



Inequalities in education, employment and earnings among equality groups: A research review and analysis of trends over time

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Equality group inequalities in education, employment and earnings: A research review and analysis of trends over time

Yaojun Li, Fiona Devine, Anthony Heath

Universities of Manchester and Oxford

EQUALITY GROUP INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS:

A research review and analysis of trends over time

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents a review of data on the relationship between education, employment, income, social class and group-based inequalities relating to gender, ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation. The aim of this review was to establish whether higher levels of education, employment, income or socio-economic class protect against group-based inequalities. In addition to a review of existing research, the study analysed data from the General Household Survey (GHS 1996/7, 2004/5), Labour Force Survey (LFS 1996/7, 2004/5), Home Office Citizenship Survey (HOCS 2003, 2005) and the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS 2005). Pooled data are drawn from the GHS and the LFS to show trends over time. This is the first time that gender, ethnicity, disability and same-sex status have been explored together in a single study, along with the relationships between them. The analysis uses descriptive and bivariate analysis as well as more complex statistical modelling for multivariate analysis.

Key findings¹

- Education protects against disadvantage in employment and earnings. However, this is a question of degree: many people from ethnic minority groups with higher levels of education, experience poorer employment rates and lower incomes than White people.
- In 2004/5, Chinese men with middle or higher levels of education had the lowest levels of employment and earnings relative to their education. At the middle educational level, they were just over half as likely (53 per cent) to be employed as similarly qualified White men. This rose to just three-quarters (78 per cent) for those at the higher educational level (Figure 5a). Their earnings profiles were similarly disadvantaged (Figure 5a).
- In 2004/5, Black Caribbean men with higher qualifications were more likely to be employed than those with lower qualifications. However, even the highly educated were still disadvantaged when compared with similarly qualified White men. At the lower and middle educational levels, they were only 80 and

¹ In this summary, sources referring to tables are raw data from frequencies or cross-tabulations. Sources referring to figures are predicted probabilities controlling for people's socio-demographic characteristics and household circumstances, derived from full models. Please note that the sample sizes for people in same-sex relationships are small.

91 per cent as likely to be employed as similarly qualified White men (Figure 5a).

- In 2004/5, the earnings of Pakistani and Bangladeshi men at the low and middle levels of education are only two-thirds of those of similarly qualified White men (64 and 65 per cent respectively) (Figure 5a).
- Among Pakistani or Bangladeshi women, it is those who are highly educated who find it easier to gain access to employment, higher incomes and a higher class position. Indeed, higher education tends to protect these women to a much greater extent than it protects White women or women from other ethnic groups in a relative sense. For instance, highly qualified Pakistani or Bangladeshi women were only slightly less likely to be employed than their White peers (83 per cent) whereas poorly qualified Pakistani or Bangladeshi women were mostly jobless (18 per cent of White women's employment rate) (Figure 5b).
- Disabled people with higher educational levels are more likely than other disabled people to gain access to employment (twice as likely in the case of disabled men) compared to those with low educational levels. However, the data do not permit us to say whether they were already employed (or what income they were earning) before they became disabled.
- Education protects against lower employment rates and earnings levels only to a certain degree, and some disadvantaged groups do not enjoy the returns to education that might be expected from their investment. This is clearly seen in the reported rates of job refusals and promotion blockages. At each level of education (in both 2003 and 2005), Black African men reported two to three times the incidence of job refusals and promotion blockages, with the next highest rate being among Black Caribbean men (Table 7). For women, Black Africans at each level of education also reported the highest incidence of unfair treatment (Figure 12). It is notable that all ethnic minority women perceived injustice in both survey years and that this perception was growing for the highly qualified (Figure 12).
- With the exception of those of Indian origin, ethnic minority groups expressed the least satisfaction with their work life. This was most notable among the highly educated.

Education

- In 1996/7, men had higher rates of degree-level qualifications than women (21 per cent and 19 per cent respectively) (Table 1b). By 2004/5, the two groups had the same rate (26 per cent each) (Table 1a). Thus, there was a major improvement in women's qualifications over the period.
- Black Caribbean men and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men and women were the least qualified: 16 per cent, 17 per cent and 11 per cent had degree-level qualifications in 2004/5 (Table 1a). Moreover, the increase in qualifications gained by Black Caribbean men and Pakistani and Bangladeshi women from 1996/7 to 2004/5, were the least of all ethnic groups (Tables 1a, 1b).
- Although disabled people's educational qualifications improved slightly over the period, they remain considerably less than those of non-disabled people (15 per cent of men and 17 per cent of women achieved degree-level qualifications in 2004/5, compared with 28 per cent of non-disabled men and women) (Tables 1a, 1b).
- People who reported being in same-sex relationships were more likely than those in non-same-sex relationships to have degrees (48 per cent of men and 51 per cent of women in 2004/5) (Table 1a).

Employment

- 78 per cent of men and 67 per cent of women were in employment in 2004/5, compared to 76 per cent and 64 per cent in 1996/7 (Tables 2a, 2b). Holding other factors constant, the proportion of women in employment increased over this period (Table 5b).
- Ethnic minority groups had significantly lower rates of paid employment than White people at both time periods, with the lowest rates among Chinese men (58 per cent in 2004/5) and Pakistani / Bangladeshi women (23 per cent). If we take into account the changes in the education and other characteristics of the groups, there was no real progress over the period (Table 5a).
- Disabled people were just over half as likely as non-disabled people to be employed in 2004/5, even though their labour market participation had improved slightly over the period. The proportionate increase in participation over the period was higher than for non-disabled people (Tables 2a, 2b, 5a).

- People who reported being in same-sex relationships were more likely than people in non-same-sex relationships to be employed (87 per cent of men and 84 per cent of women in 2004/5) (Table 2a). However, once educational qualifications were taken into account, there was no significant difference from people who did not report such relationships (Tables 5a, 5b).

Income

- Gender differences in gross weekly earnings reduced over the period, with women's average earnings increasing from 54 per cent of men's in 1996/7 to 61 per cent in 2004/5. However, given that women's educational levels increased more than men's, their earnings levels became relatively worse over the period and they did not see the same returns to their education (Tables 3a, 3b, Figure 5b).
- All men from ethnic minority groups (other than those of Indian origin) earned significantly less than White men in 2004/05 (Table 3a, Figure 3). The gross weekly earnings of Pakistani and Bangladeshi men were 64 per cent of the earnings of White men: this difference was the same as in 1996/7 (Tables 3a, 3b, Figure 3). Among women, Black Caribbean and Indian women earned significantly more than White women. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women earned significantly less, at 71 per cent of White women's earnings in 1996/7 and 76 per cent in 2004/5 (Tables 3a, 3b, Figure 4).
- Disabled men's gross weekly earnings reduced slightly over the period, from 83 per cent of non-disabled men's earnings in 1996/7 to 82 per cent in 2004/5 (Figure 3). Disabled women's earnings reduced from 87 per cent to 84 per cent of non-disabled women's earnings (Figure 3).
- The gross weekly earnings of men in same-sex relationships remained higher than men in non-same-sex relationships during the period, but the difference became non-significant when education and other factors are taken into account. Holding constant all other factors in the models, there was no change over time. Men in same-sex relationships at higher and lower education levels earned less than those in non-same-sex relationships. The earnings of women in same-sex relationships were 1.5 times higher in 2004/05 than those in non-same-sex relationships and were also higher when controlling for education levels (Figures 3, 4, 9, 10).

Social class

- In 2004/5, 40 per cent of men and 37 per cent of women were in professional, higher administrative and managerial occupations (the salariat). This represented an increase of three per cent for men and five per cent for women over the 1996/7 period (Tables 4a, 4b). The overall gap between men and women thus reduced over the period.
- In 2004/5, Indian men and women and Black Caribbean women were significantly more likely than White men and women respectively, to be in the salariat – this represented an improvement for Indian women over the 1996/7 period (Tables 4a, 4b).
- Pakistani and Bangladeshi men and women and Black Caribbean men were significantly less likely to be in the salariat in 2004/5; with a relatively slight improvement for Pakistani and Bangladeshi men and women, and deterioration for Black Caribbean men over this period (Tables 4a, 4b). When other factors were held constant, there was no real progress for any ethnic minority groups – other than people of Indian origin.
- People of Black African and Chinese origin were educationally highly qualified but this was not effectively translated into occupational success. Men of Indian origin had a lead of 11 per cent in degree-level qualifications, compared to White men, but this was only reflected in a 7 per cent lead in access to the salariat (Tables 1a, 1b, 4a, 4b).
- The proportions of disabled men and women in the salariat reduced slightly over the period, by 0.7 and 2.0 per cent (Tables 4a, 4b).
- Although men and women in same-sex relationships were more likely than those in non-same-sex relationships to be in the salariat in 2004/5, this reflected a decrease over the period for men and an increase for women. The data also showed a decrease for men in comparison with other men (down from 81 per cent higher to 48 per cent higher), while women in same-sex relationships retained their position in relation to other women (62 per cent higher) (Tables 4a, 4b).

Conclusion

- Even though some signs of progress are visible, the data show continuing inequalities in relation to employment rates, earnings, job-seeking and

treatment at work. There is also evidence of labour market barriers, possibly including discrimination and prejudice, and of some groups feeling they experience difficulties more than others.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims of the research

The central aim of this research was to examine the relationship between education, employment, income (labour market earnings), social class and group-based inequalities relating to gender, ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation.

The report begins with an overview of existing research. It then draws together key findings from new analysis carried out for this review, which:

1. Collects evidence as to whether group-based inequalities are greater for people with lower educational attainment, lower levels of employment, lower incomes and lower socio-economic positions
2. Establishes whether higher education, higher levels of employment, higher income and higher socio-economic class protect against the worse impact of group-based inequalities
3. Clarifies the nature and extent of any relationships between inequalities.

In seeking to address these questions, the key objective was to establish whether there are interactions between various group-based inequalities and education, employment, income and class. Of course, the extent to which: low education, low levels of employment, low income and low class positions expose people to the worst aspects of group-based inequalities; while high education, high levels of employment, high income and high class positions protect against them, are two sides of the same coin.

The report uses data from a variety of sources including the General Household Survey (GHS 1996, 2004, 2005), the Labour Force Survey (LFS 1996, 1997, 2004, 2005), the Home Office Citizenship Survey (HOCS 2003, 2005), and the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS 2005) to examine the relationship between education, employment, income, social class and group-based inequalities relating to gender, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation – wherever data are available.

1.2 Overview of existing research

This section provides a brief overview of existing research on the relationship between equality groups and education, employment, income and social class. It draws on both quantitative and qualitative research to ascertain, as far as possible, some of the underlying causes of the associations and interactions between them, and the persistence of group-based inequalities over time.

Gender

White boys and girls have remarkably similar rates of educational success as a result of the considerable improvement in girls' performance over the last twenty years (Arnot & Mac an Ghail, 2006). They have similar rates of participation in Further Education (FE) and Higher Education (HE) and young women are now as likely to have high-level qualifications (degrees) as young men (Elias et al. 2000). However, despite these changes, subject choices for the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) remain heavily gendered with young men studying the sciences and young women specialising in the arts. This pattern can be seen in the choice of A levels and degrees. New longitudinal research on graduates in the labour market is showing that subject choices have major implications for employment trajectories, income levels and class position (Purcell & Elias 2004, 2005). Young women have higher educational credentials than in the past, although the returns to education will not be as high as those for young men. This trend will require further monitoring.

Educational sociologists have cast a skeptical eye on public debate about boys' underachievement. At the very least, attention should focus specifically on White working-class boys' underachievement (Epstein, 1998). Of course, why 'working-class kids get working-class jobs' (Willis, 1977) is a very old question still in need of an answer. Working-class boys (and girls) tend to go to under-performing schools in their local areas, which contribute to low levels of attainment (Gewirtz et al. 1995). In addition, recent qualitative research (Evans, 2006; McDowell, 2003) has emphasised the clash of cultures in the home and the school as White boys (seeking to defend their masculinity and pride) do not value learning in school. Instead, they are eager to leave the education system as early as possible. Thus, White working-class boys do not get sufficient education to allow them to enjoy returns in terms of employment, income and class. The same is true of working-class girls. Class inequalities in FE

and HE also remain stark (Bynner et al. 1997; Devine, 2004; Ferri, 2003; Machin & Vignoles, 2004; McKnight, 2005; Power et al. 2003).

A vast amount of literature has charted the rise of women's employment over the last forty and more years. Indeed, employment rates are inching closer to men's employment rates all the time. However, significant differences remain. For example, it is still women rather than men who take time out of paid work when children arrive and who then suffer the 'parenthood penalty' on their return to the labour market (Scott et al. 2008). Highly-educated women are more likely to return to full-time paid work earlier (often to the same employer) and do not suffer the parenthood penalty as much as less-educated women – because they are behaving more like men. Thus, it is these particular women who enjoy the returns to education, and education seems to protect them against the disadvantages of being a mother. Of course, work / family balance issues (Dex & Smith, 2002; Dex, 2003) arise, and then go some way to explaining why women do not want or do not enjoy later career progression into top jobs (Scott et al. 2008). More research is required on this issue.

Less-educated women suffer the parenthood penalty, as a result of having longer gaps before returning to the labour market, and returning to paid work on a part-time basis (often with a different employer) in a narrow range of occupations in the service sector (Scott et al. 2008). Lack of childcare options is still a considerable barrier to women with children under 11, especially lone mothers with young children who return to work earlier or work full-time. Employers remain wary of employing mothers and may discriminate against them. On returning to employment, these women experience downward mobility and the evidence suggests this penalty is actually growing. Therefore, part-time employment is a trap where training opportunities are limited, career progression is almost non-existent and, in effect, there are only a few bridges to facilitate upward occupational mobility (Tam, 1997; Warren 2000, 2004). This growing divide between highly educated and less educated women needs further investigation.

The persistent gender pay gap suggests that women still do not enjoy the same returns to education as men, in terms of income. Even highly-educated women graduates do not enjoy the same rates of pay on entering the labour market and indeed, the gender pay gap grows over time (Purcell & Elias 2004, 2005). For single

women, the parenthood penalty does not apply. Rather, it is the concentration of highly-educated women in the public sector that is the source of the problem – nearly half of young women graduates are found there (where pay is 10 per cent less than in the private sector) compared to a third of men. In part, this is the result of women's preferences for: socially useful work in the caring professions; the desire to work in organisations with family friendly policies; and in jobs that provide a good work-life balance in anticipation of combining work and family in the future. In contrast, young men graduates are geared towards highly-paid occupations and are willing to live with the long hours work culture – which becomes the norm in such work environments (McDowell, 1997).

While interesting changes are happening at the top-end among highly educated women, only a quarter of women workers are graduates and the pay of non-graduates is poorer relative to men and in need of further investigation (Rubery et al. 1997). While the Minimum Wage and Family Tax Credits have greatly helped low-earning women, the pay gap still remains. Part-time employment is a major part of the issue although persistent gender segregation in the labour market has to be considered too (Bradley et al. 2000; Walby, 1997). Men work in jobs that are better paid and many of these jobs – for example, engineering (Glover, 2000) – still bar women (indirectly rather than directly) in terms of how they view and treat women in everyday working practices. Women are concentrated into a narrow range of care related occupations for example, often care assistant work in the public sector, or retail / hairdressing work in the private sector. Why these jobs continue to be undervalued in terms of pay needs to be explored at all levels (Joshi & Pac, 2001).

While early research on class tended to exclude women (Crompton, 1980), this oversight has long been rectified. Research in the 1980s for example, showed that while men dominated the top of the class structure, women dominated the middle and bottom (Marshall et al. 1988). This was the result of gender segregation (Hakim, 1979) and the sex typing of jobs (Bradley 1989, 1996) in the labour market, which confined women to routine non-manual jobs or manual employment. These findings implied that the daughters of middle-class fathers often experienced downward mobility into, for example, clerical or secretarial work or, at best, semi-professional employment in the supposedly gender appropriate jobs of teaching (Machin &

Vignoles, 2005) and nursing (Davies, 1995) and that working-class women did not enjoy long-range mobility into professional and managerial jobs like men.

The relatively recent entry of women into the professions and management suggests that women's downward mobility has declined. Crompton (Crompton 1980, 1999, 2006; Crompton & Sanderson, 1990; Crompton & Harris, 1998) argues that women have pulled the 'qualifications lever' which has allowed them to enter professions such as medicine, law, accountancy as well as graduate level jobs in management (Bolton & Muzio, 2007; Halford et al. 1997; Witz, 1992; Witz & Savage, 1992). That said, it is predominately women of middle-class origins who are now retaining middle-class positions rather than experiencing downward mobility into intermediate positions. Working-class girls now have similar prospects as working-class boys for upward mobility (Goldthorpe & Jackson, 2007) although when compared with middle-class girls, they are the ones who continue to fill low-level gendered jobs, such as in childcare (Gregson & Lowe, 1994; Skeggs, 1997).

Ethnicity

The 'ethnic minority drive for qualifications' (Modood et al. 1997) continues as levels of educational achievement have increased for some ethnic minority groups – notably Indians and Chinese (Dustmann & Theodoropoulos, 2006; Heath & McMahan, 1999). Moreover, the educational achievements and aspirations of young Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are improving too (Bhavani, 2006; Equal Opportunities Commission, 2006; Dale et al. 2002). Bagguley and Hussain (2007) (see also Hussain & Bagguley, 2007) have looked at the increasing number of South Asian women going to university. They found that parents play a very major role – arguably stronger than in White families – in deciding subject choices and choice of local university. Universities close to home are often preferred, especially as ethnic minority women still experience prejudice and discrimination as part of university life. Thus, expectations about HE, employment, marriage and children are changing although continuities remain.

However, the position of some ethnic minority groups with regards to education is not improving (Heath & Brinbaum, 2007). Black Caribbean, Mixed White / Black Caribbean, Black African and Pakistani / Bangladeshi boys (in particular) are not doing well especially in secondary school. For example, they are more likely to be

excluded from school for 'behavioural issues' and less likely to gain five GCSEs or more at age 16. If they go to university, they are often concentrated in the lower status post 1992 universities (Connor et al. 1996). Why the 'visible' minorities are not succeeding is puzzling (Cheung & Heath, 2007). Class is an interrelated issue, although discrimination and prejudice in school settings is considered part of the problem (Gilborn, 2008; Mac an Ghail, 1999). Surprisingly, there are no recent ethnographies of underachieving ethnic minority groups which might update Mac an Ghail's classic study (1988) – although Haynes' (2008) study on Black Caribbean's and Aim Higher is noteworthy.

While employment rates among all men are high, it has long been known that ethnic minority men have lower rates of employment than White men (Cheung & Heath, 2007; Li & Heath, 2008b). In particular, Pakistani and Bangladeshi men have lower rates of economic activity, while Black Caribbean and Black African men have higher rates of unemployment (Li & Heath, 2007; Heath & Li 2007, 2008, forthcoming). The difficult position of these men has been well captured by in-depth qualitative work such as Kalra's (2000) study of Pakistani men in Oldham who experienced redundancy and unemployment as the textile industry collapsed in the 1980s and employment opportunities were limited to jobs such as taxi-driving. Mac an Ghail and Haywood's (2005) research on Bangladeshi young men and women in Newcastle, paints a similar picture of exclusion. In effect, many ethnic minority men are excluded from the labour market, which implies they do not enjoy the returns to education in terms of economic activity. Their continued exclusion (Radcliffe, 2004; Solomos, 2003) requires ongoing research.

Employment activity among ethnic minority women is similar. White women have the highest levels of employment and ethnic minority women have lower levels, although there are variations between them. Black Caribbean women have high rates of employment as they are concentrated in nursing in the NHS – to which they were directly recruited since the 1950s (Mason, 1995). Again, the evidence shows that it is Pakistani and Bangladeshi women who have the lowest rates of employment and highest levels of inactivity. Of course, many of these women are mothers at home, not least because they have more children and cultural traditions place a high value on motherhood. Even so, there are barriers to employment due to a lack of fluency in the English language (Modood et al. 1997) and discrimination (Bradley, 2007). Thus,

ethnic minority women have very similar patterns of employment as White women in the 1950s. However, young women are now beginning to acquire educational credentials and this increases their chances of employment (Lindley, Dale & Dex, 2006; Dale, 2005).

White men earn more than ethnic minority men although there are differences between ethnic minority men: Indian and Chinese men enjoy higher earnings than Pakistani / Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean men. That said, where ethnic minority men (notably of the second generation) hold similar qualifications and class position to White men, they earn similar amounts (Cheung & Heath, 2007). Once ethnic minority men are employed in the labour market, they experience the same processes of stratification as White men – although, prejudice and discrimination are still found among employers (and employees). Highly-qualified ethnic minority men however, are treated the same in the recruitment process into high-level professional and managerial positions (Heath & Yu, 2004; Hoque & Noon, 1999). Educational success increases the probability of employment and occupational success for ethnic minority men as it does for White men.

A very similar story can be told in relation to ethnic minority women and income. As previously mentioned, the picture is a little more complicated as Black Caribbean women have secured relatively good incomes through nursing careers in the NHS. With a greater tendency to head-up single-parent households than White women, they are more likely to work full-time than part-time and have experienced less of the penalty associated with motherhood (Dex, 2003). Be that as it may, ethnic minority women (especially of the second generation) earn similar amounts to White women where they hold similar qualifications and class position (Cheung & Heath, 2007). Like White women, highly-qualified ethnic minority women have pulled the 'qualifications lever' (Crompton & Sanderson, 1990) which has facilitated entry into high-level occupations in the professions – medicine, law and accountancy – which command high and rising salaries. Therefore, education makes a difference to employment income.

With regards to the class position of ethnic minority men, White men have a substantial presence in the salariat (namely high-level professional and managerial jobs), but so too do Indian men. Pakistani / Bangladeshi and Chinese men are over-

represented among the self-employed petty bourgeoisie – often in restaurants and take-aways – as any stroll along a British high street will confirm (Phillips, 1995; Ram et al. 2005; Li, 2007b). Once more, Black Caribbean men, along with Pakistani and Bangladeshi men, are clustered into working-class jobs in skilled, but more usually, semi and unskilled manual work. Why second-generation Black Caribbean men in particular, are still concentrated at the bottom of the class structure, requires further research (Cheung & Heath, 2007). It is evident that similarities and differences between White and ethnic minority men are reproduced across the spheres of education, employment, income and class.

A similar story can be told with regard to white and ethnic minority women (Cheung & Heath, 2007; Heath & Yu, 2004). The evidence to date shows that White women are in the salariat, although so too are Black Caribbean women (given their full-time NHS nursing careers) and Indian women (whose educational performance has increased in recent decades and facilitated their entry into professional occupations). Once more, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women who are employed have a limited presence in middle-class positions and, because of their low-level qualifications, dominate in working-class skilled and unskilled manual jobs (Bradley et al. 2007; Dale, 2005). Thus, the low class position of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women remains stark and is related to their low levels of educational credentials (and levels of employment). As education levels improve (and so too does employment as noted above (Lindley, Dale & Dex, 2006; Dale 2005)), the class position of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women can be expected to improve over time – although whether it will be over too long a time is a moot point.

Disability

It is well known that disabled people have much lower levels of educational qualifications than non-disabled people, as a result of their (past) exclusion from the education system in Britain (Barnes et al. 2002; Beckett, 2006). The education of disabled young people has now moved away from segregated educational institutions, which offered only a limited curriculum and promoted low expectations among disabled pupils. Even so, their inclusion in mainstream education has not yet been fully achieved: nursery provision for disabled children is poor; they do not do as well as non-disabled children in Key Stage tests; they are less likely to be involved in education, training and employment at 16; or participate in FE and HE. While

progress has been made, the inclusion of disabled pupils into mainstream education has not been straightforward (French & Swain, 2004; Swain et al. 2004).

Much of the research agenda is still devoted to understanding and explaining how barriers limit the chances of disabled young people acquiring educational qualifications. It appears that disabled young people's inclusion in mainstream schools has often been done with limited funding or inadequate support. Teachers' expectations and aspirations in respect of disabled children's educational capabilities and potential remain limited and limiting. Beckett's (2006) Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded work on disability equality in English primary schools and the difficulties of getting access to scarce resources, is a case in point. Disability rights activists see education as key to: opening up employment opportunities; the chance to live independently on a reasonable income; and enjoying a good quality of life. It is a major influence on life-chances (Priestley 2001, 2003). Differences in educational performance among disabled people, in terms of gender, race and sexuality, remain unknown and under-researched.

The low level of employment among disabled people is well known in disability studies. Poor educational qualifications are a factor, although disabled people are 30 per cent more likely to be out of work than non-disabled people with the same qualification (Mercer, 2005; Roulstone, 1998; Roulstone et al. 2003; Roulstone & Barnes, 2005). Thus, disabled people do not get the same returns on educational credentials in the labour market as non-disabled people. Government legislation has sought to outlaw discrimination and improve the employment opportunities of disabled people. Nevertheless, one of the major foci has been the continued difficulties of securing employment. Even in employment, most disabled people are in (public sector) lower-level jobs with low incomes, and high flyers who command high incomes are a minority (Shah, 2005). This reality in turn, affects the occupational aspirations and choices of disabled young people (Shah, 2008 forthcoming).

Research suggests that Government commitment to removing barriers does not easily translate into employers paying for training, specialist advice, and making reasonable adjustments to the workplace. Discrimination, prejudice, fear and misapprehensions also make the workplace an uncomfortable environment in which to work (Woodhams & Danieli, 2000). Accordingly, research continues on the barriers

to employment itself and to good employment, including the reasons why employers (notably those in the private sector) are not prepared to make additional efforts to accommodate the special needs of disabled workers. This research also considers what further incentives may be required to facilitate the entry of disabled people into employment so that employment levels increase. Differences in employment rates among disabled people, in terms of gender, race and sexuality, and differential returns to education for different groups, have yet to be established.

Given that disabled people often work in low-level jobs, frequently work part-time or move between jobs and in-and-out of the labour market, their income levels are low. Again, the evidence suggests that disabled people have lower incomes than non-disabled people with the same qualification (Mercer, 2005; Roulstone, 1998; Roulstone et al. 2003; Roulstone & Barnes, 2005). They do not get the returns to education in terms of income, in the same way as non-disabled people. Moreover, the exclusion of many disabled people from the labour market has meant they are forced to live on welfare benefits which constitute a very low income. Therefore, poverty remains a major issue (Townsend, 1979; Barnes & Mercer, 2002; Swain et al. 2004). Differential poverty rates among disabled people, in terms of gender, race and sexuality, and the extent to which education might protect different groups from poverty, also have yet to be researched.

There has been almost no research on disability and class to date. Certainly within class analysis, there has been neither an examination of the position of disabled people in the class structure, nor an exploration of patterns and trends in social mobility. Even if there had been, the low levels of employment among disabled people would have led to their exclusion from statistical analysis because occupation is invariably used as a proxy indicator of class. Other economically inactive groups, like mothers at home or the unemployed, have usually been included in class analysis on the basis of details of their previous employment (Dex, 1987; Gallie et al. 1998). This solution would not be possible for many disabled people with no employment histories. Class position would have to be established via class background, namely parent's class, which is not very satisfactory in ascertaining the current class position of disabled people.

What we have learned from disability studies, is that disabled people who are employed are likely to cluster in low level working-class jobs or, at best, intermediate positions. Limited employment opportunities have confined disabled people to ‘jobs’ rather than ‘careers’, excluding them from high-level professional and managerial middle-class positions. The possibilities of upward social mobility have been limited. Shah’s (2005) recent work on the career success of disabled high-flyers has led her to call for more research on the way in which class origins influence educational success and occupational destinations among disabled people. If class origins are so crucial for the life-chances of non-disabled people, their importance should be considered for disabled people and how their adult lives unfold. Again, differences among disabled people in terms of gender, race and sexuality, need further exploration too.

Sexuality

There is no research which has directly considered differential rates of educational success by sexuality. For the most part, work on sexual orientation and education has focused on the seemingly growing problem of homophobia – forms of bullying and abuse – which appears to be almost endemic in schools (Hunt & Jensen, 2007). It has been argued that schools, where the ‘naturalness of heterosexuality’ is dominant, create a hostile atmosphere for young people to understand their emerging sexualities. This is especially true for gay men and lesbians who want to express their homosexuality, when homophobic insults are bandied about by some young people. Moreover, some teachers and youth workers hold prejudicial attitudes and this shapes discriminatory behaviour towards young gay men and lesbians. Sexuality in this respect is strictly governed, and homosexuality is frequently oppressed in the school system and through education policies (Epstein, 1994; Epstein et al. 2003).

This research has focused on the processes by which sexualities are ‘manufactured’ in schools, colleges and universities (Richardson, 2000; Richardson & Seidman, 2002; Weeks, 2001). To repeat, we do not know whether discrimination and prejudice affect educational performance and consequent outcomes. There are no data on differentials in educational qualifications among young people according to their sexual orientation. It could be surmised for example, that gay and lesbian young people experience school as a hostile environment in which they might under-

perform. Yet, it may be that young gay men and lesbian women have survival strategies which allow them to prosper in the education system despite the difficult environment. More research is required on sexual orientation and educational outcomes and any variations among gay men and lesbian women by class, gender, ethnicity and disability.

Similarly, there is no definitive map of the position of gay men and lesbian women in the labour market and the extent to which they enjoy appropriate returns to education. In the sociology of work and employment, attention has focused on instances of homophobic abuse, harassment and violence. The spotlight has been on the suppression of sexualities in the workplace, which are often dominated by heterosexual men. Echoing academic thinking in the field of education, research has focused on the nature of heterosexualised cultures at work and how the workplace is a site where the construction of masculinity, femininity and heterosexuality and homosexuality takes place (Richardson, 1996; Wajcman, 1999). Sexuality is central to the way in which work organisations operate (Adkins, 1994; Wolkowitz, 2006). Links are often made between sexism and racism in work organisations (Edwards & Wajcman, 2005; Hearn & Parkin, 2001).

The evidence suggests that the suppression of homosexuality in the face of discrimination and hostility in the workplace thwarts career progression. Ward and Winstanley's (2006) research into sexual minorities working as fire fighters in London, found that homophobia was prevalent and those who came out or were 'outed' in the workplace were often shunned by colleagues and worse still, sometimes lost their jobs. This is not to say that all workplaces and heterosexual workers are hostile to gay men and lesbian women and indeed, there are industries like the media where gay men for example, are 'a significant part of the employee base' (Ward & Winstanley, 2006). They may have all-important 'strategies for organisational survival' (Thompson & McHugh, 2001). More needs to be known about: patterns of employment among men and women in same-sex and non-same-sex couples; the returns to education; and any differences by class, gender, race and disability.

In the UK, academic research on sexuality and income is very thin on the ground. For example, there is no research that compares patterns and trends in income between men and women in same-sex and non-same-sex couples. Consequently, we also

know very little about the returns to education and any income differences between men in same-sex couples, women in same-sex couples and variations in terms of ethnicity and disability. There are US websites which report on the gay market, such as the pink pound and consumer surveys (www.communitymarketinginc.com, www.edgeboston.com). They indicate that gay men have higher incomes than heterosexual men. They also have higher incomes than lesbian women who in turn, have higher incomes than heterosexual women because they do not suffer from the penalties of motherhood. These patterns have yet to be established in the UK, although it is highly likely that such income patterns are similar.

Finally, there is little research on class and sexual orientation in terms of establishing basic details about the position of men and women in same-sex couples in the class structure. Nor has there been any research on patterns and trends in social mobility for gay men and lesbians in conventional class analysis. There is a quite different body of work, looking at cultural representations of class and the relationship of sexuality and class (Healy, 1996; Moran & Skeggs, 2003; Munt, 2000; Skeggs, 2004). Issues of interest here include the 'homosexual eroticization of class' such as the way in which the working-class 'chav' label has been used to sell sexual products and services (Johnson 2006, 2008). These issues aside, it is readily apparent that there is a paucity of quantitative data and qualitative material on: sexuality and class; the returns to education; and differences by gender of same-sex couples, ethnicity and disability.

Summary

Overall, this brief review has shown that a good deal of research has been done on gender and ethnicity in relation to education, employment, income and class (although more research could still be done of course). However, much less has been done on disability and sexuality with regards to these issues. Within-group differences across this range of equality groups have not been so extensively researched and most importantly, the extent to which education protects groups from disadvantages, has not been examined. Also, much of the research on equality groups has been done separately. None of the existing quantitative research has looked at gender, ethnicity, disability and sexuality and differences between them in relation to education, employment, income, class, discrimination and life satisfaction, simultaneously. It is these issues which are the focus of the present study.

2. DATA AND METHODS

2.1 Data

The data used in this report are drawn from the most authoritative Government and academic surveys: the General Household Survey (GHS); the Labour Force Survey (LFS); the Home Office Citizenship Survey (HOCS); and the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS). We used: the pooled GHS² and LFS for 1996/7 as the earlier period and contrast it with 2004/5 as the later period; the HOCS 2003 and 2005; and the BHPS 2005. Throughout the analysis, we focused on men aged 16-64 and women aged 16-63, resident in Great Britain at the time of interview – except for the HOCS data which are restricted to England and Wales only.

In this research wherever data are available, we used gender, ethnicity, religion, disability (including people with limiting long-term illness) and same-sex status to identify potentially disadvantaged groups. The last group is particularly hard to find in quantitative analysis as the data are either not collected or only exist in very small numbers. However, we managed to find sufficient numbers for statistical analysis.³ We appreciate that many people with same-sex orientations (couples or otherwise) may prefer not to declare their sexual orientation to an interviewer, thus leading to an underestimation of the true extent of the number of gay men and lesbian women and discrimination suffered by them at the societal level.⁴ It is also noted here that owing to the ambiguity of definition between disability and limiting long-term illness in the GHS / LFS files, we cannot precisely differentiate between disability and limiting long-term illness. Thus, we code all incidences of disability and / or limiting long-term illness as the same attribute and simply use the term 'disability' in the following discussions. We understand that the Office for National Statistics (ONS) is planning to collect more data on sexuality in the coming years, but the data are unlikely to be

² The GHS did not collect data in 1997, hence only the 1996 data are available.

³ The pooled the GHS / LFS from 1996/7 to 2004/5 has 1,680 respondents who are in same-sex couples (within the age-geography limits imposed), which is nearly 4.5 times as many as available in the Household Samples of Anonymised Records (SAR) from the 2001 Census of Population www.ccsr.ac.uk/sars/2001/hhold-cams/codebook/camrelations.pdf Yet as the data for the intervening years (1998-2003) are not used in this report, the numbers are smaller.

⁴ It is possible that some of the same-sex people are not in couples, as 'couple' in that sense is hard to define. Given the small sample sizes involved and the lack of clear definition in the dataset, we cannot further differentiate same-sex people as individuals or as couples.

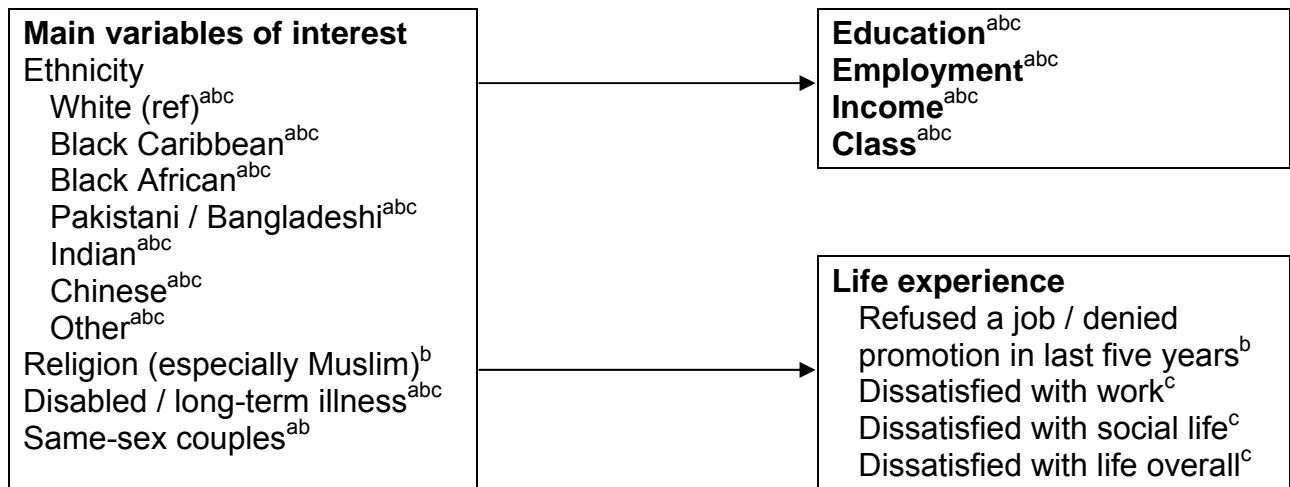
available in the near future. Therefore, in spite of shortcomings with sample sizes for same-sex couples and the ambiguity concerning disability, our data are currently the best available for the research in question. Moreover, our data have the added advantage of having information on income (earnings from the labour market) and many other socio-economic variables that adequately meet the research needs of this review.

2.2 Methods

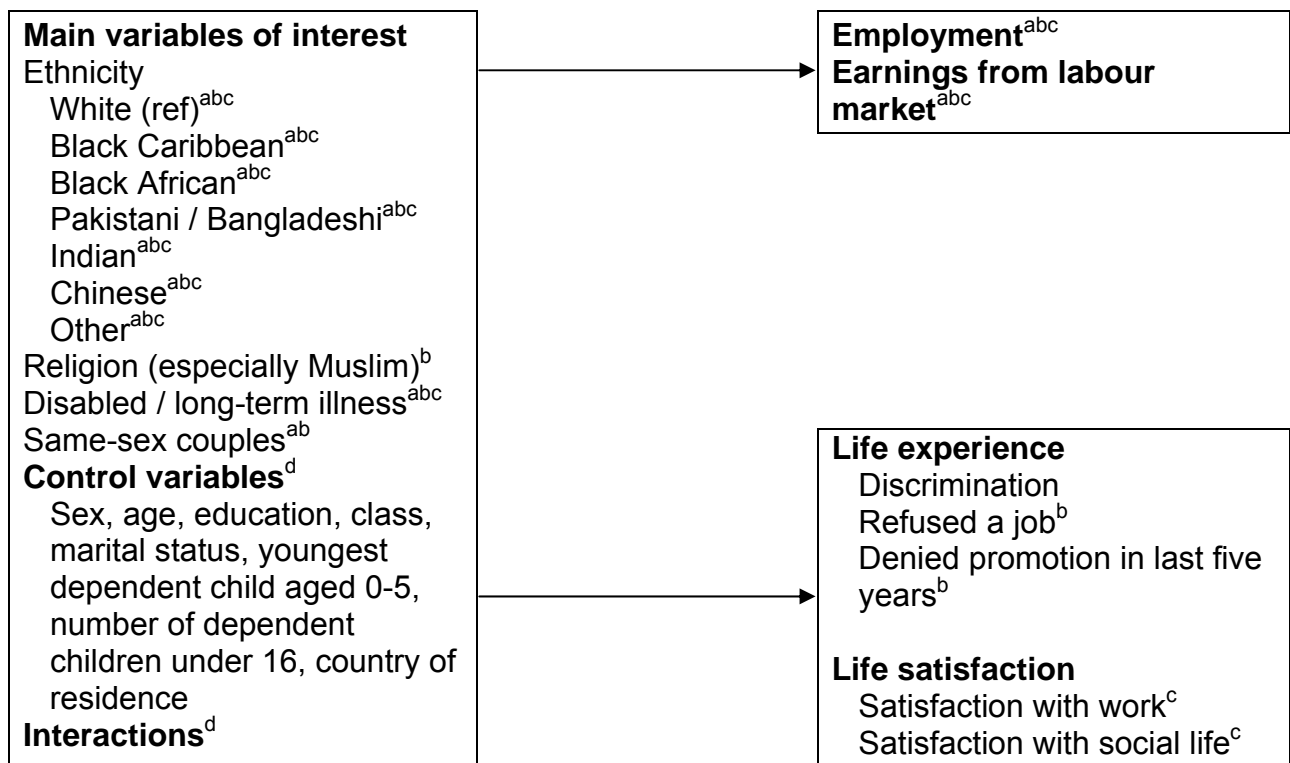
We focus on the protective role of education: that is, the degree to which education protects disadvantaged groups in their labour market position (participation and earnings) and other aspects of socio-economic life such as discrimination in the labour market and satisfaction with work and non-work life. For analysis on employment and earnings, we also explore the protective role of class. The analytical framework is shown in Diagram 1.

Diagram 1 Analytical framework for the report

Descriptive analysis: for men and women separately



Statistical modelling



Notes:

^a Available in GHS / LFS (1996/7-2004/5)

^b Available in HOCS 2003 and 2005.

^c Available in BHPS (2005).

^d Most of the analysis will be conducted for men and women separately; other control variables such as age, marital status, etc. will be included in the modelling as appropriate; education and dependent children will be used in interactions in employment and earnings; and education, class and dependent children in earnings.

We shall first analyse the situation of education, employment, income (that is, earnings from the labour market, hereafter used interchangeably in this report) and class to see the patterns and trends of disadvantage faced by the key groups in the GHS / LFS. We shall then look at life experiences in terms of discrimination in the labour market (job refusal and promotion blockage) – using the pooled data from the HOCS for 2003 and 2005 – and of subjective perception of quality of life (satisfaction with work, with social life and with life overall) using the BHPS for 2005. Moreover, and key to the project, we shall conduct a series of analyses testing interaction effects between education and ethnicity, education and disability, and education and same-sex, to see whether, and to what extent, education protects these groups from discrimination and disadvantage. As noted earlier, we shall also analyse the protective role of class in employment status and earnings, with class defined as current or last main employment based on the Goldthorpe class schema (Goldthorpe, 1987).

We code ethnicity using the categories in the 1991 Census: White, Black Caribbean, Black African, Indian, Pakistani / Bangladeshi, Chinese and Other. People of Pakistani / Bangladeshi origins are coded together because of the relatively small sample sizes of their respective groups and the largely similar socio-economic disadvantages shared by the two groups (NEP, 2006) (for a discussion of the differences in socio-political participation between the two groups, see Li & Marsh, 2008; Li, 2008). The ‘Other’ group also includes various ‘mixed’ groupings. To avoid repetition, we shall simply refer to them as ‘Other’ rather than ‘Other / Mixed’ in the following discussion. With regard to education, we code it as a three-way variable: lower level (primary or no education), intermediate level (O-A Levels or equivalent), and higher level (first degree or above, or equivalent), which can be used both as categorical and continuous variables. National vocational qualifications (NVQs) are included in the appropriate levels. The coding of class will be explained in Chapter 3.

In the descriptive analysis we present bivariate tables, crosstabulating gender, ethnicity, disability and same-sex on the one hand; and by education, employment, income and class on the other. Significance levels are presented only for key categories in the variables, such as degree-level qualifications or access to the salariat. In the modelling, we only use employment and income as outcome variables, with education and other socio-demographic factors as explanatory

variables. In modelling income, we also use class together with other independent variables as predictors⁵ and similarly for the 'life experience' research. It is noted here that income (labour market earnings) does not include benefits or transfers, and as a large proportion of respondents reported earnings but not hours of work, or hours of work but not earnings, we did not include hours of work as an explanatory variable in our models. To do that would have much reduced our sample sizes.⁶ It is further noted here that the GHS / LFS do not ask for income data for the self-employed; however, the employment sectors of some respondents are not clear-cut – some respondents may be nominally self-employed but also work for other companies, or for their own companies as employees. There is thus some inaccuracy in this regard. However, the overall proportion of such respondents is very small and we do not need to be overly concerned about this. Finally, we did not consider the impact of occupational segregation on income, which may be of considerable significance for some ethnic groups. For a recent study on occupational segregation, see Elliot and Lindley (2008).

⁵ We also carried out analyses using class as a predictor of employment status. However, the estimates were not clear. This is because employment status (such as unemployment or inactivity) may be better viewed as a separate state in class analysis, rather than class having a causal relationship to employment (other than in a prospective panel design). Using class as a predictor of income on the other hand, is not problematic and the results are presented in this report.

⁶ We repeated all analyses using both weekly and hourly pay, and the results show the same patterns. This is because we have controlled for marital status, number of dependent children under the age of 16 and presence of children under the age of five, in addition to a range of other variables. The results using hourly pay are not separately presented but are available on request.

3. EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, INCOME AND CLASS

In this chapter we present descriptive findings on education, employment status, income (gross weekly pay) and class, based on men aged 16-64 and women aged 16-63 resident in Great Britain at the time of interview using the GHS / LFS as earlier described. We present the 2004/5 data first, followed by the 1996/7 data. The discussion of the earlier data is mainly for comparison with the later period. The analysis is followed by statistical models on employment status and income controlling for a range of socio-cultural and demographic-geographic factors. The modelling results and the predicted values from the models will be reported in the next chapter.

The data in Tables 1a-4a are on education, employment, income and class for men and women respectively in 2004/5, and the corresponding Tables 1b-4b show the data in 1996/7. The data on education, employment status and class are percentages and those on income are gross weekly pay in pounds. Apart from the descriptive data, we also present results of bivariate statistical tests in the tables for each of the other categories in a variable against the reference group, such as White, non-disabled, and non-same-sex (that is, people not in same-sex couples or not having same-sex orientations).⁷ As the analysis is conducted for men and for women separately, we can also see the differences between men and women.

3.1 Education and group-based inequalities

Tables 1a and 1b show the patterns and trends in educational attainment by gender, ethnicity, disability and same-sex couples in the later and the earlier period. In terms of gender differences, the last row in the two tables shows signs of progress. In the earlier period, men had somewhat higher rates of degree-level qualifications than women (21 and 19 per cent respectively). In 2004/5, the two gender groups had the same rate (26 per cent each). Thus, there has been a major improvement in women's level of educational qualifications in the last 10 years.

⁷ In this way, we can not only see the extent of differences between the different groups but also whether the differences in question are statistically significant. One could have done this for each category of the dependent variable but we have only done so for some categories of particular interest such as being employed, access to the professional / managerial (salaried) class, or having degree-level (or above) educational qualifications.

In terms of ethnic differences in education, we find greater differences among ethnic groups than between them and the majority group. At both time periods, it was the Black African, Indian and Chinese men and Chinese women who had the higher educational qualifications (Black Caribbean and Black African women also had substantially higher rates of degree-level qualifications although some of the rates were not significantly higher than their White peers). On the other hand, Black Caribbean men, and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men and women were consistently found to be least qualified.

The period covered saw a big increase in educational provision and consequently, a substantial overall increase in the proportion of people with degree-level qualifications – an increase of around 5 per cent for men and 7.5 per cent for women. If we compare the figures for the ethnic groups in terms of degree-level education, we find that Black Caribbean men and women, and Pakistani / Bangladeshi women had less than their expected share, whereas all other ethnic minority groups had more than their expected share – Indian, Black African and Chinese men's rates increased by around 12, 11 and 8 per cent respectively compared to 5 per cent overall, and Indian and Chinese women's rates of degree-level education increased by 15 and 11 per cent compared to 7.5 per cent overall for women.

Disability and same-sex based differences remained highly significant in both periods and there were signs that the differences were increasing over time. In so far as degree-level qualifications are concerned: disabled people were in a disadvantaged position and men and women in same-sex relationships were in a more favourable position, compared to non-disabled people and men and women in non-same-sex relationships. In 1996/7 (Table 1b), the gaps between non-disabled and disabled people were 12 per cent for men and 8 per cent for women; in 2004/5 (Table 1a), the gaps widened to 14 and 11 per cent respectively. Similarly, the gaps between men and women in same-sex and other relationships widened from 18 per cent for men and 22 per cent for women in 1996/7 to 22 and 25 per cent respectively in the later period.

3.2 Employment and group-based inequalities

The data on employment status in 2004/5 are found in Table 2a and those for 1996/7 are found in Table 2b. The last row in Table 2a shows the overall gender difference in employment status in 2004/5. We can see that the majority of men were in employment (78 per cent) with just under a fifth of men being inactive (19 per cent). The proportion of women in gainful employment was lower (67 per cent) and women in unemployment was also slightly lower. A much higher proportion of women were inactive (31 per cent).

With regards to ethnic differences in employment, White men and women had the highest rates of employment (79 and 69 per cent respectively) and men and women in all other ethnic minority groups had statistically significantly lower rates – especially Chinese and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men (58 and 61 per cent respectively) and most strikingly, Pakistani / Bangladeshi women (23 per cent). The patterns for unemployment and inactivity closely mirror those for employment. In both aspects, we find that White men and women were the least likely to be unemployed and inactive as compared with their counterparts in all other ethnic minority groups. With regard to unemployment, Black Caribbean, Black African, Pakistani / Bangladeshi and ‘Other’ men had rates two to three times as high as that for White men, and similar patterns were found for women, albeit to a smaller extent in absolute terms. These findings confirm previous research on ethnic differences in employment status (Lindley et al. 2006; Li, 2007b; Heath & Li 2007, 2008; NEP 2005, 2007).

With regard to differences in employment by disability and same-sex status, we find, as expected, that disabled men and women had much lower levels of employment (44 and 40 per cent respectively) and higher rates of inactivity (52 and 56 per cent respectively) than non-disabled men and women. For both men and women, the differences between non-disabled and disabled people were highly significant. These findings match earlier research using Census data (Karn, 1997).

In terms of employment, little previous research exists on men and women of same-sex orientation. In this analysis we found that men and women in same-sex relationships had the highest rates of employment across the total population of men and women (87 and 84 per cent respectively) and the lowest rates of unemployment

and inactivity. The patterns here could also suggest that among those in same-sex relationships, people in employment are more open about, and hence more likely to report, their sexual orientation.

The patterns for employment status in 1996/7 (Table 2b) were little different from those in 2004/5, although employment rates for both sexes were higher, unemployment rates lower, male inactivity rates higher, and female inactivity rates lower in the later period. The pattern of group-based differences in the earlier period is almost exactly the same as shown above for the later period. Thus, in 1996/7, for men and women alike: all ethnic minority groups had significantly lower employment rates than White men and women; disabled men and women had significantly lower rates of employment than non-disabled men and women; and people in same-sex couples had significantly higher rates of employment. There was little if any, noticeable change in relative terms across the groups.

3.3 Income and group-based inequalities

The data on gross weekly pay are shown in Tables 3a and 3b for 2004/5 and 1996/7 respectively. Over the period covered, gross weekly pay increased by around £130 for men and £100 for women in monetary terms. Our interest here is not concerned with whether this is mere inflation, a real increase or both, but rather with the between-group differences and the change within groups over time.

Firstly, with regard to gender differences, there were clear signs of progress over time. In the earlier period, men earned around £350 per week and women earned around £191 per week, with the former earning 84 per cent more than the latter. In the later period, men earned £480 per week as compared with £294 for women, with men earning 64 per cent more than women. Thus, in the 10 year period, men's lead in gross weekly earnings dropped by 20 per cent and women's position improved correspondingly.

The profile with regard to ethnicity is more complicated. For men, we find that at both time periods most ethnic minority groups earned significantly less than White men, with Pakistani / Bangladeshi men earning the least – although Indian men in the later period and Chinese men in the earlier period had non-significant differences from White men. For women: Black Caribbean women earned significantly more than their White peers at both time periods (most probably due to their higher social positions,

as we shall see in the next subsection); Indian women had significantly higher earnings in the later period; and Chinese women had significantly higher earnings in the earlier period. Pakistani / Bangladeshi women were found to have the lowest earnings at both time periods.

It is of interest here to compare the changes in the earning profiles. Of particular note is the change for Indian and Chinese men and women. As shown in Table 3b, Indian men had significantly lower weekly income in 1996/7 but they were earning somewhat (albeit non-significantly) more than White men in the later period (Table 3a). Indian women had a similar earning profile to White women in the earlier period but were found to have significantly higher weekly incomes in the later period. The picture for Chinese men and women was in the opposite direction. In the earlier period, Chinese men were found to have similar incomes to those of White men but in the later period, they were found to have significantly lower incomes than their White peers. Chinese women were found to have significantly higher incomes than White women in the earlier period but this lead was lost in the later period, which may reflect changing age profiles.

The patterns for disability and same-sex status were similar to those for education and employment in that disabled people tend to have poorer outcomes (in terms of labour market incomes) and those in same-sex couples tend to have higher earning power. We also notice that the significant lead of men in same-sex relationships over men in non-same-sex relationships in the earlier period became non-significant in the later period (but note the small sample sizes involved).

3.4 Class and group-based inequalities

Tables 4a and 4b contain data on social class as defined by occupational positions for 2004/5 and 1996/7 respectively. We differentiate four social classes: salariat (professional, higher administrative and managerial occupations); routine non-manual (such as lower grade administration and office clerks), small employers with or without employees (otherwise called petty bourgeoisie), and manual working class

(including agricultural labourers).⁸

A notable feature in Table 4a is that both men and women had an even split between middle- (salarial) and working-class positions – around 40 per cent in each for men and around 37 per cent for women. Women were more likely to be in routine non-manual positions and men in self-employment. Men were also slightly more likely to be in working-class positions than women (41 and 38 per cent respectively).

The class pattern for ethnicity is rather different from that in employment. Here we find more differences among ethnic minority groups, than between them and the White majority group. In 2004/5, 40 per cent of White men and 37 per cent of White women were in the salariat, the most advantaged social class. Indian men were significantly more likely to be in the salariat (47 per cent) whilst Black Caribbean and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men were significantly less likely to be in this class (28 and 23 per cent respectively). Men of other minority groups such as Black African and Chinese were not significantly different from White men. For women, Black Caribbean, Indian and 'Other' groups were significantly more likely to be in the salariat and Pakistani / Bangladeshi groups were significantly less likely to be in this class – with Black African and Chinese bearing no significant differences to White women.

The differences in other class positions are also pronounced. Compared with their White peers, Pakistani / Bangladeshi and Chinese men were around twice as likely to be in self-employment in 2004/5 whilst Black African men were half as likely (for more discussion on self-employment by ethnic minority groups in Britain, see Li, 2007b). Chinese women were also twice as likely to be found in self-employment compared to their White peers. With regard to manual working-class positions, we

⁸ The ONS used the Socio-Economic Group (SEG) classification before 2000 and the National Statistics for Socio-Economic Classification (NSSEC) after 2000. We followed the standard practice in converting the SEG and the NSSEC into the Goldthorpe-class schema which is used in this report (Heath & McDonald, 1987; Rose & Pavalin, 2003). The main difference between the SEG and the NSSEC is with regard to lower-grade routine non-manual occupations which are coded as 'semi-routine' in the NSSEC. The implication is stronger for women's than for men's classes. Thus, we find that in 2004/5, there were much lower proportions of women in routine non-manual and much higher proportions in working-class positions than in 1996/7. However, as our interest in this report is in access to the salariat, the impact is less significant.

find that men of Black Caribbean, Black African and Pakistani / Bangladeshi heritage had markedly higher rates than White men, and that women of Black African and Pakistani / Bangladeshi origins also had much higher rates than their White peers.

A comparison with the 1996/7 data show some important changes. Apart from patterns for disability and same-sex couples, which show the same relative patterns as in the current period, there are some notable differences with regard to ethnic group (Table 4b). In the earlier period, none of the ethnic minority groups were more likely to be found in a more advantaged salariat position than Whites, and this held for men and women alike. Of particular note here is the finding that Black Caribbean and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men, and Indian and Pakistani / Bangladeshi women were significantly less likely to hold salariat positions in comparison with their White peers. The profile for self-employment and working-class positions was basically the same as in the later period. Thus, the most notable feature is that, compared with 10 years earlier, Indian men and women, and Black Caribbean women moved from a position where they were either significantly less than or not significantly different from their White peers in gaining access to the salariat to a position where they were now significantly more likely to be found in such positions.

A similar pattern to that found earlier for employment is that, for men and women alike, disabled people are significantly and markedly less likely to be found in the salariat than non-disabled people and that people in same-sex couples are significantly more likely than those in non-same-sex couples to find themselves in these positions (Table 4a). In this regard, it is noticeable that exactly the same pattern is found in the 1996/7 data (Table 4b), although absolute rates differ somewhat between the two time periods.

3.5 Summary

We have given a fairly detailed account of the patterns and trends of gender, ethnic, disability and sexual differences in education, employment, income and class in the two periods. These can be summarised as follows:

- Women's position improved in education, employment, income and class over time, as compared to men.

- All ethnic minority groups had significantly lower rates of employment than the White majority groups at both time periods, with the lowest rates among Pakistani / Bangladeshi men and women and Black Caribbean men.
- Pakistani / Bangladeshi men and women and Black Caribbean men also had the lowest proportions in salariat positions and with degree-level qualifications.
- People of Black African, Indian and Chinese origin were educationally highly qualified but only Indians were apparently able to translate their educational capital into occupational success. Even Indians did not seem to be able to make the fullest use of their cultural capital. For instance, Indian men had a lead of 11 per cent in degree-level qualifications over White men, and yet their lead in salariat position over their White peers was only 7 per cent.
- In terms of change over time, we found that Black Caribbean men and women, and Pakistani / Bangladeshi women did not increase their share in degree-level qualifications. In terms of income, Indian men and women made notable progress over time, whereas Chinese men and women were moving in the opposite direction.
- Disabled people had lower rates in each of the four aspects under discussion in both periods than non-disabled people, hence little change in their position.
- People in same-sex couples had higher rates in each of the four aspects under discussion in both periods than others, so there was also little change in position.

Many of the findings reported above confirm some of the existing research on group-based inequalities in education, employment, income and class. Some important changes have been noted. Moreover, this is the first time that systematic research has explored gender, ethnicity, disability and same-sex relations at the same time. This section has presented a descriptive and some bivariate analysis, which paves the way for more systematic multivariate analysis in the following chapter.

4. STATISTICAL MODELLING ON EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS

Background characteristics

Before turning to the statistical modelling, it is necessary to give a brief account of some other characteristics of the key social groups under consideration. These characteristics are crucial for our understanding of the labour market participation and earnings of the groups in question. For instance, labour economists have long argued that human capital – as indicated by education and labour market experience (age) – plays a very important role in terms of labour market position. People with higher educational qualifications are more likely to gain access to higher social class positions and to make more money. Younger people and those approaching retirement are less likely to be in employment and even when in the labour market, are more likely to make less money. Family situation, such as number of dependent children and personal health, is also a factor that has a decisive impact on people's labour market participation and earnings. Given these and other considerations, we shall highlight some key points in terms of: mean age; mean number of dependent children under the age of 16 in the household; presence of dependent children aged 0-5; and proportion with disability / long-term limiting illness; by different ethnic group and by sex in the two periods. The full data are set out in the Appendix.

What we already know about these groups is as follows:

- For both men and women, ethnic minority groups are found to be younger than the majority White group at both time periods. Pakistani / Bangladeshi men and women were the youngest, together with Chinese men in the later period.
- Compared to the White group, ethnic minority groups (except the Chinese) have a greater mean number of dependent children under the age of 16 and a higher proportion of young children under the age of five – this is most probably owing to their younger age structure. This is particularly the case for Pakistani / Bangladeshi men and women who were, at both time periods, found to have larger numbers of children and to be more likely to have dependent children under the age of five than the White group. Black African women were, at both time points, almost twice as likely as the White group to have dependent children.

- Black African, Indian and particularly Chinese men, were substantially and significantly less likely to have a disability or limiting long-term illness. Also, Black African and Chinese women had lower instances of long-term illness. In spite of their young age profile, Pakistani / Bangladeshi men and women were found to have significantly higher rates of disability / limiting long-term illness.

As we shall see in the next chapter, these demographic conditions will have varying impacts on the labour market position of the various ethnic groups in their employment status and income levels. We shall take into account these and other available information on socio-cultural characteristics which are generally assumed, and are frequently found, to have a significant bearing on labour market outcomes, and which also have a considerable bearing on policy-making.

Introduction to the analysis

In the remainder of this chapter, we report findings of statistical modelling on two of the four outcome variables discussed: employment and gross weekly pay (income). With regard to employment, we focus on being employed and we use logistic regression which is designed for modelling binary outcomes. We coded being employed as 1 and unemployment / inactivity as 0. With regard to gross weekly pay, we use ordinary least regression (OLS) which is designed for continuous outcome variables. As the employment status and earnings profile differ a great deal between men and women, we present results for the two gender groups separately.

For each variable, we conducted models for the earlier (1996/7) and the later (2004/5) periods separately on the pooled data, so that we could model the changes over time. Within each period, we conducted three models: Model 1 controls for the three key variables of ethnicity, disability and same-sex together (we have already seen bivariate tests for each of these variables in the previous chapter); Model 2 adds age,⁹ age squared, marital status, number of dependent children under the age of 16, education / class, and country of residence; and Model 3 further adds interaction effects: ethnicity and education / class, ethnicity and dependent children under the age of five, ethnicity and age, disability and education, disability and age, and ethnicity and disability. We also conducted an analysis using the pooled data

⁹ We coded age as: age divided by 10 (and similarly for age squared) to improve the stability of patterns in the models.

where, in addition to the variables in Model 3, we included interactions for ethnicity and period, disability and period, and same-sex and period. When we use education as a main predictor and in interaction effects, class is not used. Similarly, when class is used as a main predictor and in interaction effects, education is not used. This is because of the generally close association between education and class, and because many respondents reported either class or education but not both. To use both education and class in the same models would thus reduce the sample sizes and make the estimates unstable.¹⁰ This nested modelling follows a clear sociological rationale. For instance, human capital theories (Becker 1957, 1964) assume that as employers in a free market are keen to maximise their profits, people with skills that can increase productivity are highly valued in the labour market. As a result, those with higher levels of educational qualification and greater work experience are more likely to be in employment and to have higher earnings. There are many theories and research findings that show that, apart from human capital differentials, employer and societal-level discrimination against the minority groups – women, ethnic minorities, disabled people, gay men or lesbian women – should also be taken into account (Akerlof, 1997; Borjas, 1995; Darity & Mason, 1998; Li & Heath, 2007b).¹¹

The estimates of the effects of education on employment status are presented in Tables 5a for men and 5b for women. The estimates of the educational effects on earnings are in Tables 6a for men and 6b for women, and those of the class effects

¹⁰ In addition to all the variables in the modelling tables in this chapter, we carried out a series of models including both class and education as main effect variables and in interaction effects. However, the patterns are not clear. Further analysis shows that it is those who have very poor education, unstable labour market engagement or are long-term unemployed that are most likely to have missing data on class. This confirms existing research (Cheung & Heath, 2007). All the additional analyses were submitted to the Equality and Human Rights Commission and we have consulted them and obtained their approval for not using the data from the education and class models in the final report.

¹¹ We did not conduct interaction models for same-sex status with other socio-demographic variables as the sample sizes for same-sex couples are too small.

on earnings are in Tables 6c for men and 6d for women.¹²

4.1 Logit models of employment

The data in Tables 5a and 5b are coefficients from the logistic regression on employment status for men and women respectively (together with other covariates). The results pertain to the log of odds ratios namely, a comparison of probabilities between two groups in terms of being employed rather than unemployed. The reference groups have their log odds set as 0. Thus with all other variables in the models controlled for, figures (coefficients) lower than 0 would mean less favourable situations and coefficients higher than 0 would mean more favourable situations, in terms of gaining access to the labour market, compared to the reference group. For example, see the figure -1.962 for disabled men in Table 5a, under the heading of Model 1 for 1996/7. This indicates that, holding constant ethnicity and same-sex status compared to non-disabled men, disabled men have less favourable chances of being employed and of avoiding non-employment. The figure is in terms of logged odds ratio. If we combine the constant and this figure, we may get the probability of disabled men being employed at 42.0 per cent, compared to 83.7 per cent for non-disabled men.¹³ This is fairly close to the 41.1 per cent for disabled and 82.9 for non-

¹² It is noted here that as respondents in the skilled manual working class (manual supervisors, lower grade technicians and skilled manual workers) tend to have similar employment security and earnings profiles as routine non-manual workers or small employers (classes IIIa, IV-VI in the Goldthorpe class schema), we group them into the same 'intermediate' class in this part of the analysis, leaving the working class as composed of semi or unskilled manual workers or lower grade routine workers (classes VIIa, b and IIIb). It is also noted here that, as in the educational analysis in Tables 5a and 5b, we use the continuous version of class in the table. This is because if we used the categorical version, this would add many more categories, particularly in the interaction effects, making the presentation of the table difficult given the number of other variables already entered in the models. We also carried out analysis using the categorical dummies in all the corresponding analyses and the patterns are similar. The results for the dummies are not presented but are available on request.

¹³ The expected probability is calculated as the logged odds divided by 1 + the logged odds. In the present example, the probability of being employed for the disabled men is $e^{(1.638 + (-1.962))} / (1 + e^{(1.638 + (-1.962))}) = .41970123$ or around 42.0 per cent, and for the constant it is $e^{(1.638)} / (1 + \exp^{(1.638)}) = .83726261$ or around 83.7 per cent. Please note that the figures from Table 2b do not control for ethnicity and same-sex status but the predicted values here do control for the two variables. We do not need to know the formulae for converting logged odds, odds ratios and probabilities, as statisticians have done this for us already.

disabled men as shown in Table 2b, where only bivariate but not multivariate significance tests were employed.

Of course, we do not need to turn these coefficients into proportions in order to understand the patterns. We only need to note the sign and magnitude associated with each coefficient in a comparative way – that is, in comparison with other coefficients. Another thing to note is the (number of) stars (*) following the coefficient, which indicate significance levels. One star implies significance at the 5 per cent level, two at the 1 per cent level, and three at the 0.1 per cent level. For example, significance at the 0.1 per cent level actually means that the chances of this kind of difference (in terms of sign and magnitude of coefficients) being due to sampling error are very slight indeed (less than in 1 out of 1000 samples). This further implies that we can be fairly sure that the difference in question is an accurate estimate of the real difference in employment between non-disabled and disabled men in the population during that period. Later on in this chapter, we shall use predicted values from the models which are then turned into probabilities and shown in graphs for easy comprehension.

Logit models of male employment, with education as a predictor

The data in Table 5a show the coefficients for logistic models of male employment. Under Model 1 for 1996/7 (the earlier period) and 2004/5 (the later period), if we control for ethnicity, disability and same-sex status and hold constant the other factors in the model, we find that:

- All groups of ethnic minority men were less likely to be employed than White men in both periods, with the Black African and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men being the least comparable with White men in the earlier period, and Chinese and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men being the least comparable with White men in the later period
- Disabled men were the most disadvantaged in both periods
- Men of same-sex status were more likely to be employed in both periods.

We also find some notable changes in the coefficients over time. As the reference groups (White, non-disabled and non-same-sex) have a value of 0 in the table, a change towards 0 from the negative signs would imply an improvement in employment status and a change towards 0 from the positive signs would mean

otherwise. Thus, we need to note the signs and the changes in absolute terms. For example, in the earlier period, the estimate for Black Caribbean men is -0.737 in terms of logged odds; this became -0.619 in the later period. As the value for White men was set as 0, Black Caribbean men moved closer (by $0.737 - 0.619 = 0.118$ in terms of logged odds) to the White men in their relative employment chances over the period covered. Proceeding from this, and again holding constant the other factors in the models, we find that in the 10-year period:

- The relative chances of employment improved for men of Black Caribbean, Black African, Pakistani / Bangladeshi origin and Other ethnic groups
- The relative chances of employment improved for the disabled men
- The relative chances of employment for Indian and Chinese men compared to White men worsened over the period, particularly for the latter (by a magnitude of $(-0.819 - -1.315) = 0.496$ in log odds)
- The relative advantages in employment for the same-sex men over non-same-sex men were reduced over the period (by 0.412 log odds).

The data in Table 5a, Model 2, control for more variables measuring socio-demographic and geographic factors. Here, we find that apart from Pakistani / Bangladeshi men in 1996/7 and Chinese men in 2004/5, all ethnic coefficients deteriorated in comparison with those from Model 1. This means that once we take account of the other factors which are included in Model 2, such as education, men in ethnic minority groups were even more disadvantaged (relative to their White peers) in gaining access to the labour market than had appeared to be the case from Model 1. When controlling for socio-demographic and geographic factors, disabled men are also found to be more disadvantaged. It is also noticeable that the coefficients for same-sex men changed from highly significant to non-significant, from Model 1 to Model 2. This implies that it was not same-sex orientation that gave the men the distinct advantages in labour market participation, but other socio-demographic attributes such as their higher educational qualifications – as shown in Table 1a.

Focusing on the other features in Model 2, we find that in both periods, as expected, age had a curvilinear function for men's employment – employment increased as men became older but after a certain point, it began to decrease. Married men tend to be more likely to be employed, especially in the later period. Having a large

number of dependent children depressed men's employment status in the earlier but not later period. However for the same number of children, having dependent children under the age of five increased men's employment at both time periods, reflecting perhaps their commitment to the labour market (Chun & Lee, 2001). When compared to English men, Scottish and Welsh men had lower chances of employment at both time periods. Education, as expected by human capital theory, increased men's chances of employment, other things being equal.

The data in Models 1 and 2 refer to main effects and those in Model 3 to interaction effects. While the coefficients associated with a category of interest in the main effects models can be fairly straightforward when compared across models, the comparison between main effects models and interaction effects models is less straightforward. For example, when comparing the ethnic disadvantages in Models 1 and 2 (and holding constant age and other factors in the models), we may say that the situation of Black Africans relative to Whites with similar attributes was even worse than the overall picture without the controls shown in Model 1. This is most probably due to Black Africans' higher educational qualifications (as we saw in Tables 1a and 1b) which had tended to mask their 'true' disadvantage.

However, we cannot directly compare coefficients from Models 1 to 3. Take the Black Caribbean case in 2004/5 for example. The coefficients changed from -0.619 in Model 1, to -0.847 in Model 2, to -2.073 in Model 3. The changes between Models 1 and 2 are slight but those between Models 1 and 3 are dramatic. One might wonder why the same group suddenly became so much worse (over three times as disadvantaged). The answer lies in the complementary coefficients in the interaction effects. For example, if we look at Model 3 for the later period, we find positive interaction effects for this group with greater education (+0.485), negative interaction effects for having children under the age of 5 (-0.823), and again positive (but non-significant) interaction effects for age (0.096). What this means is that older Black Caribbean men with higher education, would be in a much better situation than their younger and poorly qualified counterparts, especially those with young children. In other words, it is the young and poorly qualified Black Caribbean men who were (relative to their White peers) very much disadvantaged in gaining access to the labour market. The information in Model 3 would allow us to calculate the employment probability of, for example, a 45 year old Black Caribbean man with a

degree qualification and no dependent children under the age of five, compared to a 20 year old counterpart with no qualifications and with dependent children under the age of five. The same reasoning works for all other groups or group comparisons.

The interaction effects in Table 5a, Model 3, were generally weak. Yet, as Black Caribbean men tended to have poorer educational qualifications, those amongst them with higher qualifications tended to have more favourable employment opportunities in the later period. In this sense, higher education did indeed act as a protection for Black Caribbean men. It is important to realise that these interaction effects mitigate the main effects. Thus, highly educated Black Caribbean men were less disadvantaged than their less educated minority group peers, but even the highly educated were disadvantaged relative to their White peers. The key finding is that the gap for the highly educated is smaller ($-2.073 + 2 \cdot .485 = -1.103$) than for the low educated (-2.073).

As noted earlier, disabled men had rather poor employment profiles but those among the disabled who had higher educational qualifications had significantly less unfavourable employment rates (relative to their White peers) than their peers with poorer qualifications. On the other hand, disabled men faced increasing disadvantages in employment as they grew older, which was true in the earlier and the later period. There are some other features concerning ethnicity and age, education and disability in the two periods, as shown in the table.

With regard to patterns in the pooled data (1996/7 as the base), at the bottom of the last column of Table 5a, we find that the overall employment situation for men was more favourable in the later than in the earlier period, with a highly significant coefficient of 0.130. Yet controlling for all other factors, there is no statistically significant improvement for any of the ethnic minority, disabled or same-sex groups relative to their White, non-disabled and non-same-sex peers.

Logit models of female employment using education as a predictor

Turning to estimates for women's employment as shown in Table 5b, we find many similar features to those for men. For instance, estimates in Model 1 show that: women of all ethnic minority groups were less likely to be in employment than their White peers; disabled women were less likely to be employed than non-disabled women; and women in same-sex relationships were more likely to be employed than

those in non-same-sex relationships. All this holds true at both time periods. The patterns in Model 2 are also similar to those for men. The exception is that, for women, both the number of dependent children and presence of children under the age of five had a significant and pronounced negative impact on their employment chances.

Looking at the interaction effects in Model 3, we find (in both periods) a substantial and positive interaction effect of education on the employment prospects of Pakistani / Bangladeshi women. In other words, higher education tended to protect these women to a much greater extent than it protects white women (or women from other ethnic groups). We also see positive interaction effects for number of children under age five, especially for Black African, Indian and Chinese women. This means that these groups of women are not as disadvantaged by having young children (other things being equal) as are White women. This may well be because these ethnic minority women have greater access to extended family support with childcare. Another notable feature concerning Pakistani / Bangladeshi women is that (unlike their male counterparts who followed the White men's employment profiles in terms of age) their employment quickly shrank as their age increased (possibly reflecting generational change).

We also see a positive interaction for disabled women with education: for disabled women, too, higher education seems to have an especially protective role. However, there is a negative interaction with age.

We now turn to some of the differences between the patterns in this table and those for men in Table 5b. We see that differences between Wales (and Scotland to a lesser extent) and England for women were much less pronounced than for men. Educational qualifications had a more pronounced impact on women's than on men's employment.

Looking at the patterns in the pooled data, we find an improved employment situation for women in 2004/5 compared with the earlier period, a finding similar to men. There are few notable changes in women's employment situations in the period covered, except a relative deterioration in employment by Pakistani / Bangladeshi women over the decade, as evidenced by the significant interaction term for Pakistani / Bangladeshi in 2004/5 at -0.264. One explanation is that, for this group, there was an

increase of 4 per cent (from 6.6 to 10.5 per cent) in degree-level qualifications (Tables 1a and 1b), but only a 2 per cent increase in employment (Tables 2a and 2b). In this sense, their progress in educational attainment was not matched by a commensurate increase in employment rates.

4.2 OLS models of earnings (weekly pay)

The data in Tables 6a and 6b are on gross weekly pay from the labour market for men and for women respectively, using education as one of the predictors. The data in Tables 6c and 6d are on weekly pay for men and women, using class as one of the predictors. The structure of the tables is the same as for the employment models discussed in the previous section. Note that as the dependent variable (gross weekly pay) is measured in pounds, we only keep one decimal point in the estimates.

OLS models of male weekly pay using education as a predictor

Looking firstly at the data for men's weekly pay in Table 6a, we find that when only ethnicity, disability and same-sex variables are in the model (Model 1), most ethnic minority men had significantly lower weekly earnings than their White peers at both time periods, with the exception of Chinese and Other men in the earlier period and Indian men in the later period. Pakistani / Bangladeshi men had the lowest earnings (£133 and £182 less than the White men in the two periods respectively). Disabled men earned significantly less than non-disabled men at both time periods and men in same-sex relationships earned somewhat more in the two periods although in the later period the difference was not significant.

Turning to the data in Model 2 where more socio-demographic factors are controlled for, we find that, other things being equal, the disadvantages associated with ethnic minority status and disability remain largely the same in the two periods, with the coefficients for Black Africans being even more unfavourable in Model 2 than in Model 1, probably because their higher education had masked their disadvantages. The significantly higher earnings for men in same-sex couples in Model 1 in the first period became non-significant in Model 2, suggesting that it is higher levels of education that account for the higher earnings of men in same-sex couples. There is no significant difference between men in same-sex couples and in non-same-sex couples in the second period. The patterns for age, children, geography and education in the two periods were as expected, and were in the same direction as for

employment status shown in Tables 5a and 5b. Note that with all other factors taken into consideration, men in Scotland and particularly men in Wales had significantly lower earnings than their counterparts in England in both periods, more so in the later than the earlier period.

Education was a highly significant factor for men's earnings in the labour market ($b = 100.8$ and 143.6 in the two periods respectively in Model 2), and further analysis (holding constant all other factors in the pooled data) shows that the change was significant ($b = 46.3$, $p. = 0.000$). As overall earnings and education increased, it was those at the bottom of the educational hierarchy who were losing the most.

With regard to patterns in Model 3 in Table 6a, the interpretation of the coefficients for the different groups is complicated by the presence of the interaction effects. We therefore focused on the interactions themselves. These show that in both time periods, Black Africans have much lower returns to their education than do other groups. As we know, Black Africans tend to be rather highly educated, but we suspect that many of them will have overseas higher qualifications which are not evaluated favourably by British employers. We also see that Pakistani / Bangladeshi men with children under the age of five have particularly low earnings, reinforcing concerns that have been expressed elsewhere about poverty in these families.

With all other factors taken into consideration, men in Scotland and particularly men in Wales, had significantly lower earnings than their counterparts in England in both periods – more so in the later than in the earlier period.

Finally, we give a brief account of the changes over time as shown in the pooled data. On average, men in the later period earned more than in the earlier period. Pakistani / Bangladeshi, Chinese and 'Other' men (in relation to ethnicity), as well as disabled men, seemed to fare significantly worse than their peers a decade earlier.

OLS models of female weekly pay using education as a predictor

The data in Table 6b are on women's income from the labour market in the two periods. Model 1 shows that Black Caribbean and Other women earned more in both periods, as did Chinese women in the earlier, and Indian women in the later period. Disabled women were found to earn less, and those in same-sex couples more, in

both periods. Pakistani / Bangladeshi women were earning substantially and significantly less than their White peers.

Turning to the data in Model 2 (with the main effects of the other variables controlled for), we find that the main patterns were as predicted by human capital theories. Thus, women with higher educational qualifications and more labour market experience tended to make more money in both periods. The number of dependent children in the household had a negative association with earnings but somewhat surprisingly, the presence of young children had a positive impact on women's earnings in the earlier period. This is perhaps due to chance significance, which is likely to creep in under complex models using large-scale data sets. At any rate, the effect is, at best, substantively small.

As in the case of men, education was a highly significant factor for women's earnings in the labour market ($b = 82.0$ and 118.7 in the two periods respectively in Model 2), and further analysis holding constant all other factors in the pooled data shows that the change over time was significant ($b = 35.8$, $p. = 0.000$). Thus for men as for women, the overall improving structure in earnings and education hit the least qualified most heavily. Other things being equal, women in Wales and Scotland earned less than their counterparts in England in both periods, a pattern similar to that of men.

With respect to the full models (Model 3) in Table 6b (with interaction effects also taken into account), we find little in the way of a clear and consistent pattern. As in the case of men, we see that Black African women had significantly lower returns to education than did the White women. And as in the case of men, disabled women had lower returns to their educational investments.

As for the changes over time in the pooled data, we find an overall increase of gross weekly pay over the period and more specifically, disabled women had a more negative profile in the later, as compared to the earlier period. Pakistani / Bangladeshi women's disadvantage was brought into sharper relief when all other factors were taken into account.

OLS models of male weekly pay using class as a predictor

The data in Table 6c have the same structure as those in Table 6a except that class is used instead of education. Here we find, again (as can be expected), that class exerts a powerful impact on men's earnings, and is actually stronger than education. Thus, men in higher classes were on average (holding constant their other socio-demographic attributes) earning £115.1 and £174.1 more than those lower in the class hierarchy in the two periods. Further analysis for the pooled data again shows a significant increase for the interaction effects between class and period ($b = 63.6$, $p = 0.000$), suggesting that (as in the case of education which is of course strongly associated with class) it was those at the lower levels of the class hierarchy who experienced a smaller increase in earnings.

In most other respects however, the story is very similar to that we told earlier when we used education as the main predictor. Thus, the results for Model 2 in Table 6c are very similar to those found in Model 2 in Table 6a, with most ethnic minorities and disabled people earning significantly less than the members of the reference group. However, it is perhaps worth noting that the magnitude of the disadvantages is slightly reduced from those found earlier. This means that these minority groups had problems in gaining access to the more favourable class situations. However, even when they did gain access to positions in, for example, the salariat, their earnings remained lower than those of their equally-qualified White peers. However, we should be aware that the salariat is a rather broad grouping of occupations, and the disadvantages shown in Table 6c may simply reflect the fact that minorities have gained access to lower-level occupations within the salariat. It does not necessarily mean that they receive less pay than their peers in the same occupation. More detailed analysis would be needed to demonstrate this.

We also see that in Models 3 for both periods, the pattern of the interactions is fairly similar to those found when education was used as the predictor, rather than class. There is thus, no major change in the findings.

OLS models of female weekly pay using class as a predictor

Finally we look at the class effects on women's earning profiles (Table 6d). We again find significant class effects ($b = 87.0$ and 175.5) under Model 2 in the two periods,

and further analysis for the pooled data shows a significant increase of 89.2 ($p = 0.000$) over time.

Holding constant the other factors, we also find in Model 2 in both periods, that some of the ethnic minority groups, namely, Black Caribbean, Black African and Indian women were earning more, while Pakistani / Bangladeshi women were earning less, than their White peers. This is possibly because of differences in the extent of full-time and part-time working, which we have not been able to take account of in this model. We also see that disabled women were earning less in both periods while women in same-sex couples changed from significantly more to non-significant from the earlier to the later period (other things being equal). Again, exactly as in the earlier analysis when education was used as the predictor rather than class, women in Wales and Scotland were earning less money than their peers in England in both periods, other attributes holding constant.

4.3 Predicted values from employment and income models

We have given a fairly detailed account of the statistical modelling results for employment and income (earnings from the labour market). In this section, we present graphic information based on predicted values from the full models (Model 3) in Tables 5a- 6d, hence controlling for all other socio-demographic information in the models. Figures 1-4 show the predicted values for employment status and income by ethnicity, disability and same-sex status for men and women in the two periods. Figures 5a and 10 further differentiate ethnicity and education, disability and education, and same-sex and education combinations for employment and income, for men and women in the current (2004/5) period. For income, we also include ethnicity and class combinations to see the protective effects of class on income. In each figure, we set the values of the reference groups – White, non-disabled and same-sex – respectively at 100 so that the profiles of each of the other groups can be directly compared with the reference groups. Differences that manifest themselves can thus be regarded as gaps in terms of per cent from (that is, above or below) the reference groups, holding constant all other factors in the models.

Predicted values on employment by ethnicity, disability and same-sex relationship

Figures 1 and 2 give predicted values of male and female employment respectively, in the two periods. In terms of male employment, we find that in the first period, Indian men's employment rates most closely matched those of White men while all other ethnic groups were around 20 to 30 per cent lower. Black African and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men fared much worse. Although still behind White men, ethnic minority groups improved their employment prospects in the later period compared with the earlier period, with the sole exception of Chinese men whose rates dropped by 7 per cent, from 83 per cent of White men's rates in the earlier period to 76 per cent in the later period.

The data in the lower panels in Figure 1 show that employment prospects for disabled men improved by a slight margin over time, from 49 to 52 per cent of non-disabled men. The differences between men in same-sex couples and non-same-sex couples widened by 9 per cent over time – from a gap of 6 per cent to one of 15 per cent.

Data on women's employment are shown in Figure 2, again by ethnicity, disability and same-sex status, and by period. In both periods, we find that Black Caribbean women had employment rates second only to White women (only seven per cent lower), and that Pakistani / Bangladeshi women's employment rates remained the lowest, at around 68 per cent below White women, with little change over time. Comparing the relative changes over time, we find that Indian, Other and Black African women's rates grew by six, four and three per cent respectively. Only Chinese women's rates dropped, by three per cent.

The pattern for disability and same-sex status for women was similar to that for men. The relative distances between disabled and non-disabled women narrowed by five per cent in the period covered whereas, differences between same and non-same-sex groups widened by seven per cent.

Predicted values of income by ethnicity, disability and same-sex relationship

Figures 3 and 4 show predicted values of income for men and women, with the same structure as that for employment. Figure 3 shows that in the earlier period, Chinese

and White men had the highest earnings, followed by Other, Indian and Black men – with Pakistani / Bangladeshi men having the poorest incomes. In the later period, there was quite a bit of reshuffle concerning the relative position of the different ethnic groups. Indian and White men were the highest earners and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men were still the lowest earners. Looking at the changes, the relative position of Indian men rose by 10 per cent, Black Caribbean, Black African and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men rose by 3, 3 and 1 per cent respectively, but Other men dropped by 7 per cent, and Chinese men dropped by 17 per cent.

Looking at the lower panels of Figure 3, we see that disabled men were earning 83 and 82 per cent of the earnings of non-disabled men in the two periods, with little change in the relative situation. In contrast, the situation of same-sex men was brought much closer to that of other men over the period covered. In the earlier period, men in non-same-sex relationships were only earning 65 per cent of what men in same-sex couples were earning, but in the later period, the figure was 92 per cent, hence a big reduction of 27 per cent. However, this might be due to a greater willingness of such men to report that they were in a same-sex relationship rather than to a real change in earning power. In other words, we need to remember the possibility of reporting biases. As society becomes more open, these reporting biases may change.

Figure 4 shows the predicted values of earnings for women. With regard to ethnicity, we find that at both time periods, women in most ethnic minority groups were earning more money than White women with the exception of Pakistani / Bangladeshi women. As we have emphasised earlier, it is important to recognise that this may be because of differences in the number of hours worked, rather than actual differences in wage rates. The rank order in the earlier period was Other, Chinese, Black Caribbean, Indian, Black African, White and Pakistani / Bangladeshi. In the later period, the rank order was Black Caribbean, Indian, Other, Chinese, Black African, White and Pakistani / Bangladeshi. In terms of relative changes, we find that: Indian and Pakistani / Bangladeshi women's positions rose by seven and five per cent respectively; that there was little, if any change for the Black groups; and that Chinese and Other women's positions fell by 13 and 15 per cent respectively.

The incomes from the labour market of disabled women did not improve over time. In the earlier period, they were 13 per cent behind non-disabled women; in the later period, they were 16 per cent behind. However, the differences between women in same-sex and non-same-sex relationships were much reduced. In the earlier period, the former had a lead of 48 per cent but this dropped to 23 per cent in the later period – a reduction of 25 per cent.

4.4 Predicted values of employment and income by ethnicity and by education

In this section, our interest is to see how education protects ethnic minority groups in gaining parity, with respect to employment and income with their White peers. For this reason, we organised the data by ethnicity-education and ethnicity-class combinations; that is, we consider in turn each ethnic group with lower, intermediate and higher levels of educational qualifications, and in working, intermediate and salariat class positions. The data are still the predicted values from the full model (Model 3) in the relevant tables (Tables 5a to 6d) but we restrict the analysis to the current period as this is of greater relevance to the present report.

Male employment and income by ethnicity and by education

Figure 5a shows the data for men, with the employment data in the left-hand, and the income data in the right-hand, columns. The overall impression is that there are more disadvantages for ethnic minority men with medium-level qualifications (O / A Level or equivalent) in employment and income (middle panels) and with high qualifications (first degree or above) in income (bottom panel in the right column) compared to White men with comparable levels of education. For poorly-qualified men, Indians were doing as well as their White counterparts and Chinese men were not far behind (by six per cent) in employment. All other groups – Black Caribbean, Black African, Pakistani / Bangladeshi and Other men were 15 to 20 per cent behind their White peers. In terms of income, most groups were similar with the sole exception of Pakistani / Bangladeshi men who were earning less than two-thirds of what their White peers were earning from the labour market.

For men with a middle-level education, we find that Chinese men were doing the worst, being just over half as likely to be employed and making little over half as much money as their White peers. As shown in Figure 5a, they were 47 and 43 per

cent below White peers in employment and income respectively. They were even 17 and 8 per cent behind Pakistani / Bangladeshi peers, a group generally regarded as the most disadvantaged in the British labour market (NEP, 2007).

For the highly qualified, Black Caribbean, Indian and Other men were achieving parity in employment with White men, and Black African and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men were 12 per cent behind. It was Black African and Chinese men who were faring the worst in terms of income, being 25 per cent behind White men. In both regards, Indian men were doing well.

Data on the distribution of educational qualifications were included earlier in Table 1a. We noticed that White men were the least likely to have the poorest qualifications and men in ethnic minority groups were 1.5 to 2 times as likely as their White peers to be poorly qualified. In Figure 5a we see that, except for Indian men, all other men in the lowest education bracket were disadvantaged in gaining access to the labour market although once in the labour market, most groups (except Pakistani / Bangladeshi) were fairly close to the White peers. Yet the real disadvantages occurred amongst the middle and higher educational brackets, and contrary to much myth in labour market research, it is not Pakistani / Bangladesh men but men of Black African and Chinese origins who were least likely to find employment and, when in employment, they were earning the least.

Female employment and income by ethnicity and by education

The profiles of women, shown in Figure 5b, are rather different from those of men. In terms of employment, we find that the lower their educational levels, the more disadvantaged the minority groups are compared with similarly qualified White peers. This is most clearly shown in the gaps for Pakistani / Bangladeshi and Black African women when compared with White women. For the three educational levels from the lowest to the highest, the gaps are 82, 56 and 17 per cent for the former and 42, 40 and 11 per cent for the latter compared to their White peers. In terms of income, few differences exist. The poorly qualified women from ethnic minority groups (apart from Pakistani / Bangladeshi women) were earning non-significantly (see Table 6c) more than their White peers, and well-qualified women from ethnic minority groups, again with the same exception, were earning similar amounts of money to their White peers.

Income from the labour market by ethnicity and by class

The class effects on earnings for men in different ethnic groups (Figure 6), show quite marked class differences. Apart from the two Black groups, working-class men from Indian, Pakistani / Bangladeshi and Chinese ethnic groups were only earning 60 to 70 per cent of what their White peers were earning. For men in the intermediate and the salariat positions, all minority groups (with the sole exception of Indians in the salariat) were earning less than their White peers, with the Black groups' earnings being between 4 and 17 per cent less than those of their White peers, and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men's earnings around two-thirds to three-quarters of those of White men.

The patterns here, in conjunction with our previous findings, suggest two related features: barriers to employment / pay and community structure. The South Asian and Chinese communities are known for their niche economic activities in Britain, such as Indian shops, Pakistani / Bangladeshi restaurants and Chinese take-aways. These places tend to employ co-ethnic workers. Thus, many working-class respondents in those communities would be more likely to work in such niche sectors than men from Black groups who tend to find jobs in the mainstream sectors. The mainstream sectors tend to be more regulated and, for working-class Black men with jobs, earnings are similar to their White peers, whereas South Asian and Chinese working-class men tend to work long hours with poor pay. The net disadvantages associated with Black and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men in the salariat, may be due more to the different occupations they occupy. The salariat is a very broad category. It is possible that many Indian and White men in the class were working in high-paying jobs such as doctors, lawyers, accountants, engineers and higher education researchers – jobs where the proportions of Black and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men are lower.

For women in similar class positions, the ethnic differences are generally small. For working-class women, ethnic minority groups were apparently earning more, although the details in Table 6d showed the differences were not significant. For women in the intermediate and the salariat positions, only Pakistani / Bangladeshi women were earning notably less money.

4.5 Predicted values on employment and income by disability and same-sex relationship

In this section, our interest is to see how education protects disabled people and people in same-sex relationships in gaining parity in employment and income with their non-disabled and peers in non-same-sex relationships. For this reason, we organised the data by disability-education and by same-sex-education combinations – that is, each disability or same-sex group with lower, intermediate and higher levels of educational qualifications. The data are still the predicted values from the full model (Model 3) in the relevant tables (Tables 5a to 6d) but we again restrict the analysis to the latest period.

Employment and income by disability and by education

Figure 7 shows the data on men's employment and income by disability and education. Two features manifest themselves clearly. First, educational effects are mainly shown on access to the labour market. Thus, holding constant all other factors, poorly educated disabled men were only half as likely to be in employment as their highly educated peers, when compared to non-disabled men (39 and 76 per cent respectively as shown in the left column). Second, for those in employment, the earnings differences are much smaller: disabled men at each level of educational qualifications earned around 86 per cent of that of their non-disabled peers. A cautionary note is in place here, though: our findings in this respect may, or may not be a valid indicator for labour market discrimination, as there are many other factors associated with disability that are not controlled for in the models, and many of these factors are unavailable in the datasets being used.

Figure 8 on female employment and income shows basically the same patterns as those for men. The difference is that, compared to their non-disabled peers, disabled women fared better in both employment and income, although the differences for the highly educated are not significant.

Employment and income by same-sex status and by education

Figures 9 and 10 show the data on men's and women's employment and income by same-sex status and education. Note that to be consistent with the foregoing discussion, we used same-sex as the reference group (indexed at 100 per cent). For

men, as shown in Figure 9, education narrows the gaps between same-sex and non-same-sex status. Thus, poorly educated men not in same-sex relationships only had an 84 per cent chance of being employed as compared with their peers in same-sex relationships. Yet for the highly educated, the figure was 95 per cent. As for income (in the right column), we find that men in both low and high educational qualification brackets but who were not in same-sex relationships were earning more than their peers in same-sex relationships.

The pattern for women (Figure 10) is largely the same, especially in employment. With regard to earnings, women in same-sex relationships were still earning more in the middle and higher educational brackets. There may be other unobserved characteristics. It is also the case that our three-way coding on education is rather crude. However, given the very large number of variables included in the models and with the relatively small numbers for certain groups such as people in same-sex relationships, it would not make sense to make much more refined differentiations. Note also, that no observations were found for poorly educated women with valid information on reported earnings and other characteristics used in the model, hence no graph was produced for them.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, we have presented a large amount of data from logistic regression of employment and OLS regression of income. The main results from the modelling (tables 5a – 6d) can be summarised as follows:

- Both men and women in ethnic minority groups were generally found to fare less well than White men and women in terms of employment and to incur ‘ethnic penalties’ to varying degrees (that is, comparing people with similar levels of human capital as indicated by educational qualifications and work experience) with the penalty for Chinese and Black Africans appearing most pronounced.
- For those in employment, ethnic differences in income were still remarkable in both periods, particularly for men in most groups, yet ethnic penalties (that is, ethnic differences, while holding constant human capital indicators) were much less apparent than in employment, lending support to a recent study of employment and class (Cheung and Heath, 2007). In this regard, one might

say that the labour market sets very high thresholds at entry level but once inside, the playing field is less bumpy.

- In relation to employment, differences between disabled and non-disabled people widened for men and narrowed for women over the decade, and differences between people in same-sex and non-same-sex relationships reduced. In terms of income, differences in relation to disability and same-sex status reduced for both men and women.

Apart from the detailed modelling results, we also presented graphic information using predicted values based on the full models (Figures 1 - 10). Here the main results can be summarised as follows:

- Pakistani / Bangladeshi, Black African and Chinese men, and Pakistani / Bangladeshi women were found to have the lowest relative position in employment, and Pakistani / Bangladeshi men had the poorest earnings in both periods. All this generally confirms the great wealth of empirical research on ethnic differences in the British labour market.
- The relative position of Chinese men and women became worse over the decade, while most other ethnic minority groups made relatively steady progress. A socio-culturally distant group, the Chinese in Britain are geographically scattered, economically segregated and enclaved (Li, 2006, 2007b), and civically and socio-politically disengaged (Li & Marsh, 2008). Their low socio-political profile may have hampered their socio-economic integration. Even at the same (intermediate and higher) levels of educational qualifications, Chinese men fared worse than Pakistani / Bangladeshi men, although Chinese women fared somewhat better than Pakistani / Bangladeshi women in terms of both employment and income in the later period.
- Indians, both men and women, were doing well and were moving towards full integration in the mainstream British labour market.
- Greater education does help disabled men and women to gain access to the labour market although, once inside, its impact on income is less obvious. Yet, our data also show that even for those who have a job and who have similar levels of educational qualification, disabled people still fared worse than their non-disabled counterparts.

- As same-sex people tend to be well qualified, the differences between them and non-same-sex people tend to reduce as we move from lower to higher educational qualifications, especially for men.

Having completed our analysis on changes in the socio-economic position in the labour market, in the next chapter we shall turn our attention to more direct measures of labour market disadvantage, namely discrimination in terms of whether our respondent has been refused a job or denied an opportunity for promotion in the last five years. In addition to ethnicity, disability and same-sex status, we shall also look at religious differences, particularly Muslim effects on job refusal and promotion blockage.

5. JOB REFUSAL AND PROMOTION BLOCKAGE

In the previous two chapters, we have looked at patterns and trends in labour market position in terms of employment status and gross weekly pay by gender, ethnicity, disability and same-sex status. In this chapter, we shall focus on subjective perceptions of unfair treatment (or otherwise termed discrimination) as indicated by job refusals and perceived promotion blockage. The analysis is based on the pooled data from the Home Office Citizenship Survey (HOCS) in 2003 and 2005.¹⁴ The HOCS data pertain to England and Wales only. As in the previous chapters, we shall focus on men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63. Wherever possible, we have used the same explanatory variables with the same coding as in the previous chapters. In addition, we have used religious orientation as another explanatory variable.¹⁵ We code religion as a six-way variable: Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, Other and No religion. As the number of respondents who believe in Buddhism and Judaism is too small for statistical analysis, we have included them in the category 'Other'. Existing research based on HOCS 2001 (Li & Marsh, 2008) shows that Buddhists and Jewish people have generally similar socio-political profiles to those of Christians. Another point to note here is that as the sample sizes for respondents in same-sex relationships are too small for statistical analysis, we have not included the variable on sexual relationships in this chapter.¹⁶

The Home Office Citizenship Survey contains two important questions that enable us to make some headway on the issue of discrimination. In both years, it asked

¹⁴ This is mainly for the purpose of improved stability in statistical models arising from larger sample sizes. We control for year of interview in the models to take into account the possible time effects.

¹⁵ In HOCS 2005, there is only one variable on religion [RELIG]: 'What is your religion even if you are not currently practising?' In HOCS 2003, there are four variables on religion: [RPASREL] 'Thinking first of your childhood, were you raised according to any particular religion?' If yes, [RRELPAS] 'What religion was that?'; [RNOWREAL] 'Do you actively practise any religion now?' If yes, [RRELNOW] 'Which religion is that?' As people do stop practising religion or change to another religion, we need to take that into account. And our coding also needs to be compatible with HOCS 2005. Thus, we coded religion in HOCS 2003 as current religion for those practising and past religion for those not practising according to the religion in which they were raised. Thus for both years, the religion variable pertains to religious orientation.

¹⁶ There are only 22 respondents in HOCS 2003 and eight in HOCS 2005 who reported themselves as of same-sex status.

respondents who were currently in work or who had had a job in the last five years or who were looking for a job:

May I check, in the last FIVE YEARS, have you been refused or turned down for a job?

[IF YES] Do you think you were refused the job for any of the reasons on this card?

Your gender

Your age

Your race

Your religion

Your colour

Where you live

May I check, in the last FIVE YEARS, have you been treated unfairly at work with regard to promotion or a move to a better position?

[IF YES] Do you think you were discriminated against because of:

Your gender

Your age

Your race

Your religion

Your colour

Where you live

We cannot be certain about the validity of the responses about the reasons for job refusals or promotion blockages. In theory, it is possible that people might rationalise any job rejections as being a result of racial or religious discrimination, when in fact the job rejection was perhaps due to lack of appropriate skills or experience. If this was the case, we would expect to find the same overall rejection rates for White and ethnic minority respondents and for Christians and non-Christians but partitioned differently between the various reasons. On the other hand, it is also possible that respondents underestimate how often they have been treated unfairly on racial or

religious grounds, since they may well be unaware whether their skills and experience are superior to those of White or Christian applicants for the same job.

While the reasons given for job refusals and promotion blockages must be treated with great caution, the overall rates of job refusal / promotion blockage will nonetheless be of great interest. In particular, do we find that ethnic minorities are more likely to report that they have been refused jobs or blocked promotions than White British? To be sure, any 'excess' ethnic minority refusal / blockage rate might be due not only to employers' hiring / promotion practices but also to the applicants' patterns of application. For example, minority applicants might apply for jobs that are inappropriate for their levels of qualification and experience, or for their language proficiency. Although the evidence in existing research on ethnic minority aspirations (Heath & Li, 2007) suggested that such aspirational differences are fairly small, turning aspirations into productive skills valued by employers, is a particularly difficult task for most, if not all members of ethnic minority groups. It could also be argued that employers ought to make their requirements as clear and as precise as possible in their job advertisements so that inappropriate applications are deterred. However, the requirements for many jobs, especially those of a non-technical kind, may defy precise specification (Warhurst & Nickson, 2001; Jackson, 2007).

In the following section, we shall firstly describe the patterns of subjective perception of discrimination by ethnicity, religion and disability groups for men and for women, separately. The measures of discrimination are: the reported rates of job refusal; promotion blockage; and the overall rates covering the incidence of either. After that, we shall report findings of statistical modelling on the overall incidence. Finally, we shall again use graphs to bring into sharper relief the features drawn from the predicted values of the models of the overall incidence.

5.1 Descriptive analysis of job refusal / promotion blockage

The data in Table 7 show the proportion of male and female respondents in each of the equality groups who reported that in the last five years, they had been turned down for a job ('job refusal'), or received unfair treatment in terms of having been rejected for promotion or a move to a better position ('promotion blockage') or overall incidence of either kind. The last row shows that, on the whole, men were somewhat more likely than women to report such incidences of unfair treatment. This is

probably due to the greater propensity for labour market participation by the former and the greater risks of unfair treatment that arise from it. For instance, 29 per cent of men compared to 27 per cent of women, reported that they had been refused a job or blocked for promotion in the last five years.

Looking more closely at the patterns associated with disadvantaged groups, we find serious indications of discrimination and some differential treatment between gender groups by employers. In terms of ethnicity, the ranking order of disadvantage in either separate or joint incidence is Black African, Black Caribbean and South Asian for men, while for women, most ethnic minority groups are similarly disadvantaged with the Black African group again being the most disadvantaged. Black Caribbean women tend to consider themselves less disadvantaged in comparison with their other minority peers, possibly due to their higher occupational class positions. For instance, they tend to be employed in lower-grade salariat jobs, such as nursing in the NHS as noted in Chapter 1 (Cheung & Heath, 2007; Mason, 1995).

Further inspection of the data shows that compared to 21 per cent of White men having been turned down for a job in the last five years, 11 per cent having been rejected for promotion and 28 per cent having experienced either incidence: the disadvantages facing Black African men were two to three-fold, while Black Caribbean men were around twice as likely to have similar experiences. The rates for men of Indian and Pakistani / Bangladeshi origins were 36 and 41 per cent respectively in terms of overall incidence. It is interesting to note that Chinese men (but not women) reported lower rates of unfair treatment than their White peers. This is probably due to a large proportion of Chinese men being in self-employment, working in Chinese shops, restaurants and take-aways (Li, 2007b). In that regard, their lower rates should not be interpreted as implying greater advantages than other workers but rather as their having taken a 'pre-emptive' strategy against the possibility of job refusals or promotion blockages by mainstream employers. The disadvantages faced by Black women are less severe than their male peers but those of South Asian women are similar to their male peers. Chinese women were around twice as likely to report unfair treatment as their male counterparts.

The differences between religious groups are less pronounced than between ethnic groups. For both men and women, it is Muslim, Sikh and Hindu groups who were

more likely to report incidences of unfair treatment than Christians. One interesting feature that manifests itself here is that the magnitude of such reported incidences is similar for the two gender groups, whereas men were reporting much higher incidences than women in terms of ethnic differences. Sikh women reported a quite high level of promotion blockage (23 per cent compared with 11 per cent of White women).

With regard to disability, we find greater differences for women than for men. Rather surprisingly (given the results reported in Chapter 4), disabled men and women do not report statistically significantly higher incidences of job refusal than non-disabled people; however, the rates are significantly higher for promotion blockage. Disabled women report statistically higher rates of joint incidence than non-disabled women but there is no significant difference between disabled and non-disabled men. One possibility is that disabled people do not experience excess job refusals because they avoid applying for jobs where they anticipate discrimination.

The reported rates for ethnicity, religion and disability groups indicate considerable perceived disadvantage. In the next section, we shall look more closely at the net effects, that is, results from statistical models controlling for a range of socio-demographic and geographic factors. For instance, it is well-known that ethnicity and religion are not the same. While most people of Black Caribbean origin are Christians, as many as 16 per cent of Black Africans are Muslims. People from Indian ethnic heritage have three main religious identities: Hindu, Sikh or Muslim (44, 28 and 16 per cent respectively). We shall therefore take these factors into account in the modelling exercise.

5.2 Statistical modelling on unfair treatment

As the patterns for job refusal, promotion blockage and joint incidence of either kind are fairly similar across the groups, we are going to focus on joint incidence in the modelling. Table 8 shows the data for men and for women respectively. In this table, the results of three models are reported: Model 1 controls for ethnicity, religion and disability; Model 2 adds socio-demographic and geographic controls; Model 3 adds interaction effects (ethnicity and education, Black African and Muslim, Indian and Muslim, religion and education, and ethnicity / religion / disability in 2005 – with 2003

as the reference year to control for time effects associated with the three key variables).¹⁷

The data in Model 1 of Table 8 show that when all three key variables are simultaneously controlled for, ethnic effects are pronounced, disability effects are weak, but religion effects (apart from categories of 'Other' and 'None') have largely disappeared. This is an interesting contrast with the patterns in Table 7, where most of the religious groups were found to be significantly disadvantaged compared to the Christians for both men and women. In terms of the pattern of the coefficients for ethnicity, we find a similar pattern to that in Table 7, with the rank order of Black African, Black Caribbean, Pakistani / Bangladeshi, Indian, and Other for men; and Black African, Indian, Other, and Black Caribbean for women. Controlling for ethnicity and religion, patterns for disability are the same as in Table 7.

With regard to the data in Model 2 of Table 8 (where socio-demographic and geographic attributes are also included), we find two main features. First, disability effects for men have become significant and are almost as marked as for women. This means that, for people with the same socio-cultural attributes, disabled men do have a higher sense of unfair treatment than their non-disabled peers – a feature not visible in Table 7. Second, looking at the effects of socio-cultural factors as shown in Model 2, we find that (other things being equal) older people tend to be less likely to report unfair treatment.¹⁸ In this case, age may serve as an indication of economic security in the labour market, as older people tend to be more secure and less vulnerable than younger people (Goldthorpe & McKnight, 2006). For men and women alike, being married is associated with a lower degree of subjective perception of unfair treatment. This is probably because (other things being equal

¹⁷ We also explored the class effects on discrimination. At a descriptive level, further analysis shows that people with a job (that is, in salariat, routine non-manual, lower supervisory and routine occupations) were similar in reported rates of overall job refusal / promotion blockage (at around 25-30 per cent) and it was the unemployed, including long-term unemployed, who reported much higher rates of unfair treatment (46-57 per cent). Yet, including the class effects in Model 2 for men and women does not significantly improve the model fit as class categories did not show differential effects with ethnicity. Therefore, we decided not to include the class effects in the models and the discussion in the text.

¹⁸ Further analysis shows that for men and for women, adding age squared terms do not yield significant results, suggesting linear, but lack of curvilinear, age effects in unfair treatment.

and when compared with their non-married counterparts) married people tend to be favoured by employers who may view marriage as a symbol of commitment and responsibility (Chun & Lee, 2001). Women in Wales are also less likely to report unfair treatment than their peers in England, suggesting perhaps, greater labour market competition in England than in Wales. Further analysis shows no significant differences between ethnic minority women in England and their counterparts in Wales. This last finding is due perhaps, to the small sample sizes of ethnic minority women in Wales.

Surprisingly, education is associated with a greater sense of unfair treatment. In this regard, the effects of education should not be interpreted as having a protective role safeguarding people from experiencing and subsequently reporting incidences of unfair treatment, but must rather be understood from a different perspective. Apart from teaching people technical knowledge, a more important function of education is to make people intellectually developed and to give them a critical perspective. As Gouldner (1979) famously says, education cultivates a 'culture of critical discourse'. Thus, a similar incidence of job refusal might be interpreted by the poorly educated as simply bad luck or lack of skills but by the more highly educated (and more critical) as unfair. We need to remember however, that this is a main effect rather than an ethnic-specific effect. In other words, it applies to White respondents as well as to minorities. Further analysis controlling for all other variables in the model and including ethnicity and education interaction effects shows that for men, Blacks and Chinese have a similar perception at each level of education but Indian and Pakistani / Bangladeshi groups are more likely to report unfair treatment when they have higher levels of education. For women, it is highly educated Chinese who are more likely to report unfair treatment than their poorly educated peers (results are not shown in the table).

Turning to the results in Model 3 of Table 8, we find that the effects of ethnicity and religion have all disappeared. This may well be due to the relatively small sample sizes over the very large number of main effects and interaction effects entries in the model. We have noted earlier the possible effects of being Black African or Indian ethnicity and of Muslim religion. In Model 3, we find that the interaction effects are not significant for either men or women. Another important feature is that the interaction effects between ethnicity / religion / disability and time are generally non-significant.

Yet even with all the controls in the model, people in 2005 tend to report lower incidences of unfair treatment across the board. A third important factor in this regard is that, even though the interaction effects between potentially disadvantaged groups and time are largely non-significant, we find that men of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh religions were less likely to report unfair treatment in 2005 than in 2003 – perhaps suggesting the very high pressures on them in the wake of the 9/11 event and the pejorative representations of Muslims in the media (Poynting & Mason, 2007).¹⁹

Given the patterns and trends that can be discerned from Table 8, it makes sense to base our graphic presentation on the predicted values from Model 2 for men and women, and to do it for the two data sources separately. This we do in the next section.

5.3 Predicted values on unfair treatment

The data in Figures 11 and 12 show the predicted values on unfair treatment based on Model 2 in Table 8. We present data for men and for women respectively, and in each figure show separately the results for 2003 and 2005. We differentiate three levels of education as before, and measure the perceived level of unfair treatment of each of the ethnic minority groups compared with the White majority. It is important to remember here that we are comparing different ethnic groups within each level of education rather than between different levels of educational qualifications. It would therefore be inappropriate to compare the patterns in the graphs with those for education in Table 8.²⁰

The patterns in Figures 11 and 12 can be summarised as follows:

- In both 2003 and 2005, ethnic minority men were more likely to sense injustice than their female counterparts.
- For both men and women and in both years, ethnic minority groups (especially Black groups) are more likely to perceive unfair treatment than their White

¹⁹ It is likely that the effects of the 7/7 London bombing in 2005 and the subsequent Islamophobia against the Muslim community in the media, were not fully reflected in the 2005 survey.

²⁰ Controlling for all other factors in the relevant models, the predicted rates of unfair treatment for White men are estimated at: 19.8, 29.9 and 32.4 per cent for low, medium and high qualifications in 2003; 16.8, 23.5 and 26.3 per cent in 2005. Those for White women are: 17.1, 25.6 and 30.7 per cent in 2003; 13.6, 20.5 and 24.4 per cent in 2005.

counterparts within each educational level – with poorly educated Black African men reporting unfair treatment three times as much as their White counterparts.

- Chinese men are the least likely to report unfair treatment at each of the educational levels and in both years. This may partly reflect their segregated employment within their ethnic haven as characteristic of the Chinese community, and partly reflect the centuries-old tradition of fatalism and Taoism in Chinese culture that may have become ingrained in their world outlook. In contrast, highly educated Chinese women do feel strongly about, and have a significantly higher likelihood to report unfair treatment.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have reported patterns of the subjective perception of unfair treatment in terms of job refusal and promotion blockage in 2003 and 2005 using the Home Office Citizenship Survey for respondents resident in England and Wales. The main findings can be summarised as follows:

- Seen in their own right, most ethno-religious and disability groups report grave disadvantages in terms of higher rates of job refusal and promotion blockage, with Black African (and to a lesser extent, Black Caribbean) men and women reporting more unfair treatment, confirming Cheung and Heath (2007) and Heath and Li (2007) on the ‘visible’ minorities experiencing the most serious forms of disadvantage in the labour market.
- When the other socio-demographic attributes are taken into account, the religious disadvantages tend to disappear but those associated with ethnicity remain strong.
- Although recent evidence suggests there are various difficulties facing Muslim women in accessing the labour market (Bunlawala, 2008), our evidence shows that for Black African or Indian women, being a Muslim does not entail added disadvantage. This is because most of them²¹ are out of the labour market (Heath & Li, 2008), which may mean that the small portion who are economically active are also a highly motivated and self-selected group.

²¹ Further analysis shows that amongst Muslim women, 81 per cent of Black Africans, 68 per cent of Indians and 56 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were not working in 2003 and 2005, compared to 65 per cent of White Muslim women.

- The relatively low perception of unfair treatment by Chinese men may be seen as arising from their segregated employment and / or cultural traits.
- On the face of it, Black groups (particularly Black Africans) are facing serious disadvantages of unfair treatment in the labour market and – in the absence of longer-term data – the available data show that their situation got worse between 2003 and 2005. This is also true, albeit on a much smaller scale, for some of the other ethnic minority groups.

There has been much recent discussion on ethno-religious differences in the labour market. This is because ethnicity data were available for the first time in the 1991 Census and subsequent Government and academic surveys. In the academic community, there was a suspicion that it might not be ethnicity but religion that was the more important marker, and cause of disadvantage in the labour market (Bunglawala, 2008). In this regard, our findings of persistent ethnic and relatively unimportant religious impacts (in terms of perceived unfair treatment in the labour market), may come as a surprise. Of course, there could be many reasons to explain this. One is that ethnicity is a more readily visible feature than religion and is thus likely to be a more decisive factor at selection processes. The same may be true for promotion processes as line managers or panel members may not know what religion, if any, is being practised by a candidate for promotion.

6. SUBJECTIVE PERCEPTION OF QUALITY OF LIFE

In the previous three chapters, we have looked at group-based disadvantages in terms of access to the labour market, earnings from the labour market and perception of discrimination in the labour market. In this last empirical chapter, we shall turn our gaze to a broader horizon: the subjective perception of quality of life. