presented us with particular difficulties as we came to identify a wide range of organisations which appeared, from their names, to be representative of particular ethnic or national groups but which, on close examination, had no formal structure or constitution and could thus not be regarded as representative in any way other than through having a broad cultural orientation. Most of these groups turned out in fact to be cultural focuses, enabling people from particular ethnic backgrounds to meet and engage in activities such as eating, music, dancing, religion or simply maintaining their cultural links rather than having a particular outward focus, for example, engaging in wider political activities such as presenting a coherent case for their needs to be met by policy agencies.

In most cases, these organisations had an approximate idea of the size of their communities but suggested that this was subject to steady change (usually growth) over time. Thus, although there were apparently representative and more long-standing community groups such as the Indian Cultural Association (which organised events annually, in particular the religious ceremony of lights, Diwali), the Bangladeshi Community Association (largely comprising restaurateurs) and the Chinese Community Association (which also organised the annual Chinese New Year celebrations), even these had varying degrees of formal constitution. Many other community organisations appeared essentially to operate as cultural networks or friendship groups. This is not necessarily problematic for them, of course, but it does make communication between them and policy organisations, which often require them to demonstrate some sort of representative accountability, difficult.

The final stage was the point at which what had been a process of assembling a jigsaw puzzle

began to take the form of a detective story. This involved starting with some *well-signposted people, places or facilities*, either previously known to the research team (all of whom lived in or around York) or mentioned in conversations, articles or at events, following them up and then following the leads through a process of networking (making use of existing networks to pass or extract information), snowballing (asking respondents who else we should be talking to), observation (literally walking the streets), making use of directories (organisational lists in the public library and elsewhere, or making use of telephone Yellow Page entries) and triangulation (cross-checking information about particular groups or individuals or data against similar information gained from other respondents). The aims in all these investigations were to identify how many different minority ethnic groups were present in York, and how many people were associated with each group. Because a number of minority ethnic groups (particularly, in the case of York, those of South Asian, Turkish, Chinese and Italian origins) are also strongly associated with the preparation and retailing of food, either through restaurants, grocers or fast food establishments, we enumerated all such establishments in the city, including visiting major suburban centres (e.g. Acomb/Woodthorpe, Clifton/Burtonstone Lane, Fishergate, Heslington/Fulford, Heworth, Tang Hall) as well as in the city centre, and visited a sample of them to help us estimate the total numbers of those engaged in these occupations and those associated with them through family or friendship ties.

Partly with the help of an informal network, York Interfaith and Churches Together in York, but also through intensive informal investigation, we identified a range of under-used churches (of which there are probably a disproportionate number in the city) that were used by minorities of either Christian or other faiths, which also helped us identify previously unidentified minority ethnic groups.¹¹ We were led, as well as to – perhaps the most obvious establishments – churches and other places of worship, and food establishments, also to leisure and community centres, to pubs and a wine bar, a snooker hall, to an estate agent, to people's homes and even to the car parks of a prominent

local supermarket. Some of the investigation also involved contact with people and organisations outside York.¹² The work was time-consuming and certainly very unusual in terms of social research methodology, and some led to dead ends or at best to little additional knowledge. However, we judged that it was better to explore all possible avenues rather than to overlook some unpromising areas of exploration. What was also significant here were the skills of the two main fieldworkers who were able to speak a range of languages, and/or were already well-known to many local minority ethnic people and could often operate on the basis of this knowledge or on personal recommendation, while keeping an appropriate research 'distance' from their respondents.

We now turn to analysing this data, first looking at the quantitative data collected in the course of the study. We hoped this would give us some idea of the numbers of minority ethnic people in the city or at least confirm the hunches of others. Chapter 5 then focuses on qualitative data, giving us a better idea of the diversity of York's population.

4 What we found: quantitative data

As noted earlier, several respondents told us that they had concluded from very rough estimates that the minority ethnic population of York was between 6% and 6.5%, although they were not able to provide a firm underpinning for this figure. It seems likely that the mid-term 2006 Census was the basis for these estimates and that this figure had begun to circulate as ‘truth’ in policy circles. For the reasons outlined earlier, particularly because it will have missed relatively new arrivals and those unlikely to have been recorded in the census, this is very likely to provide a low basis for any such estimates and we return to this in Chapter 6. It was also not clear whether these estimates reflected the total minority ethnic population (i.e., everyone except White UK, White Irish and White Other: 2.16% in 2001), or everyone except White and White Irish (4.22%), or everyone except White British (4.89% in 2001).

Public organisations: employment statistics

Data was obtained from nearly all the major public sector employers in the city; they were asked to provide a profile of their workforce by ethnicity and, where possible, to cross-reference this by grade. The basic data by ethnicity is shown in Table 4; data by grade was far less easy to obtain. Most of those responding did so using the standard 10 census ethnicity categories; where an institution did not, we have tried to fit the data to these categories where possible. Some invented categories such as ‘Oriental’ that may have included not only people of Chinese but other East and South East Asian origins. Others provided a very detailed sub-categorisation under the main 10 census categories, for example, among White Other in one institution were categories such as Serbian and Former Yugoslavian.

Despite some imperfections in the categories as between differing employers, and the need to compute approximate figures in some cases, Table 4 highlights some interesting issues. First, the total

BME population identified in these public sector organisations plus the school population is over 7,500, plus at the very least 600 from the column ‘Other/not known’ (most of the 3,603 itemised here were of unknown ethnicity but a substantial minority were of some other ethnicity which had not been identified: see Chapter 5), that is, a total of roughly 8,100. This compares with the figure of 8,900 for the entire 2001 BME population. This itself suggests a substantial rise in the overall minority ethnic population as we have to add in all pre-school children of minority origin (the total pre-school population in York is 10,000, so if we suggest at least 5% of these are from minority ethnic groups – a rock bottom estimate – this would give another 500), plus all those working in private sector or third sector agencies, plus those not working but of economically active age, plus those who have passed statutory retirement age. That possibly 3,000 people working in public agencies are of unknown ethnicity suggests that ethnic monitoring is not taken as seriously as it might be in some organisations that have a legal requirement to promote equal opportunities. Those in this table solely from minority ethnic groups other than all the White categories total about 4,000 in all, that is, close to the total minority ethnic population of 2001. Clearly, then, this range of data alone demonstrates that York’s minority ethnic population has grown substantially since 2001.¹

Table 4 also points to huge differences in the proportion of minority ethnic staff employed in the various institutions, despite the claim by most to be an equal opportunities employer or to have targets for minority ethnic employment close to the proportion of those in the population at large. Taking a modest estimate of 6%, and leaving aside educational establishments that are a special case (because they recruit overseas students), few organisations reach the 6% threshold, and the ethnic profile of the police and the Fire and Rescue Service, which have day-to-day contact with the population of the city, show virtually no minority

Table 4: Employment statistics for public sector organisations in York

Employer	Total workforce	% White British	% White Irish ^b	% White Other	% Mixed (all)	% Pakistani	% Indian	% Bangladeshi	% Black Caribbean	% Black African	% Black Other	% Chinese	% Other, not known	% Other Asian	Minimum % BME
City of York Council ^a	8,360	96.9 8,104													3.1 256
City of York (schools) ^c	20,454	90.8 18,572	0.4 80	4.2 852	1.6 333	0.2 26	0.4 82	0.3 55	0.1 7	0.3 53	0.1 7	0.3 56	1.0 198	0.6 124	9.2 1,882
NHS North Yorkshire and York ^c	3,818	83.9 3,203		0.8 31	0.6 25		0.6 25		0.1 3	0.3 9		0.1 3	13.6 516	0.1 1	2.6 99
York Hospitals NHS Foundation Trust	4,614	78.2 3,608	0.4 21	13.7 634	1.5 70	0.1 7	2.1 97	0.1 2	0.1 6	0.8 39	0.1 2	0.4 19	1.7 81	0.5 26	21.4 987
North Yorks Learning and Skills Council ^b	21	90.4 19		4.8 1	4.8 1										9.6 2
Fire and Rescue Service ^c	108	100.0 108													0.0 0
North Yorks Police Force (York division) ^b	666	98.6 657			0.6 4	0.3 2			0.5 3						1.4 9
University of York (staff) ^h	3,204	73.0 2,339	1.0 31	11.9 380	0.7 21	0.4 11	1.0 32	0.1 3	0.1 3	0.3 9	0.1 4	1.7 55	8.7 278	1.2 38	18.9 604
University of York (students home) ^h	9,826	8.569			2.0 196	0.6 59	1.4 129	0.1 13	0.2 21	0.9 93	0.1 8	0.8 76	6.3 622	0.4 40	7.2 705
University of York (students overseas) ^h	1,722	40			2 34	2 34	3 50	0.1 2	0.2 4	4 70	1 17	35 520	3 50	11 190	60 1,033
York St John University (staff)	659	632			0.5 3		0.5 3		0.1 1			0.3 2	1.4 9	1.1 7	2.7 18
York St John University (students)	6,946	85.8	0.6 42	0.5 34	0.8 55	0.5 35	0.4 29	0.1 3	0.1 9	1.1 76	0.3 18	1.2 83	8.2 568	0.8 60	7.3 504
York College (staff) ⁱ	1,097	98.3 (all) 97.7 (manual)			0.4 (all) 2.3 (manual) 2 (manual)	1.2 8			0.4 4			0.1 1	3.2 33		2.0 18
York College (students)	10,752	86.6	0.4 38	2.3 241	0.8 86	0.1 15	0.2 24	0.1 14	0.1 15	0.3 27	0.1 7	0.8 88	7.8 844	0.4 42	5.7 1,068
Askham Bryan College (staff)	316	97.2	1.0 3		1.0 3		0.7 2		0.3 1						2.8 9
Askham Bryan College (students)	3,541	89.8	0.8 30	2.2 78	0.4 13	0.1 1	0.1 2					0.2 5	6.5 226	0.1 2	3.8 134

Table 4: continued

Employer	Total workforce	% White British	% White Irish ^p	% White Other	% Mixed (all)	% Pakistani	% Indian	% Bangla-deshi	% Black Caribbean	% Black African	% Black Other	% Chinese	% Other, not known	% Other Asian	Minimum % BME
Army ⁱ															
Royal Mail ^k	1,514	83.4			0.3 4	0.6 9			0.2 3			0.2 2	15.0 218		15.6 236
Defra	No data supplied														
UK Border Agency	No data supplied														
North Yorks County Council	264	148											115		0.4 1
Total (nos only)			245	2,251	854	207	475	92	80	376	63	910	3,643	530	7,565

Notes: Percentages will not add to 100% in many cases because of rounding. Percentages are in black, actual numbers in blue. The column 'Other, not known' includes other ethnic origin, those where ethnic origin is not known and those where data is not available or has been refused. The totals of BME people as a whole (last column) includes those of 'Other ethnic origin' only.

^a City of York Council's data shows total minority ethnic group only.

^b White Irish here also includes Gypsy/Roma and Traveller of Irish Heritage.

^c The PCT covers North Yorkshire as well as York. This data relates to those living in York.

^d The Learning and Skills Council data includes people working locally but also national and regional staff using the York offices as a base. Nevertheless, the 21 staff recorded here are listed as the North Yorkshire Area Team workforce, based in York.

^e There are no BME Fire and Rescue staff within York. The North Yorkshire Fire and Rescue Service, which has a BME employment target of 5.7% compared with a working age BME population of 5.3% (figures which seem remarkably high), had an actual BME workforce of 1.4% as at March 2008.

^f North Yorkshire Police Force categorises staff as White, Asian or Black.

^g York University White Irish also includes White Scottish.

^h Home students excludes EU students, most of who will be categorised as White Other; overseas students are separately listed but also exclude EU students. The numbers for overseas students are approximate and calculated from charts in the University's own equal opportunities report.

ⁱ York College conflates all 'Asian' staff (8 in total), all 'Black' staff (4 in total), and describes another category as 'Oriental' (presumably Chinese and other East and South East Asian). 'Other' includes 32 staff whose ethnicity is 'unknown'.

^j The Army has establishments at Strensall and Fulford Barracks but did not provide us with data of their workforces. See Chapter 5 for information on Gurkha families based at Fulford Barracks.

^k Royal Mail categorises its staff as Asian, Black, White, Chinese, Other and Mixed. It is assumed that Other does not include those of White Other or White Irish origin. The data includes directly employed staff and those employed as agents, that is, in managing registered Post Office branches in the York area.

^l We wrote to the UK Border Agency asking how many refugees had been required to report to local police stations. It took four months to receive an answer and the eventual response was that the information could not be supplied because of disproportionate expense.

ethnic staff. One that significantly exceeds this threshold is the NHS Hospitals Trust, which clearly depends heavily on both Indian doctors and, to a lesser extent, African nurses, but most of all on a substantial number of White Other staff. This organisation's data contrasts markedly with the other major health organisation, the primary care trust (PCT), which has barely 3% of its York-based workforce from minority ethnic groups.

The other significant overall number in Table 4 is that of the White Other category, which exceeds 2,200 people. While free movement of labour from the EU will generally have contributed to this (and Chapter 5 outlines some of the consequences of this), the most important driver in this growth will have been the arrival of large numbers of migrant workers from the A8 (East and Central European countries) which acceded (with Malta and Cyprus) to the EU in 2004. The next section analyses data available on this recent phenomenon.

Migrant workers in York

Numbers of migrant workers

The main sources of official statistics about migrant workers are the WRS (drawn from Home Office databases), and NINO (drawn from the administrative records of the Department for Work and Pensions). The WRS registration indicates the local authority area where the person registering works and the NINOs are recorded at *place of residence*. The two datasets have different characteristics and neither is a complete measure for the number of migrant workers resident in the area.

The WRS data provides information on those coming to the UK but, because individuals are not required to de-register if they leave employment or leave the country, it cannot provide a fully accurate current picture. Furthermore certain groups such as those who are self-employed are not required to register. Any count of migrant workers by this method will be an under-estimate, even allowing for the fact that there will be migration out of the area, including back to the migrants' countries of origin (Adamson *et al.*, 2008; Pollard *et al.*, 2008; Finch *et al.*, 2009).

NINOs are allocated to any foreign national working, claiming benefit or tax credit, and again they show only registrations, not outflows. They are not always applied for on arrival and may reflect numbers arriving in the country at a previous date and only starting work later.

Table 5 below compares the total number of A8 nationals registering on the WRS from 1 May 2004 to 31 March 2008 with the numbers of NINOs allocated to all foreign nationals and EU accession states only from financial years 2004/05 to 2007/08. It can be seen that the WRS registrations suggest smaller numbers of migrant workers from EU accession states and a smaller proportion of the Yorkshire and Humberside total than the NINO allocations. This may be because numbers of migrant workers live in low-cost housing in York but work elsewhere or may reflect larger numbers of self-employed workers in the city. Experian (2007) reported that York's share of Yorkshire and Humberside A8 NINO registrations 2004–06 was 5%, similar to Harrogate and less than East Riding

Table 5: Total WRS and NINO registrations, 2004–08

Local authority	Total WRS registrations		Allocation of NINOs			
			All countries		EU accession states	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
York	1,285	2	5,930	4	2,330	3
Yorkshire and Humberside	65,870	100	139,970	100	70,890	100

Source: DWP (2008, National NINO statistics)

(7%), Wakefield (9%), Hull (14%), Bradford (15%) and Leeds (20%).

Experian (2007) also report that A8 NINO registrations in York (2004–06) form 0.7% of the working age population, compared with 0.8% for Yorkshire and Humberside as a whole, and 1.6% in Kingston upon Hull. In 2005/06 York ranked 98 in the country in percentage NINOs but 253 in percentage WRS (Institute of Community Cohesion, 2007). Pollard *et al.* (2008) have suggested that the WRS under-estimates the actual level of worker registration by 33%, and that 50% of A8 migrants who have arrived since May 2004 are no longer in the UK. On this basis their estimate for the level of migrant population in York is four per 1,000 residents, or about 750–800 people. This group would almost all be categorised under current census categories as White Other (2,251 in this category in 2001) and will all have arrived since 2001 (indeed largely since the 2006 mid-term estimates). Recent reports are conflicting as to whether the number of migrant workers is now declining. On the one hand, counts suggest a decline (Finch *et al.*, 2009), but the most recent reports suggest that many employers are seeking to recruit more migrant workers (Resolution Foundation, 2009).

Figure 2 shows that most NINO allocations from 2005/06 onwards are from A8 countries; the A2 countries of Bulgaria and Romania only joined the EU in January 2007. While there are less than 600 in total from 2002–08, Chinese migrants have also steadily increased, a trend commented on by Chinese respondents (see Chapter 5). The ‘Other’ category includes a variety of countries but there are steady small numbers from Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Nigeria and Brazil. There were small numbers from Zimbabwe between 2002 and 2006 but not in later years.

Within the A8 countries most migrants to York come from Poland, shown by Figure 3, as is also found nationally (Home Office, 2008). The major increase in numbers was between 2004/05 and 2005/06 (see Figure 4). Numbers of those from Poland, the Slovak Republic, Lithuania and Latvia reduced in the latest period for which data is held. This predates any effects of the recent economic problems. WRS data show a peak in Polish migrants in October–December 2006 but no clear seasonal patterns.

In common with most other areas, the majority of migrant workers are male but the numbers of females, including family joiners, is increasing, and some are now having children; this is beginning to be reflected in anecdotal data from local

Figure 2: NINO countries of origin

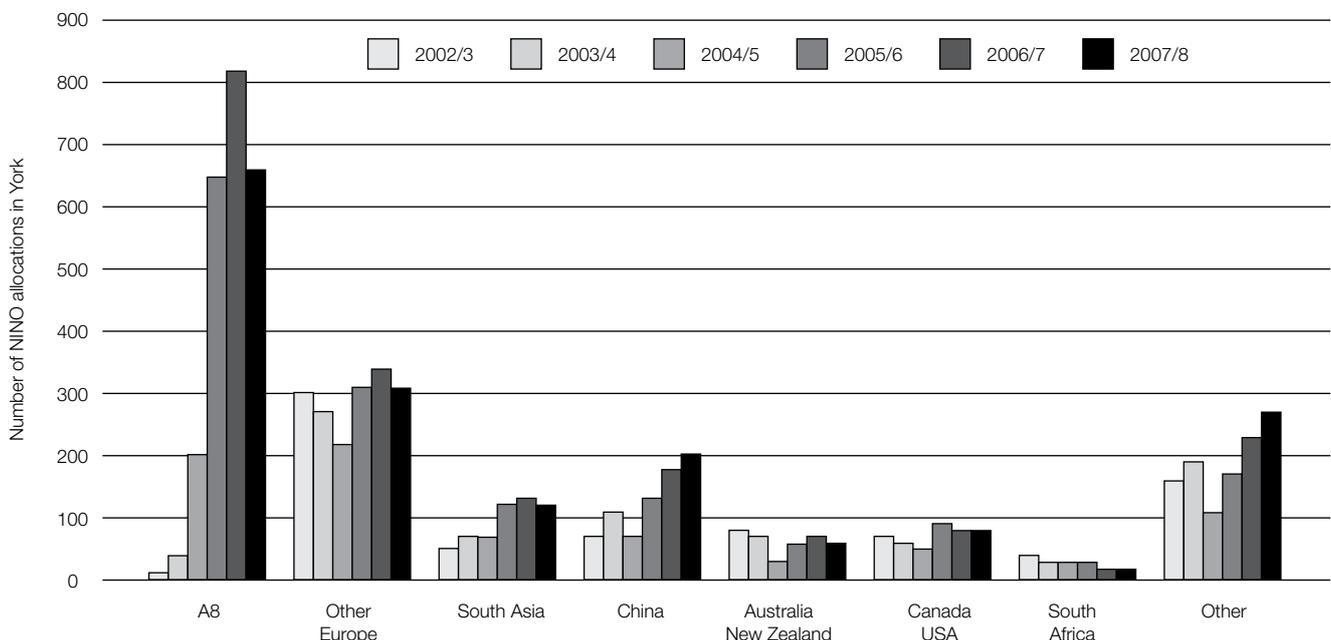


Figure 3: Workers from A8 countries, 2004–08

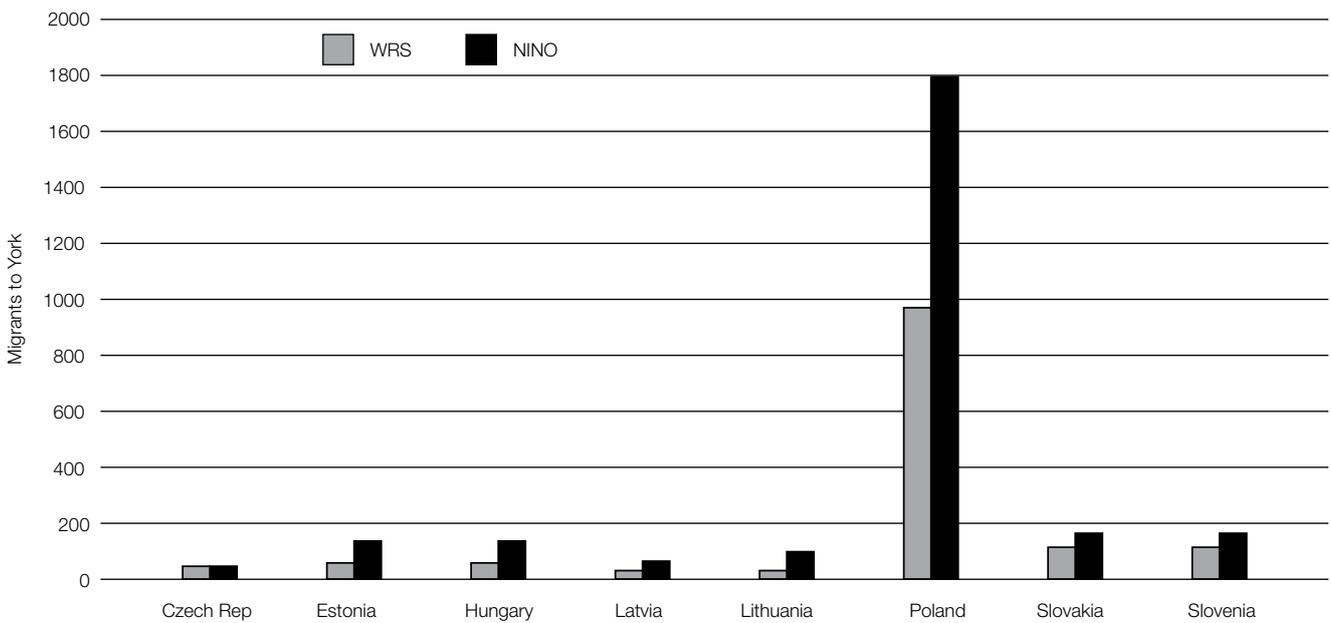
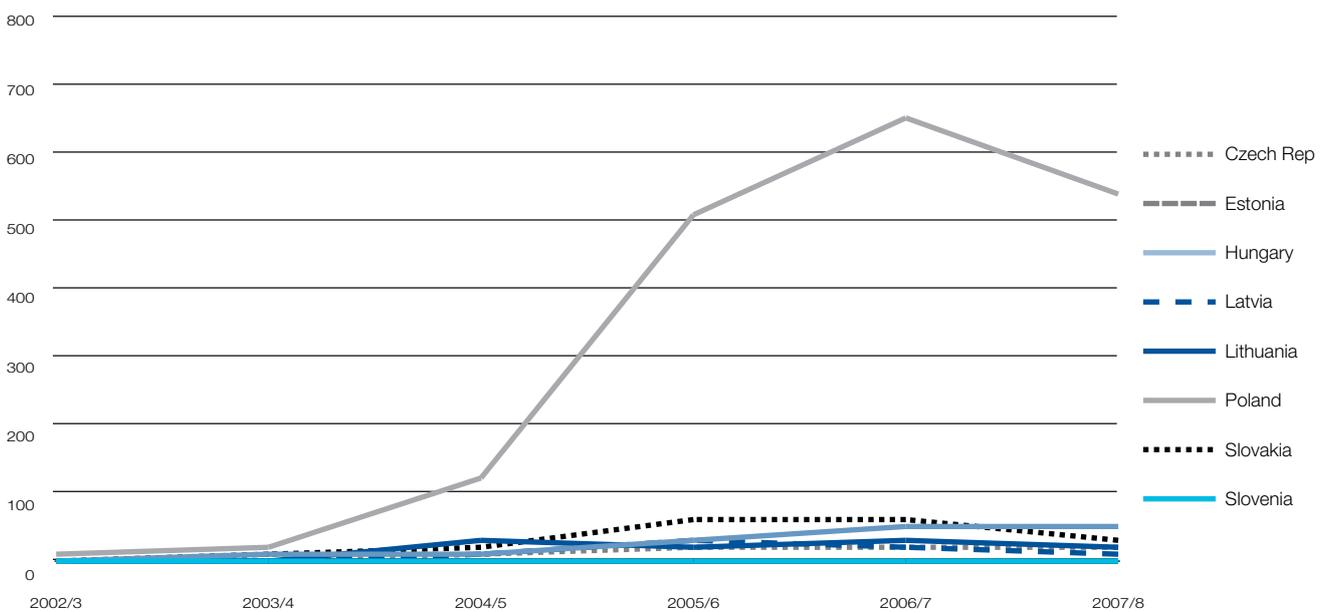


Figure 4: A8 NINOs by year



organisations. However, it is still the case that relatively few migrant workers bring dependants with them, only 12% of migrants having dependants of any age in York (very few of whom will be children – again very few of whom may be covered by schools data). This is much more than the national average in which 7% had dependants and 6% dependants aged under 17 (Home Office, 2008). This means that to the best estimate of about 750 migrant workers we could add another 80 adult dependants.

In terms of occupations, Table 6 shows the top occupations for WRS registrations in York, with 17% being employed in factory work and between 10% and 12% each being in various domestic and catering activities. These are nearly all in private sector employment, therefore, and of the 750 estimate for migrant workers in York, we can assume about 500 will be working in the private sector, that is, not covered by the previous count of public organisations’ workforces, with about 50 adult dependants.

Table 6: Main occupations, 2004–08

Top occupations	Total 2004–08
Process operative (other factory worker)	215
Kitchen and catering assistants	150
Maid/room attendant (hotel)	146
Cleaner, domestic staff	130
Waiter, waitress	86
Warehouse operative	82
Packer	42
Sales and retail assistants	30
Labourer, building	30
Care assistants and home carers	26
Chef, other	17
Administrator	5
Bar staff	5
Roofer, roof tiler and slater	5
Food processing operative (meat)	5
Other occupations	301

Between April 2007 and June 2008, hospitality and catering employed the largest total number (125), followed by administration, business and managerial services. Wage rates confirm that most migrant workers worked in the private sector: compared with the minimum wage for adults (£5.73 in October 2008), the average rate in York was £6.01. However, more than half the migrant workers earned wages between £5.35 and £5.99; more than three-quarters worked full time, with 9% working more than 40 hours per week. There are small but significant numbers of part-time workers.²

Private sector employers

As noted earlier, we were far less successful in obtaining any systematic data from private sector employers. We wrote to a wide range of private sector organisations, including hotels and leisure facilities, to employment agencies, and to private care providers (we knew from our fieldwork, observations and ours and others' research that these organisations were making considerable use of minority ethnic workers). The response was

very poor, with only a dozen formal responses from almost 200 letters sent. This is disappointing because the private sector tends to employ substantial numbers of minority ethnic employees, and evidence indicates that some may be heavily exploited (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2009). Those that did respond included healthcare, leisure, catering and construction companies, all from sectors where the TUC (2008) and others have identified migrant workers operating in vulnerable and exploitative conditions. Six companies further responded but refused to provide any data; these included major supermarkets, a construction company and a healthcare provider.

5 What we found: qualitative data

In this chapter we review a range of other data collected largely through qualitative means; although some of this was numerical (often estimates and not drawn from official data sources), which could confirm or challenge the numbers outlined in Chapter 4, the focus of this work was both to compare what we could find out about individual minority ethnic groups' sizes as well as to identify the range of BME groups in the city. Table 7 brings this information together, showing the range of individual ethnicities identified in this work and their sources, with the best estimate for the size of the individual groups or census categories based on this qualitative fieldwork (particularly observations, analysing publicly available sources and conversations) and on the data outlined in Chapter 4. The list only covers individual nation states; some of the categories used by organisations were aggregated in such a way (e.g. East African Asian) that it was not possible to identify specific countries. Others were identified as linguistic or cultural groups: thus 'Tamil' might refer to someone from a southern Indian state such as Tamil Nadu or Karnataka, from Sri Lanka, or indeed a Tamil-speaking UK national.

Three members of the research team, with a division of labour relating to past experience and linguistic skills, undertook the fieldwork and observation. This involved tracking down a range of voluntary and community groups; mapping (through the use of directories and walking the streets of the city and major suburban shopping areas) all the restaurants, fast food outlets and grocers catering for minority ethnic tastes in the city; holding face-to-face and/or telephone interviews with a range of key respondents; examining other directories (e.g. library listings, faith group networks); and attending meetings of organisations. The following key points emerged in relation to the profile of more numerous minority ethnic groups in the city: Italian, Turkish, Chinese, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Indian. Other groups were explored in less detail.

Italy: there are 20 'Italian' restaurants listed in the Yellow Pages telephone directory for York and we discovered several more food establishments not listed; there may be yet more, including in the suburbs. One restaurant alone was able to identify 46 adults in the city of Italian origin. On investigation, we found that the majority of staff working in many 'Italian' restaurants were not Italian but Spanish. The main faith of Italian people is Catholic Christian; this group attends the English Martyrs Church in Dalston Terrace where the local priest estimated the York Italian population to be between one and two hundred. There is also an Italian cultural network in the city that includes many White UK residents interested in Italian culture, and some of Italian origin. An in-depth conversation with several Italian residents portrayed the characteristics of the Italian origin population as including those working in restaurants, both Italian and other; some studying English language at local language schools; some involved in higher education; some doing part-time summer work; some visiting family and friends; tourists; and a few living and working in the city on a stable basis. This is probably the case with nationals from other Western European countries although these correspondents suggested that Italians were a particularly mobile population.

Turkey (see also *Kurdistan* below): one estate agent, who has worked in the city for about 10 years, claims to have been personally responsible for housing many of the Turkish households in the city. His estimate is that there are now about 1,000 adults and children of Turkish origin in the city (roughly 250 households), most having arrived in the past few years. We identified just under 40 restaurants and fast food establishments in the city, most of which are not listed in Yellow Pages: they include a few street vendors/mobile facilities. There appear to be around five adults and children directly associated on average with each establishment plus, in some cases, delivery staff. These, plus the other adults identified in each establishment, suggest that the figure of about 1,000 is a

reasonable estimate. Roughly half of this overall total is mainland Turkish, but they include a few Armenian Turkish, Syrian Turkish, Greek Turkish, and a minority are simply self-defined as Kurdish.

China: the Chinese population formally constitutes at least four major differing ethnic/national groups: Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong (formally now part of mainland China but usually regarded as separate for demographic purposes and the largest single 'Chinese' sub-grouping) and Malaysian Chinese (who tend to be aggregated with other Chinese from South East Asia, i.e., from Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia etc. and who may be ascribed that nationality rather than Chinese). Chinese Christians meet at St Helen's Church in St Helen's Square in the city centre with a Chinese priest in attendance. The congregation numbers around 40 adults (low estimate), which varies from week to week and therefore probably represents a larger number of people; some of these are young women attending a private boarding school outside the city. The Yellow Pages directory lists nine Chinese restaurants in the city but local fieldwork identified many more establishments, particularly fast food establishments (probably 30+). There appears to be, at the very least, on average, six members of staff associated with each establishment, although there is a very high turnover of staff. Correspondents also suggested that at least 300 Chinese people (many of them refugees) had arrived in the city in the past three years. It is not clear how many of these are irregular workers.¹

Bangladesh: Yellow Pages logs 24 'Indian' restaurants in the city; most of these are in fact staffed and owned by Bangladeshi UK people.² Conversations with local restaurateurs indicated that there is a substantially greater number – perhaps as many as 40 – of such restaurants within the city boundaries. These local restaurateurs were able to identify about 350 people of Bangladeshi origin within the city linked to the food retailing sector (the mid-term census estimate suggests there are over 1,100 Bangladeshis in all within the city).

Pakistan: we identified four restaurants owned by Pakistani UK people and respondents say that there are relatively few overall (probably half

a dozen) restaurants within the city. Most employ largely Pakistani people but other restaurants also employ Pakistani people. As with the Bangladeshi community, a large proportion of those working in restaurants travel in by car or minibus from Leeds and Bradford.

India: again, most of the so-called Indian restaurants in the city are not owned or staffed by Indian UK people; there are a few, probably seven or eight in all, however. In general, Indian UK people are more likely to occupy skilled or professional posts than semi-skilled or unskilled posts. Thus, a significant number of people of Indian origin work in hospitals as consultants. Another group of Indian origin people work for Norwich Union, apparently on a floating or rotating basis from Bangalore and Kerala in South India. They may not be UK citizens but are here on short-term (three-year) economic visas.³ The Indian population consists of people of not only both Hindu and Sikh faiths but also of Muslim faith. Local Sikh respondents suggested that the Sikh community was a 'silent majority': there are probably more than 100 Sikhs within the city. Both Sikhs and Hindus belong to the Indian Cultural Association, where Hindus dominate numerically.

Other minority ethnic groupings identified in the city included the following: Greek, South Korean, Kurdish, Russian and Japanese (many of the minority faith groups were identified through the work of York Interfaith Group). Again it is important to remember that faith and ethnicity cannot automatically be read across from one another; for example, the 2001 Census shows that there is a significant discrepancy between the overall size of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations and those professing Islam as their religion. Taking a local illustration, of those meeting at one Christian church for regular services, there are a significant number from the Indian subcontinent. The UK Indian population as a whole includes significant numbers of Muslims and Christians as well as Hindus and Sikhs.

Greece: a small community meets for worship at St Mary's Church on the South Bank, with a priest from Leeds in attendance. The size of the York

Greek population is estimated from this to be at least 110; those providing the data suggest this is an under-estimate as many Greek origin residents are not listed on their register. There is one 'Greek' restaurant operating in the city although several restaurants offer Greek cuisine.

South Korea: Korean Christians meet at Heslington Church with a Korean pastor in attendance. The numbers attending on a regular basis are thought to be approximately 40 adults and 8 children, and the pastor estimates the overall Korean population in the city to be approximately 100 in all. A new 'oriental' grocery opened recently at the south end of Ouse Bridge catering for, among others, Korean tastes, and estimates the local Korean population also to be of the order of more than 100.

Kurdistan: there is no defined Kurdistan state and several political organisations are campaigning for one to be created from portions of South East Turkey, Northern Iraq and Iran, for the Kurdish ethnic grouping. The Kurdish population is listed separately here because they do not wish to be subsumed within any other national or ethnic grouping. Kurdish refugees, some of whom were unofficially dispersed to the city through the work of NASS, are the focus of RAY's work (see Chapter 1).

Russia: there is a network of Russian-speaking people within the city, which includes those not only of Russian origin but people from former USSR states such as the three Baltic States, and Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Moldova and Azerbaijan. The local support group estimates that there are approximately 100 people in this group.

Japan: there are two Japanese organisations/networks in the city and, allowing for overlapping membership, there may be at least 60 Japanese origin people in the city. York has one Japanese restaurant.

A Coptic Christian service was held until recently at St Andrew's Church on the outskirts of the city. None of those attending, mainly of *Egyptian* origin, lived within the city, and a new location has now been found for this group in Leeds.

Table 7: Minority ethnic groups in the City of York

(these are listed to follow the broad ethnic categories of the census with distinct national groupings identified within each category)

Total population in 2006 from mid-term estimate: 191,800

<i>Name of minority ethnic group</i>	<i>Identified by</i>	<i>Best estimate of size</i>	<i>Notes</i>
White Other – all countries	Public organisations' data 2006 Census mid-term estimate	2,251 12,265	
White Other – A8 countries only	A8 migrant worker data	850 total (of which 550 private sector)	Low estimate as self-employed and irregular workers not counted
Greece	PCT; NHS Hospitals Trust; Song Box	100+	
Germany	Fieldwork; Song Box; YUMI	Few	
France	Fieldwork; Song Box; YUMI	Few	
Switzerland	YUMI	Few	
Netherlands	Fieldwork; YUMI	Few	
Belgium	Fieldwork	Few	Flemish
Spain	Future Prospects; Fieldwork; Song Box; YUMI	50–100	
Italy	PCT; observation; NHS Hospitals Trust; fieldwork; YUMI	100+	
Norway ^a	Fieldwork	25	
Sweden	Fieldwork	50	
Denmark	Fieldwork	50	
Finland	Fieldwork	5	
Iceland	Fieldwork	10	
Faroe Islands	Fieldwork	2	
Poland	PCT; migrant worker data; fieldwork (Haxby Road Culture Group; English Martyrs Church); NHS Hospitals Trust; Future Prospects; Song Box; (Church) Saturday School; YUMI	600+	Approximately 100 Polish people attend church regularly
Russia	Future Prospects; fieldwork; Song Box; YUMI	Approximately 100 Russian speakers from several East European countries	
Ukraine	Fieldwork; YUMI	Few	
Kazakhstan	Fieldwork; YUMI	Few	
Azerbaijan	Fieldwork	Few	
Moldova	Fieldwork	Few	
Belarus	Fieldwork	Few	
Estonia	Fieldwork	20+	
Latvia	Migrant worker data; fieldwork	50+	

<i>Name of minority ethnic group</i>	<i>Identified by</i>	<i>Best estimate of size</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Lithuania	Migrant worker data; fieldwork; YUMI	20+	
Czech Republic	Migrant worker data; Song Box ^d	20+	
Slovakia	Migrant worker data	100+	
Slovenia	Migrant worker data; fieldwork	Very few	
Hungary	Migrant worker data; fieldwork	100+	
Bulgaria	Fieldwork (Future Prospects)	Few	Bulgarians are known to work in nursing homes as care assistants
Turkey	Observation; fieldwork (Haxby Road Culture Group); NHS Hospitals Trust; YUMI	1,000	
Kurdistan	Fieldwork (Haxby Road Culture Group; Clifton Language Class); observations; RAY	Several hundred	Few Iraqi Kurds; many congregate around the Snooker Hall in Castle Street
Armenia	Fieldwork	Few	
Syria	Fieldwork	Few	
Serbia	NHS Hospitals Trust	Very few	
Former Yugoslavia	NHS Hospitals Trust	Very few	This may be any of the former constituent parts of Yugoslavia
USA	Fieldwork: observation	100+	
Canada	Fieldwork: observation	20+	
Australia	Observation; fieldwork	100+	
New Zealand	Observation	20+	
White Irish	Public organisations' data	245	This may include very few Travellers (most will be self-employed or unemployed); there are 350 Traveller households in York containing approximately 1,220 people ^g This may also include the Traveller population
	2006 Census mid-term estimate	2,490	
Mixed	Census; public organisations' data	854 ^b	Modest overall estimate
	2006 Census mid-term estimate	3,644	
Peru	YUMI	Few	
Paraguay	Fieldwork	Few	
Bolivia	YUMI	Few	
Mexico	YUMI; fieldwork	Few	One Mexican restaurant in the city
Chile	YUMI	Few	
Cuba	YUMI	Few	
Argentina	YUMI; fieldwork	Few	
Brazil	Fieldwork	Few	

<i>Name of minority ethnic group</i>	<i>Identified by</i>	<i>Best estimate of size</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Asian/Asian British	Fieldwork; mosques Census 2006 mid-term estimate (Other Asian only)	1,343	
Iran	Fieldwork	Few	
Egypt	Fieldwork	Few	
Iraq	Fieldwork; YUMI	10–20	Includes some Iraqi Kurdish refugees
Lebanon	Fieldwork	Few	
Saudi Arabia	Fieldwork	50+	Mainly at university
India	Public organisations' data; observation; fieldwork (HARP); Indian Cultural Association; CAB data; private sector organisations; ^c YUMI 2006 Census mid-term estimate	475 2,877	
Pakistan	Public organisations' data; observation; fieldwork (HARP; CAB data; mosques); ^{e, f} YUMI Census 2006 estimate	207 1,534	
Bangladesh	Public organisations' data; observation; fieldwork (Haxby Road Culture Group; mosques) 2006 Census estimate	92 1,151	
Thailand	Future Prospects; fieldwork; YUMI	Relatively few	There are a few Thai restaurants in the city, and a Thai support group
Japan	PCT data (Haxby Road Culture Group); Japanese school; YUMI	60+	There are two Japanese organisations in the city, possibly with overlapping memberships
Nepal	Fieldwork; YUMI	210 ^h	Gurkha soldiers and their families stationed at Fulford Barracks
South Korea	Fieldwork; YUMI	100+	Mainly at University of York
Sri Lanka	NHS Hospitals Trust; YUMI	20	
Malaysia	PCT data; fieldwork; YUMI	Few	
Philippines	NHS Hospitals Trust; fieldwork (English Martyrs Church)	30+	Filipino nurses have been recruited to hospitals
Singapore	Fieldwork	Few	
Brunei	Observation	Few	

<i>Name of minority ethnic group</i>	<i>Identified by</i>	<i>Best estimate of size</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Black Caribbean	Public organisations' data	86	
	2006 Census estimate	767	
Guyana	YUMI		
Jamaica	Fieldwork		
Martinique	YUMI		
Black/Black British/Black African	Public organisations' data	386	Including recent refugees
	2006 Census mid-term estimate (all Black except Black Caribbean)	1,534	
Tunisia	Fieldwork	Few	
Sierra Leone	Fieldwork	Few	
Cote d'Ivoire	Fieldwork	Few	
Gambia	Fieldwork	Few	
Ghana	Fieldwork	50+	
Burkina Faso	Fieldwork	Few	
Nigeria	PCT data	50+	
Mali	Fieldwork	Few	
Sudan	Fieldwork	Few	
Chad	Fieldwork	Few	
DRC Congo	Fieldwork	Few	
Kenya	Fieldwork	Few	
Uganda	Fieldwork	10+	Also former Ugandan Asians whose family originated from India, expelled by Idi Amin in 1971
Zimbabwe	Fieldwork	Few	
Zambia	Fieldwork	Few	Working in hospitals
South Africa	Private sector data; fieldwork	20+	These include both Black South African (Black African), working in hospitals, and White South African (White Other)
Malawi	YUMI; fieldwork	Few	
Rwanda		Few	
Chinese/Other			
China	Public organisations' data	910	Including Chinese from at least four national origins (but mainly Hong Kong)
	Observations; fieldwork (Haxby Road Culture Group; University Student Services); Chinese School		
	2006 Census mid-term estimates		
	(Chinese)	3,452	
(Other)	2,111		

<i>Name of minority ethnic group</i>	<i>Identified by</i>	<i>Best estimate of size</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Hong Kong	Observations; fieldwork; YUMI	4,000+	These will constitute great majority of 'Chinese'
Taiwan	Observations; fieldwork; YUMI	Several hundred	
Mongolia	YUMI	Few	

Total number of individual ethnic/national origins: 92

Notes:

^a The data on Scandinavian resident populations was kindly supplied by the York Anglo-Scandinavian society. They make the point that a significant minority of these come for short periods of time to local language schools.

^b Where no other estimate is possible, we have shown the 2006 ONS mid-term censal estimate. For some groups, for example, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups, where fertility rates are higher than average, or Mixed race, which is known from national data to be the fastest growing 2001 Census ethnic category, this may still lead to a modest estimate for the 2009 population.

^c There is said to be a significant number of South Indian workers who come to York to work for a number of private sector organisations, on a rotating three-year basis: that is, they return back to cities such as Bangalore and are replaced by other Indian workers. Norwich Union is a prominent example of this in the city.

^d Song Box is a local organisation providing music services via schools and local groups. A recent survey of its users also included those of Australasian and North African origins but individual countries within these regions were not specified.

^e HARP (Housing Advice and Resource Project) was formerly based in North Yorkshire but offering services to York residents and with a base now in the Priory Street Centre. It provides an advice session for residents facing court proceedings on housing issues; of the 400 clients in 2008/09, 384 were White British and 16 (4%) of other ethnic origins. Although these data suggest that HARP is not yet reaching the city's minority ethnic groups on a proportionate basis, it may also reflect the organisation's physical base outside the city and that the proportion of minority ethnic groups in North Yorkshire is less than half that of the city of York.

^f The York Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB) did a special analysis of their client data for this study. Of the 5,319 clients of their advice service in 2008/09, 4,610 were White British and 284 White Irish or White Other or White Roma/Gypsy/Traveller; 201 refused the question or details were not recorded. Of the remaining 224 clients, the largest groups were Black African (30), Indian (25) and Asian Other (20). Interestingly, 42 of these 224, or about 19% – a relatively high proportion compared with the 11% of non-White minorities in the 2006 mid-term censal estimates – were categorised as 'mixed'.

^g Data from Housing Needs Assessment: average Traveller household size was estimated at between 3.5–4 so the lower figure has been used.

^h There are about 60 Gurkha soldiers plus their wives plus 60–70 children stationed at Fulford Barracks. Additionally there are eight households with approximately 15 children settled in York. This gives a total of just over 200 Nepalese people.

6 Conclusions and recommendations

While the research described here is not rocket science, it does require certain experience, skills (such as persistence, diplomacy, sensitivity, flexibility and language skills), knowledge about minority ethnic groups (particularly in relation to their history, culture and religion), and a general political commitment to good 'ethnic relations'. The data gathered here can be brought together by a researcher or group of researchers working over a relatively short time period (three months in this case) to provide a profile of minority settlement in any small or medium-sized town or city, assuming access to this data is unproblematic. In the case of York, official statistics provided the starting point; public sector employers were generally very helpful, private sector employers rather less so. Researchers engaged in the process of fieldwork outlined above could then fill certain gaps, making use of documents available publicly, although not always advertised as widely as might be useful. There remain a few important gaps in our knowledge and these are outlined below, together with some key policy conclusions and recommendations which have arisen from the study and which we hope those responsible will take seriously.

The aim of the study was to establish the size and diversity of York's minority ethnic population. In relation to size, with the caveats below, we estimate the minority ethnic population (that is, all groups other than White British) in 2009 to be approximately 21,800, or 11% of York's total estimated population. This is calculated in the following way:

- 2006 mid-term census estimates the minority ethnic population at 9.0% of 191,800 or 17,300 people. This compares with a minority ethnic population of 4.9% (13,900) in 2001.
- Extrapolate to 2009 at the same rate of annual growth as between 2001 and 2006. The minority ethnic population will be 17,300 plus 2,000, i.e. 19,300.

- Allow for a more rapid rate of growth of the minority population as a whole, say another 500: total 19,800 (estimate).
- Total population of York in 2009 on the same growth rate will be 191,800 plus 6,400 or 198,200.
- Allow for migrant workers in the city not known to the 2001 Census or 2006 estimate. Say another 800 (modest estimate, allowing for some out-migration): total 20,600.
- Allow for Turkish migrants not captured by the 2001 Census or 2006 estimate, say another 700 (modest estimate): total 21,300.
- Allow for unrecorded migrants (see below). Say 200 (modest estimate): total 21,500.
- Allow for further expansion of higher education. Say 300 (modest estimate): total 21,800.

There may be other growth areas that cannot be predicted but this seems a reasonable approximate estimate for the size of York's minority ethnic population in 2009.

In terms of diversity, we have identified 92 different ethnic/national groupings currently resident in the city. Some of these may be small or transitory populations but overall the picture is far removed from the early 1990s, when most people thought in terms of six or seven such groupings at most. These groups have between them at least 78 first languages, although the actual number is probably considerably greater as there are a number of countries represented in this list (see the Appendix at the end of this report) where the first language would not have been a national language but a local or regional dialect. It is also worth remembering when counting that the census may under-estimate the numbers of smaller groups.

This study is not claimed to be absolutely comprehensive although it covered much ground in three months. There may be other sources (e.g. trades unions, health visitors etc.) which might have provided useful additional information but which we were unable to source either because of lack of time on our part or lack of interest on the part of others. We do claim that it gives a largely accurate picture of York's minority ethnic population and that the ideas rehearsed below are likely to be the most central ones emerging, even were the study to have been substantially extended.

A number of general conclusions and recommendations emerge from this work. These have been sorted into more strategic recommendations and those of more limited significance.

Strategic conclusions and recommendations

1. Most obviously, York is a substantially more diverse city in terms of the ethnic origins of its population (even allowing for the transitory nature of some, generally small, populations). This should be *acknowledged and celebrated publicly* in terms of politics and policy and by the media. The City of York Council and other organisations could reflect this in their recruitment and marketing strategies. York has decided to tie its marketing significantly to tourism; an economy which depends so heavily on investment by those from other countries (as visitors, businesses, workers or students) will find its image – and economy – severely damaged if the issues outlined below are not treated seriously. The economy of York will increasingly depend on these minority workers for its maintenance.
2. *Investment is required by a number of parties*, which may be difficult to secure at a time of constrained public sector spending growth. Two balancing points can be made here; one is that private sector agencies should bear their share of this additional burden, organised through the local strategic partnership (LSP). The other is that a higher BME population should attract an enhanced central government grant.
3. With the exception of the NHS Hospitals Trust, none of the city's major public agencies could be said to have achieved anything like a reasonable target in terms of *minority ethnic recruitment*, and some have a very poor record in this regard (see Table 4). This should be a priority in the development of their 'race' equality policies. Every local agency should be asking itself, in the light of this report, whether their policies and practices are fit for purpose.¹ It is not just a question of whether organisations are meeting their minority employment targets (or in some cases whether they even have targets), but also where these minority ethnic workers are distributed among different grades. Surveys of two prominent local employers in the city found relatively few BME people at higher or prestigious grades but four times as many in the lowest grade support staff e.g. cleaners, manual workers etc.
4. In some cases, the development of these policies is still impeded by *inadequate ethnic monitoring* schemes. Many still use very outdated or invented monitoring categories such as 'Oriental' that do not allow them fully to grasp the diversity of their own workforce and take action. Overall, poor monitoring has without doubt been responsible for some of the strange discrepancies in data identified. All agencies should adopt ethnic monitoring schemes based on standard census categories.
5. Despite a number of initiatives in the past (including a seminar convened by the city LSP's Inclusive York Forum 30 months ago), there appears to be *little serious commitment* within the city to pursuing issues of racial equality and discrimination, a view echoed by local minority ethnic spokespeople. The City of York Council undertook to follow up the 2007 seminar, which raised many of the issues discussed in this report, but nothing substantial has emerged publicly since. This has been a source of considerable frustration and anger among

minority ethnic groups that have argued, with justification, that a series of investigations over the past years have led to no new policies or initiatives of benefit to themselves. As they see it, they are tired of being researched to no purpose.²

