

From Multi-Racial Subjects to Multi-Cultural Citizens:

Social Stratification and Ethnoracial Classification among
Children of Immigrants in the United Kingdom

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Our questions

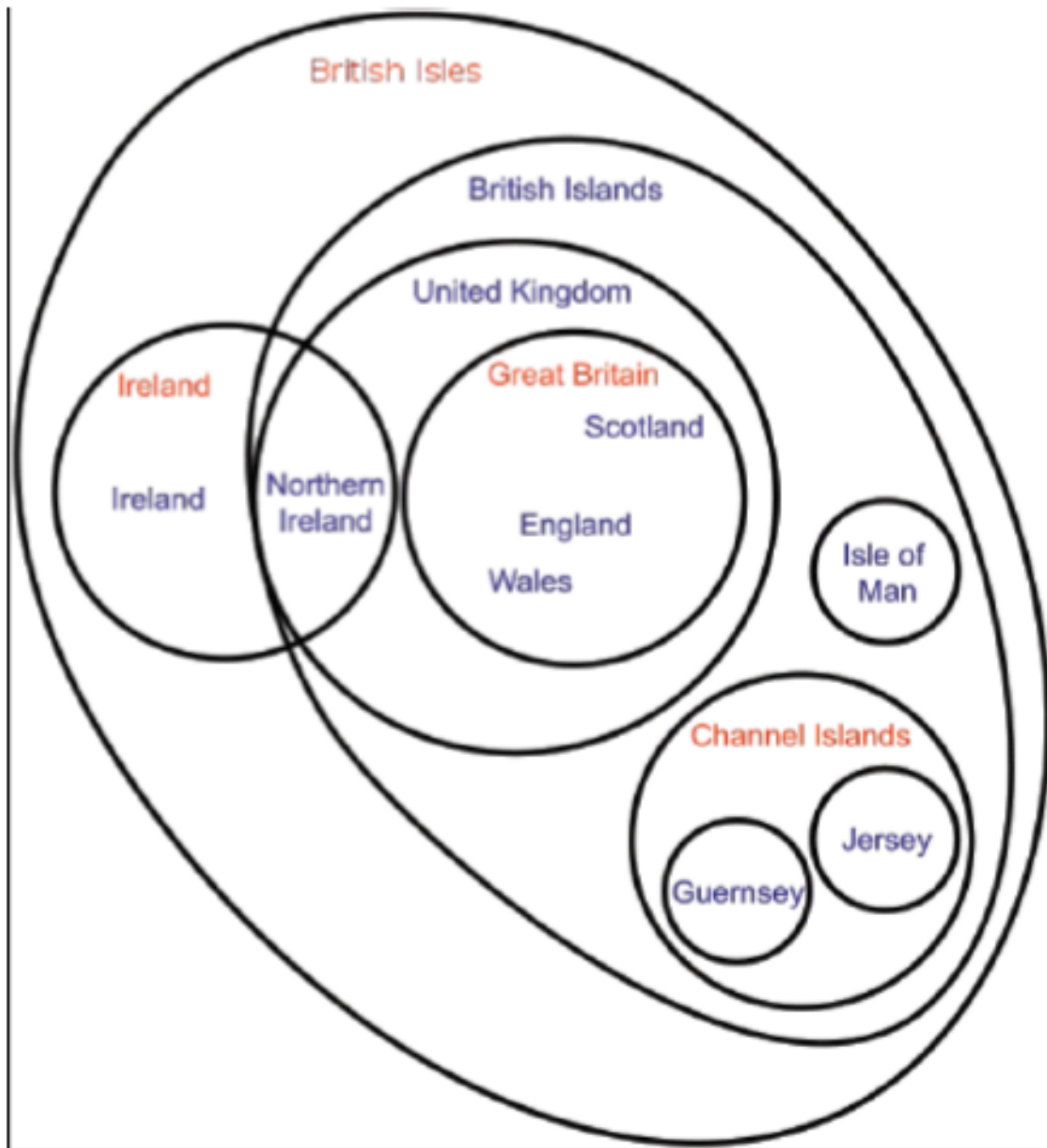
- Among the second generation (immigrants' children), how different are measures of “objective” ancestry and “subjective” ethnoracial identification in adulthood?
- To the extent that these measures don't overlap, how do social factors (esp. SES) shape patterns of identification?
- What are the implications for assessments of second generation disadvantage?

