

Moving on up?
Ethnic minority women
and work

Ahead of the game:
the changing aspirations of young ethnic
minority women

**Reena Bhavnani with
Performance through
Inclusion (PTI)**



About the investigation

In October 2005, the Equal Opportunities Commission launched '***Moving on up? Ethnic minority women at work***', a GB wide investigation into the participation, pay and progression of ethnic minority women in the labour market. The overall aim of the investigation is to understand more about the diverse experiences and aspirations of ethnic minority women in relation to work, including barriers to progress, so that effective action can be taken to improve their labour market prospects. The focus is on women, as there is insufficient labour market evidence available that seeks to understand how gender, race and faith intersect in the labour market. The investigation focuses particularly, though not exclusively, on Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Black Caribbean women. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are included because they have the lowest rates of employment of any other ethnic group, and Black Caribbean women because they are under-represented in senior level jobs, despite being more likely than white women to work full-time. A focus on these three groups has meant that resources can be channelled more effectively for depth research and analysis, and in order to avoid over generalisations about ethnic minority women.

The EOC has commissioned new research and analysis to support the investigation, including the voices of women at every stage.

Moving on up? is a statutory investigation under the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. The legislation gives the EOC the power to undertake general formal investigations into deep-seated issues of gender inequality or discrimination, and to make recommendations to those in a position to make changes, including Government.

This report is one of a series of research reports commissioned for the ***Moving on up*** investigation, which is supported by the European Social Fund. We will publish all the research on our website at www.eoc.org.uk. Please email bme@eoc.org.uk or phone our helpline if you require a printed copy of the interim report.

Equal Opportunities Commission 2006

First published summer 2006

ISBN: 1 84206 194 1

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to first thank Susan Botcherby at the Equal Opportunities Commission for supporting this work and providing excellent feedback on the research and its outcomes. Helen Wollaston and Kaveri Sharma at the EOC have been very helpful in support and help with the direction of the research. My special thanks also go to Edna Gibson at PTI for help in ensuring the research progressed smoothly.

My thanks also go to Performance Through Inclusion (PTI) staff, including Carole Downing for administratively supporting the project, and to Tony Burnet and Simon Kettleborough for advising on the questionnaire and the processing of the results. My particular thanks also go to Charles Lee and his team at Bolton University for processing the results and providing the final tables.

I would like to thank my son, Anil, and his friends, Tom, Caitlin, Catherine, Percy and Maria at Woodhouse College for helping with piloting the questionnaire. My thanks also go to my family (Ian, Anil and Anjuli) for their forbearance whilst I focussed on the writing of the report.

My final thanks go to all the schools and teachers for agreeing to participate in the research, and of course a big thanks to the co-operation and enthusiasm of all the young people, who through their participation, have provided us with information that will be critical for policy change.

Reena Bhavnani

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Previous qualitative research has shown that 'race' and gender impacts upon young people's aspirations for future work. Young people's choices are affected by perceptions of the labour market and what they believe is possible. Such factors are inseparably intermeshed in constructions of identity. It is also clear that there are complex processes affecting young people's decisions at 16, affected by a range of cultural, social and economic factors. It is crucial to consider and understand these issues when young people are making key, pre-labour market decisions at 16. It is also important to capture the experiences, views and aspirations of the new generation of young people entering, or close to entering the labour market when thinking about social change and policy. We know that the young ethnic minority population will account for a significant increase in the working population. It is forecast that the ethnic minority population will reach 5.51 million by 2011, and that ethnic minorities will account for more than half the growth of Britain's working age population (Interim Report Equalities Review, 2006). We also know that the unemployment rates for young people from ethnic minorities are worryingly high (Census, 2001). What do this generation expect to achieve and what are they looking for from the labour market? Do young ethnic minority women and men expect to follow the same patterns as their mothers and fathers?

The Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC), commissioned this project in December 2005. At the time it was commissioned, there was no existing study that examined the above issues in depth, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The aims of the research were to understand more about:

- The choices young people are making at 16
- The direction of their job/career interests and aspirations
- Who is influencing these job/career interests and aspirations
- Some of the key factors influencing choices and aspirations, including geography, travel, beliefs about work, expectation of discrimination and other issues
- The influence of lifestyle factors and their impact upon choices and aspirations
- Young people's experiences/perceptions of advice and guidance agencies
- What would help young people to negotiate the factors identified above more effectively

And:

Analyse the above information by gender and ethnic group, cross-tabulating against other variables where possible e.g. socio-economic group, expected qualifications and religion.

This report describes the results of the research conducted by Performance through Inclusion Ltd (PTI) and Reena Bhavnani. Results were achieved through a large, paper based survey and focus groups. The survey sample achieved results from 1191¹ young people aged 16 from 14 schools in Greater Manchester, Birmingham and London. The research was designed to compare differences and similarities by gender and ethnic group, with a particular, though not exclusive, focus upon the 3 key groups of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean women in the EOC's Moving on Up investigation. Under investigation is the participation, pay and progression of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean women in Britain's workplaces. This research captures the experiences, aspirations and views of the young generation of these women on the brink of the labour market.

Social change

- In order to set the context for understanding the results, the report begins with a historical context of the first generation's arrival in the United Kingdom (UK). It then outlines key social changes within labour markets and families in the last twenty or thirty years, summarising whether these changes represent opportunities or constraints with regards to job choices for young people.
- Job aspirations of the first generation of migrants are shown to be higher than those who stay in their countries of origin and do not migrate. Even if the first generation experiences downward mobility, research indicates they have high aspirations for their children.
- In the last twenty years, there have been substantial changes in the labour market, with the continued decline in manufacturing, the growth of 'women's' jobs particularly in the service sector, and changing positive attitudes towards gender and 'race' equality.
- Families are changing in size and composition and marriage is being delayed. There are increasing numbers of divorces, single person households and later child bearing.
- Despite these positive drivers for easier access to labour markets for women particularly, research continues to show occupational segregation on the basis of gender and ethnicity, gender and ethnic pay gaps between groups, higher unemployment rates of ethnic minority groups on leaving education, and the continued presence of 'race' and sex discrimination.

¹ The final sample consists of : White British F (207) White British M (131) Black Caribbean F (62) **Black Caribbean M (40)** Indian F (156) **Indian M (44)** Pakistani F (229) Pakistani M (119) Bangladeshi F (142) Bangladeshi M (61). The low sample sizes for the groups in bold, means that these findings should be treated with caution. There is a need for further research to confirm these findings.

Findings

Family influences

- South Asians are more likely to say their parents have a big say in their career compared to white and Black Caribbean boys and girls. In particular, this applies to young women and men from Pakistani origins, in that 64 per cent say their family has a big say regarding their future career, leaving around a third of young people who say this is not the case. Bangladeshi girls and boys (54 per cent and 51 per cent respectively) are divided almost equally, in that half say their parents have a big say in their career and half do not. Under a quarter of white girls and boys (20 per cent and 26 per cent) and 29 per cent of Black Caribbean girls, the minority, say their parents have a big say in their future careers. Black Caribbean boys show higher percentages at 42 per cent.
- Over half to two thirds of Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls and boys do not expect to follow their parents' wishes regarding their careers! In fact, amongst boys and girls of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin, it is the Bangladeshi girls who report they are least likely to listen to their parents regarding job choices. It is also interesting to note that Pakistani origin girls are more likely to report stronger family influences on their future job choices compared to Bangladeshi girls.
- Across all Asian groups, plus Caribbean boys, around half of young people reported their parents wanted them to have a traditional career like a doctor or lawyer, compared to just 10 per cent for young white women, 16 per cent for young white men and over 20 per cent for Caribbean girls. No significant differences were found in these results when the occupation of parents or ability of the young people was analysed.
- Contrary to myth, Pakistani (58 per cent), and Bangladeshi girls (61 per cent) were more likely to say that working near home is not important compared to 54 per cent of white girls.
- Furthermore, almost 90 per cent of all parents support their daughters in taking paid work.
- Only 12 per cent of Pakistani and 10 per cent of Bangladeshi girls, (a small minority) said that their parents expect them to get married and have children rather than follow a career. This applied to 5 per cent of Black Caribbean, and 3 per cent of white girls. Of the small percentages of those girls who do say their parents expect them to get married and have children, they are significantly more

likely to say their schools do not expect them to achieve 5 A*-C grades or above, or do not know the grades expected of them.

- The tendency for girls to describe themselves as 'shy' applied to around 20 per cent of those in the sample, and Asian girls were not more likely than white girls to see themselves in this way. White British girls are significantly less likely to describe themselves as shy if they are expected to gain 5+ A*-Cs than if they are not expected to and if their parents are 'professional', but this difference did not apply to Asian girls. Under 4 per cent of girls described themselves as withdrawn, and Asian girls were not more likely than white girls to identify in this way. The overwhelming majority of Asian girls do not describe themselves as shy or withdrawn.
- Equally, and in confirmation of the previous findings, Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls are 10 percentage points more likely to describe themselves as confident than white girls, and were more likely to say this than any other group of girls. Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls were equally likely to say they were confident regardless of ability or parental occupation. However, white girls were significantly more likely to describe themselves as confident if their parents were 'professional'.

The influence of schools and careers advice

- The latest statistics from the Department for Education and Skills show a dramatic improvement in 5 GCSE A*-C results by ethnic minority groups and hint at change amongst a younger generation of ethnic minorities. The results of ethnic minority girls have improved at a much higher rate than white girls over the last two years. For example, the results of white girls have improved by 3 percentage points, whilst the results for Caribbean girls have improved by 9 points. At this level, Bangladeshi girls achieve at a similar level to white girls, with Pakistani girls marginally behind. Black Caribbean girls are 11 percentage points behind white girls, but are catching up fast.
- 69 per cent of young people in the survey expected to leave full-time education aged 21 or above, indicating aspirations to go to University. In this survey, girls are more likely to expect to go to University compared to their male counterparts. Ethnic minority girls were more likely than white girls, to expect to go to University whilst Black Caribbean and white boys were by far the least likely to expect to go to University. Both Asian and white British girls are significantly more likely to expect to leave school at 21 if they are expected to get 5+ A*-Cs. Parental occupation has no significant effect on whether these girls expect to go to University.

- Young people were asked if they had been able to get all the advice and information they need about jobs and careers from their school. Almost 5 out of 10 Black Caribbean and 3 out of 10 Bangladeshi girls said they had not been able to get all the advice and information they need.
- Around 3 in 10 young people in this survey indicated the careers advice they got from school had not made them consider jobs that would fulfil their potential. A quarter of Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls did not get the careers advice from school to consider jobs that would fulfil their potential, and this is unacceptable. The patterns vary between ethnic groups, and between boys and girls.
- Equally worrying, are the proportions of young people who say their careers advice has not opened their eyes to a wide range of possible jobs and careers. Over 4 in 10 Black Caribbean, and around 3 in 10 Pakistani, Bangladeshi and white girls say their careers advice has not opened their eyes to a wide range of careers. This suggests that young people have been given advice about a narrow range of careers. In this survey, there are no startling differences between boys and girls, except in the Black Caribbean group.
- The majority of girls and boys across ethnic groups know the qualifications and skills required for the jobs they think they're likely to get. It is more likely that ethnic minority girls, particularly Bangladeshi girls, do not know this vital information. Bangladeshi girls (18%) are three times more likely than white British girls (6%) to say they do not know the skills required for the jobs they are likely to get. Given the labour market position of Bangladeshi women, this significant minority of girls are cause for concern, and are lacking vital information they need about requirements for jobs.
- All groups of girls are less likely to know about the rates of pay for the jobs they are likely to get, compared to their male counterparts, except Black Caribbean girls. 5 out of 10 Bangladeshi and Pakistani girls do not know the rates of pay for the jobs they are likely to get. Given that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have higher pay gaps than white British women in the labour market (see Platt, 2006 forthcoming), it is vitally important that they know this information when making career choices.
- Similarly, all groups of girls are less likely to know about opportunities for promotion in the jobs they are likely to get compared to their male counterparts. Given that Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are not reaching senior manager/official level in the same proportions as white women in the

labour market (see EOC 2006, forthcoming), the fact that 5 out of 10 Pakistani/Bangladeshi and 4 out of 10 Black Caribbean girls do not know about opportunities for promotion in the jobs they are likely to get is unacceptable.

- All groups of girls and boys in the research do not know enough about opportunities for flexible working in the jobs they are likely to get. This information is incongruent with the fact that over 90 per cent of these young people want to balance career and family life in their future job, and opportunities for flexible working are important when they come to choose their careers. 54 per cent of Bangladeshi girls do not know about opportunities for flexible working in the job they're likely to get, compared to 37 per cent of white girls.

Young people and responses to societal change

- 25 per cent of all young people said they would be happy to stay at home and look after children, instead of following a career. Across ethnic groups, boys were as likely to say this as girls, except in the Black Caribbean group, where boys were more likely to say this. All groups of girls were similarly likely to say this (17-25 per cent) defying the 'Asian' stereotype, except Black Caribbean girls (8 per cent). No significant differences were found according to the ability of the young person or their parent's occupation amongst those who would be happy to stay at home and look after children rather than follow a career.
- Over 90 per cent of boys and girls across ethnic groups want to balance a career and family, indicating a strong message to policy makers that these issues will matter to these young people, perhaps more so than their parents' generation.
- Girls spend more hours each week studying and doing housework than boys. The groups of ethnic minority girls spend on average over 5 hours each week studying compared to white girls who spend over 3 hours. Furthermore, one third of Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Caribbean girls study 5-10 hrs per week compared to only 19 per cent of white girls. All groups of girls spend 3 or 4 hours helping with the housework each week compared to boys who spend 2 hours or under. Furthermore, Over 1 in 10 white and Caribbean girls and around 2 in 10 Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls spend between 5 to 10 hours each week helping with housework.
- Is there a shift in behaviour related to caring with this generation? It appears so, yes. All girls and boys in the survey spent on average 2-3 hours looking after a member of the family each week. In addition, boys were more likely than girls to report working part-time or helping with the family business, though the average hours per week were small (2 and 1.5 respectively).

- Ethnic minority girls and boys were much less likely than white girls and boys to believe that it is equally easy to get the job you want if you are Black or Asian. Between 44 to 70 per cent of ethnic minority girls and boys think it is harder to get the job you want if you are Black or Asian. Black Caribbean (70 per cent) and Pakistani (54 per cent) girls were the most likely to think it is harder to get the job you want.
- All groups of young people face uncertainty about whether they will get a job when they leave education. The group that is most concerned are Black Caribbean boys. 41 per cent Pakistani and 36 per cent Bangladeshi girls fear they could be unemployed when they leave education, compared to 31 per cent white and Black Caribbean girls. Both Asian and white British girls are significantly more likely to expect to be unemployed if they are not expected to get 5+ A*-Cs.
- Most of the groups of young people, except those from a Black Caribbean background, were more likely to say it is harder to get a job if you are Black or Asian, than get to the top. This suggests that young people perceive the greatest barriers to be at the level of entry to employment, rather than progression.
- However, young people from ethnic minority groups still perceive there to be problems associated with getting to the top if you are Black or Asian. There were no straightforward gender patterns in responses. The responses from Black Caribbean girls and boys could indicate that they think it is harder to get to the top if you are Black, rather than Asian. Between a third and two-thirds of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean girls and boys believe it is harder to get to the top if you are Black or Asian, compared to 8 per cent white girls and 15 per cent white boys.
- Between a third and just under half of ethnic minority boys and girls think there are jobs they can't apply for because of their ethnic background. Black Caribbean (44 per cent) and Pakistani (39 per cent) boys, followed by Black Caribbean (37 per cent), Pakistani and Bangladeshi (36 per cent) girls intend to restrict their job choices. Asian girls are significantly more likely to think they can't apply for some jobs if they are expected to get 5+ A*-Cs, (than those who won't or don't know). This could suggest that the jobs they feel they can't apply for are in the professional and managerial spheres. No significant differences were found according to the occupation of the parent.
- In addition, young people were asked if there were certain jobs they felt they couldn't apply for because of their religious faith or gender. Almost half (46%) of Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls said there were jobs they felt they couldn't apply

for because of their religious faith, compared to 21% of Black Caribbean and 6% of white girls. Equally, Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls (38%) were more likely to say that there are jobs they feel they can't apply for because they are female, compared to 30% Black Caribbean and 26% white girls. Overall, 65% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi, 55% of Black Caribbean, and 33% of white girls feel there are certain jobs they can't apply for because of their ethnicity, faith or gender.

- Ethnic minority girls were much more likely to say it's harder for women to get to the top, compared to their male counterparts and white boys and girls. Black Caribbean (60 per cent), Bangladeshi (47 per cent) and Pakistani (44 per cent) girls were most likely to think it is harder for women to get to the top compared to 28 per cent white girls.
- The research indicates that occupational segregation of people into types or levels within jobs because of the intersection of "race" and gender is a problem. Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls were 4 times as likely as white girls to say that people of my ethnic origin don't usually do the job I want to do. This applies to 1 in 5 ethnic minority girls. Pakistani and Black Caribbean boys were more likely to say this than their female counterparts, but the differences between them and white boys was far less marked than between the girls.
- A third to a half of ethnic minority girls and boys say that their family don't have the right connections to help them get the job that they want compared to a quarter of white girls and boys. This is clearly an issue that cuts across ethnic groups, but seems more acute in ethnic minority groups. 5 out of 10 Bangladeshi boys and 4 out of 10 Black Caribbean girls say this.

Aspirations and what is important to young people when choosing a future job

- The majority of girls (80-89 per cent) regardless of ethnic group expect to work full-time after leaving full-time education. Tiny percentages of girls (white British 2 per cent, Black Caribbean 0 per cent, Indian 3 per cent, Pakistani 3 per cent, Bangladeshi 4 per cent) indicated that they would not be looking for a job. At this age, the majority of young women want to work full-time, and this is what they intend to do. This gives us insight into pre-labour market aspirations. At this age, there is nothing to suggest that girls and boys will behave any differently regarding future economic activity.
- In our target groups, 7 or 8 girls and boys out of 10 know what job they want when they leave education. This underlines how important this age is, in relation to decision-making and the trajectories of future careers.

- Over 90 per cent of all young people expect to have a successful career, regardless of gender or ethnic group. However, there were differences in relation to those who strongly agreed. 60 per cent of Black Caribbean girls, 53 per cent Pakistani, and 55 per cent Bangladeshi girls strongly agreed, compared to 39 per cent white girls. Black Caribbean boys (53 per cent) were more likely to feel strongly about this than any of their male counterparts.
- All ethnic minority girls aim high, compared to white girls, particularly Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls. Pakistani (56 per cent) and Bangladeshi (53 per cent) girls aspire to jobs at skill level 4 (usually requiring a degree and long periods of training/studying). 46 per cent Black Caribbean and 32 per cent white girls aspire to jobs at this level. The white girls figure suggests low aspirations. Asian and white girls are significantly more likely to aspire to skill level 4 jobs if they are expecting to get 5+ A*-Cs than those who are not or don't know. Moreover, white girls are significantly more likely to aspire to skill level 4 jobs if their parents are 'professional', but this distinction did not apply to Asian girls.
- Pakistani (52 per cent) and Bangladeshi (51 per cent) boys have similar ambitions to their female counterparts. 35 per cent of Caribbean boys, and only 16 per cent of white boys aspire to jobs at this level, which is a startling finding.
- However, you also find low aspirations amongst girls, compared to boys. Ethnic minority girls tend to be polarised in ambition at the top or lower end. white girls and Black Caribbean boys are more evenly spread across the skill levels. Pakistani and Bangladeshi boys are concentrated at the top level 3 or 4 end. Virtually 80 per cent of white boys aspire to level 3 type jobs.
- 34 per cent white, 26 per cent Black Caribbean, 27 per cent Pakistani, and 24 per cent Bangladeshi girls aspire to level 1 or 2 type jobs.
- Occupationally segregated choices are immediately apparent at 16, cross cutting gender with ethnicity. One third to one quarter of Bangladeshi girls, boys, and Pakistani boys (less for girls) are opting to be business and public services professionals, compared to less than one twelfth of white girls and boys. Health professionals are most popular with Black Caribbean and Pakistani girls (17-20 per cent) compared to 11 per cent of white girls. Furthermore, one in 10 of Pakistani Bangladeshi and white girls expect to go into teaching.
- Culture, media and sports occupations are most popular at 1 in 5 for white boys, and are also more popular with Black Caribbean girls and boys.

- 30 per cent of white boys expect to go into construction and building work- compared to less than 1 per cent of most girls.
- Over 12 per cent of Bangladeshi and Pakistani girls are opting for sales occupations.
- 8 or 9 out of ten ethnic minority girls and boys, 8 out of 10 white girls, and 6 out of 10 white boys say that whether an employer welcomes staff from a range of ethnic backgrounds is important to them when choosing a future job. Girls (between 50-74 per cent) were much more likely than boys to strongly agree (between 33-51 per cent).
- Opportunities for flexible working are also important when considering future employment. 5 or 6 out of 10 girls and boys across ethnic groups consider flexible employment to be important to them in the future. Yet significant proportions of young people do not know about the opportunities for flexible working in the jobs they expect to get.
- An overt commitment to diversity and equality of opportunity from employers is important to this generation, along with opportunities to gain qualifications, training and employment. There is also an expectation of opportunities for flexible working, and the work life balance agenda evident in the next generation of employees.

Implications

The research leads us to suggest that:

- The majorities of young ethnic minority women, are investing heavily in their own education, and are positive and hopeful about their labour market futures. Yet, significant numbers expect difficulties associated with their 'race' and gender. Labour market and research evidence suggests that such anticipation is borne out of the lived experiences of their parents, families and communities. There is a social justice and productivity issue here. The capital of these young women is essential for the future productivity of the country, and their hard won investment deserves to be rewarded. We must not let them down.
- Schools and careers advisers need to be mindful of these girls' aspirations and recognise and nurture their potential They could be more proactive in exposing young people to the widest possible range of jobs and not restrict their aspirations at 16.

- Parents also need to be constructively involved in supporting their children's range of job choices. Out reach and advocacy could be involved in helping these girls particularly, negotiate with their families. The need for help for the girls in negotiations about future jobs and education does need greater practical policy consideration.
- Higher education institutions from the more prestigious universities may need to examine how they are recruiting students, and whether they are also discriminating in favour of 'white students' who may be *wrongly* perceived as being more hard working/clever.
- These young people want to work for employers who have a real and continued commitment to equality of opportunity, and proactively welcome and want ethnic minority employees. In order to capitalise upon the emerging talent of young ethnic minority women and men, employers can do more to examine, monitor and improve their marketing, recruitment and progression procedures.

These young people are showing a different trend. The myths countered in this report illustrates changing trends in society, whereby ethnic minority girls as a whole want to be successful. Young girls work harder than their male counterparts, and have high ambitions. They are ahead of the game. Employers, schools and careers advisers need to catch up; otherwise we will all be the poorer for it.

1. INTRODUCTION

This report describes the results of a research project investigating the job aspirations and choices of young people in year 11, in schools in England. Previous qualitative research has shown that 'race' and gender impacts upon young people's aspirations for future work. Young people's choices are affected by perceptions of the labour market and what they believe is possible. Such factors are inseparably intermeshed in constructions of identity. It is also clear that there are complex processes affecting young people's decisions at 16, affected by a range of cultural, social and economic factors. It is crucial to consider and understand these issues when young people are making key, pre-labour market decisions at 16.

The Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC), commissioned Performance through Inclusion Ltd (PTI) and Reena Bhavnani to undertake this project in December 2005. At the time it was commissioned, there was no existing study that examined the above issues in depth, both quantitatively, and qualitatively.

This is a unique report, in that this is the first time that a survey of over 1000 young people has been carried out in England covering a wide range of pre-labour market issues, by gender and ethnic group.

1.1 Background context

There is considerable recent evidence that people from ethnic minorities continue to face disadvantage in employment relative to the white majority across a range of labour market indicators (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Strategy Unit, 2003; Mason, 2003; Modood et al., 1997). There is also considerable evidence that despite extensive changes across the labour market, women continue to experience a pay gap compared to men and are still subject to industrial and vertical segregation (Platt, 2006; EOC, 2004a).

Concern to raise the employment rate for a variety of 'socially excluded' groups remains a key aspect of current Government policy. One outcome has been the establishment of the cross departmental Ethnic Minority Employment Task Force (EMETF) where the emphasis on 'building employability' remains high on its agenda (Department of Work and Pensions, 2006). Initiatives to tackle this 'disadvantage gap' include 'Aiming High', (DFES, 2003) an initiative to raise the educational attainment levels of certain young ethnic minority groups and encourage access to training and education after 16 (e.g. New Deal). Increasing the rates of enrolment in Higher Education, concern about tackling child poverty and intervening to reduce the higher unemployment rates of ethnic minority groups have also been part of recent Government policy (Work and Pensions Committee, 2005; Mizen, 2003; Hills and Stewart, 2005; Social Exclusion Unit, 2000; 2004).

However, the relationship between a concern about tackling social exclusion and 'building employability' may inadvertently focus on a lack of skills, knowledge, training and education on the part of some groups of disadvantaged ethnic minorities. Not all ethnic minority groups begin with an automatic deficit in skills, knowledge and experience. The impact of being treated unequally by institutions may entrench an idea amongst themselves and others that they lack critical skills; on the other hand these experiences may also encourage a sense of individual or group determination to overcome the barriers. Several factors will influence their skills and access to the labour market, including numbers of dependents in household, poverty levels, discrimination and local labour market factors, amongst others.

Minority groups are not a homogeneous mass, and generalised comparisons between ethnic minority groups and white people do not make sense when designing appropriate and targeted policies. Minority groups, like the white groups in Britain, are internally divided by class, age, gender and disability. Official reports place less emphasis on structural constraints of class, age, gender, and ethnicity, and how these factors may combine in complex ways to influence the actions of widely differing ethnic minority individuals and groups. The specific experiences of differing ethnic groups, which intersect with gender, class and age, need more detailed analysis so that appropriate policy interventions can be designed.

1.2 The position of ethnic minority women

Ethnic minority women may face discrimination that relates to their gender and ethnicity, but also to their social class and age. Their position is often hidden within broad generalisations about 'ethnic minorities', which cover both women and men.

There is an acceptance that white women may be discriminated against on the basis of sex and their socio economic status; however for ethnic minority women and girls they have to contend not only with sex and class discrimination, but also with the interaction of 'race' and racism with sex and class. It may be that these articulations of 'race', gender, class and age may produce some differing and some similar effects in job aspirations and aims in the labour market and in education. It is for these reasons that we need to understand the specificity of the opinions and experience of young girls and boys across ethnicity and sex. We can then come to terms with where the similarities are and where the differences lie, and design appropriate policy measures.

Generalisations can also hide variations in the employment situation of women within different ethnic groups. A first glance at statistics in the current labour market show Bangladeshi (27%) and Pakistani (30%) women having relatively lower economic activity rates in comparison to all other groups, (Census, 2001) explained sometimes

in official literature by 'cultural' factors (Summerfield and Babb, 2003:78) i.e. women are expected to look after their husbands and family and are thus 'prevented' from working. Black Caribbean women, on the other hand, show relatively higher economic activity rates at 73 per cent (Census, 2001) and are more likely to work full time despite the presence of children in the household. These women appear to reflect an admirable attachment to the labour market and could easily be described as 'superwomen'. Factors used to explain the economic activity rates of Black Caribbean women in some of the research and official literature include the material incentives to work in the light of a greater chance of Black Caribbean women becoming single parents, relative to the white and South Asian population.