6. Cross-cutting initiatives, such as the anti-poverty strategy, recently concluded, must have a strong and explicit focus on *the needs of BME groups*.
7. Other newer initiatives such as the *City of Faith initiative* promoted by a range of religious groups in the city need better resourcing if the many faiths represented are to be properly visible to York's residents more generally.
8. Issues of racial equality should be given a much *higher priority in the work of Without Walls*, the York LSP. Although Without Walls has now agreed to invite a BME representative, nominated by YREN, onto the partnership, we suggest that a subgroup be established from scratch which is broadly representative of minority ethnic groups themselves and has formal links with their organisations, can co-opt experts in this field of work, and is not dominated by White officers from local statutory agencies. This kind of multilateral approach is important and it will help provide a context for important bilateral discussions.
9. The Crown Prosecution Service, based in York, has publicly acknowledged the issue of *serious racism in the city*. This issue, given several airings by BBC Radio York in recent months, needs to be owned more clearly by local agencies, publicised and addressed as a matter of urgency. It is also important to recognise that since the terrorist attacks in New York, London and Madrid, Muslims as a whole have been unfairly regarded with greater levels of suspicion and targeted for racist attacks (see *The Guardian*, 17 October 2009).
10. The development of policies needs to acknowledge both that some of York's minority ethnic population is here on a *transitory basis* (typically three to four years for students, perhaps shorter for some workers); that there may be seasonal variations in the minority ethnic population; and that there is a need for cross-border working with other authorities as many workers work in the city and live elsewhere, and vice versa. One clear reason why many of those in, for example, the restaurant trade, do not live in the city is because it is still seen, culturally and in terms of services and policies, as a 'White city'. For those who are transitory, the fact that they are not recorded in most official datasets exacerbates their difficulties in the sense that their needs are not monitored and registered anywhere. Many of them, however, will still need forms of support from local agencies.
11. Similarly, agencies developing services or policy responses need to acknowledge that *ethnic origin* (in terms of a country of origin) may not always be the most helpful way of targeting resources or delivering services. Thinking, for example, of the city's Muslim population, there are among them not only people from more obvious countries of origin such as Pakistan and Bangladesh, but from countries such as Iraq, Morocco and Iran (who might be categorised as White Other) and from Somalia, Sudan, Nigeria and Mali (who might be categorised as Black African).³
12. The contrast between the legal and policy context for public agencies and private agencies is striking. We can see no good policy reason why the terms of the RRAA 2000 should not be extended to cover *private agencies*. From the data we have collected, it is clearly here where the majority of York's minority ethnic population work and, as much of this fieldwork and other research demonstrates, where those subject to greater levels of labour exploitation are to be found. Table 7 shows that 10 times as many minority ethnic people are to be found for each minority grouping outside the public sector as within it. Allowing for the fact that those outside the public sector include children, it still means that the majority – in some instances the vast majority – of those minority ethnic people within

the city work in the private sector, yet we know virtually nothing about the conditions under which they work or the commitment of these organisations to racial equality. One way to approach this would be to ask the Learning and Skills Council to commission a study – as it did in North Yorkshire some years ago – of the needs and conditions of those working in the private sector in York (Darr *et al.*, 2005).

13. Linked to this, there is clearly also a *'hidden' population* of workers from minority ethnic groups in the city. Some of these – a rapidly changing population – are to be found in the *'backroom' jobs* of hotels, bars, restaurants, businesses and offices (as cleaners and caretakers), and in nursing and domestic care. Much of this work is done in the evenings, at night or in isolated workplaces and is thus largely hidden from view.⁴ These workforces are often characterised by rapid turnover, doubtless in some cases to avoid regulation by immigration authorities but in many cases to avoid labour market regulators (such as the Gangmasters Licensing Authority: see Wilkinson *et al.*, 2009). Trades unions, in particular, have a responsibility to reach out to these workers and ensure they are effectively protected from exploitation.⁵
14. Finally, data on poverty, educational, social and economic achievement, should give all concerned agencies a clear view of the *most pressing needs within minority groups*. For example, we know that unemployment rates among Bangladeshi and Pakistani young people are significantly higher than the national average, and that Travellers are excluded most highly on all dimensions. We also know from other research (and Future Prospects knows this from its work) that the length of residence in the UK is strongly related to fluency in English language which in turn affects issues such as understanding the labour market, searching for work, rate of employment and levels of pay (Bloch, 2004). If policy development needs to identify clear targets for immediate action, this kind of read-across from published research and intelligence can provide it.
15. Small-scale pilot projects, such as to *map York's 'hidden exploited private sector workforce'*, could be used without requiring major investment, to explore a range of issues and help shape larger-scale institutional responses. Past experience, including in York, shows that when a service begins to be developed, the true scale of a problem or need becomes apparent.⁶
16. Some minority ethnic groups have already *identified needs* that they felt ought to be met as a matter of urgency. Top of their wish lists was a community centre of some kind that could be available for social and community events including, for some minority ethnic groups, prayer and acts of worship. Given the variety of minority ethnic groups represented in the city, this centre should probably be culturally neutral but available to all who meet its rules. People from minority ethnic groups also argued that the lack of such a building – for meetings, weddings, funerals etc. – has impeded their ability to have a clear voice, to build solidarity and to engage effectively in good community relations. YREN does some of this but to a very limited extent, given its lack of resources.⁷
17. The project identified potential for better cross-organisational working (for example between educational services). One example of a bilateral arrangement that would help with forward planning is for strong links to be developed between housing and educational agencies in the context of discussion about *'race'*. The intake at any individual school is largely a direct reflection of the nature of its housing catchment area and of housing allocation policies. Obviously the City of York Council cannot control the private rented market which is where most people from minority ethnic groups coming to the city at least start off, but knowing this suggests that a reworking of the catchment areas of schools with this in mind might help to share

More focused or specific conclusions and recommendations

the demands made, for example, by those for whom English is not a first language.

The value of this report is that, with the associated summary, there are clear means for reaching these groups. At the same time, it is important not to set up competition between minority ethnic groups. The recent panic about migrant workers, which pushed the needs of long-established minority ethnic groups to one side, is a clear example of how this sort of panic, fed by adverse media coverage, can work to the detriment of all. Everyone from minority ethnic groups has rights, the rights of all UK citizens, to good housing, decent working conditions, proper income protection and protection from racism and discrimination in all its forms. It is hoped that this kind of modest research can make a disproportionate impact in terms of improving their quality of life.

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Notes

A note on terminology

- 1 A recent report suggests that the UK Chinese population is in fact the most likely to be the subject of racist attacks. This fact is not widely known because the UK Chinese population is regarded, by many politicians, policy-makers and researchers, as an introspective community unwilling to accept help in dealing with racism (see Adamson, *et al.*, 2009). This is a stereotype that may allow some public agencies that should provide assistance with a rationalisation for not doing so.
- 2 See, for example, 'Polish migrants flee violent Britain', *Observer*, 7 October 2007.

Chapter 1

- 1 This report as a whole focuses on a rapidly *changing* population. It is not concerned with the numerical size of the minority ethnic population except to argue that 'needs not numbers' (de Lima, 2001) should guide policy-making. The minority ethnic population of York is, on present trends, likely to converge on the national average, perhaps reaching it in the next 20 or so years.
- 2 The other two were Bournemouth and Blackpool. This report also suggested that York was one of six cities in which physical separation, in terms of defined separate housing concentrations, of minority ethnic groups was increasing.
- 3 All local education authorities are required to provide an annual monitoring by ethnicity of their whole school population. Where this is done assiduously, it can provide one of the best indications of changing demography for areas with relatively low minority ethnic populations, particularly because some minority ethnic groups have younger age profiles and thus larger proportions of children in their population.

Thus while the minority ethnic population was roughly doubling in the last 10 years, the population of minority ethnic children was roughly quadrupling. In some schools, the data is undermined by substantial numbers of 'refusals' or 'not known' responses (in York's case there are about 5% not known or refusals). There are approximately 10,000 0–5s (pre-school) in the city, of which slightly more than 5% (modest estimate), i.e., 500, would be from minority ethnic groups.

- 4 This demographic change has had a particular impact in some areas. We visited a number of schools. In one, in the north of the city, the proportion of minority ethnic children was 0% a few years ago, 5% two years ago, but is now 19% and expected to be more than 30% in two years time; in another, close to the University of York, the figure was 11% six years ago and is now almost 20%. Both these schools also now have a significant number of minority ethnic staff.
- 5 North Yorkshire County Council published the results on a consultation exercise earlier in the year into the impact of migrant workers. This was driven largely by the concern that the increasing trend towards migrant workers returning home or to other European countries might have a damaging effect on the local labour market (see also Finch, *et al.*, 2009).
- 6 YREN's records show both a widening of ethnic diversity in the city as well as increased levels of 'race' hate crime reporting including, a new phenomenon, racial abuse at schools through the medium of text messages. A casual search of the *York Evening Press* archives also reveals significant incidents of racism, one of which nearly killed a Black resident, the other which severely injured and terrified another Black resident, leading in both cases to the residents leaving the city permanently.
- 7 A recent survey commissioned by the Hull York Medical School found that one-quarter of all BME students in the first two cohorts entering the School had witnessed or experienced racial

abuse or assault. There was no significant difference between those attending York and those attending Hull.

- 8 The membership list of the BNP leaked earlier in 2009 shows significant membership 'hotspots' in Harrogate and Scarborough.
- 9 The comparable figure for North Yorkshire was 3.0% and for Yorkshire and the Humber 8.9%.

Chapter 2

- 1 York has had an immigrant population for a long time.
- 2 We are grateful to Dr Darminder Singh Chadha for sharing with us a detailed personal recollection of early community relations work in the city.

Chapter 3

- 1 The most serious limitation is that there is no 'read across' between the NINO and WRS data, that is, it is not possible to link people in particular workplaces to people within particular geographical areas. An extreme example of the difficulty this produces is that none of those living in a particular local authority area may work in that area.
- 2 According to the Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology (Postnote no 276, January 2007), 'BME groups now account for 73% of the UK's total population growth, due to differences in fertility rates and some inward migration'. The four highest fertility rates until recently were from those of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian origin, Polish mothers supplanting Bangladeshi mothers in the top three rates in 2007, the latter reflecting increased rates of women joining male Polish migrant workers in this country.
- 3 To take some examples from North Yorkshire: while the 2001 Census records a minority ethnic population of not much more than 1% overall, several primary and secondary schools have

minority ethnic populations of around 6% and in one case, substantially more than that.

- 4 RRAA is a key piece of legislation following on from the inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence as it placed a clear duty on all public bodies to promote 'race' equality.
- 5 The City of York Council's Business Support and Advice Unit provided us with a list of the 150 largest companies in York (including both public and private sector organisations), by size of workforce. Nine of the largest 25 organisations, with workforces of 300+, were public sector organisations.
- 6 Were this study to be replicated elsewhere, the particular mix of establishments would vary from one city to another.
- 7 There are clearly some boundary difficulties with a study such as this, not least the fact that many of those working in establishments based in York may not live within York's boundaries; similarly major establishments based just outside York (such as the Sand Hutton Research Laboratories, Donnellys Printers, which recently moved out of York and the headquarters of several neighbouring district councils) may employ a substantial number of people who do live in York. For this study we limited ourselves to organisations with a physical presence within York.
- 8 The voluntary sector (with a non-statutory, charitable basis and typically funded by statutory organisations but legally independent of them, with paid staff) and the community sector (usually representative of particular communities of interest or place but with little or no statutory funding) are generally referred to together as the 'third sector'. It is important in a study of this kind, however, to distinguish between them.
- 9 The UK government at national and local levels has often used the notion of a 'community leader', that is, someone it might easily consult with from one or more minority ethnic

populations, whether or not those people had any democratic mandate. For example, former Prime Minister Tony Blair, in developing his 'War on Terror' policy, was widely criticised for convening meetings with a group of males, all over 50 years of age, who were portrayed as representing the UK minority ethnic population. In areas such as York which, as we shall see, had few representative community organisations, it has continued to be difficult for any umbrella body concerned with community relations in general to be able to represent fully the various minority ethnic communities in the city. The changing profile of minority ethnic groups has made this doubly difficult, given the limited resources available for such work in the city. As the disturbances in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley demonstrated, the formal notion of such 'community leaders' has, in any case, come under attack from younger members of minority ethnic communities (Jan-Khan, 2003).

- 10 See Chapter 2 for a brief history of their establishment.
- 11 While many minority ethnic groups are associated strongly with particular faiths, this is not an automatic or universal association. For example, the 2001 Census shows that of those living in the UK of Indian origin, while 45% were Hindu and 29% Sikh, 13% were Muslim and 5% Christian. Of Chinese origin people, 22% were Christian and 15% Buddhist but 53% had no religion.
- 12 It is perhaps important to stress here that the fieldwork was undertaken within the terms of the safety code of the Social Research Association (www.the-sra.org.uk/safety). In this research, one female member of the team felt sufficiently unsure of her personal safety in certain circumstances that she arranged for a colleague to accompany her on a number of site visits.

Chapter 4

- 1 We thought that a picture of the profile of York's youngest minority ethnic residents might be

obtainable from the Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages but the Registrar did not respond to our requests for information.

- 2 A full analysis of this data and of parallel data for North Yorkshire, which shows some similarities to and differences from York, is available from the authors. The comparison is interesting because of the strong connections between York's and North Yorkshire's labour markets.

Chapter 5

- 1 North Yorkshire Police Force, in conjunction with the UK Border Agency, has undertaken a number of 'raids' on workplaces (notably South and South East Asian restaurants) and houses in the city in the past few years, most recently on 15 September 2009 (*York Evening Press*, 15 September 2009), when seven suspected irregular residents were held in detention.
- 2 Bangladeshis, mainly from the Sylhet region, own about 80% of the so-called Indian restaurants in the UK. The Sylhet region is a rural farming area and accounts in part for higher levels of semi-literacy, particularly among the female Bangladeshi population as a whole. Nationally, about 50% of Bangladeshis in the UK work in distribution, hotels and restaurants, a very high proportion compared to most other minority ethnic groups.
- 3 Some companies bring people to the UK on short-term economic visas, training them and returning them to their country of origin where the work is then outsourced from the UK base.

Chapter 6

- 1 Unfortunately, before its abolition last year, the Commission for Racial Equality announced that it was having to take legal action to require most government departments – the Department of Health, Home Office and Communities and Local Government among them – to observe the requirements of the RRAA in terms of promoting racial equality. Top-down pressure would doubtless be useful

in requiring the local instruments of central government policy to act legally in this regard.

- 2 We encountered considerable hostility to our own study, perhaps in part because of this history.
 - 3 As has been noted elsewhere, broad ethnic categories 'may not necessarily capture key data about the [differing] educational backgrounds, skills and employment experiences ...' of smaller groups (Rutter *et al.*, 2009, p. 25).
 - 4 Although one very visible instance of this is the washing of cars, largely by Black Africans, in the car parks of two local supermarkets. The 'washers' are paid £6 per car but have to give half of this to an informal 'gangmaster'. One of these 'washers' commented to us that, 'we are used as slaves'.
 - 5 These are irregular workers, perhaps 'failed' asylum seekers forced to work to avoid destitution, trafficked workers working without permission, or simply workers operating on wages below the national minimum wage who are also moved around to avoid the wages, health and safety, inspectorates etc. We found examples of all three types in our investigations, both in fixed and mobile establishments, noting for example that on repeat visits to the same establishments that most of the staff had changed. This is an issue that needs to be addressed seriously; whether or not these workers are doing so illegally (and this could be dealt with by the national amnesty argued for by some refugee organisations) (Lewis, 2009), they are often working in appalling and dangerous conditions. It is also likely that York has its share of trafficked victims, operating for example in cannabis factories or brothels such as the cannabis factory raided by police on the outskirts of York early in 2009. Several respondents commented along the lines that, 'they have come here with an ideal in their heads and find all sorts of challenges and obstacles when they get here'. Here, the Gangmasters Licensing Authority could be
- 6 For example, in York the appointment of a Polish-speaking worker has strengthened the use of Future Prospects by migrant workers. In Lincolnshire, the establishment of a telephone helpline led to a rapid surge in the numbers of calls reporting racism and discrimination in the workplace, a previously 'hidden' phenomenon.
 - 7 The lack of an appropriate hotel space in the city also impedes the development of group solidarity: there is no hotel big enough to accommodate, say, 300 people (an average sized South Asian wedding party) or able to provide appropriate food. Hotels use their own caterers and there are none in the city, outside minority ethnic restaurants, able to provide the range of foodstuffs required.

asked to do an intensive survey of working conditions and labour suppliers in the city.

Appendix: First languages identified within York

Albanian	Latvian
Arabic	Lebanese
Armenian	Lithuanian
Azeri	Malay
Baganda	Malayalam
Belarussian	Mandarin
Bemba	Marathi
Bengali	Mende
Bulgarian	Moldovan
Cantonese	Mongolian
Chichewa	Nawari
Chinese	Nepali
Croatian	Norwegian
Czech	Polish
Danish	Portuguese
Dutch	Punjabi
Egyptian	Pushto
Estonian	Rumanian
Fante	Russian
Faroese	Rwandan
Farsi	Serbo-Croat
Filipino	Shona
Finnish	Slovakian
Flemish	Slovenian
German	Swahili
Greek	Spanish
Gujarati	Sudanese
Hindi	Swedish
Hungarian	Syrian
Icelandic	Tagalog
Ibo	Tamil
Iraqi	Telugh
Italian	Thai
Japanese	Turkish
Katchi	Twi
Kazakhi	Ukrainian
Kokomba	Urdu
Korean	Uzbek
Kurdish	Yoruba

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