Guiding hypotheses

- Classic assimilation literature
 - Assumption: Majority identity most desirable
 - Socioeconomic and identificational assimilation are related, so **those of high SES will be most likely to classify with the majority.**
- Contemporary multiculturalist discourse & policies
 - Makes minority identities more rewarding
 - Firmer foothold in elite institutions (e.g., higher education)?
 - So **those of high SES least likely to classify with the majority.**

Our case: the UK

- Imperial legacy
- Different layers of national identity



Our case: the UK

- Imperial legacy
- Different layers of national identity
- History of migration
- Social policy and ethnoracial statistics

1991 Census ethnicity question

Ethnic group

Please tick the appropriate box

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

White	<input type="checkbox"/>	0
Black-Caribbean	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Black-African	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Black-Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<i>please describe</i>		
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Indian	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Pakistani	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Bangladeshi	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Any other ethnic group	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<i>please describe</i>		
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2001 Census ethnicity question

8 What is your ethnic group?

Choose ONE section from A to E, then tick the appropriate box to indicate your cultural background.

A White

- ☐ British ☐ Irish
- ☐ Any other White background,
please write in

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B Mixed

- ☐ White and Black Caribbean
- ☐ White and Black African
- ☐ White and Asian
- ☐ Any other Mixed background
please write in

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C Asian or Asian British

- ☐ Indian ☐ Pakistani
- ☐ Bangladeshi
- ☐ Any other Asian background
please write in

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D Black or Black British

- ☐ Caribbean ☐ African
- ☐ Any other Black background
please write in

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E Chinese or other ethnic group

- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Any other, *please write in*

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2011 Census ethnicity question

16 What is your ethnic group?

A. White

- English / Welsh / Scottish / Northern Irish / British
- Irish
- Gypsy or Irish Traveller
- Any other White background, write in

B. Mixed / multiple ethnic groups

- White and Black Caribbean
- White and Black African
- White and Asian
- Any other Mixed / multiple ethnic background, write in

C. Asian / Asian British

- Indian
- Pakistani
- Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Any other Asian background, write in

D. Black / African / Caribbean / Black British

- African
- Caribbean
- Any other Black / African / Caribbean background, write in

E. Other ethnic group

- Arab
- Any other ethnic group, write in

Data & Sample Selection

- Longitudinal Study (LS) of England and Wales, decennial censuses linked for 1% sample of entire population
- Children (15 and younger) in 1971 with at least one non-UK-born parent, whose parents were also non-UK-born, n=8,385
- Information from childhood in 1971, from adulthood in 2001

Variables in the Analysis

Data source	Variables
1971 Census	Geographic origin of parent(s) (10 countries/regions)
	Second parent (whether second parent is immigrant and of same origin as first; British-born; absent; or something else)
	Distant ancestry (New Commonwealth/Pakistan vs. British/other)
	Parents' social class (5 categories)
	Timing of family's migration (3 categories)
	Child's age (0-15)
	Child's gender
2001 Census	(Adult) Child's ethnoracial identification
	(Adult) Child's educational attainment (5 categories)

2001 Census ethnicity question

8 What is your ethnic group?

Choose **ONE** section from A to E, then tick the appropriate box to indicate your cultural background.

A White

- ☐ British ☐ Irish
- ☐ Any other White background,
please write in

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B Mixed

- ☐ White and Black Caribbean
- ☐ White and Black African
- ☐ White and Asian
- ☐ Any other Mixed background
please write in

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C Asian or Asian British

- ☐ Indian ☐ Pakistani
- ☐ Bangladeshi
- ☐ Any other Asian background
please write in

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D Black or Black British

- ☐ Caribbean ☐ African
- ☐ Any other Black background
please write in

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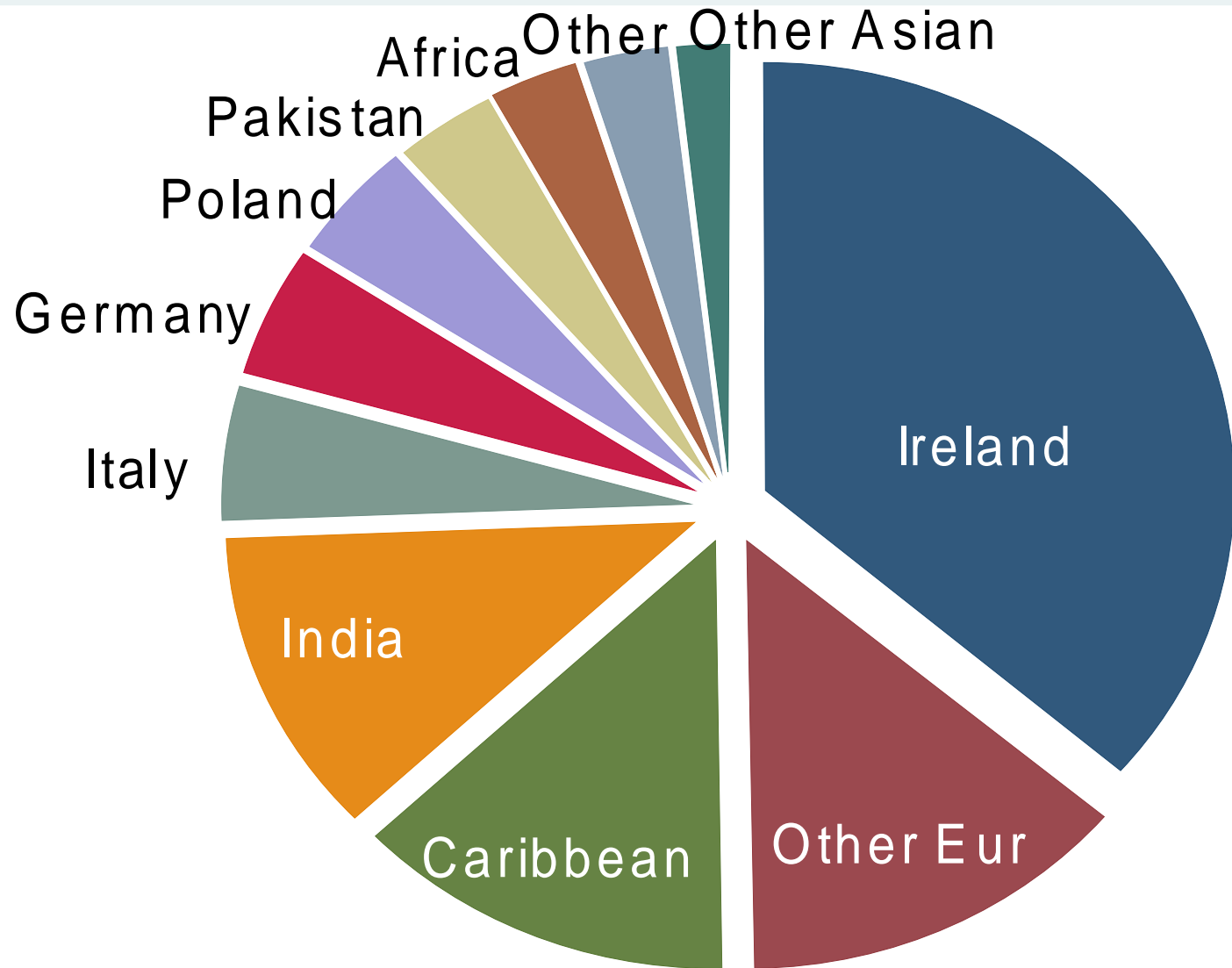
E Chinese or other ethnic group

- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Any other, *please write in*

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Parental Birthplace of Second Generation, 1971



Adult Ethnoracial Identification by Ancestry

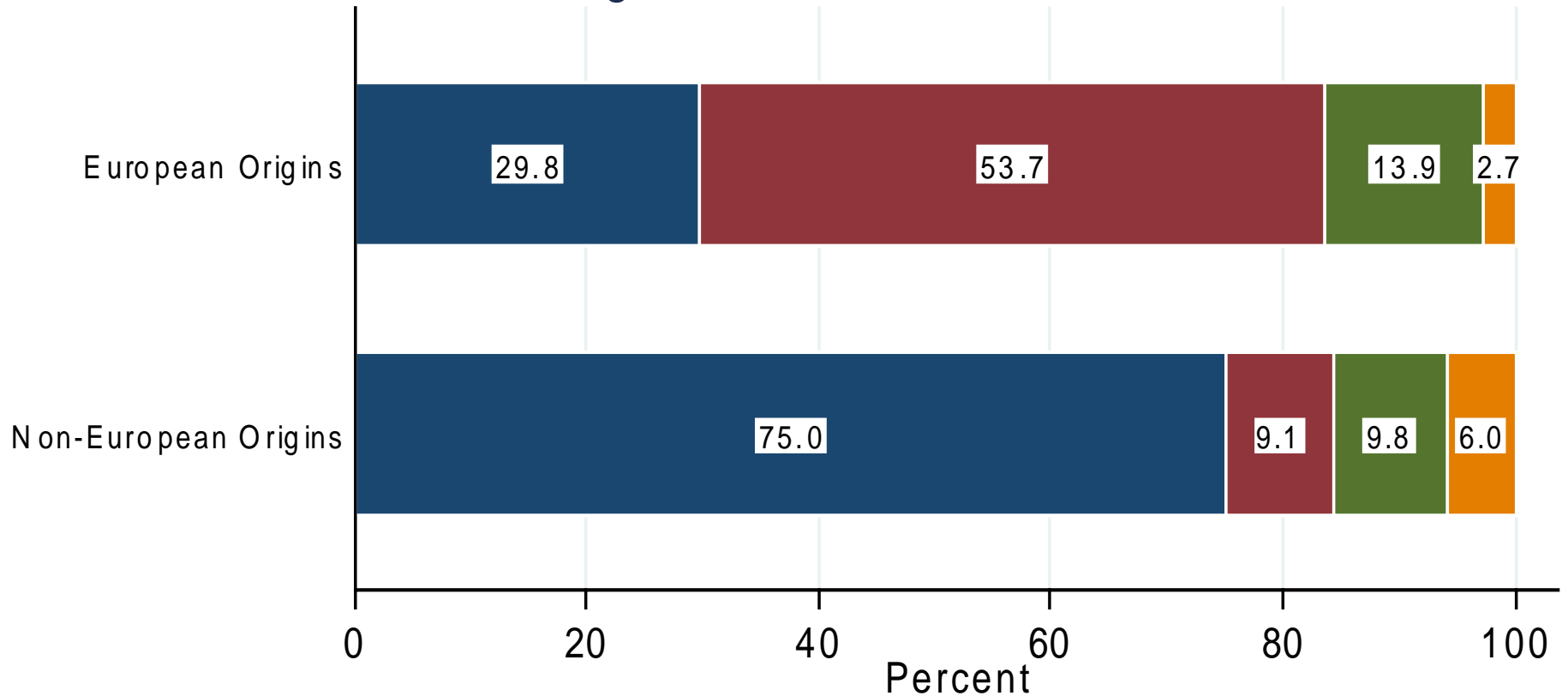
(parents from non-European countries)

	%White	%Non-White	%Mixed
Total, all surnames	19.03	71.4	9.57
Total, excluding identifiable British surnames	5.04	86.7	8.26
Country of origin of parent(s) (1971)			
Caribbean Commonwealth	6.96	82.74	10.29
India	2.14	93.30	4.56
Pakistan/Bangladesh	1.89	92.45	5.66
Africa	5.91	80.79	13.30
Other Asia	11.84	76.32	11.84
Other	(cell sizes too small)		
Immigrant family composition (1971)			
Two immigrant parents	1.77	96.70	1.53
One UK born parent	28.99	6.28	64.73
Second parent unclear	8.97	82.06	8.97
Second parent absent	2.96	91.85	5.19

Adult Ethnoracial Identification by Ancestry (parents from European countries)

	%White Ethnic	%White British
Total	15.74	84.26
Country of origin of parent(s) (1971)		
Ireland	15.74	84.26
Germany	6.85	93.15
Italy	23.10	76.90
Poland	11.08	88.92
Other Europe	17.72	82.28
Immigrant family composition (1971)		
Two immigrant parents	30.58	69.42
One UK born parent	5.76	94.24
Second parent unclear	21.64	78.36
Second parent absent	20.28	79.72

Immigrant family structure of second generation children in 1971



- Two immigrant parents
- Second parent British born
- Second parent ambiguous information
- Second parent absent

Determinants of identification among second generation of non-European descent (Multinomial logit model: white and mixed vs. non-white)

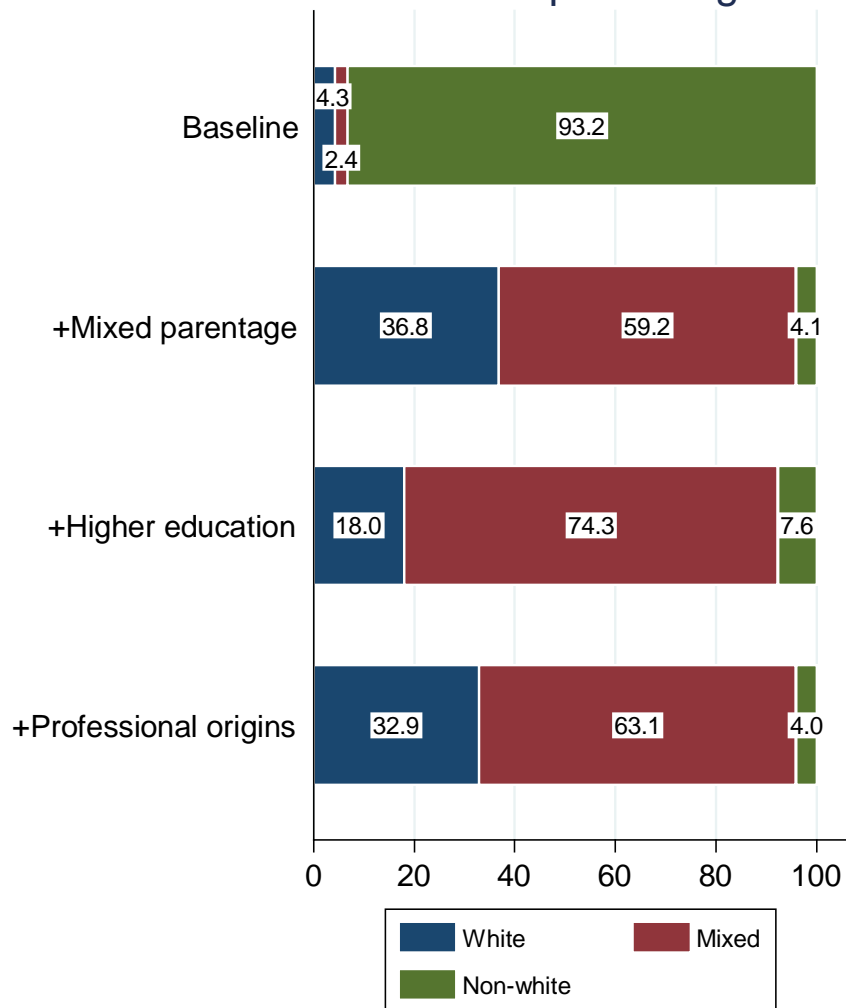
		White	Mixed
Country of origin of parent(s)			
	India	-1.146**	-0.549
	Pakistan/Bangladesh	-1.450**	-0.679
	Africa	-0.436	0.078
	Other Asia	-0.022	-0.515
	Other	0.408	-0.195
Second parent			
	UK born	5.278***	6.322***
	Absent/unclear	1.284***	1.704***
Class origins			
	Skilled manual	-0.012	0.38
	Skilled non-manual	.813*	0.386
	Managerial/technical	0.166	-0.034
	Professional	1.243*	0.479
Child born in UK...			
	& parent(s) came as adult(s)	0.69	.798*
	& parent(s) came as child(ren)	2.354***	0.67
Age		0.034	0.007
Female		0.068	0.148
Education			
	1-4 GCSEs/O levels	-.995**	-0.453
	5+ GCSEs/O levels or 1 A level	-1.036**	-0.496
	2+ A levels	-0.805	-0.764
	Higher education	-1.342***	-0.403
Constant		-3.764***	-4.440***

Determinants of identification among second generation of European descent (Binary logit model: white British vs. white ethnic)

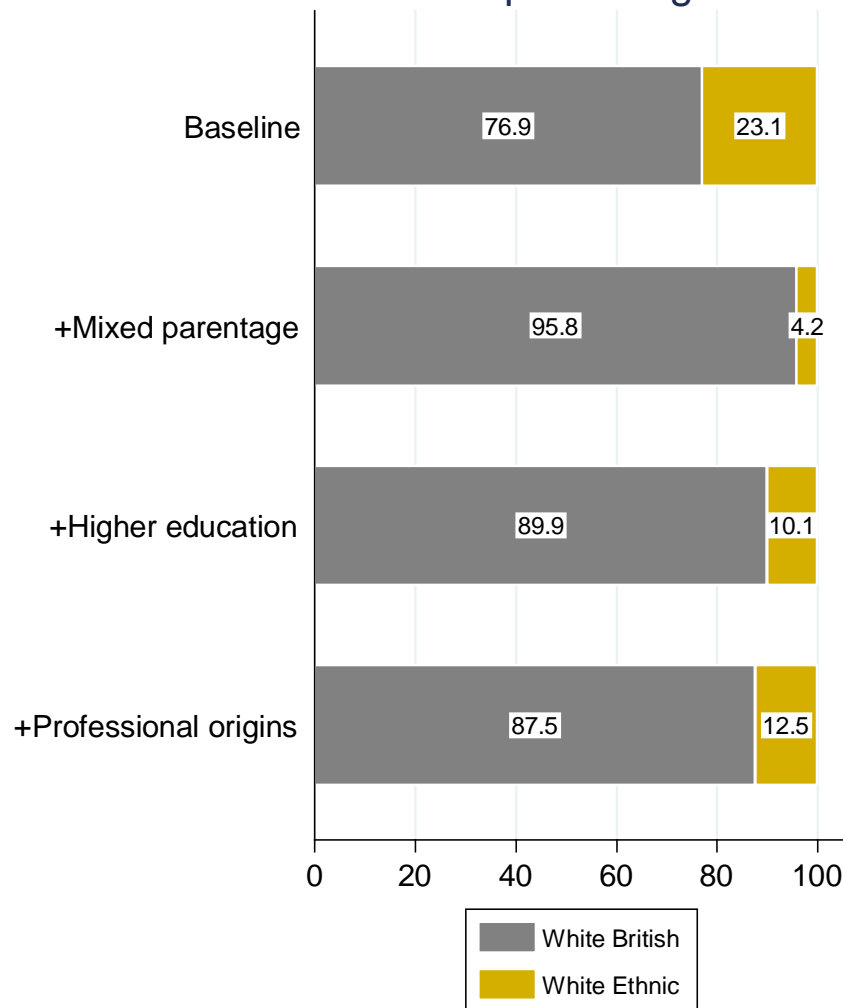
Country of origin of parent(s)		
	Germany	.678**
	Italy	-0.214
	Poland	0.248
	Other Europe	-0.089
Second parent		
	UK born	1.917***
	Absent/unclear	.434***
Class origins		
	Skilled manual	-0.073
	Skilled non-manual	-0.063
	Managerial/technical	0.098
	Professional	-0.238
Child born in UK...		
	& parent(s) came as adult(s)	2.357***
	& parent(s) came as child(ren)	2.475***
Age		.027**
Female		0.153
Education		
	1-4 GCSEs/O levels	-0.086
	5+ GCSEs/O levels or 1 A level	-0.179
	2+ A levels	-.668***
	Higher education	-.932***
Constant		-1.153***

Predicted probabilities of ethnoracial classifications, 2001

Non-European Origins



European Origins



Educational Attainment of Non-European-Origin Second Generation

	Non-White	Mixed	White	Total
<hr/>				
Educational attainment				
%No qualifications	13.7	13.9	13.4	13.6
% 1-4 GCSEs/O-levels	26.7	25.0	29.1	27.0
%5+ GCSEs/O-levels or 1 A-level	21.3	24.3	22.8	21.9
%2+ A levels	6.8	7.1	7.5	7.0
%Higher education	31.5	29.6	27.3	30.5
Total	100	100	100	100

Educational Attainment of European-Origin Second Generation

	White Ethnic	White British	Total
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Educational attainment			
%No qualifications	11.0	14.9	14.3
% 1-4 GCSEs/O-levels	20.5	27.3	26.2
%5+ GCSEs/O-levels or 1 A-level	20.8	24.5	23.9
%2+ A levels	8.9	7.2	7.5
%Higher education	38.8	26.1	28.1
Total	100	100	100

Conclusions

- Ethnoracial identification is related to but not exclusively determined by ancestry
- Higher education heightens minority identification among the second generation → Research based on self-identification underestimates second generation's disadvantage
- With respect to class background, we still see classic assimilation dynamics → or racial hierarchies from countries of origin?