Failure in accessing jobs and employment for socially excluded groups are also often attributed to poor performance in education coupled with poverty and disadvantage (see TUC, 2006; Berthoud 1998; 2000). In other words, poverty, and educational disadvantage coupled with 'cultural factors' are used as explanations for understanding economic activity rates of disadvantaged ethnic minority women. A further implication is that these factors are very slow to change and are almost static in the way certain patterns reproduce themselves. In fact, the recent Interim Report for the Equalities Review suggests that the patterns of employment and education for Bangladeshi and Pakistani women appear stubborn, with disadvantage increasing over the last two decades and therefore the patterns are not very amenable to change (Equalities Review 2006).

However, explanations of 'culture' combined with disadvantage may only offer a partial understanding of the economic activity of various groups. Firstly, the rates themselves may be both subject to social change in recent generations, as well as hiding true employment patterns for certain groups of older Pakistani and Bangladeshi women as a result of home working (see Dale, Shaheen, Kalra and Fieldhouse, 2002; Bhavnani 1994; Bhavnani, Mirza and Meeto, 2005; Mirza, 2003). Secondly, the rates do not take account of the forces of change and the influence of the actions of women themselves (see chapter 2). Their actions to further their access to the labour market aims to build paid work identities, but these processes take time, and we do not necessarily see the results in official statistics for some time.

Partial interpretations of the failure or success of ethnic minority groups are challenged by the latest statistics, which show a dramatic improvement in GCSE results by disadvantaged groups in particular, and hint at change amongst a younger generation of ethnic minorities (see chapter 2 and DFES 2005; Ahmad, Modood and Lissenburgh, 2003).

A further factor which prevents a more complete understanding of economic activity rates is that knowledge about GCSE results and enrolment in Higher Education are explained either by assuming homogeneity within ethnic groups, so that gender differences are obscured, or references to gender differences in attainment are discussed at great length, but the success of girls relative to their male counterparts is not explained or celebrated, as much as the failure of boys (see for example Phoenix, 2000; McDowell, 2002). There are some exceptions to this (see for example Bradley and Taylor, 2004). In fact, it can be argued that politicians and commentators have constructed a 'moral panic' about the failure of boys, with politicians expressing concern about working class boys' failure and their anti social hooligan behaviour (McDowell, 2002). Older concerns about working class boys in poorly resourced schools or the low achievement of girls in Maths and Science appear to have vanished (McDowell, op.cit.)

So what is the whole story? How do we think cultural and social change is affecting these assumed 'entrenched' patterns of 'ethnic cultures' and poverty? Are young people from 'disadvantaged' minority groups aspiring to different jobs compared to their parents' occupations? How do these aspirations compare to white young girls and boys? And how do they compare to each other? Most importantly, how do we explain the changing patterns of success of some disadvantaged ethnic minority girls?

1.3 The EOC Investigation

A starting point for the investigation was to stress that there is a lack of good primary quantitative and qualitative data on the position of ethnic minority women in the labour market. Thus, the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) decided to carry out an eighteen-month investigation into the participation, pay and progression of ethnic minority women in Britain's workplaces, which is being funded by the European Social Fund (ESF)³.

As a result, there is now a slow growing body of recent research evidence about the range of labour market barriers faced by ethnic minority women. For example, ethnic minority women are significantly more likely than white British women to experience difficulties finding a job and about three times as likely to be asked about their plans for marriage/children at job interviews (Botcherby, 2006). Qualitative research has shown that women from ethnic minority groups experience a range of barriers to participation in the labour market, including stereotyping, prejudice and racism, obstacles to progression within careers (the 'glass/concrete ceiling') and difficulty in returning to work after child bearing.

³ The start of the investigation was formally announced in Autumn 2005 and its final report will be presented early in 2007.

1.4 Contextualising the research

It can be argued that young people's choices in the labour market are often limited by individual and group perceptions, coupled with labour market constraints. Recent research on 'race' and gender indicates these structural issues impact on the career aspirations and choices of young women and men (Botcherby, 2006).

Despite wider knowledge in the United Kingdom about the location and positioning of ethnic minority women and men in the labour market (see for example Brittain et. al., 2005; EOC 2004a; Strategy Unit, 2003; Davidson, 1997; Modood et. al., 1997; Bhavnani, 1994) recent information about career aspirations at sixteen and young people's views and experiences on their future aspirations is sadly lacking. For example, we do not know enough about what influences job choices, which have implications for policy. Information about education qualifications for specific ethnic minority groups is known about, but the thinking which influences outcomes by young people themselves has yet to be quantified. Yet, decisions made at 16 are crucial in determining the labour market futures of young people. It is at this age that choices and pathways narrow, and some young people enter the labour market properly for the first time.

It was decided therefore to include, not only questions about job aspirations and choices in this study, but also young people's responses to statements about societal constraints and opportunities, parental influences as well as careers advice.

1.5 Research methodology

The aims of the research were to understand more about:

- The choices young people are making at 16.
- The direction of their job/career interests and aspirations.
- Who is influencing these job/career interests and aspirations.
- Some of the key factors influencing choices and aspirations, including geography, travel, beliefs about work, expectation of discrimination and other issues.
- The influence of lifestyle factors and their impact upon choices and aspirations.
- Young people's experiences/perceptions of advice and guidance agencies.
- What would help young people to negotiate the factors identified above more effectively.

And:

Analyse the above information by gender and ethnic group, cross-tabulating against other variables where possible e.g. socio-economic group, expected qualifications and religion

Results were achieved through a large, paper based survey and focus groups. The research was designed to compare differences and similarities by gender and ethnic group, with a particular, though not exclusive, focus upon the 3 key groups of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean women in the EOC's Moving on Up investigation.

1.5.1 The survey

Schools with high numbers of ethnic minority pupils were identified through the internet (see www.goodschoolsguide.co.uk and www.schoolswebdirectory.co.uk) in London, Birmingham and Greater Manchester. The schools received an initial letter explaining the reasons for the research and asking them to co-operate. The letter explained that the EOC was carrying out an investigation into ethnic minority women. Fifty schools were contacted in total.

When agreement was reached, schools were contacted again with instructions on how best to administer the questionnaire to all pupils in Year 11. The letter stressed that although the results would be analysed by gender and ethnicity, it was important to give the questionnaire to all pupils regardless of sex and ethnic origin, and not to mention the survey as one 'aimed at ethnic minority pupils'.

In order to ensure a higher than expected completion rate for the students, a number of additional actions were introduced. The first required schools to administer the survey under a teacher's supervision to take place in a Personal Social Education (PSE) or Citizenship lesson. The EOC and PTI offered a further incentive to complete the questionnaire by offering each pupil who completed it, a chance to be entered into a prize draw (to win £50) in each school. All schools that agreed to take part in the survey were offered the option of receiving individualised data on career aspirations for their school. A letter to that effect was written to all 14 schools.

The survey sample achieved results from 1310 (see appendix 4) young people aged 16, from 14 schools in Greater Manchester, Birmingham and London. The use of different geographical locations enabled researchers to control for specific regional factors. All schools chosen were in the state system and none were religious schools. Three girls' schools were included, one in each location. The survey was weighted

towards girls in order to achieve adequate numbers for analysis, to support the EOC's investigation.

In the allocated timescale, and within resources, every effort was made in the choice of schools across locations to achieve reasonable sample sizes of girls and boys in the sample groups. Low numbers of some groups were achieved from schools, and this could be due to a range of factors that it would be unwise to speculate upon.

The final numbers for each of the targeted groups were as follows:

Table 1.1 Sample numbers achieved for each target group

Ethnic groups	Girls	Boys
Bangladeshi	142	61
Black Caribbean	62	40
Indian	156	44
Pakistani	229	119
White British	207	131
TOTAL	796	395

Indian origin pupils are included in some of the findings in the report as there were good sample sizes of girls in particular. However, the Indian group has not been included in the overall analysis because of the emphasis on other groups as the focus of study. The base sizes for Caribbean and Indian boys are low, and should be treated with caution.

Demographic information was collected from the young people in order to attempt to cross analyse and understand results by different variables along with 'race' and gender, including predicted GCSE results, parental occupation and religion. There are obvious problems in sub-dividing base sizes within groups, so that numbers for analysis become very small. Where base sizes allow, some results are further analysed by gender, ethnic group and other variables like expected results at GCSE and parental occupation.

1.5.2 The focus groups

Although quantitative data from the survey can reveal critical trends in job aspirations and choices at 16, it was important to triangulate the quantitative data by evidence from three focus groups of girls. Each focus group was weighted towards the three ethnic minority groups in the EOC investigation. Focus group methodology is now a well-established method of obtaining detailed information relatively quickly and providing more breadth than would be possible from the same number of individual

interviews. These groups are particularly useful when an area is under-researched, both to gather data and to lay the groundwork for future work, for evaluation and for developing strategies for planning policy (Kitzinger, 1995; Morgan, 1997).

It was considered that focus groups would add 'real' voices to the survey findings and additionally provide a glimpse into girls' explanations of their job choices along with suggestions for policy change. The three girls' schools in the survey were contacted to arrange the focus groups. Schools were asked to arrange the composition of the groups, and a parental consent letter was drafted and sent out to the schools for distribution. The schools were asked to organise the composition of the groups so that at least half of the participants in each group in each school were of Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Black Caribbean origin. A total of 31 girls took part in focus groups in London, Birmingham and Manchester, the majority of Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage. The groups were conducted in school premises, during school time, with a topic guide prepared beforehand (see appendix 3).

1.6 Report outline

The findings are structured to tell the story of how young people aged 16 are responding to social changes and the labour market, through the lens of 'race' and gender. It aims to take the reader through the story of how wider constraints and opportunities concerning the labour market, demographic changes, Higher Education, parental and other family influences as well as careers and school advice influence the job aspirations and choices of young girls and boys at 16.

The report structure is as follows:

Chapter 2: Ethnic minority women, employment and social change

This context-setting chapter maps out the framework of social change including the following:

- Historical context: Immigration patterns and timing of migration of differing ethnic minority groups.
- Labour market and sectoral change and demographic forces.
- The British context of changing family structures, growing consensus about equality and changes in gender attitudes.
- The persistence of disadvantage: unemployment, pay, segregation and unequal treatment.

Chapter 3 Family Influences

Chapter 3 presents the findings on how young people view family and parental influences on their future jobs. Not only is the data presented to indicate how young

people report the way parents view marriage, family and career for girls, but we also present the ways in which girls and boys describe themselves.

Chapter 4 The Influence of schools and careers advice

Chapter 4 presents young people's anticipated GCSE results, aspirations for Higher Education, and their considered chances of career success given their views on the constraints and opportunities offered by their secondary schools, either through treatment at school or via access to careers advice.

Chapter 5: Young people's responses to societal change

Chapter 5 presents data on how young people at 16 regard issues of 'race' and sex discrimination, work life balance and time spent on housework and study. The data also includes how young people expect to be treated in the workplace, their expected patterns of work, and their anticipation of equal or unequal treatment in wider society. The results are also presented to explain their views on balancing career and family. Chapters 3 to 5 set a context in which young people then make decisions about their job choices.

Chapter 6 Aspirations and what is Important to young people when choosing a future Job

Chapter 6 presents the jobs, types of occupations and levels that young people at 16 aspire to. What young people are looking for from the jobs they aspire to, and the employers they will work for are also revealed.

Chapter 7 Conclusions and Implications for policy

The final chapter argues that despite constraints in family and wider society, these young girls show high aspirations and ambitions, and take action to steer a difficult path between constraints and opportunities in their lives. It summarises the key findings and suggests key implications for policy, including those for schools, careers advisers, Higher Education, and employers. Implications for policy range from suggestions by young people themselves on changing the ways in which careers advice and information is delivered, implications for general support and development of these young people, and the urgent need for employers, schools and careers advisers to re-consider their own stereotypical perceptions of ethnic minority, disadvantaged girls.

2. ETHNIC MINORITY WOMEN, EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

2.1 Introduction

In order to contextualise young people's aspirations, it is necessary to set out a framework to understand them. This chapter begins by presenting background information on the timing of migration of differing minority groups under consideration in the EOC investigation, the type of work carried out by first generation immigrants and the current context of the changing nature of the labour market and the family. This enables us to have a better understanding of how aspirations of younger generations of girls and boys develop and how wider societal constraints and opportunities may influence them.

Some of the research literature in these key areas is examined. For example, how far does migration and timing of migration influence economic activity in the communities under consideration? Does a 'disadvantaged' family background (understood as the occupational level of father and mother) for ethnic minority families compared to white families restrict or expand job aspirations? What does related research literature tell us about younger generations of UK born young ethnic minority young people and their responses to societal changes in attitudes to equality, employment and the changing role of the family?

We begin with locating the timing of immigration into Britain for the three groups under discussion here: African Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, consider changes in the labour market and families and examine whether ethnic minority groups in the second third and fourth generations have differing aspirations compared to their white counterparts.

2.2 Timing of migration of women and social change

The three ethnic minority groups of particular interest in this research are of course widely different in many ways, particularly in their timing of migration and the social context of British society when they arrived. For the South Asians, Sikhs and Gujaratis from India came first to Britain, followed by Pakistani men in the 1950's and 1960's. The East Africans arrived in the late 1960's; the Bangladeshis in the 1970's and women arrived in the 1980's. Under immigration legislation many Pakistani women, in particular, came to Britain as dependents of men and not as waged workers. This was unlike the experience of many Black Caribbean women and some Indian women who had entered Britain in their own right as a result of earlier recruitment drives in the 1950's. Black Caribbean women worked in the health sector, whilst Sikh women

worked in manufacturing. Bangladeshi women (as well as men) began arriving after the independence of Bangladesh in 1972 (see Bhavnani 1994).

2.3 Black Caribbean people

Black Caribbean people in the UK originate from the islands of Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Guyana and the Windward and Leeward Islands, and began to arrive in to Britain in the 1950's.

Mama (1986) suggests that 'African/Afro Caribbean' women living in this country have been part of three 'generations'. First, there is the generation composed of those who inhabited Cardiff, Liverpool and London since the seventeenth century; they arrived in Britain as ex-slaves, daughters of ex-slaves or the children of unions between sailors and native white women. The middle 'generation' consists of black women who came from the tropical reaches of the British empire in the main period of migration, post World War 2, and lastly the third growing 'generation' are those women born in Britain. The young women aged 16 in this survey are therefore, either at the third or most likely a fourth generation of Caribbean heritage peoples, most of whom would have been born here.

2.4 Pakistani people

The languages spoken by the Pakistani people in Britain are Urdu and Punjabi, primarily, and their religion is Islam. The Pakistanis came from the district of Mirpur, districts in the Punjab and in the North West Frontier province. India was partitioned in 1947 creating Pakistan and India as separate countries. Pakistani migration began in the 1950's when single or married men arrived on their own, in response to recruitment drives to work as 'factory fodder' (Winder 2004: 386). It was the early 1970's and later that families and wives started arriving. Mosques shops and community centres were set up and it became possible to pass on an ethnic identity (Lloyd Evans and Bowlby 2000). The Pakistani population in Britain then have only developed and lived as a community since the 1970's when families and wives entered Britain.

2.5 Bangladeshi people

Bangladesh was created as a separate country in 1972, when the former East Pakistan became Bangladesh. Although Islam had linked both East and West Pakistan, they had been separated by thousands of miles geographically and linguistically. In Bangladesh the main language is Bengali. Ninety five per cent of the Bangladeshis living in Britain have come from the North East of their country, called the Sylhet region, which had a tradition of migration (Peach, 1990). However it was in the 19th and first half of the 20th century that Bangladeshi men (Bengalis from then India) really arrived in Britain, to work as seamen, and established their base near the docks in Spitalfields. They worked in restaurants first than found a niche in the garment industry (Eade and Garbin, 2002).

2.6 The generations of young people in the research

These patterns and timing of migration indicate that for the first time almost all young people aged 16 in these three groups consist of a generation born in Britain. For Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, these young people may consist of the second generation. The young people aged 16 of Caribbean heritage are therefore, either at the third or most likely a fourth generation.

This demographic is evident in the survey respondents. About one quarter of the total sample of Pakistani and Bangladeshi young people were not born in the UK, compared to just 10 per cent of those of Caribbean and Indian origin (see Table 2).

Table 2.1 Survey respondents born/not born in UK

Ethnic group	Born the UK	Born in the	Not born in	Not born the
	Girls %	UK Boys %	the UK Girls %	UK Boys %
Bangladeshi	112	44	30	17
Black Caribbean	58	28	4	12
Indian	141	39	15	5
Pakistani	171	91	58	28
White British	200	127	7	4

2.7 The social and political context of migrants arriving in the UK

It is relevant to note here that the Bangladeshi population grew very fast in the late 70's and early 80's; in 1981 it had been estimated to be 16,000; by 1987 it was 116,000 (Peach 1990). Thus, the majority of Bangladeshi women who arrived in those years experienced the full intensity of immigration legislation, at a time of growing unemployment in Britain. Immigration laws constructed women as dependents, with the result that women bore the brunt of their controls. Furthermore, the pressure on housing and competition for scarce resources was particularly acute at this time in the 1980's when discriminatory housing allocation policies were openly carried out (Eade and Garbin, 2002). A range of studies on housing allocation (CRE 1989; CRE 1984; Phillips 1986; Forman 1989) indicated ethnic minority applicants had to wait longer for housing, received inferior accommodation compared to whites and were on the receiving end of subjective racism by council officials regarding whether they were 'deserving' and whether they should be 'dispersed', despite the existence of high levels of racial harassment on certain estates (for a more in depth analysis see Ginsburg, 1992).

There has also been a particular tension between a secular Bangladesh as a nation state versus a joint Pakistan united through Islam. Those Bangladeshi origin employees who entered local government in the 1980's and 1990's were more interested in forging

ties with Bengali culture and Bangladeshi national identity than working together as Muslims (Eade and Garbin, 2002).

It is important to remember that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women arrived at a time when the British economy was being restructured, with a huge decline in traditional manufacturing, a growth of the service sector and a growth of home working in some urban areas. Black Caribbean women on the other hand, arrived when there was a demand for hospital workers/nurses/health professionals with the expansion of the National Health Service (NHS) and the public sector and their labour was needed. Black Caribbean women in particular, were actively encouraged into occupational segregation in the health sector, and a variety of reports indicating their experience of unequal treatment appeared in the 1960's and 1970's (see Bhavnani, 1994). Furthermore, there was intense overt racism at that time, such as the 'colour bar'. The 'colour bar' was a term used to describe that it was legal to openly discriminate on the basis of colour in access to any public services, including housing and employment. For example, many landlords and landladies put up notices outside their houses where there were rooms to let saying 'No Blacks'. It was not until 1965 that the first 'Race' Relations Legislation (1965 'Race' Relations Act) was passed, to outlaw the 'colour bar', but it arguably had little effect (CRE, 2005).

2.8 Lack of information regarding the aspirations of the older generations

There is very little detailed information about the employment aspirations of the first generations of Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Caribbean women. We do know that Caribbean women were recruited to work in the NHS, but we don't know through research evidence, if theirs or their children's aspirations changed as a result of their experience of unequal treatment here. A study in the 90's did indicate change on the part of younger women who appeared to be rejecting nursing. Younger African Caribbean origin women were argued to be 'choosing' different job paths, as they became increasingly aware of the older generation leaving the health sector in disproportionate numbers (NMNC 1992). However, there is virtually no evidence about older women's aspirations.

It is older women, the first generation of Bangladeshis who show 'official' low economic activity rates, who did not speak English and the majority appeared not to engage in paid employment outside the home. However some past research (see Brah and Shaw, 1992;) indicates they very much wanted to do paid work and have been further encouraged in this by their daughters (Bhavnani, 2006 forthcoming). A lack of English and confidence in accessing a job may also be part of the picture.

A recent study on Pakistani immigrant women of the first migrant generation in Reading indicated that there were pressures on these women to *not* engage in paid work,

because it was a sign that perhaps the husband could not provide for his family. However, almost all the women stated they wanted to carry out paid work and had adopted the British norm' of 'it was good for women to work' (Lloyd Evans and Bowlby, 2000).

Evidence then suggests that women from Bangladeshi and Pakistani families may want to work, but have been constrained by conditions in the local labour market, by working unofficially, by discrimination, and by their responsibilities for large dependent families, as well as specific ideologies of motherhood within their communities (see Brah and Shaw, 1992).

2.9 Family and cultural change

Families and 'culture' must be seen as subject to change (see Modood et al., 1997) and need to be viewed as systems which have developed to cope with historically specific social and economic factors. In order to understand how families influence young people's aspirations we need to first examine how family formations of ethnic minority groups are viewed. The problem in some of the research literature is that these formations are viewed as 'somehow' different and a 'problem' because they are measured against a 'white norm'. Changes in families and 'cultures' are however, deeply connected to the ways in which all families are changing in British society, and are influenced by the responses of British institutions to families generally, and ethnic minority families, in particular.

2.10 Black Caribbean family formations

For example, family structures in the Caribbean have been 'pathologised' as weak unstable and matriarchal in the literature (see Lawrence, 1982); and viewed as a cultural derivative from slavery, (see Lawrence 1982; Berthoud, 2005) rather than a more complex response to historically specific systems which develop because of history, class, isolated rural areas, material necessities and other factors. The fact that family may matter *even more* as a result of slavery is often not considered in the literature. Black Caribbean mothers are viewed as 'inadequate', because they are both black and because they are likely to be a single parent. But lone motherhood does not mean pathology; rather we must examine how lone motherhood represents economic change more generally. The arrival of migrants from the Caribbean such as aunts, uncles, siblings to join families here indicate the importance of extended family relationships both economically and socially (Mirza, 2003).

Certainly, Caribbean family formations have been subject to change in Britain like white families and Asian families. In Britain as a whole, between 1992-95 and 2000-02 there was an overall drop in the proportion of women aged 19-59 who were married, and an increase in the proportion who were single (Berthoud 2005). There

was also an increase in cohabitation and over the last twenty or so years, there have been a greater variety of family forms, including lone parents (Haskey, 1998), and single person households (Berthoud, 2005). Lower fertility rates, increasing divorce rates and the rise of stepfamilies also mark the changing nature of household sizes across the life course. The husband is the sole earner in only 26 per cent of families, with dependent wife and children (Burghes, Clarke and Cronin, 1997).

An interesting point often not emphasised in the literature is that certain key features of Caribbean family life have increased dramatically the *longer* people have been in Britain. These family formations are currently characterised by low partnership rates, low marriage rates and high separation rates (Berthoud, 2005). 1 in 10 white women with children and aged under 35 are single mothers, whereas half of Black Caribbean mothers are single parents on this definition (Berthoud, 2005). Black Caribbean mothers and fathers are also more likely to be in 'mixed' relationships, i.e. white and black, with these relationships being more 'accepted' amongst Caribbean's than white and Asians (Berthoud, 2005), although the view that you are being disloyal to your 'ethnicity' is also present (Beishon, Modood and Virdee, 1998). For Caribbean men, nearly two thirds are 'unattached' (neither live-in partner nor live-in children), whilst for white men the figure is 47 per cent (Berthoud 2005). However, this does not mean they have no involvement in their families. The term 'visiting relationships' has been coined by several authors (see Reynolds, 2001) to denote men regularly visiting their family households, and providing money, but not living there. Recent research in fact suggests that in many low-income black households, the father may be actively involved in family life, but economic constraints prevent him from living in the household on a full time basis (Dench, 1996; Reynolds, 1999; 2001).

This trend of remaining unattached has almost doubled in fifteen years for both white and Caribbean men. Caribbean men born in Britain were more likely to remain unattached (60 per cent) compared to those who had arrived (age 16 or more) from the Caribbean (43 per cent). This trend is also evident amongst Caribbean women, where the proportion of Caribbean mothers who were single was 48 per cent amongst those who had been born in Britain; it fell to 24 per cent amongst women who had come at 16 or over from the Caribbean (Berthoud, 2005).

In other words, living and been born in Britain has *increased* the chances of single parenthood and un-partnered relationships in the Caribbean community. Taken together with the far greater likelihood that Caribbean men are more likely to be unemployed, it has been argued that their job prospects, unsurprisingly perhaps influence their marriage prospects, much more than for white men. The impact of racism, the specific stereotyping and cultural construction of Black Caribbean men (Blair, 2001; Sewell, 1997; Gillborn, 1990; 1995; Crozier, 2005b) and their over

representation in the criminal justice system (Gus John partnership, 2003) the greater likelihood of being unemployed, together with Pakistani and Bangladeshi women compared to other groups of women (Equalities Review, 2006) suggests that Black Caribbean women may be making decisions about carrying out paid work based on the complexity of these possibilities. For example, Duncan and Irwin (2004) found that Black Caribbean mothers saw long hours in employment as an essential component of good mothering, and in another article, Duncan et al (2003) argued that Black Caribbean women take for granted that they would have primary responsibility for family life and child care. In other words, it is being hypothesised that future prospects for Black Caribbean girls suggest a greater likelihood of lone motherhood, or even a partnership with no reliance on the other partner's ability to earn. These prospects *may* influence the way young women think about future decisions on economic activity as well as patterns of work.

2.11 Pakistani and Bangladeshi family formations

There are similarities in the family formations of both Pakistani and Bangladeshi families, and their articulation with social change. Historically, in Pakistan, the Mirpuris came from:

An agricultural hill country, a landscape of tiny farms and smallholdings. There were neither railways nor roads, and there was very little wealth; instead there were potent family ties and an imposing calendar of religious obligations. All three generations lived under one modest roof; marriages resembled mergers and acquisitions. Brides were legal tender, both as portable family assets and as one of the few available means of social advancement.

(Winder, 2004:387)

For Bangladeshi families who also came from rural areas, (see Section 2.5) the tradition of choosing marriage partners for young women between families, to live in three generation households in the young man's family, for girls to marry in one's teens, whereas the men marry when they are much older, does live on (Bhatti, 1999; Dale, 2002; Berthoud, 2005). Bangladeshis tend to have large families (four or more children) (Lindley, Dale and Dex, 2003) and various past reports indicate that ideologies of the importance of looking after family and home can take precedence over *going out* and doing paid work, particularly amongst the older generation (Summerfield and Babb, 2003; 944; Brah, 1993; Dale, 2002; Berthoud, 1998:4). However other reports, (see TUC 2006; (Dale, Shaheen, Kalra and Fieldhouse, 2002) suggest that younger Bangladeshi women do want to carry out paid work but prejudice and discrimination prevents access or progression in jobs.

For both Pakistani and Bangladeshi families the importance of marriage, living with paternal grandparents and having children at a young age remain key features of

family formations in the countries of origin. The trends amongst white women of increasing single parenthood and divorce may also be beginning to show themselves in these communities too. There is some indication of increases in lone parenthood for Bangladeshi and Pakistani mothers, primarily through divorce, widowhood and separation, from 1992 until 2002 (Lindley, Dale and Dex 2003: 34; Lindley et al 2004). However, the authors argue that widowhood remains most important in lone parenthood for these groups. Family sizes are also getting smaller for all Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups as well as Caribbean and white groups over this decade (Berthoud, 2005; Lindley and Dale, 2004). These trends certainly have implications for economic activity rates. Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls interviewed in a study in Oldham said they wanted to remain economically active and wanted to manage both family and career, suggesting they would in future be looking for part time work (Dale, Shaheen, Kalra and Fieldhouse 2002)

The presence of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women and their families in the UK since the 1970's and the growth of communities with mosques, shops community centres have helped to confirm identities that may fluctuate between Muslim, Pakistani Bangladeshi and South Asian. These identities may yet be confirmed or become more fluid as a result of patterns of residential segregation or dispersal. The presence of people from the same rural community originating in Pakistan or Bangladesh who have transferred to for example, Bradford or Tower Hamlets makes a community much tighter and the surveillance of those who flout community rules much easier. For women of course these developments are related to the role of women in family honour – *izzat* – and codes which revolve around women's sexuality, the need for young women to dress modestly and not to be in the company of men (Lloyd, Evans and Bowlby, 2000).

Some younger women have responded to even newer forms of social control based on religious principles (see Eade and Garbin, 2002) particularly since the discourse of Islamophobia, wars in Afghanistan (*and post 9/11*- author's insertion) by adopting a radical version of Islam, counter posing religion against culture (Lloyd Evans and Bowlby, 2000).

In arguing that the younger women from Muslim families are more educated than their mothers, researchers argue that these younger women are reading more about Islam and 'teaching their parents'. There are generational differences therefore, in dress, for example, with younger women wearing a tighter hijab, compared to their mothers' looser 'chunnis', but their increased education allows them to argue for gender equality, rejecting the ways in which Islam is interpreted (Dwyer, 1999; Afshar, Aitken and Francks, 2005)

2.12 Women and employment in a changing British labour market

For the more recent women migrants from Bangladesh and Pakistan, in contrast to the Caribbean, they will have experienced a greater contrast regarding social change processes in Britain in the last thirty or so years, compared to their countries of origin. Of course everyone has experienced these processes of global change, instant communications and a growing consumer society, but the changes for these communities may have been more intense for the women who arrived in the 1970's and 1980's when economic restructuring and high unemployment were much in the news.

These last three decades have been characterized by major social change across the world. Globalisation it can be argued has increased its spread as a result of rapid technological and financial changes, a growing emphasis on the 'free market' and a rise of the influence of the private sector in public services.

One of the key changes under a 'newer' global capitalism has been the rapid participation across the world of women in the labour force. The world's paid work force is increasingly composed of women and the idea of a *family* wage for a single worker to support dependents is declining. Women's paid work is becoming more and more necessary for survival (Acker, 1992: 54) and for economic growth and consumerism. There has also been a rise of dual career families. In the UK, dual earner households now constitute forty eight per cent of households (Wacjman, 1998).

The decline of manufacturing industry in the West has disproportionately affected working class men from all groups and some ethnic minority women. The growth of personal and business services accounts for much of the job creation for women across the world (Castells, 1996). These sectoral changes continue unabated in the UK, with large falls predicted in the manufacturing industries, such as food and drink production, clothing, agriculture and transport, and corresponding increases in computing services, retail and distribution and health and social work (Interim Report Equalities Review, March 2006:83).

Not only has there been a decline in manual work/semi skilled work, jobs designated as professional and managerial are increasing. These are not jobs, which have replaced men's jobs, they are newly created jobs (Bhavnani, 2004) and female managers are largely expected to work full-time, since part-time work tends not to be available in higher management positions (Hogarth et al., 2000).

In the 10 years between the 1991 and 2001 censuses, Pakistani women's economic activity rates have risen from 27 per cent to 31 per cent, a 15 per cent rise, and

Bangladeshi women experienced the biggest increase from 20 per cent to 28 per cent - a rise of 40 per cent. There have also been small increases in Black Caribbean and white women's rates (Census 1991, 2001). However these official rates may not tell the whole story as some of these uncouned women may be undocumented workers, who may work for the family business or in home working as well as face disproportionate discrimination (Dale, Shaheen, Kalra and Fieldhouse, 2002; Mirza, 2003). The percentages of women who work part-time have increased substantially for Pakistani women and doubled for Bangladeshi women. For Black Caribbean women, there has been a 7 percentage point decrease in full-time working, and 6 percentage point increase in part-time working. Caribbean women are showing some change, but they are still more likely than other groups of women to work full time. In 2006, we still do not understand enough about full time work. Anecdotal evidence suggests Black Caribbean women work in two or even three jobs, but empirical evidence is lacking.

The increase of part-time jobs and women's uptake of these jobs may indicate a growing demand for childcare. Ethnic minority women in a recent study felt that they had busy and complicated lives, more so than their mothers at their age. They felt they had more choices and access to technology, yet carried out more tasks and fitted into more roles than ever before. The study argues that childcare services are not considered by ethnic minority women to be in tune with changing gender roles and the increasing number of working mothers, due to a lack of appropriate affordable and accessible services (Hall, Bance and Denton, 2004).

Predictions for the growth of women's jobs continue with the Institute of Employment Research estimating that between 2004 and 2014, the number of people employed in the UK will rise by 1,300,000, and three quarters will be taken by women, but most are likely to be part-time (Wilkinson, Homenidou and Dickerson, 2004),.

It is forecast that the ethnic minority population will reach 5.51 million by 2011 and that ethnic minorities will account for more than half the growth of Britain's working age population (Interim Report Equalities Review, 2006).

2.13 Demographic changes

Significant demographic changes for example, increasing numbers of women returning to the labour market with young children, an ageing population, a decline in fertility, the younger age structure of the ethnic minority population, and qualification levels of many minority groups and women are driving forces in considering issues of the composition of the workforce in the future (Bhavnani 2001; Interim Report The Equalities Review, 2006; Social Exclusion Unit, 2004). Women are having fewer children and are tending to have them in their thirties rather than in their twenties.

Some Pakistani and Bangladeshi younger women appear to be delaying their marriage because of career ambitions (Dale, Lindley and Dex 2005), suggesting that they have children later than expected, which would, a decade earlier, have been at 16 or 17 (Dale, 2002; Berthoud, 2005). However, they are still having children in their very early twenties, earlier than other ethnic minority groups. For example, the annual rate of teenage motherhood among Bangladeshi women is estimated to have fallen from 61 per thousand in the mid 1980's to 38 per thousand in the mid 1990's – see table 2.2 below:

Table 2.2 Average number of children among Bangladeshi and Pakistani women by age of woman and date of her 20th birthday

Age of woman	1980-4	1985-9	1990-4
20-24		1.3	0.5
25-29	2.0	1.8	1.5
30-34	3.1	2.0	

Source : Labour Force Survey :New analysis (Taken from Berthoud 2005: 244)

The younger age structure of the ethnic minority population is particularly applicable to Black Africans, Pakistani and Bangladeshi population as shown below:

Table 2.3 Percentages of those aged under 15 as a proportion of the total population in ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Girls (0-15)	Boys (0-15)
Bangladeshi	38	39
Black African	29	31
Black Caribbean	19	22
Chinese	18	22
Indian	22	24
Pakistani	35	35
White British	18	20

Source: Census 2001

Demographic trends of smaller families amongst the white communities, coupled with an ageing population have increased the pressure to employ 'under-utilised labour' both in settled migrant communities and new migrant groups (Owen, 2003). The public sector has had to open up to partnerships with the private sector as a result of privatisation, and more women and black and ethnic minority groups have entered it.

2.14 Gender and 'race' attitudes - changing trends

There is a growing recognition by women and men in dual career couples that equity in domestic work is a just goal (Wacjman, 1998). Fathers are now expected to care for their children more and want to (see EOC 2006; Hogarth, Hasluck, Pierre with Winterbotham and Vivian, 2000; Park Phillips and Johnson, 2004). It is now acceptable for married women with children in employment in the UK to work full-time and buy in childcare.

A survey for the DfES (Park, Phillips and Johnson, 2004), found that young people have become less traditional in their views about working mothers since 1994. A clear majority of young people at 78 per cent (compared to 70 per cent in 1994) think that working mothers can establish as good a relationship with their children as those who are not in work. There are some differences between boys and girls on working mothers, with 21 per cent of boys surveyed taking a traditional view of gender roles compared to 13 per cent of girls. Furthermore, the majority of 12- 19 year olds in 2003, i.e. 82 per cent said they were not prejudiced. In line with this young people felt that 'race' and sex were not important factors in whether people do well in society (Park, Phillips and Johnson, 2004). The vast majority recognise that attitudes between women and men and between ethnic groups must recognise equality.

There has also been the introduction of equality and diversity policies in workplaces, the cultural change around anti discrimination legislation in Britain and Europe and a continuing emphasis by Government on work life balance, with much media coverage of the issue, all contributing to a drive for equality and balancing working and non working lives between women and men.

2.15 Forces against a meritocratic society

Despite these positive drivers for change in the employment, there are contradictions in the position of women. Although the employment changes described above have advantaged women, there is continuing evidence that all women continue to experience occupational segregation, the gender/ethnic pay gap persists and concern continues to be expressed about the very poor representation of women in senior management and at Board level. Women are still discriminated against on the basis of pregnancy.

Compared to their white counterparts, young people of African-Caribbean, African and Asian origin suffer higher rates of unemployment as well as underemployment, whatever their qualifications (Berthoud, 1999; Heath and Yu, 2001; Mason, 2003; Strategy Unit, 2003). Recent EOC work indicates that occupational and vertical segregation by gender and ethnicity is apparent. Of those in employment, for example, 39 per cent of Black Caribbean women and Black African women work in

education, health and social work compared to 31 per cent of white women. Despite the longstanding higher participation rates in Higher Education of women of African Caribbean descent in comparison with both ethnic minority and white women (Mirza, 1992; Bhavnani, 1994; Botcherby, 2005) they are making slow progress into senior management positions, although some Indian and Chinese origin women have entered these positions (Bhavnani and Coyle, 2000). Vertical segregation within occupations (e.g. in nursing) in which women predominate may obscure hierarchical racialised segregation. At the same time, there are still substantial numbers of Black Caribbean origin women who remain in the lowest levels of organisations, working in skilled manual work, particularly in the public sector (Beishon et al., 1995; Berthoud, 1998; 2000). Younger African Caribbean origin women may be 'choosing' different job paths, as they become increasingly aware of the older generation leaving the health sector in disproportionate numbers (NMNC, 1992).

White men are more likely to be managers and senior officials, with the gender gap at this level being smallest between Caribbean women and men. Those most likely to be in these higher positions were Indian or Chinese women and men. Although Bangladeshi and Pakistani women were more likely than their male counterparts to be in professional occupations, they still show low official economic activity rates and the men are particularly concentrated in catering, retail, taxi driving and textile work.

The New Deal Programme for 18-24 year olds and for those aged 25 plus, was set up to design training programmes for those who can, to get work. Although it has achieved some success in getting the long term unemployed into work, it has failed to achieve equal results for different ethnic groups. It is argued that these gaps in policy initiatives mirror 'disadvantage' in the labour market. Without tackling the fundamental cause of differential ethnic employment, based on endemic racial discrimination, disadvantage and the racial segregation of the labour market, it may not be possible to tackle the effects of unemployment (Wilson, 2003; TUC, 2004).

Recently, growing concern has been expressed about the increase in incidences of racial violence and harassment in the British context (Khan, 2002; Virdee, 1995). These forms of racism remain endemic and increase or decrease according to economic and social conditions (see Solomos, 2003; Bhavnani, Mirza and Meeto, 2005). Despite legislation, racial attacks still appear to be on the increase in public spaces such as transport, on the street and in the workplace.

Within work organisations too, pressures to work long hours and to show commitment to work have increased, with a large amount of attention focussed on work/life balance. In these debates ethnic minority women are strangely absent. The second shift (Hochschild, 1989) can be highly stressful for all women, working long

hours in a 'new' organisation culture, showing commitment to paid work, and managing child rearing and running a household. This can lead to a double standard within organisations. Organisations can view married men as an asset, with a stable support network at home, allowing *him* to give his undivided attention to work, but the married woman as a liability, not always committed to her work and likely to take time off at any moment to be with her family (Vinnicombe, 2000; Vinnicombe and Singh, 2002). It is not surprising that women have had to contend with these issues in planning their careers, including how to meet the needs of marriage and children. Some women choose to avoiding inflexible jobs, or struggle with guilt about how to manage it all. This experience of continued inequity may explain why women more than men in the UK are more likely to express the fact they do not believe in marriage, despite it being a practical solution in relation to childcare and finance (Park, Phillips and Johnson, 2001).

2.16 Changing aspirations amongst the young?

Nurses don't get enough pay. My mum used to do it but she moved out of the job. They don't get overtime payments. They are required to do a lot more than their job spec says.

Black Caribbean girl

These patterns of immigration, contradictory forces at play in the changing labour market and wider society and the changing nature of families illustrate the complexity of factors in understanding the wider context of labour market participation of differing ethnic minority groups and their subsequent success/disadvantage in Britain. Certainly, recent work shows the huge diversity in minority groups' income levels, job status, educational achievement and health (see Modood, 1997; Mason, 2003; Loury, Modood and Teles, 2005). There has been much less work on gender differences, but research is now slowly integrating gender into the analysis.

The first generation¹ of migrants came from farming and self-employed backgrounds, reflecting the occupational structures of their countries. Early research on social mobility for migrant men in the UK showed they were much more likely to have achieved downward mobility (Heath and Ridge, 1983), probably because of racial discrimination, a lack of fluency in English and a lack of British qualifications. Those who have achieved social mobility in the second or third generation are viewed as returning to their occupational status before arrival to Britain (see Robinson, 1990) Furthermore, the decline of manual and semi skilled work across society suggests that there is just more room at the top because of changes in occupational structure- since many jobs are now white collar.

¹ These refer to the generation that arrived after the Second World War.

More recent analysis of the influence of the father's class position on subsequent generations, using pooled data over seven years from the General Household Survey (GHS,1982-92) has included women's mobility, which shows more variation than the Heath and Ridge study. For example, first generation Caribbean women experienced 'upward mobility' on arrival here, compared to their white counterparts, whereas women of Indian and Pakistani origin experienced downward mobility, compared to their equivalent white counterparts (Heath and McMahon, 2005). However, any disadvantages experienced in the first generation have been reduced in the second generation (op.cit.).

Although class continues to play a critical role in subsequent income and educational levels of all people, most ethnic minority groups (Caribbeans, Indians, Black Africans, Chinese) with working class origins, are more likely to end up in professional/managerial families than their white counterparts. The exception to this pattern is the Pakistani group, who are clearly not getting the jobs their qualifications deserve, together with the Bangladeshis who were not achieving educational success (Platt, 2005b).

In order to attempt to provide sufficient numbers to analyse differences or similarities within/across ethnic groups, we grouped the occupation of the respondents' parents into 'professional' and 'non-professional'. The 'professional' category constitutes parents who are senior managers, professional and associate professional. 'Non-professional' includes all other levels of occupation. There are more families who come under the category professional, than non-professional, with ethnic minority groups reporting more professional parents than their white counterparts.

Table 2.4 Respondents reporting their parents' occupational status

Ethnic Group	'Professional' status			'Other' than professional		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
Bangladeshi	102	48	150	70	57	127
Black Caribbean	42	15	57	12	13	25
Indian	89	24	113	42	9	51
Pakistani	96	48	144	68	29	97
White British	60	25	85	38	12	50
Total	389	160	549	230	120	350

At key points in the research, additional analysis of the data has been undertaken to see if there are differences between young people according to the work status of

their parents where sample sizes permit. The sample sizes for Black Caribbean pupils were too small to undertake this additional analysis; therefore it has not been reported.

Some ethnic minorities then are more likely to achieve upward social mobility because of their children's educational achievements, and also achieve labour market success, because of family background in countries of origin. For example, 'non whites' with the exception of Caribbean boys, perform significantly better than whites after controlling for all other explanatory variables (Bradley and Taylor, 2004). On the other hand, Pakistani women and men and Bangladeshis do not appear to be showing a pattern of achieving educational success despite the odds, like their Black Caribbean counterparts. This may be related to the time they have been here. However, there are also signs this may be changing. Research on Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in Oldham, which is examining generational change in economic activity and educational achievements, shows that these young women are enrolling into higher education at a higher rate than their white counterparts (Dale, Shaken, Kalra and Fieldhouse, 2002). Furthermore, statistics from the Department of Education and Science shows that those Bangladeshi pupils on free school meals (FSM), one indicator of poverty and class, have a very small attainment gap with their counterparts who are not on FSM, and that these attainment levels are growing for both groups. This gap for Bangladeshis is 6 per cent compared to 30 for most other groups. (DfES, 2005). Furthermore, migrants are seen to be more ambitious than their counterparts in their countries of origin, but these ambitions are frequently not achieved, so the parents are said to adopt high aspirations for their children (Basit, 1996). Perhaps we need to wait and see what this first generation of young people born in the UK will achieve.

Job aspirations and ambitions are changing and part of these changes may be related to the changing climate of British society in the last 20 or so years. It is this context, which young people may have absorbed and respond to when asked questions about their ambitions.

How do young people as whole then respond to these contradictory forces? How do they make decisions about their futures? How do ethnic minority girls and boys view these societal and cultural changes when considering job choices? How do family, friends, schools, and careers advisers influence choices? What can be done to encourage a greater fulfilment of potential in choice of jobs? The following chapters reveal answers to these questions.

3. FAMILY INFLUENCES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the ways in which families influence young people's choices and aspirations at 16. Although there is limited knowledge of the experience of ethnic minority families' involvement in their children's education (see Dyson and Robson, 1999), what there is suggests that although teachers can perceive Asian parents as being indifferent or having unrealistic expectations (Crozier, 2004a; 2005a), the complexity of understanding family influences in job aspirations and choices is beginning to be understood. The influence of parents over their children's education in the recent past has arguably increased as a result of the Government's educational policy of 'parental choice', as well as the requirement for parents to support their children's academic and social achievements (Crozier, 2005a).

The last thirty years have also witnessed a change in family formations both in the white 'community' and the ethnic minority communities (Berthoud, 2005). These issues were discussed in Chapter 2. Although family formations are different between white, Caribbean and Asian households, changes in family forms are affecting all these types of families.

3.2 Family formation

The key issues of family formation are that Caribbean households with children are three times more likely to be headed by a single mother, with no father present. This has changed since the first generation of migrants, (see Berthoud, 2005) and is arguably a result of complex factors of arrival here, treatment of the Caribbean male and a great likelihood he will be unemployed, together with historical legacies from the countries of origin (Reynolds, 2001). For Bangladeshi and Pakistani families, the extended family (in laws for the married daughter) may still live in the same household, and numbers of children to be looked after are greater than for white and Caribbean families. The presence of greater numbers of children and other 'dependents' in the 'Asian' households means there may be a barrier to labour market participation on the part of women in the household, who can be expected to put their family and household tasks before paid work (see Brah and Shaw, 1992). However, there are indications that family size is decreasing (Berthoud 2005; Lindley, Dale and Dex 2003: 31; Lindley et al., 2004), women are increasing their participation in the labour market, and there is a slight increase of lone parents due to widowhood, divorce or separation (Lindley, Dale and Dex 2003: 34; Lindley et al., 2004).

3.3 The wider family and advice

The extended family and friends connected to Pakistani and Bangladeshi households do offer advice and encouragement regarding future careers. Extended families and

members of the community who may be called 'auntie' or 'uncle' comprise a wide variety of advice givers, some of whom may well have been successful in education and the labour market (see Crozier, 2005a). The family also acts as the builder of Muslim identity, where academic achievements as well as maintaining honour (izzat) in the community rest with the family (Basit 1996; Ansari, 2004). The poor jobs of their fathers and the difficulties of poverty and disadvantage suggest that these girls may be trying even harder to be successful, as our focus group quotes illustrate. The girls in focus groups were asked if there was pressure to succeed in their exams:

They don't say it so blatantly. My mum expects me to get the grades
Bangladeshi girl

It's about living up to expectations and everything
Asian girl

Researcher: there is more pressure on you to do well?

The thing is in my family, there has never been that success in the family so my dad is expecting me to get all A's.....but it's cos like they have never had that success they expect you to be the best.....*
Bangladeshi girl

People who are like your aunties, who have got nice jobs like Aunties, make a difference
Black Caribbean girl

3.4 Desire for social mobility through education

The desire for social mobility through education on the part of ethnic minority communities has been well documented, with explanations of the success of some ethnic minorities' desire for education attributed to strong family support (Modood et al., 1997; Modood, 2004; Connor Tyers, Modood and Hillage, 2004; Bhattacharyya, Ison and Blair, 2003). It has been argued by Modood, that it is the Asian family formation that is more likely to be encouraging for Chinese and Asian students, since these parents convey their desire for upward mobility through education of their children and the children listen to them, particularly as they receive the same messages from other members of the family and community (Modood, 2004). Given the research literature, which argues that families provide support and encouragement for their children in Pakistani and Bangladeshi families, there are underlying assumptions that South Asian, families are 'model' families, who are stable, have two parents and traditional family structures. These contexts enable consensus through high levels of obligations and expectations, the creation of information pools and effective norms and sanctions (Mand, 2006). Our research indicates that family influence on *future job choices* is higher in Pakistani and Bangladeshi families than Caribbean families (see section 3.5).

Evidence indicates, since statistics have been available, that all ethnic minority groups have increased their share of participation in Higher Education, with the exception of Caribbean students (Modood, 2004). This 'gap' between attainment and enrolment into Higher Education between most ethnic minority groups and Black Caribbeans needs to consider gender more explicitly. Disaggregating data by gender and ethnicity in a study carried out in 2002, shows that Black British females have participation rates of 66 per cent compared to male rates of 55 per cent; however when data is disaggregated further to distinguish between Caribbean girls and others, their rates are still at 52 per cent compared to 41 per cent for white females 34 per cent for white males, 44 per cent for Pakistani females (54 per cent males) and 33 per cent for Bangladeshi females (43 per cent males) (Connor et al., 2004).

For Black Caribbean girls in an earlier study, the high aspirations of young women (different from their male counterparts) to be in the highest social groupings was attributed to working class Caribbean families holding positive attitudes to education and hardly any constraints placed within Caribbean families on female labour market participation (Mirza, 1992). In fact, a 1998 study found that Caribbean families felt their families were more family oriented than the white British and instilled more respect and discipline for age than their white counterparts (Beishon, Modood and Virdee, 1998). The presence of a long standing social movement of Saturday schools run by energetic women from the Caribbean communities is perhaps another indication of the strong desire for education (Mirza and Reay, 2000). A young woman from one of the focus groups showed these aspirations in order to pave the way for others in the family:

I want be a lawyer. I wanted to be one of the first in my family to push the boat out and not only that, be the first woman in my family
Black Caribbean girl

A survey of Year 13 (17-18 year olds) students (Connor et al., 2004) showed that ethnic minority pupils reported receiving more encouragement from their families to attend university than their white counterparts, with Pakistani Bangladeshi and Caribbean students reporting this to a greater extent than whites. The prospect of social mobility may also encourage parents to 'ungender' aspirations for their sons and daughters. For example a Pakistani girl explained how boundaries were being broken in her family, with boys and girls equally encouraged to complete a good education:

Where you come from influences what you do in the future. In our house we don't have that. The boys are as equally pushed as the girls. My girl cousin has broken all the boundaries. My uncle is the first educated person on our family. He got into Oxford. He's an accountant now Yes,

your background does influence you, but if you are focussed, you can achieve anything.
Pakistani girl

So perhaps we can state with some authority, that minority groups with the exception of Caribbean men (author's emphasis) are all on different points of the escalator all moving upwards relative to whites, and in fact, some groups exceed the Government target of 50 per cent participation in Higher Education by the age of 30 some years ago
(Modood, 2005: 90).

The same study however, also found that Asian girls and boys were more likely to perceive their parents always implicitly assuming they would go to Higher Education, a significant difference compared to Caribbean girls and boys and white girls and boys (Connor etc. al., 2004).

So what does our research indicate regarding parental/or family influence over young women and men? Are there differences between groups regarding family influences on future jobs? How do young girls and boys at 16 respond to family advice and influence? How does this influence reflect itself with regard to time spent on housework, part time paid work, time spent on religious activities and study for young people?

3.5 Parental influence on choice of future career

South Asians are more likely to say their parents have a big say in their career compared to white and Black Caribbean boys and girls. In particular, this applies to young women and men from Pakistani origins, in that 64 per cent say their family has a big say regarding their future career, leaving around a third of young people who say this is not the case. Bangladeshi girls and boys (54 per cent and 51 per cent respectively) are divided almost equally, in that half say their parents have a big say in their career and half do not. Under a quarter of white girls and boys (20 per cent and 26 per cent) and 29 per cent of Black Caribbean girls, the minority, say their parents have a big say in their future careers. Black Caribbean boys show higher percentages at 42 per cent.

Over half to two thirds of Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls and boys do not expect to follow their parents' wishes regarding their careers! In fact amongst boys and girls of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin, it is the Bangladeshi girls who report they are least likely to listen to their parents regarding job choices. It is also interesting to note that Pakistani origin girls are most likely to report strong family influences on their future jobs choices compared to Bangladeshi girls.

Figure 3.1 Young people who say that their parents have a big say in the work they will do in the future

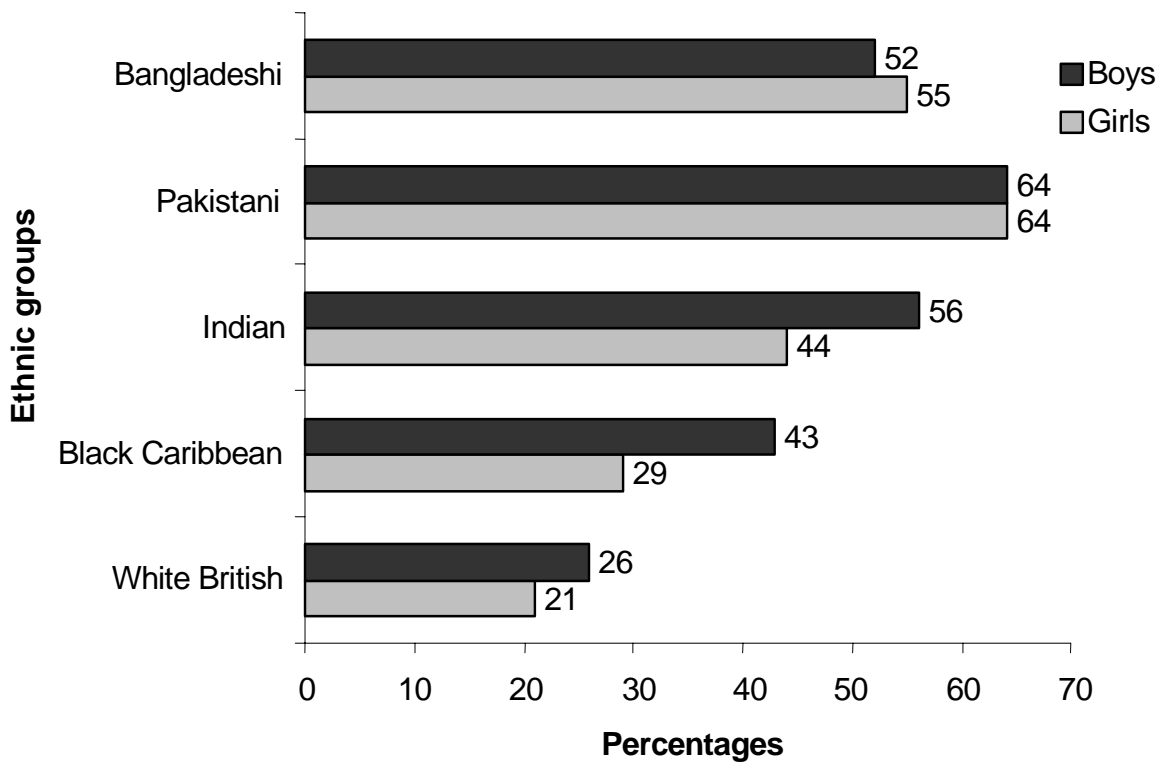
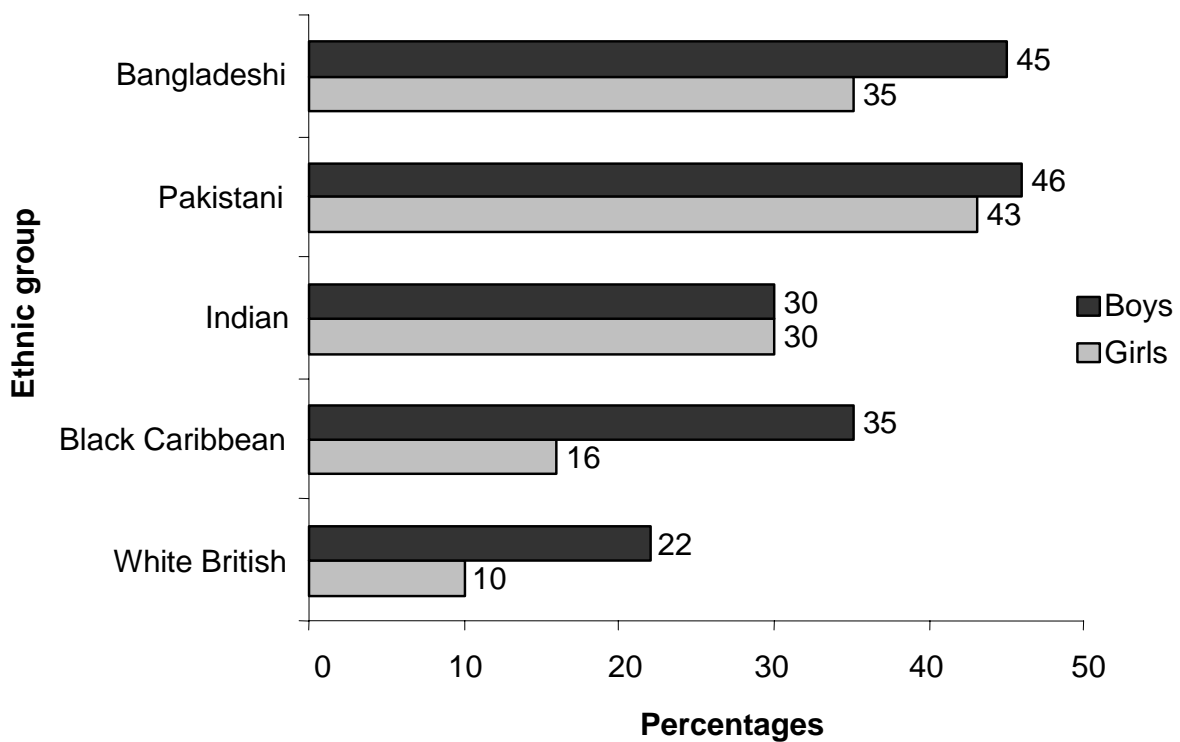


Figure 3.2 Young people who say they're happy to follow the future job/career their parents/carers want for them



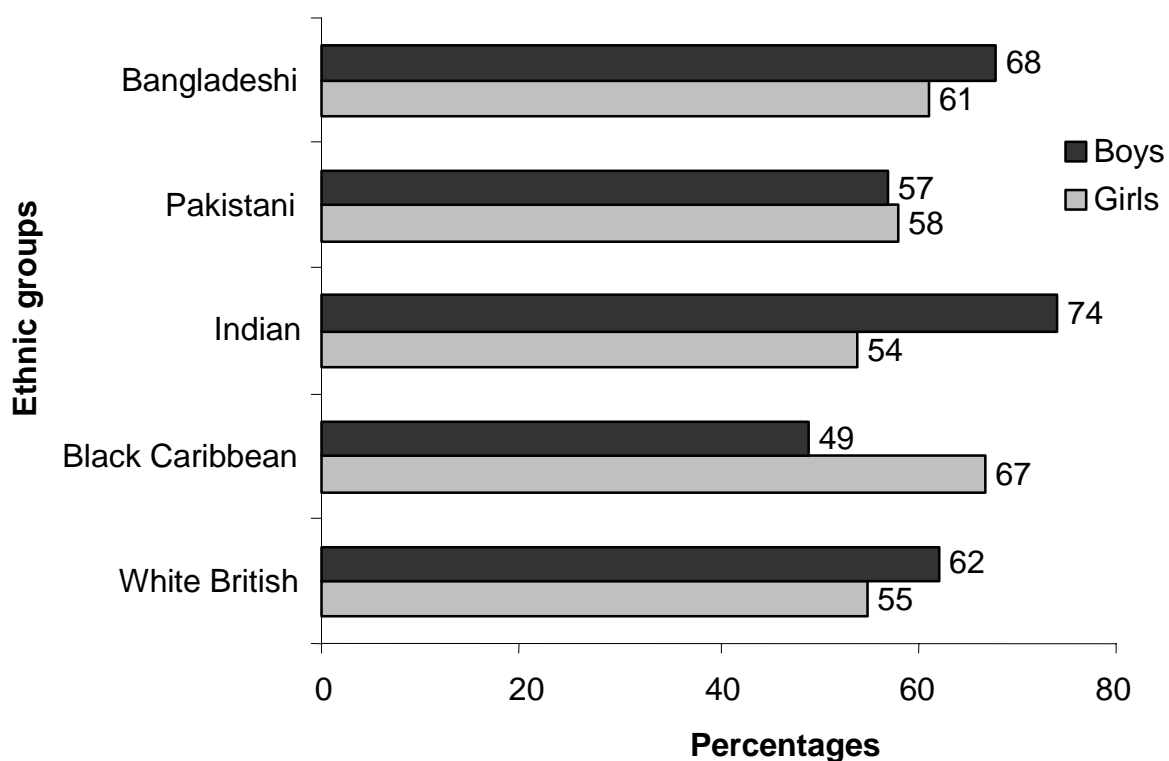
In conclusion, although higher proportions of Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls say their parents have a big say in their future careers, small proportions are likely to follow their parents' wishes. The views of parents are important, but not necessarily determining. White parents and families according to their girls (at almost 90 per cent) also do not expect to follow their parents' wishes, compared to 84 per cent of Caribbean girls.

3.6 Being able to work near to home

These findings are supported by another interesting dimension of finding paid work near home, much discussed in the literature on both education and paid work. In this survey over 55 per cent of all girls did not regard working near home as a priority when they leave education and begin paid work. Pakistani (58 per cent), and Bangladeshi girls (61 per cent) were more likely to say that working near home is not important compared to 54 per cent of white girls.

These findings chime with some of Gill Crozier's work (Crozier et al., 2004a; 2005a) which shows that young Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin young people in her research considered themselves very independent of their parents with regard to their education, and often did not tell them of their own progress and of meetings at school regarding their involvement.

Figure 3.3 Those agreeing that it is important to work near home



3.7 How far do parents want their sons and daughters to have a ‘traditional’ career?

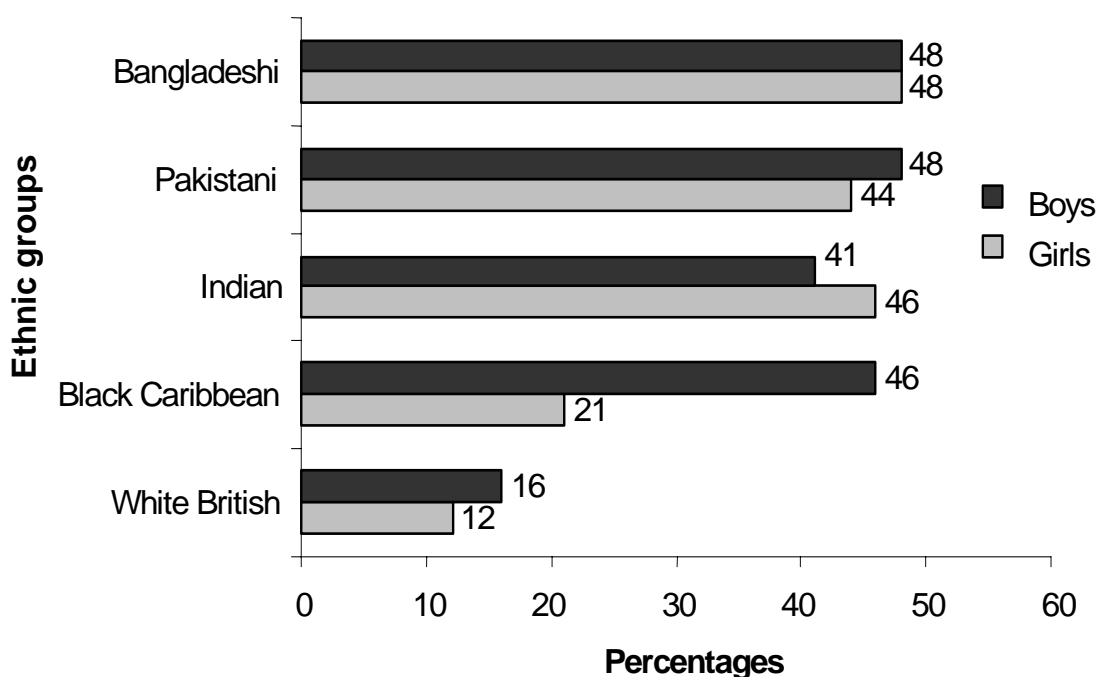
Across all Asian groups, plus Caribbean boys, around half of young people reported their parents wanted them to have a traditional career like a doctor or lawyer, compared to just 10 per cent for young white women, 16 per cent for young white men and over 20 per cent for Caribbean girls. No significant differences were found in these results when the occupation of parents or ability of the young people was analysed.

The focus groups revealed that some of the girls are challenging these assumptions:

When I first made A level choices I made choices because my parents wanted me to keep science open so I could be a doctor but I didn't like science so I've changed it. It's important you do have a career that you play to your strengths. I want a position of responsibility over others.
Pakistani girl

I wanted to be a doctor from a young age because my cousin is a doctor and it's seen as a good profession. More recently I've thought about being a teacher, which is equally rewarding, but it's not as highly thought of in my family. I do want to be a doctor, but I think I had a choice of 2 options and they made the final decision for me. You have to please your parents to some extent It's not the money but to do something so I can live with myself.
Pakistani girl 2

Figure 3.4 My parents/carers want me to have a traditional career like a doctor or lawyer



Another girl, when asked what job she intended to do after leaving education, said:

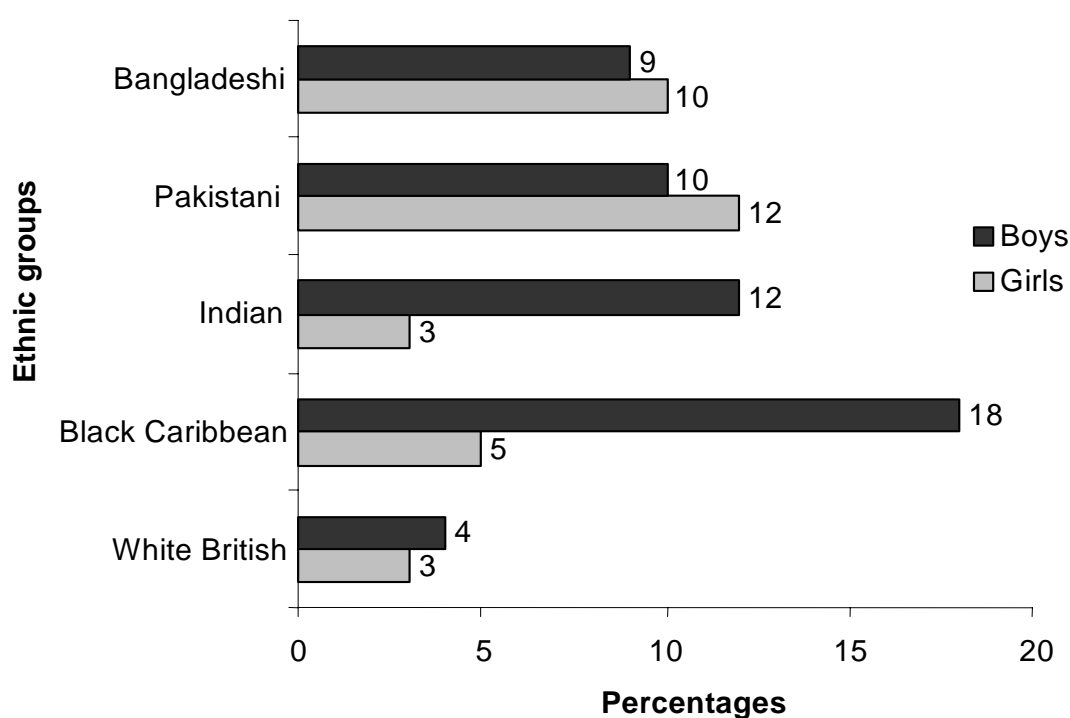
Doctor, but I will probably get into pharmacy because being a doctor is harder so pharmacy is the next alternative
Bangladeshi girl

My parents worry that teaching is not well paid like a lawyer, which is a very valid point, but we need to take a gamble and do what we want
Pakistani girl

3.8 Do parents expect their daughters to get married and have kids rather than follow a career?

Some research literature, has indicated that there are pressures on women, particularly within some South Asian families to prioritise family over career, and stay at home (Summerfield and Babb 2003; Dale Shaheen Kalra and Fieldhouse 2002: 944; Brah 1993; Dale 2002; Berthoud 1998:4) These findings have not been quantified, so the young people in this research were asked if their parents expected them to get married and have children rather than follow a career. The answer to this is overwhelmingly 'no'. Only 12 per cent of Pakistani and 10 per cent of Bangladeshi girls, a small minority said that their parents expect them to get married and have children rather than follow a career. This applied to 5 per cent Black Caribbean, and 3 per cent white girls. Those girls who do say their parents expect them to get married and have children, are significantly more likely to say their schools do not expect them to achieve 5 A*-C grades or above, or do not know the grades expected of them.

Figure 3.5 Young people who say their parents expect them to get married and have kids rather than follow a career



This level of support is borne out by what girls said in the focus groups:

In our Asian community there is usually an expectation that we go to school till we're 16 and then stop and then learn our household duties and then marry. (but my dad changed) A woman once said to my dad and my father was very strict with me and he wouldn't educate his children. But my dad came here (to England) and he had to start from scratch and he had to go to university again. He said it is about working hard, and there are people where I live who (still) don't think like that way
Pakistani girl

My parents are backing me whatever I want to do
Bangladeshi girl

Parents are happy with what I want to do. The caring attracts me to nursing, helping people
Bangladeshi girl

My parents are supporting me
Bangladeshi girl

My mum would tell me what to do. Go to college. I would listen to her.
Black Caribbean girl

I said to my mum what would you say if I didn't want to go to college – she said I'd encourage you to go but I can't force you.
Black Caribbean girl

The role of education in bringing 'honour' to the family whilst maintaining a Muslim identity is reflected in these responses and supported by previous research (see Ansari, 2004; Ahmad, Modood and Lissenburgh, 2003). In Black Caribbean families, the emphasis on individualism, independence and physical and emotional space (Chahal, 2000) may influence the attitudes of young Black Caribbean girls. They may be encouraged by their parents to be successful, but our survey indicates they may be making decisions on their future jobs independent of family influence. Furthermore, many girls in our focus groups discussed the poor education and jobs their parents had, so there were higher expectations on them to do well.

This support may be encouragement by Pakistani and Bangladeshi mothers as found in Crozier's work (2005a) and although parents may have limited knowledge about options for the future, they are very important for encouraging social mobility (Mac an Ghail, 2004), with Bangladeshi families seen as more important for young people's lives than their white counterparts. Recent research on aspirations of young black and ethnic minority people in Scotland, found that parental views on future careers were not strictly followed to the letter, but their opinions set boundaries under which young people made their decisions (Rutherford, Netto and Wager, 2004). In other

words, although girls voiced their opinion that ‘it was your life to live’ and your own focus was important, parents were still expected to play the part found in the above study. This is supported by the following quote from the focus groups:

It (focus) depends on family/friends. So I could say I want to be hairdresser, but parents can influence your decision, so focus isn't everything.
Pakistani girl.

3.9 How young people choose to describe themselves

In the pilot stages of the research, a series of adjectives were collected from young people themselves to cover a range of ways in which they might describe themselves, or other people might use to describe them. These were incorporated into the survey and the young people chose up to five adjectives. So how do young people choose to describe themselves?

When analysing the top 3 adjectives chosen by young people, there are marked similarities between Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls and boys. Both describe themselves as hardworking and reliable. Pakistani girls and boys also see themselves as confident. Bangladeshi girls see themselves as sociable and Bangladeshi boys see themselves as intelligent. These are all extremely positive characteristics. Across the data, boys are slightly more willing to assign positive characteristics to themselves, suggesting that they do genuinely believe those things, or they feel easier about saying so.

White British and Black Caribbean girls and boys did not share any of their top three characteristics in common. Black Caribbean girls described themselves as sociable, ambitious and funny. The boys also described themselves as confident, hardworking and intelligent. White British girls described themselves as hardworking, sociable and reliable. The boys described themselves as confident, funny and intelligent.

The tendency for girls to describe themselves as shy applied to around 20 per cent of those in the sample, and Asian girls were not more likely than white girls to see themselves in this way. White British girls are significantly less likely to describe themselves as shy if they are expected to gain 5+ A*-Cs than if they are not expected to and if their parents are ‘professional’, but this difference did not apply to Asian girls. Fewer than 4 per cent of girls described themselves, as withdrawn, and Asian girls were not more likely than white girls to identify in this way. The overwhelming majority of Asian girls are not shy or withdrawn.

Equally, and in confirmation of the previous findings, Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls are 10 percentage points more likely to describe themselves as confident than white

girls, and were more likely to say this than any other group of girls. Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls were equally likely to say they were confident regardless of ability or parental occupation. However, white girls were significantly more likely to describe themselves as confident if their parents were 'professional'.

All groups of ethnic minority girls were more likely to describe themselves as ambitious than the white girls. Asian girls are significantly more likely to describe themselves as ambitious if they are expected to gain 5+ A*-Cs than if they are not expected to, but this distinction did not apply to the smaller percentages of white girls.

3.10 Would schools and parents agree with the way young people described themselves?

For the majority of young people, yes, there is a match between how they see themselves, and how their school and parents see them. In all cases, boys were more likely than their female counterparts to say that their school and parents would not agree with the way they described themselves. Around a fifth of boys said their school would not agree. Bangladeshi (26 per cent), and Pakistani (18 per cent) boys were more likely than Black Caribbean (14 per cent) and white (13 per cent) boys to say their parents would not agree. Pakistani (15 per cent) and Bangladeshi (17 per cent) girls were more likely than white (10 per cent), and Black Caribbean (8 per cent) girls to say their parents would not agree, but these differences are not statistically significant between groups.

4. THE INFLUENCE OF SCHOOLS AND CAREERS ADVICE

4.1 Introduction

Success in jobs and careers has long been related to successful attainment at school as well as obtaining Higher Education qualifications. For some ethnic minority groups however, these predicted patterns do not work well along a well-defined linear path (Connor et al., 2004). Success in education does not necessarily appear to lead to equivalent success in the job market. Furthermore, recent research has even argued that ethnic minority groups are 'over-educated', and once foreign qualifications are incorporated into the equation, over education rises to over 30 per cent more than their white counterparts (Battu and Sloane, 2005).

However, in relation to the groups under consideration in this research, there has been growing concern about Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils who on average perform less well than their white counterparts in compulsory schooling (Bhattacharya et al., 2003). The greater number of Caribbean and Pakistani origin pupils (at 30 per cent) on free school meals, one indicator of poverty, and an even higher percentage of Bangladeshis on FSM (at 50 per cent) (DFES, 2005) suggests the strong influence of low socio economic status, which has implications for educational and job success. Data from the Youth Cohort Study shows that 69 per cent of students with parents in managerial or professional jobs achieve 5 A* – C grades at GCSE, compared to 36 per cent of students whose parents are in manual occupations (Bhattacharya et al., 2003).

The type of school and its leadership can also make a difference. The ability to 'overcome' your class background if you are in a 'suburban' school, or perhaps a school with good resources, is indicated in a recent survey of children from Black Caribbean, Indian and Pakistani backgrounds who outperformed similar pupils in urban multi ethnic schools (Bhattacharya et al., 2003).

A recent speech by David Miliband, a Government Minister in 2004, argued that attainment at GCSE by all ethnic minority groups had improved since 2000. He particularly focused on the high achievements of Chinese and Indian students but pointed to the success of certain schools in being able to raise the attainment levels of more disadvantaged groups. He cited an example of a school where from just 27 per cent of students achieving 5 good GCSEs in 1997, 82 per cent did in 2003, with 67 per cent of students from Black Caribbean backgrounds reaching that standard, 81 per cent of students from Pakistani and 89 per cent of students from Bangladeshi communities. Ofsted too has pointed to successful schools which have instilled confidence, taken racism seriously, raised aspirations of Caribbean boys, promoted

respect and employed teachers with high expectations of Caribbean pupils (Ofsted, 2002).

This chapter will examine the findings of young people's predicted attainment levels in GCSE, aspirations for higher education and their responses to career advice. These issues are particularly important in the light of the 'desire for education' on the part of ethnic minority groups, much evident in the research literature. (see chapter 3 on the family).

4.2 School attainment

A generalisation routinely made in recent literature regarding educational attainment at GCSE level is that Indian and Chinese pupils do better than white pupils, who in turn do better than Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils. Furthermore, girls have a higher probability of GCSE success than their male counterparts across the board.

The 'underachievement' of boys generally and Black Caribbean boys in particular has received much public attention (see Wright et al. 2005; Centre for Educational Research 2003; Ofsted, 2002; Gillborn and Mirza, 2000; Sewell, 1997). Explanations for this relative 'underperformance' range from the decline of manufacturing jobs into which young men would have gone and their recognition of this situation, a 'crisis' in masculinity, as well as young working class boys 'knowing their limits' in accessing education. Working class boys' responses in a recent study were shown to be circumscribed by feelings of uncertainty and risk, as well as feelings of poor worth because of a massive increase in testing (Archer and Yamashita, 2003). However, the position of Caribbean boys is additionally put down to a complexity of explanations which foreground particularly negative experiences at school and in later life, despite starting well and receiving good encouragement from their families. The performance of Caribbean boys starts high, begins to decline in Key Stage 2, tails off badly in Key Stage 3 and is below that of most other groups at Key Stage 4. Black Caribbean boys and girls are also much more likely to be excluded from school or to be told off for their behaviour (Ofsted, 2002).

The success of some Asian groups has been linked to *family* encouragement and support (see Modood, 1997; Bradley and Taylor, 2004; Connor et al., 2004) as has the success and aspirations of Black Caribbean girls (Mirza, 1992). The relative 'underachievement' of Bangladeshi and Pakistani boys and girls compared to other minority groups such as the Indian and the Chinese is often connected to deprivation and poverty, overcrowded housing and a lack of stimulation, where parents do not often speak English fluently (see Mac an Ghail, 2004). However, as we note next, these 'failures' may be changing to successes.

4.3 Changing trends

The latest statistics from the Department for Education and Skills show a dramatic improvement in GCSE results by ethnic minority groups and hint at change amongst a younger generation of ethnic minorities. The results of ethnic minority girls have improved at a much higher rate than white girls over the last two years. For example, the results of white girls have improved by 3 percentage points, whilst the results for Caribbean girls have improved by 9 points. As can be seen from the table 4.1, it is important to analyse gender to understand attainments levels and patterns of change.

Table 4.1 Percentages of girls and boys achieving 5 A*-C GCSE grades

Ethnic Groups	Girls 2003	Girls 2005	Boys 2003	Boys 2005
White	57	60	46	50
Black Caribbean	40	49	25	33
Indian	70	76	60	65
Black African	47	53	34	43
Pakistani	48	54	36	43
Bangladeshi	53	59	39	47
Chinese	79	85	71	77

Source: DFES National Curriculum Assessment, GCSE and equivalent attainment and post 16 attainment by pupil characteristics in England 2003 and 2005

So how do our respondents report their attainment levels at GCSE level? A key question in the survey asked respondents to indicate if their school predicted they would achieve 5 or more A*-C passes at GCSE level. This is the recognised standard at the end of key stage 4 in order to progress to the next level in education. The use of this data is to be treated with caution. The survey respondents were anonymous, and any attempt to identify the potential attainment of individuals who took part would compromise confidentiality. The survey respondents were samples of whole year groups; therefore identifying the potential GCSE passes of the cohort would not help. On this evidence, over 1 in 10 pupils did not know, or reported not to know the passes their schools were predicting for them. Even higher proportions of white and Bangladeshi boys, and Pakistani girls and boys did not know. If this is true, then this is a matter of concern.

Table 4.2 Does your school predict you will achieve 5 or more A*-C passes at GCSE level?

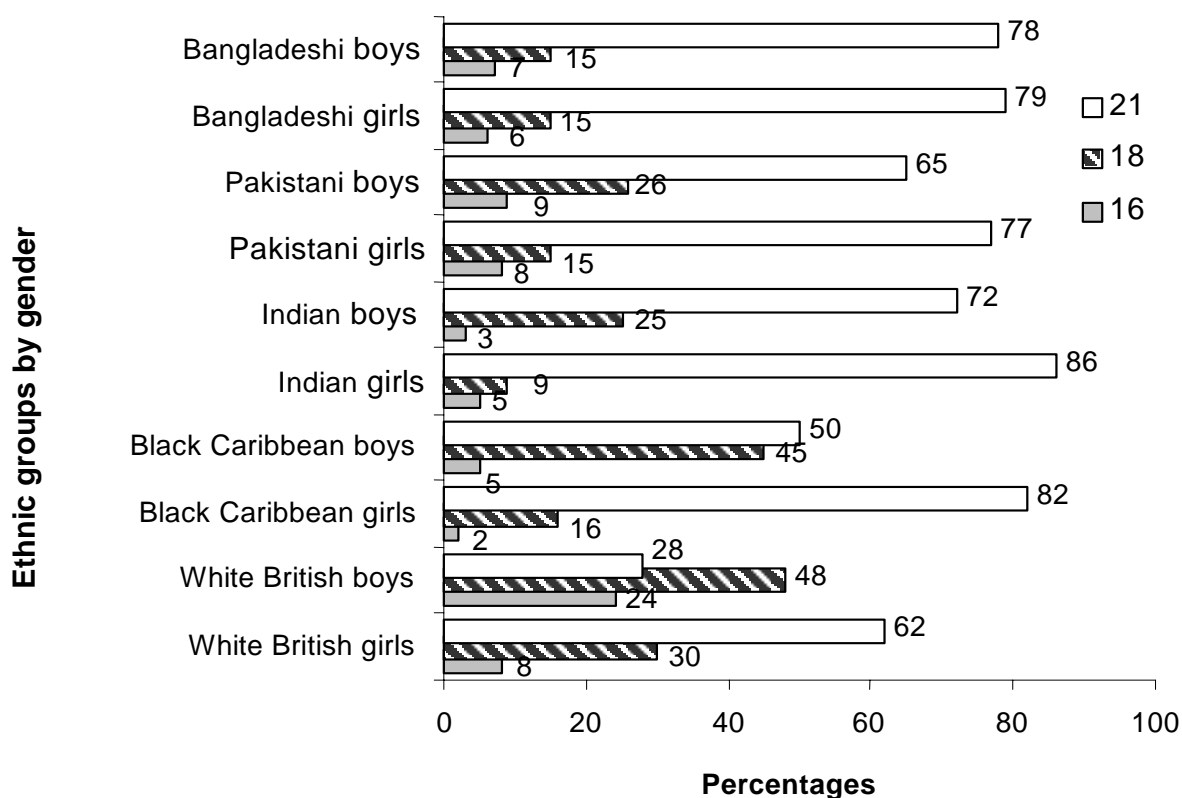
	White British		Black Caribbean		Indian		Pakistani		Bangladeshi	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	71	66	89	82	92	74	77	74	84	67
No	18	19	8	10	3	9	8	10	7	4
Don't know	11	15	3	8	5	17	15	16	10	29

Assuming these figures are true, and are realised in actual achievement, all of the groups in this survey, including by gender, were performing higher than the national average, except the Indian boys.

4.4 Expected age to leave full-time education

8 per cent of young people in the survey expected to leave full-time education at 16. The gender differences here were marginal between the ethnic minority groups, but marked in the white British group (24 per cent boys/8 per cent girls).

Figure 4.1 Expected age they will leave full-time education



69 per cent of young people in the survey expected to leave full-time education aged 21 or above, indicating aspirations to go to University. In this survey, girls are more likely to expect to go to University compared to their male counterparts. The groups of ethnic minority girls were more likely than white girls, and the Black Caribbean and white boys were by far the least likely to expect to go to University. Both Asian and white British girls are more likely to expect to leave school at 21 if they are expected to get 5+ A*-Cs. Parental occupation has no significant effect on whether these girls expect to go to University.

4.5 School experiences

Clearly families play a large part in influencing aspirations, but schools, teachers and career advisers are pivotal too. The constraints of wider society considered in the chapter 2 also influence young people's aspirations. In order to understand the constraints and opportunities presented by schools, teachers and careers advisers, it is necessary to examine this wider context.

The influence of schools and careers advisers on pupils' aspirations and experiences remains strong. Teacher expectations, stereotyping into certain subjects and occupational choices continue to be discussed in the literature, as well as parental and family influences. Despite some stereotypically low teacher expectations of Black Caribbean's' and Pakistani and Bangladeshi's ability and behaviour (Lewis, 2000; Crozier, 2005, Dale, Lindley and Dex, 2005; Gillborn, 1990; 1995; Sewell, 1997; Basit, 1996) young women from both Caribbean and Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage are beginning to show improvements in their attainments levels at GCSE, despite socio economic status (see chapter 2). They are increasingly enthusiastic about Higher Education.

Chapter 3 pointed to the strong family encouragement by ethnic minority parents for Higher Education and achieving success. Family encouragement cannot be the whole story as a gender breakdown reveals differing trajectories for Caribbean *girls* as opposed to boys. Why then do Caribbean boys, in particular not respond to family encouragement in quite the same ways as their female counterparts? As argued earlier, school expectations and good resources make a difference to attainment levels. In this context, *negative* constructions by *teachers and schools* of Caribbean pupil need to be factored into explanations of differing aspirations, attainment and job success. There is evidence that Asian students can be regarded by teachers as of 'high ability' whether they are or not, and constructed as 'docile' and 'passive', attributes which may be ideal for the management and education of children in schools (Lewis, 2000). It is hypothesised that these characteristics may particularly apply to 'Asian' girls, and stereotypical constructions may assume they are good and well behaved, even if they are not.

Black Caribbean boys and girls, on the other hand, can experience negative, dismissive responses from those in authority in schools and can be perceived as demonstrating difficult behaviour (see Gillborn, 1990; 1995; Crozier, 2005b; Aymer and Okitikpi, 2001). The young Black Caribbean girls in our focus groups spent considerable time discussing teacher attitudes towards them, whereas the same was not true of the ways in which Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin girl spoke about their relationship with teachers. One particular conversation was illuminating regarding the ways in which girls perceived Caribbean boys were regarded in the local area:

Also black boys and crime. The police go straight to the black boys. If you're walking down the street and you see like a group of people, People cross over when they see black boys. The older people do it. I hate it.
Black Caribbean Girl 1

Another series of comments concerned interactions with and perceptions of teachers:

There is no black teacher in school. We should be asking why no black pupils are going into teaching. I would never be a teacher. I couldn't cope with the attitudes of the older pupils.
Black Caribbean girl 2

It's how they talk to you.
Black Caribbean Girl 2

Respect works both ways.
Black Caribbean girl 3

My mum doesn't talk to me like that. The teacher always takes the teacher's side.
Black Caribbean Girl 2

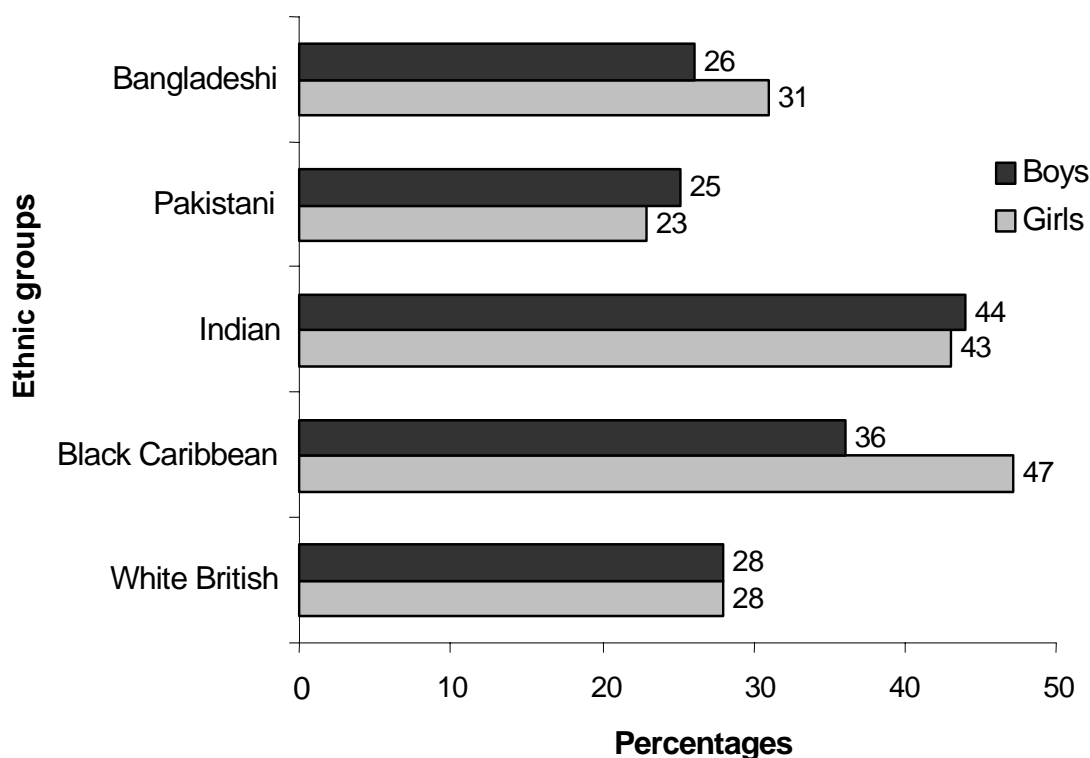
These negative encounters do not endear Caribbean girls or boys to their schoolteachers. They also experience racism from their peers. (Gillborn, 1990; 1995). Although Asian pupils too may be subject to stereotyping by teachers, particularly on the basis of gender, class and ethnicity (such as Bangladeshi girls who are seen as having to *choose* between marriage and a career), there is *no evidence* that they engage in conflict with teachers regarding their behaviour, even though they may be more subject to racial abuse from their peers (see Modood, 2004). Institutional responses from schools have a massive influence on young people's behaviour, motivation and aspirations. For Caribbean girls and boys, this may mean they will feel their options are more closed than for their peers, since they may feel they have little personal control over their experiences. For these young people, standing up to power and authority held by teachers and schools may be a great deal harder than standing up to their peers. These issues may affect Caribbean

boys more deeply than their female counterparts. Given other research literature, it is hypothesised that some Caribbean girls feel determined to succeed despite the odds, perhaps because they can see themselves in the future as being responsible for bringing up a family (Reynolds, 2001). Research by the Moyenda Project (quoted in Reynolds, 2001); found that high rates of black male unemployment had indirectly contributed towards maintaining high rates of black Caribbean women in full-time work (Moyenda Project, 1997).

4.6 Careers advice

Careers advice and work experience placement opportunities have been subject to criticism in that they can potentially constrain pupils' options and aspirations if managed badly, and stereotypically (see Francis et al., 2005). Careers officers have been reported to depress aspirations and channel pupils into 'realistic careers' according to their beliefs (Basit, 1996, Drew et al., 1997; Lindley, Dale and Dex, 2006; Crozier, 2004a; 2005a). There is some evidence that family contacts regarding work experience and job opportunities have advantaged white families. Young people have reported avoiding white careers advisers and perceived the advice they were given as weak. (Rutherford, Netto and Wager, 2004).

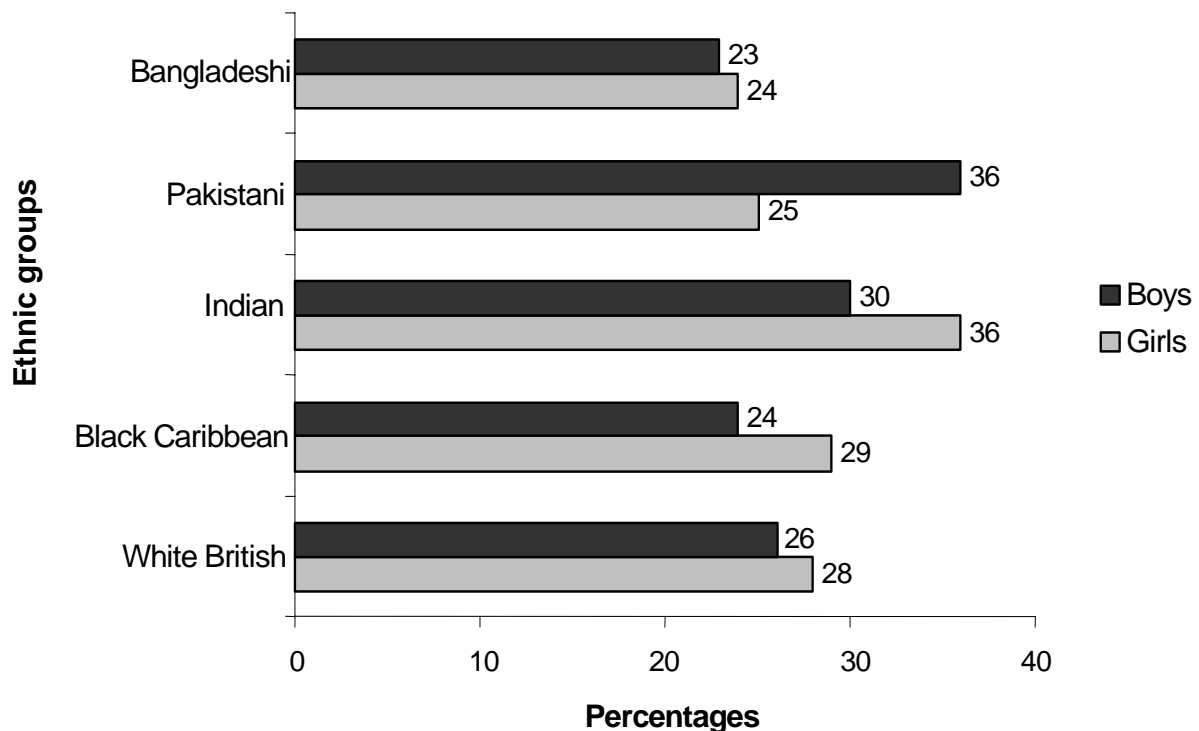
Figure 4.2 Young people who say they have not been able to get all the advice and information they need about jobs and careers from their school



Young people were asked if they had been able to get all the advice and information they need about jobs and careers from their school (see figure 4.2). Almost 5 out of 10 Black Caribbean and 3 out of 10 Bangladeshi girls said they had not been able to get all the advice and information they need.

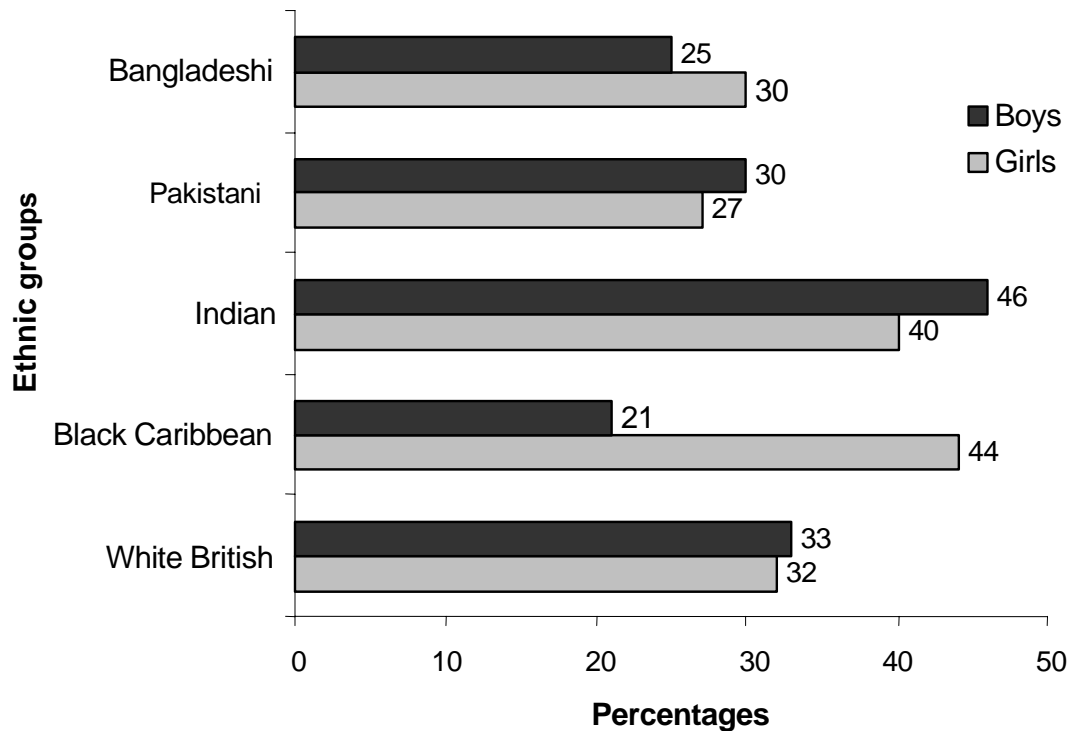
Around 3 in 10 young people in this survey indicated the careers advice they got from school had not made them consider jobs that would fulfil their potential. A quarter of Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls did not get the careers advice from school to consider jobs that would fulfil their potential, and this is unacceptable. The patterns vary between ethnic groups, and between boys and girls.

Figure 4.3 Young people who say the careers advice from school has not made them consider jobs that would fulfil their potential



Equally worrying, are the proportions of young people who say their careers advice has not opened their eyes to a wide range of possible jobs and careers. Over 4 in 10 Black Caribbean, and around 3 in 10 Pakistani, Bangladeshi and white girls say their careers advice has not opened their eyes to a wide range of careers. This suggests that young people have been given advice about a narrow range of careers. In this survey, there are no startling differences between boys and girls, except in the Black Caribbean group.

Figure 4.4 Young people who say the careers advice from school has not opened their eyes to a wide range of possible jobs and careers



Overall, between 4-5 Black Caribbean girls out of 10 are not getting the careers information they need, or their eyes opened to a wide range of possible jobs and careers at school, and 3 in 10 are not given advice about jobs that would fulfil their potential.

2-3 Pakistani, Bangladeshi and white British girls out of 10 are not getting the careers information they need, their eyes opened to a wide range of possible jobs and careers, or being given advice about jobs that would fulfil their potential.

In addition, young people were asked about the jobs they thought they were likely to get after leaving full-time education, and whether they knew important types of information about those jobs (see table 4.3). Taken in conjunction with what young people say about the careers advice/information they received, these results paint a worrying picture about the basis on which future careers are determined.

The majority of girls and boys across ethnic groups know the qualifications and skills required for the jobs they think they're likely to get. It is more likely that ethnic minority girls, particularly Bangladeshi girls, do not know this vital information. Bangladeshi girls (18 per cent) are three times more likely than white British girls (6 per cent) to say they do not know the skills required for the jobs they are likely to get. Given the labour market position of Bangladeshi women, this significant minority of girls are cause for concern, and are lacking vital information they need about.

Table 4.3 What young people don't know about the jobs they think they're likely to get

	Bangladeshi		Pakistani		Black Caribbean		Indian		White British	
	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %
Qualifications needed	15	12	12	14	8	16	9	21	6	11
Skills needed	18	8	10	11	10	11	7	14	6	11
Rates of pay	52	30	48	36	36	50	43	41	57	47
Opportunities for flexible working	54	43	37	36	40	37	46	47	37	49
Whether there are opportunities for promotion	54	35	49	35	40	40	57	39	53	47

All groups of girls are less likely to know about the rates of pay for the jobs they are likely to get, compared to their male counterparts, except Black Caribbean girls. 5 out of 10 Bangladeshi and Pakistani girls do not know the rates of pay for the jobs they are likely to get. Given that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have higher pay gaps than white British women in the labour market (see Platt, 2006 forthcoming), it is vitally important that they know this information when making career choices.

Similarly, all groups of girls are less likely to know about opportunities for promotion in the jobs they are likely to get compared to their male counterparts. Given that Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are not reaching senior manager/official levels in the same proportions as white women in the labour market (Census, 2001), the fact that 5 out of 10 Pakistani/Bangladeshi and 4 out of 10 Black Caribbean girls do not know about opportunities for promotion in the jobs they are likely to get is unacceptable.

All groups of girls and boys in the research do not know enough about opportunities for flexible working in the jobs they are likely to get. This information is incongruent with the fact that over 90 per cent of these young people want to balance career and family life in their future job, and opportunities for flexible working are important when they come to choose their careers. 54 per cent of Bangladeshi girls do not know about opportunities for flexible working in the job they're likely to get, compared to 37 per cent of white girls.

The focus groups illuminated a range of other issues regarding careers advice:

It hasn't opened my mind to all the jobs I could do- I think we should have more than 1 work experience. We've got so many things and we have to choose one and you might not like it – then you've got to come out of it and start again We might not like what we choose.

Black Caribbean girl

The school do make an effort but they do tend to concentrate on 4/5 set careers – medicine, law, pharmacy, optometry but they don't give advice on vocational courses etc. or other options.

White girl 1

You have to look at what you are good at, the subjects you enjoy and take the subjects you are best in and take it from there basically

Asian girl

Some young women were using their initiative, and gaining information and advice from other sources:

You can ask people who are doing that particular job to see how they are doing...my mum does it (work) for I talked to her and she says at first it is difficult to get in but once you are there you can progress and it is quite easy

Bangladeshi girl

....to get more information and to know where to go from here I would look it up on the internet and stuff like that, and also we do have a careers advisor in school, and I organised an interview with her and I went to her and told her what I was feeling and where to go from there and she advised me on what subjects to take

Bangladeshi girl

The way information was presented to them, was perceived as daunting by some.

We had a careers evening. It was quite useful to see the different jobs but quite daunting too. There was lots of information, which was thrown at you, and it was quite scary.

Black Caribbean girl

I found it unhelpful really. I came away thinking oh no – I don't know what I want to do. It left me thinking oh what am I doing?

Black Caribbean girl

All they did is dump one book in front of you, with an index about all the possible jobs, but you don't know what you're going to be doing and that.

Black Caribbean girl

Careers advice and information that is presented in the right way, and meets the needs of all young people is essential in helping them to prepare for their futures. In addition, such advice must enable young people to fulfil their potential and consider as wide a range of jobs as possible. The evidence from this research indicates that these needs are being met for some young people, but by no means all, and this is unacceptable. In relation to the primary questions of interest in this research, and given what we increasingly know about the barriers and constraints facing young ethnic minority women in the labour market, this is one area where improvements can be made, and could have significant and lasting effects on their futures.

5. YOUNG PEOPLE AND RESPONSES TO SOCIETAL CHANGE

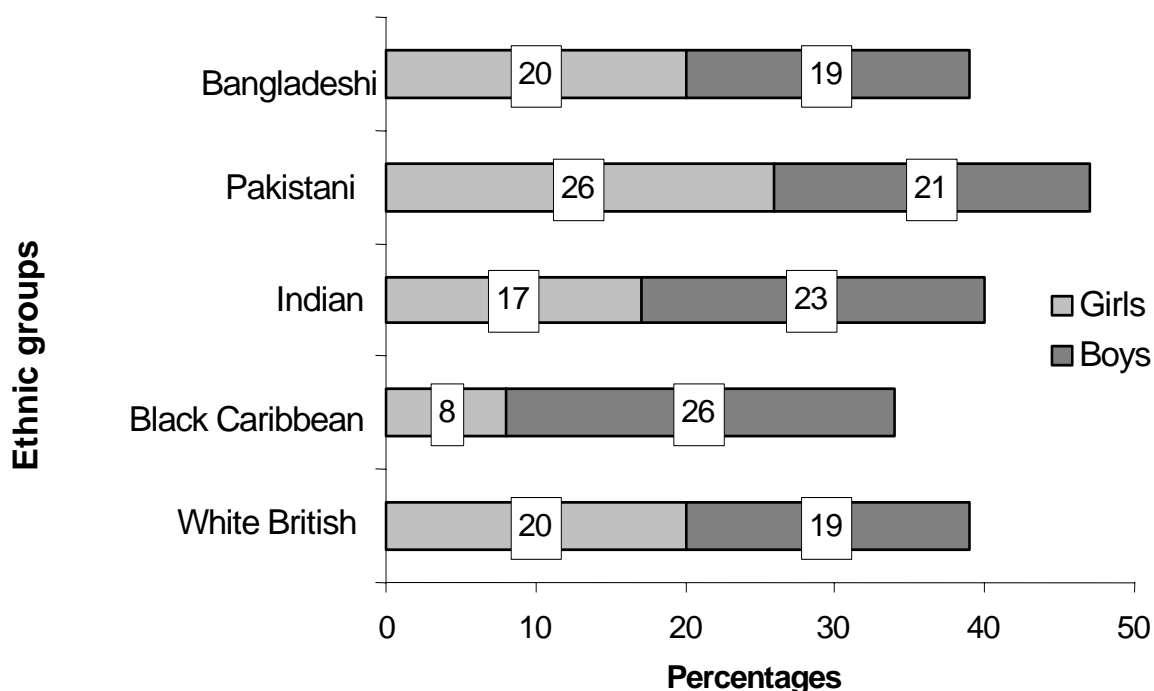
5.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates how young people are reacting to the social changes set out in chapter 2. The survey elicited young people’s views about equality in the labour market and work, life balance and family issues. It also identified the amount of ‘work’ young people undertake in addition to attending school, like ‘housework’, part-time jobs, study, helping with the family business, caring and voluntary/community and religious activities. It’s important to recognize how young people’s lives are situated within a social context, with a range of expectations and series of competing demands, and whether gender issues are apparent at an early age. Social change and context also shape aspirations and decisions about careers. So how are this generation reacting?

5.2 Work life balance and family

There is an enduring belief evident amongst policy makers and educationalists that ‘Muslim’ girls will inevitably *have* to choose between a career and marriage (see Basit, 1996; Crozier, 2004a; 2005a). Our survey results challenge this myth. Young people were asked if they would be happy to stay at home to look after children, instead of going out to work.

Figure 5.1 Young people who say they would be happy to stay at home and look after children rather than go out to work



Only 25 per cent or less of young people said they would be happy to stay at home and look after children. Across ethnic groups, boys were as likely to say this as girls, except in the Black Caribbean group, where boys were more likely to say this. All groups of girls were similarly likely to say this (17-25 per cent) defying the 'Asian' stereotype, except Black Caribbean girls (8 per cent). No significant differences were found according to the ability of the young person or their parent's occupation amongst those who would be happy to stay at home and look after children rather than follow a career. These results indicate that young women are responding to societal changes in gender equality and a growth of women wanting to work, and confirms previous surveys which show that young women and men are rejecting traditional gender roles (see chapter 2).

On the other hand, pressures on families to work full time, look after children and run a household have raised other issues of concern for young people as they see and hear about their own parents and family friends who work long hours and appear to have little time.

I'm worried if I go for a high powered career it may lead me to putting children off till later which I don't want to-do. My mum was a lawyer and was treated differently when she had children she experienced a lot of prejudice at work
White girl

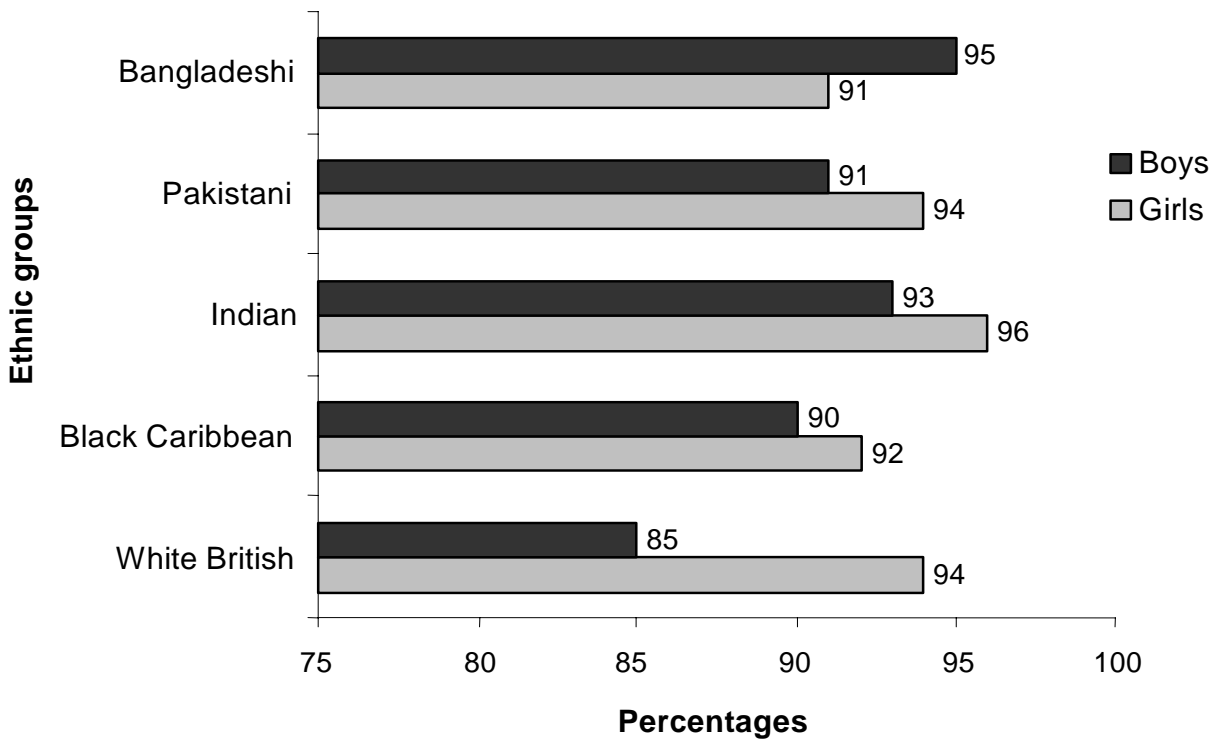
It was evident in the focus groups that young women were already considering work/life balance issues in their thinking about careers.

Because we're women we want to have families and we want to look after children but for all us the worry is keeping the balance. More women are being creative but we also want a family – why shouldn't we have both?
Pakistani girl

It's really hard to find the balance between work and home especially for women. For me I feel I don't know what career I'll be doing. But if there's choice between giving more time to my family, I want to choose family. If I have kids I want them to develop into great people I/m not saying I don't want a high 'powered job or anything - I don't want to completely give up my career
Pakistani girl

Over 90 per cent of boys and girls across ethnic groups want to balance a career and family, indicating a strong message to policy makers that these issues will matter to these young people, perhaps more so than their parents' generation.

Figure 5.2 Young people who say it's important to them to be able to balance a career and family in the future



Of course work-life balance is particularly pertinent for women, since they are still expected to do domestic work, including looking after children and taking primary responsibility for them. The following responses support general research findings that despite women working full time, there has been little change in the division of labour for domestic work and childcare. Even though some middle class women in employment do much less housework than previously, this work is still subcontracted out to poor often immigrant *women* and in any case this work still remains the organisational responsibility of women.

5.3 Work, work, work - time spent on 'work related activities' outside of school hours

Girls spend more hours each week studying and doing housework than boys. The groups of ethnic minority girls spend on average over 5 hours each week studying compared to white girls who spend over 3 hours. Furthermore, one third of Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Caribbean girls study 5-10 hrs per week compared to only 19 per cent of white girls. Both white British and Asian girls are more likely to study 5 or more hours per week if they are expected to gain 5+ A*-C grades (compared with those not expecting 5+ A*-C's or who don't know).

All groups of girls spend 3 or 4 hours helping with the housework compared to boys who spend 2 hours or under. Over 1 in 10 white and Caribbean girls and around 2 in

10 Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls spend between 5 to 10 hours each week helping with housework.

It's the same in my house. My mum tells me to do the cleaning - she said "he's a boy and you're a girl and you have to do it later."

Pakistani girl

The girls in the focus groups had mixed experiences of housework.

I think I am quite lucky in that sense, cos my mum, if she sees I am doing work or whatever and if I am, she respects that and she wont call me down and tell me to do something.....they want you to be successful and they want you to have your good degree

Bangladeshi girl

Some girls had interesting conclusions to draw about the relationship between working in the home, and schoolwork, suggesting that a work ethic helps:

It's about the family and the household. Because the parents let the boys be so laid back, they don't let them do the housework or whatever. But if you are laid back on the housework, then you are laid back on the class work and not do your work, and they don't really look into it. But if I was laid back and said, look, I don't want to do my homework, they would say why don't you want to do your homework? They (boys) can stay out of the house at 10 o'clock whereas we have a curfew

Asian girl

However, some girls found the competing demands of extra work in the home and schoolwork difficult to manage. It may be that some study support for these girls could be increased, to help counteract the competing jobs of housework and caring to carry out at home. A longitudinal study of the impact of study support (Macbeth et al., 2001) i.e. out of school hours learning such as drop-in-support, subject focussed support, sport and aesthetic activities had the most impact on South Asian girls raising attainment levels to the equivalent of an additional pass at GCSE.

so let us go to our revision classes every day and don't make us do so much housework

Bangladeshi girl

Thus, the unequal division of domestic labour in relation to housework is evident at a young age, and does not appear to have changed with this generation.

Is there a shift in behaviour related to caring with this generation? It appears so, yes. All girls and boys in the survey spent on average 2-3 hours looking after a member of the family each week.

Boys were more likely than girls to report working part-time or helping with the family business, though the average hours per week were small (2 and 1.5 respectively).

Aspects of these responses need further clarification. Some of the girls see work as an extension from one sphere to another i.e. from housework to homework, and if you work hard at one, then you work hard at the other. It is also clear there is stricter control over the activities of girls as opposed to boys by parents, and girls appear to have less choice over pursuing other activities, such as going out. Studying for success remains a key option for these girls, and may hold the seduction of greater independence.

5.4 How do young people perceive equality of opportunity in the labour market?

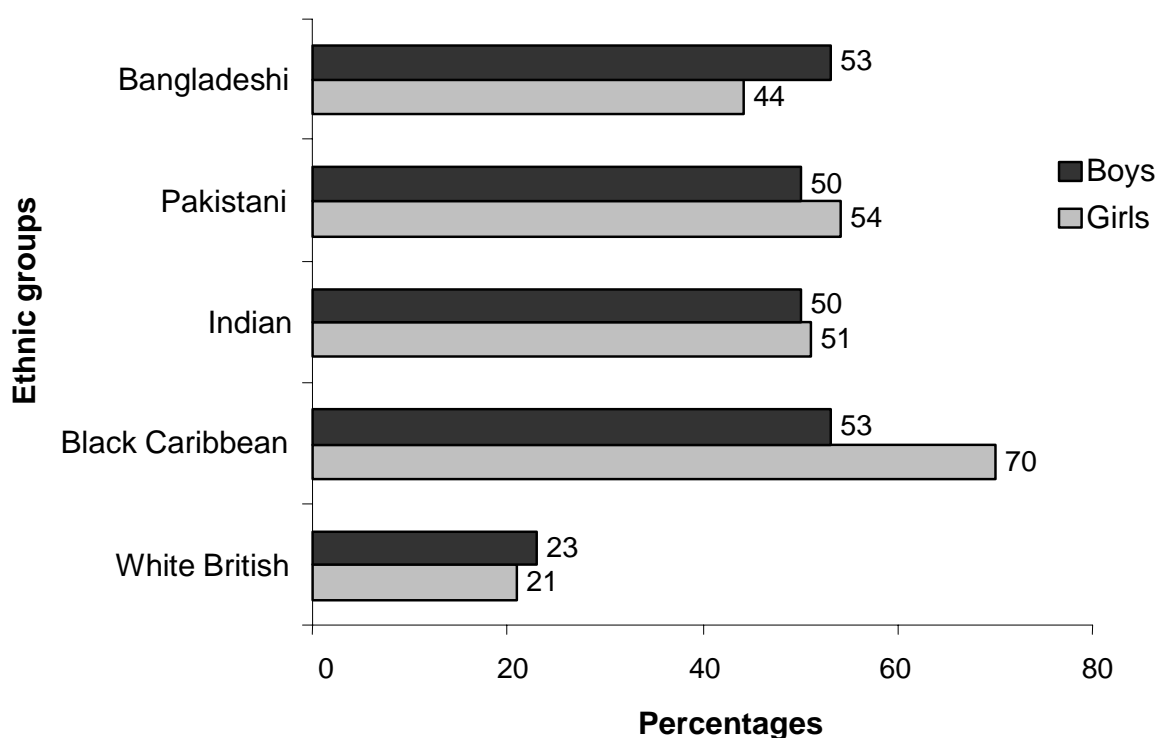
It's unfair if you don't get a job because of your background or because you're from a different culture. There should be an equal chance.

Black Caribbean girl

5.4.1 Harder to get a job if you're Black or Asian

It is clear from this research that young people do not perceive that the labour market has a level playing field. Most research now confirms that there are penalties associated with getting a job if you are from an ethnic minority (e.g. see Heath, 2006).

Figure 5.3 Compared to a white person, it is not as easy to get the job that you want if you are Black or Asian



Ethnic minority girls and boys were much less likely than white girls and boys to believe that it is equally easy to get the job you want if you are Black or Asian.

Between 44 to 70 per cent of ethnic minority girls and boys think it is harder to get the job you want if you are Black or Asian. Black Caribbean (70 per cent) and Pakistani (54 per cent) girls were the most likely to think it is harder to get the job you want. These are interesting findings because these girls are realistically responding to a labour market where they may experience difficulties (see Platt 2005a, b and c). One Pakistani girl in the questionnaire made this clear by a comment included in her questionnaire:

A lot of racism out there in jobs, it is hard to get a job out there

A boy in the survey recognised the restrictions in the labour market for even thinking he could achieve an impossible aim:

I would also like to become the first black/white Prime Minister but feel I wouldn't reach that good because of my colour and sexuality. Even though the professions above aren't anything to do with politics I still take a great interest in politics.

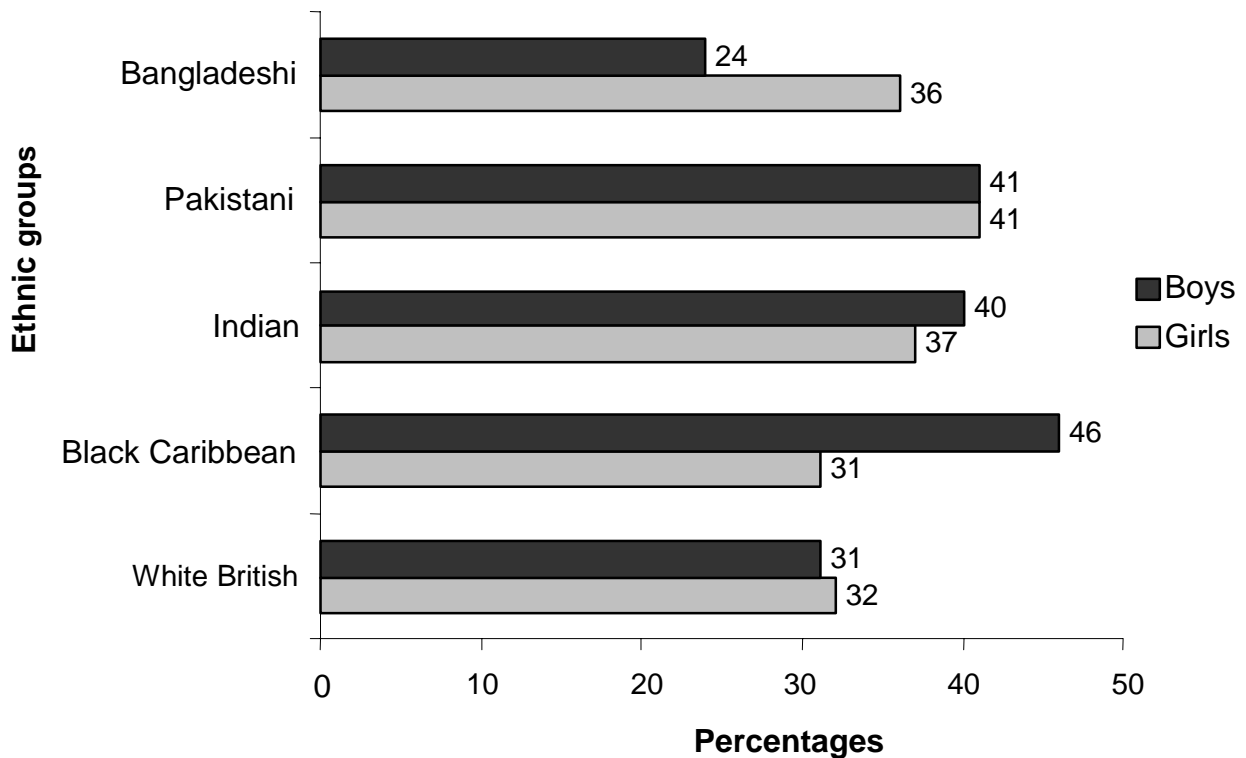
Mixed White Caribbean boy

White boys and girls think there is more of a level playing field, with only 20 per cent or so believing it is harder to get a job if you are black and Asian. Of course if you anticipate this difficulty, you may consciously or unconsciously restrict your job options and examine the world of work to understand which workplaces represent a diversity of minority groups and which do not.

5.4.2 Anticipated unemployment

Statistics continue to show much higher levels of unemployment amongst ethnic minority young people, not only if they leave school at 16, but also after they graduate at 21 or later. Ethnic minority groups are more likely to be unemployed than their white counterparts, after they leave university and experience more periods of unemployment, despite an equivalence in qualifications (Connor et al., 2004). They are also more likely to be in the new post 1992 universities, which have less prestige. Research shows that Black Caribbean young women are more likely to pursue a vocational qualification after their higher education degree, and Asian young people are more likely to search for further academic qualifications. The finding then that ethnic minority groups are likely to stay on in education for longer to avoid unemployment appears to make perfect sense (Bradley and Taylor, 2004).

Figure 5.4 Young people who think they could be unemployed when they leave education



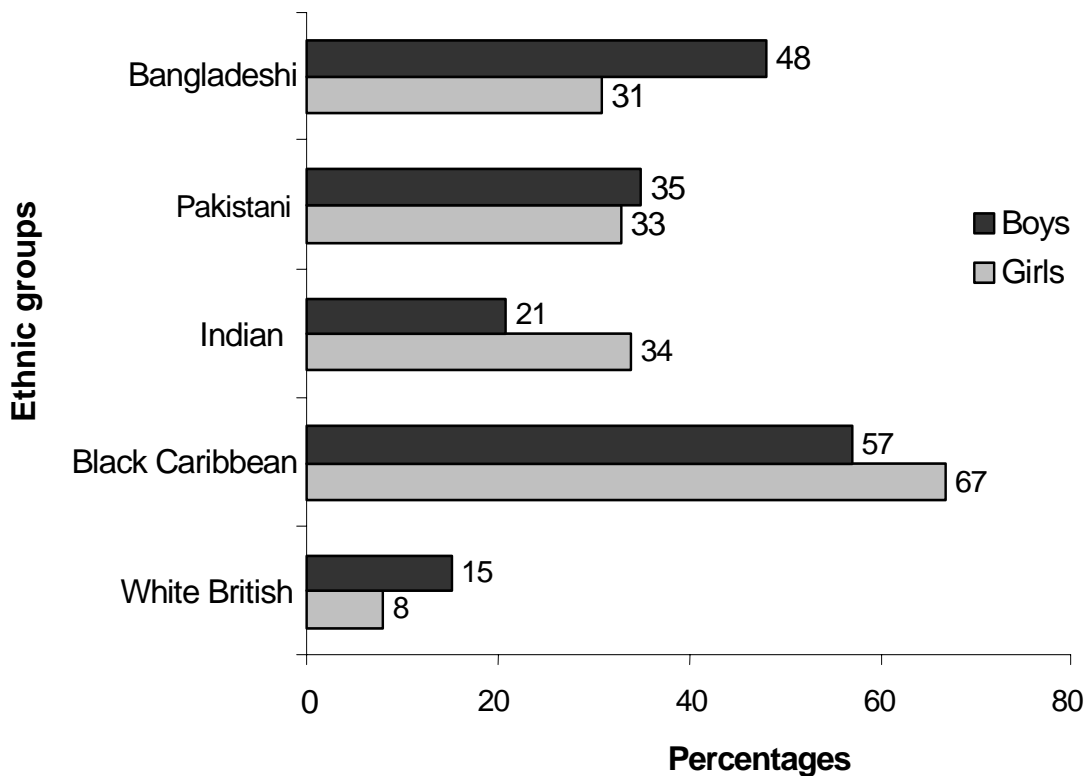
All groups of young people face uncertainty about whether they will get a job when they leave education. The group that is most concerned are Black Caribbean boys. 41 per cent Pakistani and 36 per cent Bangladeshi girls fear they could be unemployed when they leave education, compared to 31 per cent white and Black Caribbean girls. Both Asian and white British girls are significantly more likely to expect to be unemployed if they are not expected to get 5+ A*-Cs.

5.4.3 Harder to get to the top if you are Black or Asian

Most of the groups of young people, except those from a Black Caribbean background, were more likely to say it is harder to get a job if you are Black or Asian, than get to the top. This suggests that young people perceive the greatest barriers to be at the level of entry to employment, rather than progression.

However, young people from ethnic minority groups still perceive there to be problems associated with getting to the top if you are Black or Asian. There were no straightforward gender patterns in responses. The responses from Black Caribbean girls and boys, could indicate that they think it is harder to get to the top if you are Black, rather than Asian. Between a third and two-thirds of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean girls and boys believe it is harder to get to the top if you are Black or Asian, compared to 8 per cent white girls and 15 per cent white boys.

Figure 5.5 Young people who think it is harder to get to the top if you are Black or Asian



5.4.3 Can't apply for some jobs because of ethnic background

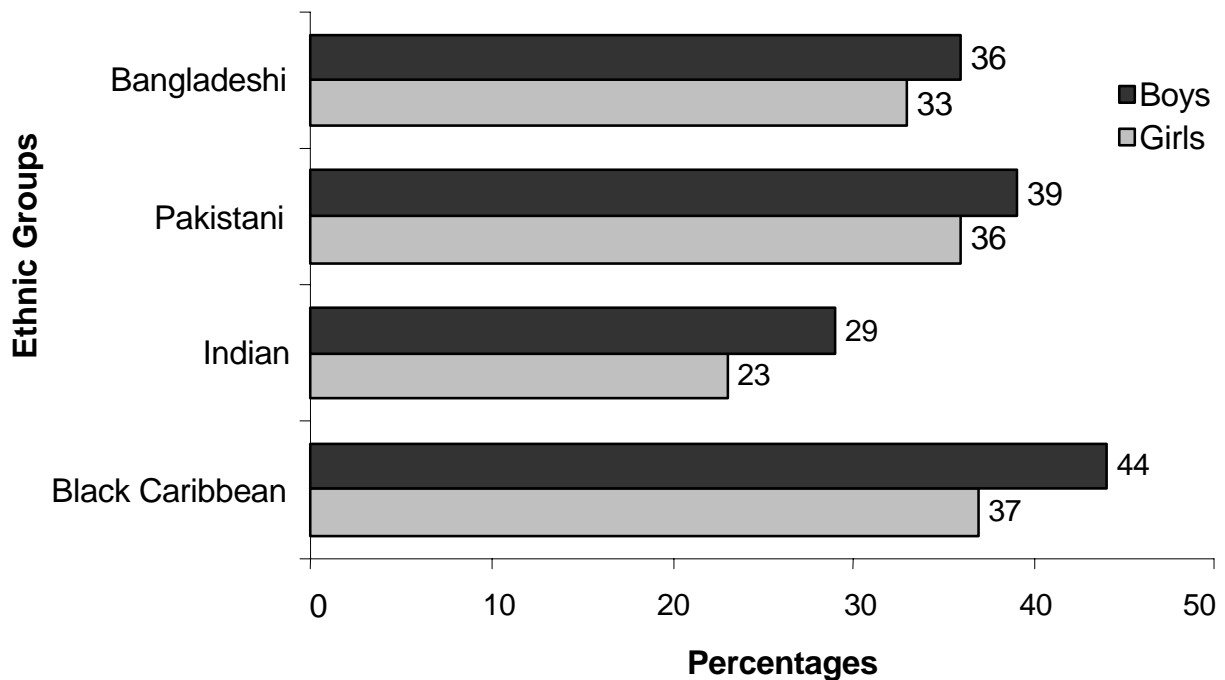
Between a fifth and just under half of ethnic minority boys and girls think there are jobs they can't apply for because of their ethnic background. Groups are most likely to restrict their job choices because they don't think they can apply for certain jobs at almost 40 per cent, compared to 13 per cent and 22 per cent for white boys and girls respectively. Black Caribbean (44 per cent) and Pakistani (39 per cent) boys, followed by Black

5.4.4 There are certain jobs I feel I can't apply for because of my ethnic background

Between a third and just under half of ethnic minority boys and girls think there are jobs they can't apply for because of their ethnic background. Black Caribbean (44 per cent) and Pakistani (39 per cent) boys, followed by Black Caribbean (37 per cent), Pakistani and Bangladeshi (36 per cent) girls intend to restrict their job choices.

Asian girls are significantly more likely to think they can't apply for some jobs if they are expected to get 5+ A*-Cs, (than those who won't or don't know). This could suggest that the jobs they feel they can't apply for are in the professional and managerial spheres. No significant differences were found according to the occupation of the parent.

Figure 5.6 Young people who feel there are certain jobs they can't apply for because of their ethnic background



In addition, young people were asked if there were certain jobs they felt they couldn't apply for because of their religious faith or gender. Almost half (46%) of Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls said there were jobs they felt they couldn't apply for because of their religious faith, compared to 21% of Black Caribbean and 6 per cent of white girls. Equally, Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls (38 per cent) were more likely to say that there are jobs they feel they can't apply for because they are female, compared to 30 per cent Black Caribbean and 26 per cent white girls. Overall, 65 per cent of Pakistani and Bangladeshi, 55 per cent of Black Caribbean, and 33 per cent of white girls feel there are certain jobs they can't apply for because of their ethnicity, faith or gender.

There was a good deal of discussion and disagreement about the jobs you feel you can apply for, and why in the focus groups:

I think there were too many white people, too many men....people different to me, I think I would find it a little bit intimidating, like I wouldn't fit it.....when you feel out of place like when you don't belong, like you feel outnumbered by them
 Bangladeshi girl

These young women are debating amongst themselves about whether they should apply for certain jobs, even if these jobs are non-stereotypical for their age, gender

and ethnicity. For some it might make them more determined, or recall instances where it is possible to achieve in a non-traditional area. One girl responded to my question about whether your ethnic background or being a woman made a difference to what job you chose. This was her response:

Definitely makes a difference. I was talking to my auntie (who is a hairdresser) she said it's so hard to become a lawyer 1. Because I'm a woman 2. Because I'm not from a wealthy background 3. Because I'm black and 4. Because of my beliefs – I'm a Christian. I don't see any of those things myself at all - I understand it - but I don't agree.
Black Caribbean girl

Another Black Caribbean girl said:

It's hard to get into law because there are fewer lawyers like me and sometimes from what I've heard anyway, and sometimes it's difficult because of the background you come from. Like they have stereotypes, like being black and I know people who are not from well off backgrounds at all – so they may find it difficult. Two of my friends from not very well off backgrounds are now solicitors.

The above responses suggest the complexity of factors that interact in some young people's circumstances.

A further conversation between two girls was illuminating:

I want to be a plumber. I'm stopped by the things you would have to go through. And people would like think it's a woman, does she know what she's doing? Its seems too much. People think it's a man's job – so forget it. I want to do loads of jobs
Black Caribbean girl

Let them say what they want – you prove them wrong. You could start your own women's business.
Bangladeshi girl (in response to above)

The focus groups suggest that young people believe attitudes are changing:

Now we are more multicultural. The way people think now has changed about men and women and equality
Bangladeshi girl

Maybe for others to get into my job 10 years ago there would have been more prejudice and now when people look for work they don't look for your sex or gender...they look at your qualifications, whether you are more qualified to get that job, whether you are good enough for what they want

*and I think it is better for us now looking for work than for our parents.
There was more prejudice*
Bangladeshi girl

A desire for a fair society is reflected in the research:

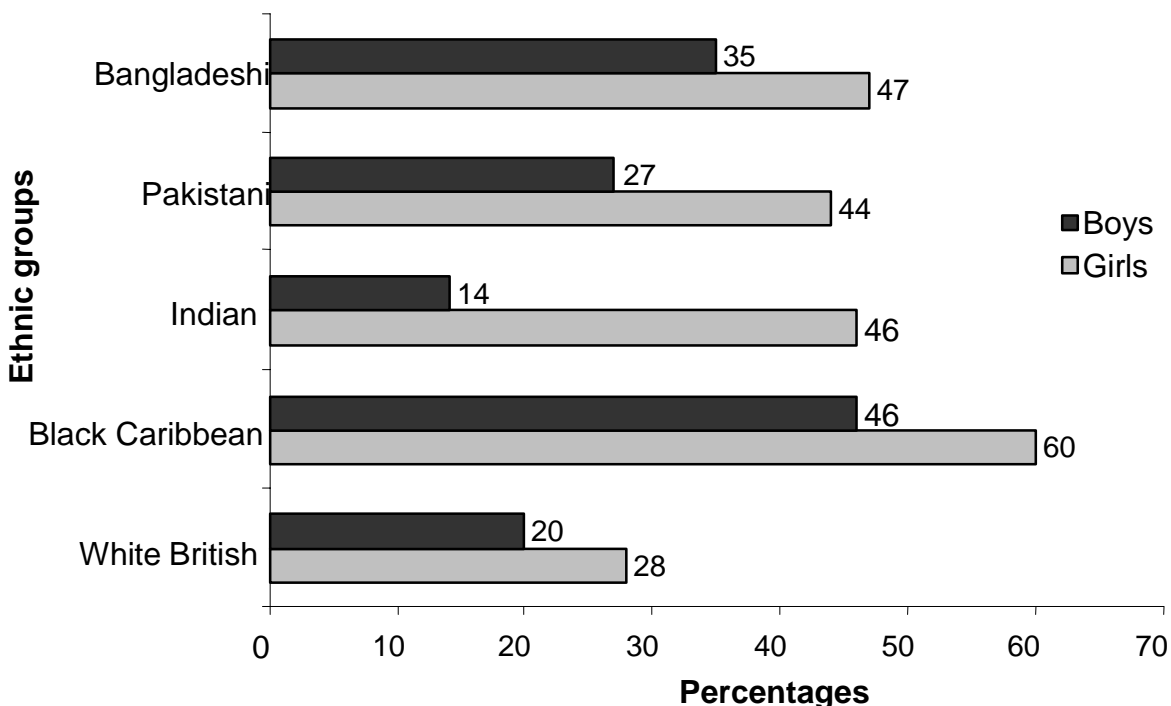
I would get rid of all 'race'/gender prejudice.
Black Caribbean girl

5.4.5 Harder for women to get to the top

Ethnic minority girls were much more likely to say it's harder for women to get to the top, compared to their male counterparts and white boys and girls. Black Caribbean (60 per cent), Bangladeshi (47 per cent) and Pakistani (44 per cent) girls were most likely to think it is harder for women to get to the top compared to 28 per cent white girls.

The white girls were more likely to say it is harder to get to the top if you are a woman, than if you are Black or Asian, though the minority think either. Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls were more likely to say it's harder to get to the top if you're a woman than if you are Black or Asian. No question was asked about whether it's difficult for Black or Asian *women* to get to the top. In the context of answers to both questions, it could be inferred that the ethnic minority girls are thinking about their answer from the perspective of an ethnic minority woman.

Figure 5.7 It's harder for women to get to the top in jobs



Girls in the focus groups were aware of gender issues like pay and progression:

I think nowadays people are more open minded...but women are still being paid a third of what men are being paid
Black Caribbean girl

On the other hand, as argued earlier, this may even make some young girls even more determined as our focus group quote illustrates:

It makes me want to do it just to prove that a girl can actually do it - to show women can do it. Just because I am a girl why can't I do the same as a man?
Black Caribbean girl

5.5 Associated explanations for perceived inequalities in the labour market

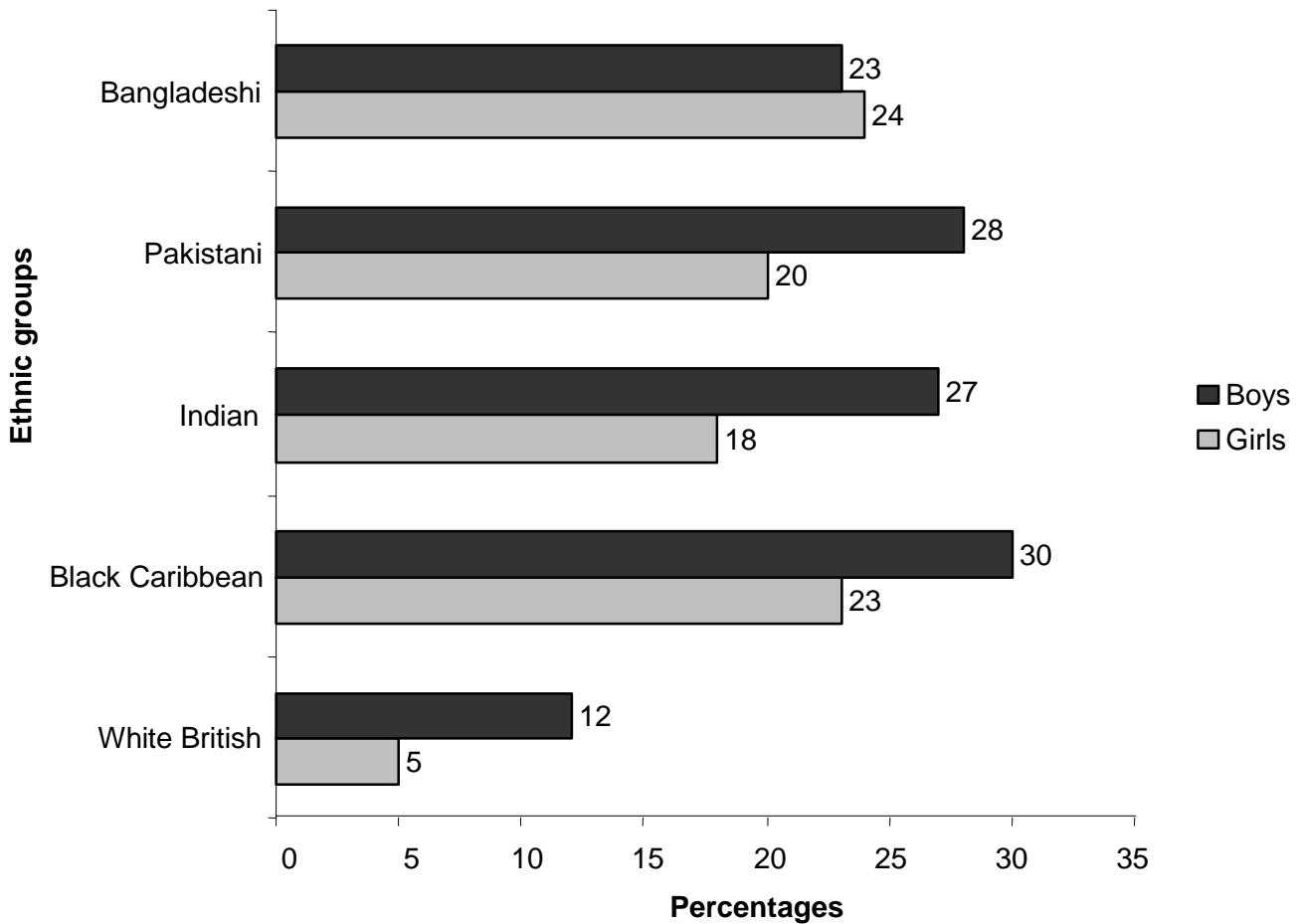
The above findings suggest that significant numbers of young people from ethnic minorities perceive there to be inequalities in the labour market, particularly in relation to getting a job and progressing to the top, that are linked to their 'race' and gender. Young people tend to describe the world how it is, according to them. Through a myriad of channels, these young people are facing forward to a labour market that is not perceived to be a level playing field. In addition, the research sheds light upon other explanations for the beliefs and issues facing young ethnic minority girls and boys.

5.5.1 Explanations associated with ethnic segregation of jobs

The research indicates that occupational segregation of people into types or levels of jobs because of their 'race' and gender is a problem. Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls were 4 times as likely as white girls to say that people of my ethnic origin don't usually do the top I want to do. This applies to 1 in 5 ethnic minority girls. Pakistani and Black Caribbean boys were more likely to say this than their female counterparts, but the differences between them and white boys was far less marked than between the girls.

Ethnic minority boys (one quarter to one third) are most likely to agree with whether the jobs they want to do are under represented as regards differing minority groups. Minority girls also see this under representation at around 1 in 5, but it is the white boys and girls who are most likely to disagree at between 5-10 per cent.

Figure 5.8 People of my ethnic origin don't usually do the job I want to do



5.4.6 Explanations associated with the labour market histories of parents

Pakistani girls (22per cent) and boys (26per cent), and Bangladeshi girls (18per cent) and boys (21per cent) were similarly likely to say their parents had problems finding work. Black Caribbean boys (32per cent) were the most likely to associate their own worries about finding work with the labour market histories of their parents. Black Caribbean girls (11 per cent) were similar to white girls (11 per cent) and boys (13 per cent) in this respect.

5.4.7 Explanations associated with the 'social capital' of parents

A third to a half of ethnic minority girls and boys say that their family don't have the right connections to help them get the job that they want compared to a quarter of white girls and boys. This is clearly an issue that cuts across ethnic groups, but seems more acute in ethnic minority groups. 5 out of 10 Bangladeshi boys and 4 out of 10 Black Caribbean girls say this.

5.4.7 Explanations associated with gaining hands on experience of jobs wanted

Girls in the focus groups expressed reservations about their opportunities for and the quality of their work experience placements:

It hasn't opened my mind to all the jobs I could do- I think we should have more than 1 work experience. We've got so many things and we have to choose one and you might not like it – then you've got to come out of it and start

Black Caribbean girl

Work experience doesn't help as pupils don't get their first choice for placement and end up doing something unrelated to their career aspirations. The choices are limited: office work, retail, social and probation. If you wanted to be in a doctor's area, you would be lucky to get a receptionist.

Bangladeshi girl

It doesn't really look good on your CV if you want to be a forensic scientist but I worked in a primary school, cos that's got nothing to do with it....how does that relate to what you want to do?

Bangladeshi girl

Significant minorities of young people across ethnic groups (18-32 per cent), suggested that there is no opportunity to get hands on experience of the job they want, with boys slightly more likely to say this than girls.

6. ASPIRATIONS AND WHAT IS IMPORTANT TO YOUNG PEOPLE WHEN CHOOSING A FUTURE JOB

6.1 Introduction

Several factors in wider society influence aspirations and job choices of young women and men at 16. Young women and men then have to steer a critical course between the forces of change of which they may be aware and the forces against their labour market success and segregation. Furthermore, the availability of information on the internet, coverage of these issues more broadly in the media, the increased drive to formalise work experience in schools increases access to knowledge about workplaces, jobs, promotion and rates of pay. For young women independence and a growing self esteem (Dale, Shaheen, Kalra and Fieldhouse, 2002; Ahmad, Modood and Lissenburgh, 2004) may drive them to take actions to further a 'life of their own'. These findings may hold the clue to understanding the aspirations of some disadvantaged young minority women, who might see their lives being less restricted by a strict group rule-bound life if they pursue Higher Education. Access to educational success, and resulting job success may be viewed more as a way of pursuing individual independence within the constraints, than an instrumental desire solely to be 'rich and successful'. On the other hand, some young people will feel even more determined to achieve job success, but within an already existing limited range for their sex, ethnicity and/or class background. Instead of expanding their horizons, young people appear to restrict their job choices, but remain convinced they could be successful, until experience changes their choices.

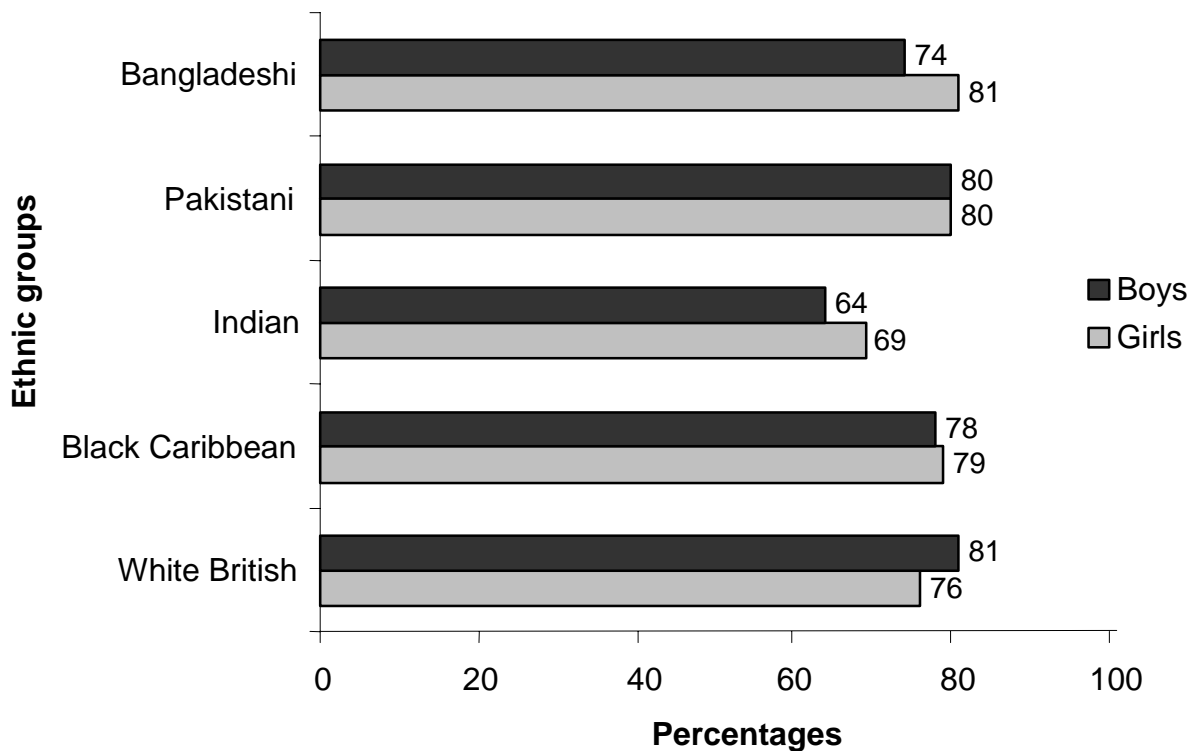
6.2 Looking for a job after leaving full-time education

The majority of girls (80-89 per cent) regardless of ethnic group expect to work full-time after leaving full-time education. Tiny percentages of girls (white British 2 per cent, Black Caribbean 0 per cent, Indian 3 per cent, Pakistani 3 per cent, Bangladeshi 4 per cent) indicated that they would not be looking for a job. At this age, the majority of young women want to work full-time, and this is what they intend to do. This gives us insight into pre-labour market aspirations. At this age, there is nothing to suggest that girls and boys will behave any differently regarding future economic activity.

In our target groups, 7 or 8 girls and boys out of 10 know what job they want when they leave education. This underlines how important this age is, in relation to decision-making and the trajectories of future careers. This is remarkable that at 16 these young people have already begun to make major decisions about their lives, and are planning their futures. The underlying question, is whether those young people have been given the support, advice and guidance they need to make such decisions that will fulfil their potential, given what we know about how issues of 'race'

and gender can operate in the labour market and in relation to what we believe is possible.

Figure 6.1 Young people who know what job they want when they leave education



6.3 Expectations of successful careers

One striking finding is that over 95 per cent of young people expect to follow a successful career and almost 90 per cent expect to get a good job, regardless of gender or ethnic group.

However, there were differences in relation to those who strongly agreed. 60 per cent of Black Caribbean girls, 53 per cent Pakistani, and 55 per cent Bangladeshi girls strongly agreed, compared to 39 per cent white girls. Black Caribbean boys (53 per cent) were more likely to feel strongly, than any of their male counterparts.

The following quote perhaps illustrates how driven some young people may be about success in jobs:

Everyone has something at the back of their minds saying I want to be successful, I want to be the best in what I do...sometimes it doesn't depend on the pay but people just want to be the best at what they do.
Bangladeshi girl

6.4 Jobs young people think they are likely to, or would love to get when they leave full-time education

A section of the survey invited young people to respond to the job they would be likely to get when they left education and the job they would love to do, if nothing stood in your way. The following tables show the top five jobs chosen by girls and boys. Each table indicates the skill level associated with the job in question. It is interesting that despite high aspirations amongst ethnic minority girls, they are limiting their choices and choosing segregated occupations in the main, with both jobs they feel they are likely to get and the jobs they would love to do. It is culture, media and sport, which is increasingly popular amongst young people across the board. This sector represents a range of occupations attractive to young people for obvious reasons, such as interest in music sport, celebrity etc.

6.4.1 Key to skill levels and occupational classifications

Skill level 4

Corporate managers e.g. senior officials, production managers

Business and public service professionals e.g. lawyers, accountants, architects,

Health professionals e.g. psychologists, pharmacists, dentists, veterinarians

Teaching and research professionals e.g. lecturers, teachers researchers

Science and technology professionals e.g.chemists, biochemists, physicists, geologists

(Occupations at this level normally require a degree or equivalent period of relevant work experience)

Skill level 3

Managers in agriculture and services e.g. farm/conservation managers

Culture media sport occupations e.g. actors, artists, musicians, journalists, fitness instructors

Health and social welfare associate professionals e.g.nurses,midwives, paramedics, medical technicians

Social welfare associate professionals e.g. youth and community workers, housing and welfare officers

Science and technology associate professionals e.g.labtechnicians, engineering technicians, building technicians
associate professionals user support technicians draughtspersons

Business and public service associate professionals e.g. estimators, brokers, taxation experts, insurance underwriters, financial technicians

Skilled construction and building trades e.g. steelerectors, roofers, carpenters, glaziers, bricklayers

Skilled metal and electrical trades e.g. sheet metal workers, toolmakers, tv engineers, pipe fitters vehicle repairers and electricians

Protective service occupations e.g. fire, prison and police officers

(Occupations at this level normally require a body of knowledge associated with a period of post-compulsory education but not to degree level, or a significant period of work experience)

Skill level 2

Administrative and secretarial related occupations e.g. local government clerical officers, receptionists, secretaries

Sales and customer service occupations e.g. sales assistants, cashiers, telephone salespersons

Leisure and other personal service occupations e.g. travel agents, travel assistants, hairdressers

Caring personal service occupations e.g. nursing assistants, dental nurses, care assistants, nursery nurses, childminders

Process, plant and machine operatives and transport drivers e.g. bakery assistant, coal miner, sewing machinist, bus drivers.

(Occupations at this level require a good general education and a period of work-related training or experience)

Skill Level 1

Elementary trades, plant and storage related occupations e.g. farm workers, labourer, packer, warehouse assistant

Elementary administration and service occupations e.g. postal worker, courier, bar assistant, waiter

(Occupations at this level require a general education and short periods of work-related training)

Source: Standard Occupational Classification 2000 Volume 1

Table 6.1 Job likely to get

Occupations	Top 5 choices Girls %	Occupations	Top 5 choices Boys %
	White British		White British
Culture, media & sports occupations	16	Skilled construction & building trades	29
Leisure & other personal service occupations	15	Culture, media & sports occupations	19
Teaching & research professionals	11	Protective service occupations	10
Health professionals	11	Skilled metal & electrical trades	9
Caring personal service occupations	11	Science & technology associate professionals	8
TOTAL	64		75
	Black Caribbean		Black Caribbean
Culture, media & sports occupations	20	Culture, media & sports occupations	20
Business & public service professionals	16	Business & public service professionals	12
Health professionals	15	Sales occupations	10
Sales occupations	10	Health professionals	7
Teaching & research professionals	9	Skilled metal & electrical trades	7
TOTAL	70		61
	Indian		Indian
Business & public service professionals	30	Business & public service professionals	23
Health professionals	23	Culture, media & sports occupations	10
Culture, media & sports occupations	9	Science & technology associate professionals	10
Health & social welfare associate professionals	9	Skilled metal & electrical trades	8
Sales occupations	7	Sales occupations	7
TOTAL	78		57

Occupations	Top 5 choices Girls %	Occupations	Top 5 choices Boys %
	Pakistani		Pakistani
Health professionals	20	Business & public service professionals	25
Business & public service professionals	18	Health professionals	15
Teaching & research professionals	12	Skilled metal & electrical trades	9
Sales occupations	12	Science & technology professionals	8
Health & social welfare associate professionals	9	Culture, media & sports occupations	7
TOTAL	71		64
	Bangladeshi		Bangladeshi
Business & public service professionals	24	Business & public service professionals	28
Health professionals	16	Science & technology associate professionals	13
Sales occupations	14	Health professionals	12
Teaching & research professionals	11	Science & technology professionals	10
Culture, media & sports occupations	10	Culture, media & sports occupations	9
TOTAL	74		72

Table 6.2 Job would love to do

Occupations	Top 5 choices Girls %	Occupations	Top 5 choices Boys %
	White British		White British
Culture, media & sports occupations	23	Culture, media & sports occupations	30
Leisure & other personal service occupations	12	Skilled construction & building trades	19
Health professionals	12	Business & public service professionals	8
Business & public service professionals	9	Protective service occupations	8

Caring personal service occupations	9	Science & technology associate professionals	7
TOTAL	65		72
Occupations	Top 5 choices Girls %	Occupations	Top 5 choices Boys %
	Black Caribbean		Black Caribbean
Culture, media & sports occupations	31	Culture, media & sports occupations	37
Health professionals	17	Health professionals	15
Business & public service professionals	15	Corporate managers	12
Teaching & research professionals	7	Business & public service professionals	10
Caring personal service occupations	7	Science & technology associate professionals	10
TOTAL	76		84
	Indian		Indian
Health professionals	23	Culture, media & sports occupations	26
Business & public service professionals	21	Business & public service professionals	16
Culture, media & sports occupations	20	Science professionals	8
Health & social welfare associate professionals	6	Science & technology associate professionals	8
Corporate managers	6	Health professionals	8
TOTAL	75		66
Occupations	Top 5 choices Girls %	Occupations	Top 5 choices Boys %
	Pakistani		Pakistani
Health professionals	26	Business & public service professionals	21
Business & public service professionals	15	Culture, media & sports occupations	19
Culture, media & sports occupations	13	Health professionals	14

Teaching & research professionals	12	Managers/agricultural services	8
Health & social welfare associate professionals	7	Skilled metal & electrical trades/	7=
		Business science associate professionals	7=
TOTAL	72		69.0
Occupations	Top 5 choices Girls %	Occupations	Top 5 choices Boys %
	Bangladeshi		Bangladeshi
Business & public service professionals	21	Business & public service professionals	21
Culture, media & sports occupations	18	Health professionals	17
Health professionals	14	Culture, media & sports occupations	15
Teaching & research professionals	11	Science & technology associate professionals	12
Health & social welfare associate professionals	7	Science professionals	9
TOTAL	70		74

6.4.2 High aspirations for high status jobs

If we look at tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 we can see that all ethnic minority girls aim high, compared to white girls, but particularly Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls.

Pakistani (56 per cent), and Bangladeshi (53 per cent) girls aspire to jobs at skill level 4 (usually requiring a degree and long periods of training/studying). 46 per cent Black Caribbean and 32 per cent white girls aspire to jobs at this level. The white girls figure suggests low aspirations. Asian and white girls are significantly more likely to, aspire to skill level 4 jobs if they are expecting to get 5+ A*-Cs than those who are not or don't know). Moreover, white girls are significantly more likely to aspire to skill level 4 jobs if their parents are 'professional', but this distinction did not apply to Asian girls.

Pakistani (52 per cent) and Bangladeshi (51 per cent) boys have similar ambitions to their female counterparts. 35 per cent of Caribbean boys, and only 16 per cent of white boys aspire to jobs at this level, which is a startling finding.

However, you also find low aspirations amongst girls, compared to boys. Ethnic minority girls tend to be polarised in ambition at the top or lower end. White girls and

Black Caribbean boys are more evenly spread across the skill levels. Pakistani and Bangladeshi boys are concentrated at the top level 3 or 4 end. Virtually 80 per cent of white boys aspire to level 3 type jobs.

34 per cent white, 26 per cent Black Caribbean, 27 per cent Pakistani, and 24 per cent Bangladeshi girls aspire to level 1 or 2 type jobs.

Table 6.3 Job choices and skill levels by gender and ethnicity

Skill levels	Bangladeshi		Pakistani		Black Caribbean		Indian		White British	
	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %
Level 4	53	51	52	52	42	37	63	41	32	16
Level 3	23	34	21	39	31	42	24	51	32	80
Level 2	24	14	26	9	26	20	13	8	36	4
Level 1		1	1		1	1				

6.4.3 Success but limited occupational choices?

Occupational segregation choices are immediately apparent amongst these young choices even at 16, cross cutting gender with ethnicity. One quarter to one third of Bangladeshi girls and boys, and Pakistani boys (less for girls) are opting to be business and public services professionals, compared to less than one twelfth of white girls and boys. Health professionals are most popular with Caribbean and Pakistani girls (17-20 per cent) followed at 11 per cent by white girls. Furthermore, one in 10 of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and white girls expect to go into teaching. Culture media and sports are most popular at one in 5 for white boys, but are also popular with Caribbean girls and boys, compared to the other ethnic minority groups. The finding that well over one third or two fifth of Caribbean girls and boys respectively, would love to enter this sector is interesting.

It would be useful to investigate this further around the relative interests in sports or media industries. Is this linked to the public representation/role models of Black Caribbean people in those industries or is it the technical production, camera or sound work side of film or television? 30 per cent of white boys expect to go into construction and building work compared to less than 1 per cent of most girls. Bangladeshi and Pakistani girls are also opting for sales occupations at over 12 per cent.

Furthermore, the proportions of young people who would 'love' rather than 'expect' to work in culture, media and sports occupations rises for all groups ranging from 1 in 5 to 1 in 3. Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls and boys would also like to work in this

sector, but it is Pakistani girls who are most attracted to it at almost 1 in 5, compared to 15 per cent for Bangladeshi girls and well under 10 per cent for their male counterparts.

6.5 What young people will look for when choosing a job

For this generation of young people, working for an employer who has a commitment to equal opportunities and welcomes staff from a range of backgrounds are as important as an opportunity to gain a qualification and a chance to be trained (see table 6.4).

8 or 9 out of ten ethnic minority girls and boys, 8 out of 10 white girls, and 6 out of 10 white boys say that whether an employer welcomes staff from a range of ethnic backgrounds is important to them when choosing a future job. Girls (between 50-74 per cent) were much more likely than boys to strongly agree (between 33-51 per cent).

Opportunities for flexible working are also important when considering future employment. 5 or 6 out of 10 girls and boys across ethnic groups consider flexible employment to be important to them in the future.

The social aspects of employment are less important to this generation than an overt commitment to diversity and equality of opportunity from employers, along with opportunities to gain qualifications, training and employment. There is also an expectation of opportunities for flexible working, and the work life balance agenda evident in the next generation of employees.

Table 6.4 What young people will look for when choosing a job

	Bangladeshi		Pakistani		Black Caribbean		Indian		White British	
	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %
Opportunities for promotion	79	95	87	89	90	92	84	84	82	78
Flexible working	46	57	63	64	60	63	55	54	63	52

Working for an employer who welcomes staff from a range of ethnic backgrounds	88	90	90	91	97	80	87	91	83	60
A chance to be trained at work	88	83	93	89	86	85	84	86	81	88
Being able to work near home	39	32	42	43	33	51	46	26	45	38
Being able to work with family and friends	17	29	24	36	7	30	11	23	16	21
An opportunity to gain a qualification	95	93	96	94	87	95	90	88	90	92
Working for an employer who has a commitment to equal opportunities	93	86	93	94	95	92	93	88	94	89

7. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

A number of fascinating findings have emerged from the survey of over 1000 young people at 16 in schools in London, Birmingham and Greater Manchester, with regard to their job choices and aspirations. As discussed in the introduction, there are important reasons to carry out such a survey, which distinguishes girls and boys through the intersection of both 'race' and gender. We argued earlier that ethnic minority girls and women might face discrimination that relates to their gender and ethnicity, but also to their social class and age. They may also develop differing aspirations or choices based on their understandings of their location and positioning in wider society. In fact, the position of ethnic minority girls and boys as well as white girls and boys is often hidden within broad generalisations about 'ethnic minorities' and white groups, which cover both women and men.

Although there is an acceptance that white girls and women may be discriminated against on the basis of sex and their socio economic status, ethnic minority women and girls have to contend not only with the possibility of sex and class discrimination, but also with the interaction of 'race' and racism intersecting *with* sex and class. This complicated interaction of multiple identity and social exclusion is only just beginning to be understood in policy terms, and has important implications for the setting up of the Commission for Equality and Human Rights (CEHR) in 2007.

We hypothesised in this survey that these articulations of 'race', gender, class and age could produce differing effects in job aspirations and aims in the labour market and in education. These effects will then affect how these girls and boys will act in recognition of their positioning. It is for these reasons that we need to understand the specificity of the opinions and experience of young girls and boys across ethnicity and sex. Once these intersections and their specific effects are understood, it is possible to come to terms with where the similarities are and where the differences lie, and design appropriate policy measures.

This survey has indeed revealed that there are both similarities and differences, based on the intersection of 'race', gender age and class. Certainly there are similarities based on being 16 and young, across all groups, such as young people's desires for successful careers and good jobs, as well as a majority of young people deciding their own final job choices, regardless of the career path desired by their parents. However, the extent of family influence is different between and within ethnic groups, based on gender.

But there are also differences between ethnic minority girls and white girls in how they restrict their job choices, and further similarities between Caribbean boys and

girls with regard to anticipated unequal treatment and a differing understanding of how 'race' and gender affects them specifically. Furthermore, societal opportunities and constraints also present these differing young people with decisions that are made complicated by their understanding of their future position in society. We need to understand how they make these decisions and what influences them, since this has enormous implications not only for future trends in the labour market, but also for removing barriers which get in the way of high aspirations for success.

There are also some differences between boys and girls based on ethnic origin. Ethnic minority parents, particularly those from Pakistani and Bangladeshi families support their daughters and sons in these aspirations, and encourage success. In fact other research studies suggest that ethnic minority parents including both Black Caribbean and South Asian origin parents are more likely to encourage their children to undertake Higher Education and achieve labour market success. This encouragement appears to have a greater impact upon ethnic minority girls compared to their white counterparts, and their male counterparts, with the exception of Caribbean boys.

The research indicates that family influence on *future job choices* is higher amongst Pakistani and Bangladeshi families than amongst Caribbean families. In conclusion, although higher proportions of Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls say their parents have a big say in their future careers, small proportions are likely to follow their parents' wishes. The views of parents are important, but not necessarily determining.

Furthermore, some of the Asian parents have also adopted aspirations of traditional 'jobs' for their children, such as doctor or lawyer, found in previous research. We interpret these aspirations as general desires to be in 'traditional' occupations with an intrinsically high status. These aspirations then may stand in stark contrast to the poorer job status of their parents' occupations. However the survey results also show that young ethnic minority girls, particularly, despite responding to greater and more intense family encouragement for their success in education, may be involved in *re-negotiating* these specific job choices chosen by their parents. White girls and boys, as well as Caribbean girls, on the other hand are more likely to report their independence from their parents influences and suggest they will make their own decisions. They may be less driven by *having* to negotiate with their families on future job choices.

Unfortunately, some barriers to reducing occupational segregation or mitigating against higher unemployment amongst ethnic minority people have not been seriously addressed by careers advisers, employers or schools generally. Despite the support for gender and 'race' equality by these young people, and their

expectation that these structural issues do not (should not?) matter, young people from ethnic minority backgrounds still do not perceive a level playing field in accessing certain occupations or sectors. Ethnic minority people were far more likely than their white counterparts to consider it harder for their groups to achieve success. Girls across the board, but particularly ethnic minority girls, (Caribbean, Pakistani Bangladeshi) were more likely to consider it *harder* for women to reach the top than men.

Furthermore, *more worryingly*, ethnic minority girls *and* boys were more also more likely to restrict their job choices based on perceived constraints. They still want to achieve a high degree of success, but appear to be limiting themselves in job choices. Over half of the Black Caribbean girls surveyed are expecting unequal treatment in the workplace, and are the group most likely to be dissatisfied with careers advice and its ability to help them widen their options.

It appears as if Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls, however, may be falling back on 'restricted' parental aspirations or choosing jobs where they feel they are most likely to be comfortable with others around them, and not stand out as 'different'. Thus teaching, health work and reputed professions such as doctor, lawyer or pharmacist appear to be chosen by young women and their male counterparts. The presence of men in certain occupations, if workplaces are chosen carefully, such as teaching in girls' schools would be low and meet community requirements, if necessary, for some Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls. Caribbean girls in particular, show a trend towards finding work in the culture, media and sports sector, rather than in their mothers' occupations of the health/public sector, although the boys also choose the media sector. Although many Caribbean girls in our focus groups discussed jobs in these two mentioned industrial sectors, they also discussed being lawyers and plumbers. Their responses indicate they were torn between conforming to safer sectors, such as culture, media and sport, and health, and breaking away from these predicted choices.

A clear implication from the research is that young ethnic minority 'disadvantaged' women are enthusiastic for job and career success, and work hard to ensure, that compared to their male and white counterparts, their higher predicted results in GCSEs will help towards their aspirations. They work harder and are supported by their parents. However these high aspirations are not reflected in the widest possible range of jobs on offer. They would like to consider a wider range of jobs, but schools and parents may 'unwittingly' or not, restrict these choices. In considering constraints in wider society and the presence of 'race' and sex discrimination it is hypothesised that they feel it may be more comfortable to go for 'safer' choices.

Several factors in wider society will influence aspirations and job choices of young women and men at 16. Global change processes, it has been argued earlier (see Chapter 2), have been contradictory in their effects on women and ethnic minority groups. Although a strong business and demographic case can be made for pursuing equality, and there has been a rise on women's jobs, patterns of discrimination and occupational segregation based on gender *and* 'race' continue to exist.

All young women and men generally then have to steer a critical course between the forces of change of which they may be aware and the forces against their labour market success. However, an understanding of your position in society, based on both 'race' and gender, your perceived access to power, and your experience in schools and in your home/community may make you develop differing aspirations and choices. For young Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, they may perceive their situation as offering little 'independence' at home and a feeling of being channelled into certain subjects and jobs by various officials and educators. They may see the position of ethnic minority women as having less status in society, with fewer role models and ethnic minority women doing lower status jobs than many others in society. Several girls in the focus groups mentioned women's lower pay and discrimination based on 'race'. Their desire for independence and a growing self esteem (Dale, Shaheen, Kalra and Fieldhouse, 2002) may drive them more strongly than their male counterparts or white girls to take actions to further a 'life of their own'. The encouragement from their families may drive their high aspirations. These findings may hold the clue to understanding the aspirations of some disadvantaged young minority women who may want to see their lives as less restricted by a strict rule bound life, with family and schools telling them what to do, and more a way of pursuing 'individualised' independence within the constraints they experience.

Recent writing on identity has questioned the continued ascription of social identity based on past group allegiances. Authors have argued instead for a concept, which is becoming 'individualised' as a result of the decline in the centrality of class, the rise of consumerism, changing work patterns and the growth of dual earner families in wider society. One criteria in understanding the process of individualization in this context is the issue of women *actively* seeking independence from men. As education, labour markets and legislation change, so women increasingly become more aware of the possibility of autonomy and self-sufficiency without a man. Secondly, although "race", class, skin colour, gender, ethnicity, age and disability continue to be important defining ascribed characteristics, Beck and Beck Gernsheim, (2002) argue that the processes of individualization deprive these groups of essential social traits, both in terms of self understanding and in relation to other groups. These notions of individualization may apply to ethnic minority groups but in *different* ways, depending on their class position, their residential segregation, their

attendance at a university and so on. Individualization needs to be seen as a process, but of course in certain contexts, the structural influences of gender 'race' and class and their interactions will continue to have an effect (Mc Dowell, 2002; Adib and Guerrier, 2003)

For example, it has been argued that South Asian migrants to the UK may respond to social change processes by encouraging beliefs and practices which entail what one author describes as a 'conservative 'reaction to the 'corrupt' Western World around them (Afshar, 1994). The atmosphere post 9/11 of Islamophobia, the rise of religion has also influenced the responses of young people to these issues. The length of time here of course (over 30 years now) will inevitably influence the autonomy to 'control' their culture (Werbner, 1994 quoted in Lloyd Evans and Bowlby, 2000) in a British context. Identities may and do fluctuate between Pakistani, Muslim and South Asian. For women these changes intersect with the role of women in maintaining family honour, common in rural areas. However transposed to this country, young women face a dilemma of, on the one hand, the focus on educational achievement and its symbolic representation of 'greater independence', and on the other hand, the need to keep family honour intact. This involves them in being 'forced' into a variety of 'individualizing' negotiating strategies (cf Dale, Shaheen, Kalra and Fieldhouse, 2002). Research with first generation Pakistani women who wanted to do paid work showed they were aware of the debates on pressures **not** to undertake paid work. These included their recognition that they were expected to put the care of the extended family and household work first, to prevent 'shame' on the family if people perceived the husband as not being able to provide, and that work was more acceptable if it was not for one's own self, but to provide for other members of the family. They therefore negotiated with their families in various ways, using experience in community work, which is held in high regard, to ease labour market tensions (Lloyd Evans and Bowlby, 2000). These negotiations however were dependent on lifestage, class and the characteristics of the local labour market.

The context of post 9/11 does assume Muslims are one homogenous mass, with one political aim. However, gender divisions may be quite apparent. For example, women who wear the hijab it is argued are re defining the 'umma' as being more inclusive and are also challenging traditional gender roles (Afshar et al., 2005; Lloyd Evans and Bowlby, 2000; Dwyer, 1999).

For Caribbean girls, their aspirations are admirable, given their negative experiences at school and the early discovery of their mothers' experiences at work, as well as the particularly negative constructions of Caribbean boys within institutions in British society. Caribbean girls' aspirations may be encouraged within a strict discipline at home, and they may desire a 'life to make their own choices'; however, they see their

male counterparts as experiencing derogatory treatment in schools, and in employment as well as wider society. They perceive that their brothers are often labelled as having 'behaviour problems' and as being 'intimidating' to authority. They too, may also end up with similar stereotypical expectations from schools. However, they may recognize the importance of 'living a life of their own' from an early age, and learn to negotiate and strategize, given their understanding of constraints. Given this slightly different context of treatment in schools in comparison with their Asian counterparts, and an early awareness of racism and sexism in institutions, there may be more of a polarization in Caribbean girls' aspirations. Thus about equal numbers or less do not have confidence in the careers service as being able to provide them with a wide range of options, and larger proportions of them than other ethnic minority groups in the survey, expect unequal treatment at work, despite only being 16 and protected from the deepest experiences of direct discrimination in higher education and at work. On the other hand, many are still determined to succeed despite the odds.

Clearly white girls also report they expect to follow a successful career and do not feel pressured to 'choose' between marriage and family and a career. They also spend more time studying than their male counterparts, but the average number of hours spent on housework and studying is fewer than reported by ethnic minority girls. This finding may lead us to suggest that white girls are slightly *less* driven than their ethnic minority counterparts. This interpretation is supported by the ways in which they describe themselves. White girls do describe themselves as ambitious and motivated, like the ethnic minority girls, and this is in greater proportions than their male counterparts, but in *fewer* proportions than their ethnic minority counterparts. The proportions of white girls intending to enrol into Higher Education are some 20 per cent less than their ethnic minority counterparts. Although white girls in greater proportions express the view that it is harder for women to get to the top, compared to white boys, they still express this view in smaller proportions compared to ethnic minority girls. These results, taken as a whole, could indicate that the intersection of 'race' and gender (and class?) does produce slightly different aspirations and responses to job choices than aspirations made on gender or gender/class alone.

White boys are least likely to suggest they would be unemployed and almost the highest (together with Bangladeshi girls) in knowing the job they want. Although the highest percentages of not worrying about being unemployed are expressed by Bangladeshi boys, followed by Caribbean girls and then white boys, this may be due to Bangladeshi boys assuming they will follow the family business or family contacts to get work. Caribbean girls may understand they will have to work, so unemployment is not something they feel they can contemplate. But white boys

appear to be least worried about unemployment, without a very strong basis. True, 80 per cent aspire to 'male' jobs and they may assume they will get into traditional Skill level 3 jobs involving trades such as electricians, construction, car repairs, plumbers etc., and that academic qualifications at school or higher education will not help towards this aim. The shortage of skills in these areas may encourage a sense of 'complacency' amongst these boys, and it may be they do not need to worry. However, the fact they assume they will be 'OK' may not be appropriate for current labour market conditions and the work and opportunities available in the near future. This will need further research.

Policy Implications

Careers advice

Schools and careers advisers need to be mindful of these girls' aspirations and recognise possible unused potential in the labour market. It may be appropriate to present details of a variety of occupations to young people, and afterwards, design more individual *tailored* sessions for further discussion. Young people would like opportunities to shadow those in occupations they are considering and receive information sheets on a variety of more specific jobs, perhaps also with indications of skills shortages and the need for their labour. A chance to carry out practical activities in relation to the skills of certain jobs appears to be in demand. The opportunity to hear about negative and positive aspects of jobs (not the usual!) from those who are actually doing them will further help the widening of their choices.

Parents also need to be involved in hearing about this wider range of job choices. For Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls particularly, who may be involved in 'delicate' negotiations with their families of pursuing education, delaying marriage and family, supportive outreach workers could be involved in helping these girls with their negotiations. For Caribbean girls particularly, choosing role models who they trust, and who have high expectations of them will help steer them in a range of directions. These advisers/ outreach workers need to be *independent* of schools and careers advisers, instil respect and should be aware and sensitive to these girls' experiences. They should ideally be *advocates* on behalf of the girls.

Schools' expectations

There are implications too for schools generally, Higher Education and employers. Research shows that schools that encourage respect for their Caribbean pupils, and engage with them through high expectations driven by strong leadership are likely to raise attainment levels of their pupils. Issues of stereotyping and low expectations need a greater understanding on the part of teachers and educationalists. Teachers and educationalists also need to understand how authority figures may end up

confirming negative behaviour in their interactions with Black Caribbean students. Stereotypical perceptions of 'oppressed' Asian girls who have to choose between marriage family and career need to be addressed. The research helps to counter these myths and stereotypes.

Recruitment to Higher Education

Higher Education institutions from the more prestigious universities need to examine how they are recruiting students, and whether they are also discriminating in favour of 'white students' who may be wrongly perceived as being harder working/clever.

Employers

Finally, employers can gain from a detailed understanding of the myths and stereotypes affecting young ethnic minority women, and their perceptions of the labour market as uneven when it comes to ethnic minorities getting or progressing in jobs. They should be aware of the potential coming in the new generations of ethnic minority women, and how to harness it most effectively.

These young people are showing a different trend. The myth countered in this report illustrates changing trends in society, whereby women as a whole want to be successful. Young girls work harder than their male counterparts, and have high ambitions. They are ahead of the game. Employers, schools and careers advisers need to catch up; otherwise we will all be the poorer for it.

APPENDIX 1 ABOUT PERFORMANCE THROUGH INCLUSION (PTI)

Background

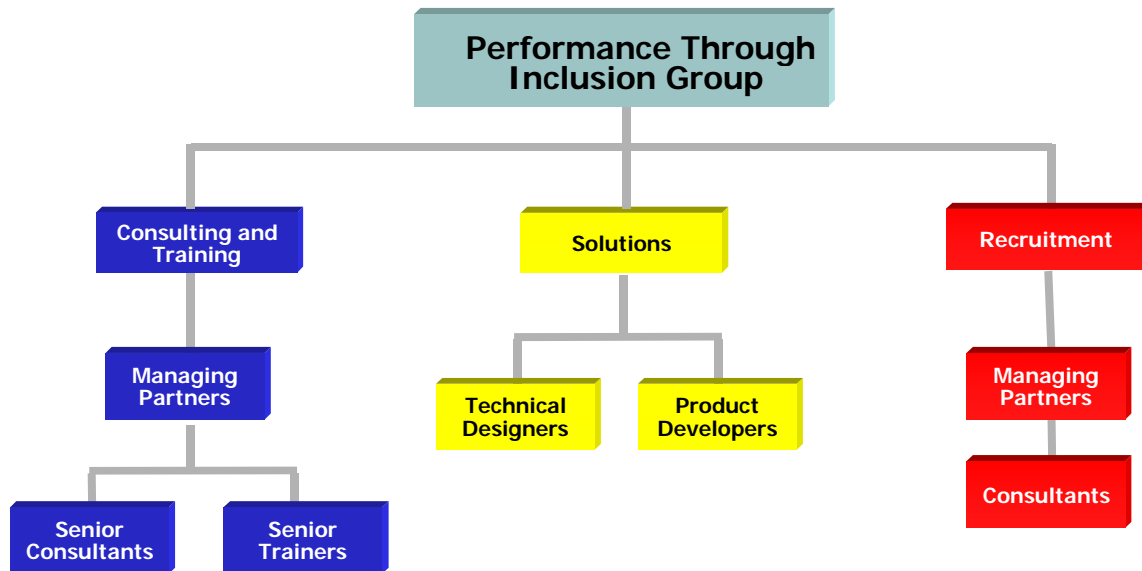
At PTI, our consulting practice specialises in developing leading-edge change that allows organisations to become more culturally inclusive. Since its formation, PTI has been supporting the leading public and private sector organisations across the UK and Southern Africa, helping them with their most challenging issues around Diversity and Inclusion.

PTI is unique because we *always* put Inclusion right into the heart of the organisation, not just the HR department. We believe passionately in what we do, but we are realistic enough to know that business leaders need a tangible 'bottom line' or service delivery benefit. Our systemic approach to Diversity and Inclusion is unrivalled in the industry and has delivered outstanding results for our clients to date.

In the public sector, we have worked with the Department for Work and Pensions, various NHS trusts, The NHS Leadership Centre, The Department of Health, The Inland Revenue, The Home Office, Derbyshire Criminal Justice Board (incorporating Derbyshire Police, Probation Service, Court Service and CPS) various Police Forces and The Ministry of Defence. In the private sector, our clients include Royal Mail, Diageo plc, Ford Motor Company, Penguin Books, Centrica, Eaton Engineering Inc, DeBeers Diamond Corp (South Africa and Namibia), Halifax Bank of Scotland and Pearson Education.

Company structure Our companies

Our people are focused on either Consulting and Training, Solutions (Products) or Recruitment



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APPENDIX 2. COPY OF QUESTIONNAIRE

CHOICES AT 16



**A SURVEY OF CHOICES WHEN
LEAVING FULL-TIME EDUCATION**

Choices at 16

This survey is about the choices you will have when you leave education. It's about what you think you will do, and why. It's also about who, or what can help.

This research is the first of its kind and your school is one of the first schools in the UK to be asked to be involved.

Please try to complete all of the questions in this questionnaire. Read each question carefully, so you're clear how to answer each one. We hope this will take no more than 20 minutes of your time.

Schools in Birmingham, London and Greater Manchester are taking part in this survey, and it will include thousands of people in Year 11. The results will be used to improve the choices available to young people in Britain.

This survey is confidential. The information on all schools taking part will be collected and looked at by the researchers only. There is absolutely no way to identify individuals. You should feel free to complete the survey as truthfully and honestly as you can.

The really great news is all pupils who complete a questionnaire will automatically be included in a **prize cash draw** to win £50. One winner from each school will be identified using the numbered tear-off slip attached to the front of this questionnaire. **Please tear this off before you hand your completed questionnaire back in** and keep it safe as you will need to produce it to claim the prize.

Thank you for your time. Now let's get started.

1. Leaving full-time education

Please answer the following questions about leaving full-time education

1. I think I will leave full-time education... (please tick <u>ONE</u> option)	At 16 <input type="checkbox"/>	At 18 <input type="checkbox"/>	At 21+ <input type="checkbox"/>
2. After leaving full-time education... (please tick <u>ONE</u> option)	a) I want to get a full-time job <input type="checkbox"/>	b) I want to get a part-time job <input type="checkbox"/>	c) I won't be looking for a job <input type="checkbox"/>
3. If you have answered (b) or (c) to Question 2, please explain why		
4. Realistically, what job do you think you are likely to get when you leave full-time education? (e.g. plumber, accountant, shop assistant). Please list one or two jobs	1..... 2.....		

2. The jobs you would like to do

We'd like you to tell us how much you know about the job(s) you would like to do. Thinking about the jobs you would like to do, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
5. I know the qualifications I need	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. I know the skills I need to have	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. I know what the rates of pay are	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. I know whether the jobs I want to do offer flexible working (e.g. working at home, part-time working, flexible start/finish times)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. I know what opportunities there are for promotion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Choosing your job

*What kinds of things do you think will be important to you when choosing your future job?
Please indicate how important these things are:*

	Not important at all	Not very important	Important	Very important
10. Opportunities for promotion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. An opportunity to gain a qualification	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. A chance to be trained at work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Being able to work near to home	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Flexible working (working at home, part-time working, flexible start/finish times)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Being able to work with family and friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Working for an employer who welcomes staff from a range of different ethnic backgrounds	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Working for an employer who has a commitment to equal opportunities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. You and your future job

*The following statements have been said by other young people. **Thinking about yourself**, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?*

General questions

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
18. I expect to follow a successful career	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. People expect me to get a good job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. I know the job I want to do when I leave education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. I think that adults judge me by my accent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. I think adults judge me by the colour of my skin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. I think that adults judge me by the way I dress	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. It will be easy for me to get a job when I leave education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
25. I <u>won't</u> be unemployed when I leave education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. It's important to me to be able to balance a career and a family in the future	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27. Instead of going out to work, I would be more than happy to stay at home and look after the children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
28. When I get a job, I want to reach the top	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29. I want to run my own business	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Parents / carers

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
30. My parent(s) or carer(s) have a big say in the work I'll do in the future	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31. I'm happy to follow the future job/career my parent(s) or carer(s) want for me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32. My parent(s) or carer(s) want me to have a 'traditional' career like a doctor or lawyer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33. I am worried about finding a good job, as my parents have had problems finding work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34. My parents expect me to get married and have kids rather than follow a career	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35. My parents want me to follow any job or career as long as I'm happy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. Please describe the jobs (if any) that your parent(s) or carer(s) have (e.g. plumber, teacher, accountant).	<p>Parent/carer 1</p> <p>Job _____</p> <p>Relationship to you _____ (father etc)</p> <p>Parent/carer 2</p> <p>Job _____</p> <p>Relationship to you _____ (father etc)</p>			

Friends

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
37. I know the careers my friends are interested in	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. My friends want good careers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. Advice from my friends is the most important thing when choosing a future job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40. If I go along with my friends, then I'll end up in trouble, not with a good job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Equality at work

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
41. When I get a job, I know I'll have to work twice as hard as other people to prove myself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42. It's harder for women to get to the top in jobs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43. It's just as easy for a Black or Asian person to get the job that they want, as it is for a white person	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44. I feel like there are certain jobs I can't apply for because of my ethnic background	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45. You're treated the same as everyone else at work, as long as you're good at your job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
46. I want to stay in education as long as possible as a 'way out' of my background	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
47. I feel like there are certain jobs I can't apply for because I am male/female	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
48. I feel like there are certain jobs I can't apply for because of my religious faith	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. School advice - planning your future job

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
49. My school listens to my needs about jobs/careers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
50. The job advice from my school makes me focus on my real potential	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
51. The job advice from my school makes me consider all the possible jobs I could do	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Barriers to making the perfect choice of job

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
52. People of my sex don't usually do the job I want to do	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
53. People of my ethnic origin don't usually do the job I want to do	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
54. My family don't have the right connections to help me get the job I want	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
55. There is no opportunity to get hands on experience of completing job applications	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
56. There is a lack of information and/or encouragement from school and careers advisors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. How you spend your time

We'd like to know a bit more about how you spend your time. In a NORMAL week, including week-ends, please indicate how much time you spend doing the following activities:

	No time	0-2 hours	2-5 hours	5-10 hours	More than 10 hours
57. Studying for school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
58. Working in a part-time job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
59. Helping in the family business	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
60. Helping with housework (e.g. cooking, cleaning, ironing, DIY)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
61. Helping to look after other members of the family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
62. Activities related to your religious faith	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Describing yourself

Please choose up to 5 words that you would use to describe yourself

Motivated	<input type="checkbox"/>	A geek	<input type="checkbox"/>
Confident	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sociable	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ambitious	<input type="checkbox"/>	Happy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Moody	<input type="checkbox"/>	Articulate	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lazy	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sarcastic	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loud	<input type="checkbox"/>	Aggressive	<input type="checkbox"/>
Intelligent	<input type="checkbox"/>	Energetic	<input type="checkbox"/>
Shy	<input type="checkbox"/>	Funny	<input type="checkbox"/>
Withdrawn	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cheerful	<input type="checkbox"/>
Assertive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cool	<input type="checkbox"/>
Decisive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Excitable	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organised	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hardworking	<input type="checkbox"/>
Reliable	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disruptive	<input type="checkbox"/>

Now, thinking about the words you have chosen from the list above, please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
63. My school would describe me in the same way (as I have described myself)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
64. My parent(s) or carer(s) would describe me in the same way	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. About you

Finally, we'd be grateful if you could tell us a little more about yourself. Please answer the following questions:

- a) What gender are you? (Please tick one only) Male
 Female

b) Please pick one term that best describes your ethnic group (please tick one only):

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>WHITE</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> White British</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> White Irish</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other White group</p> | <p>BLACK/BLACK BRITISH</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Caribbean</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> African</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other Black group</p> | <p>ASIAN/ASIAN BRITISH</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Indian</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Pakistani</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Bangladeshi</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian group</p> |
| <p>MIXED</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> White and Black Caribbean</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> White and Black African</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> White and Asian</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other Mixed group</p> | <p>CHINESE OR OTHER
ETHNIC GROUP</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Chinese</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other ethnic group</p> | |

c) Please tick the term that best describes your religion or faith (please tick one only)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Buddhism | <input type="checkbox"/> Hinduism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sikhism | <input type="checkbox"/> Islam |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Christianity | <input type="checkbox"/> Judaism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Catholic | <input type="checkbox"/> None |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Protestant | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please say) _____ |

d) Please write the FULL name of your school _____

e) In which country were you born? _____

f) At the end of Year 11, does your school predict that you will achieve 5 or more GCSE passes at grades A*- C?

- Yes
 No
 Don't know

g) Finally, if nothing stood in your way, what are the jobs you would most like to do? Please list up to 2 jobs

1. _____

2. _____

If you have any further comments, please feel free to add them below

Thank you very much for taking part. If you want to find out more about any subjects covered in this survey, or if you want to provide us with more feedback, please visit our website at www.eoc.org.uk

APPENDIX 3 TOPIC GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUPS

Welcome

Introductions to facilitators

Aims of focus group and background:

- Part of EOC project to understand how young people make choices at 16
- Administered a questionnaire to over 2000 young people in 3 cities in England-will analyse and results will be out in the summer.
- But survey data does not always give you a deeper understanding of what determines choices you make about your future job
- So we wanted to talk to some of you face to face to probe deeper. Thank you for coming along.

Introductions of participants and role models

What job do you think you're likely to get when you leave full-time education?

Probe – why/will it be easy to get a job?

Ambitions

What is your most important ambition for work in the future?

E.g. To get to the top, to run your own business, to help others, to balance work and family etc

How do you feel generally about your future and work? Hopeful? Optimistic?

Worried?

Probe – why

Is it just as easy for a black or Asian person to get a job or get to the top in jobs?

Probe – same/harder/easier for black/Asian women and same/harder/easier for men/white women and men?

Probe – do adults judge you because of your accent or skin colour? How?

Are there certain jobs you feel are closed to you?

Probe – which jobs are open to you?

Do your parents/carers have a big say in the work you'll do in the future?

Probe- is this restricting or enabling?

Probe – any pressures to get married/have kids rather than follow career?

Probe – who they admire and the jobs they do/ who else do they listen to when thinking about futures/careers

Career advice

Have you been able to get the advice and information you need about jobs/careers from school?

Has the advice opened your eyes to a wide possible range of careers for you/made you consider jobs that fulfil your potential?

Probe – any comments made to them from teachers/careers advisers

Probe – what advice/information/encouragement they would like to have had, in what form and from whom? How would this have made a difference to them?

Job I love to do

What would be a job you would love to do, if nothing stood in your way?

Blue skies thinking

If you could change things about the world of work, what would you change?

Probe – how would you improve things for people so that they fulfil their potential, if they want to?

Anything else ?

**APPENDIX 4 ALL GROUPS AND TOTAL NUMBERS SURVEYED FOR
WHOLE PROJECT**

Ethnic group	Girls	Boys	Total
White British	207	131	338
Black Caribbean	62	40	102
Indian	156	44	200
Pakistani	229	119	348
Bangladeshi	142	61	203
Black African	51	42	93
Other Black	20	6	26

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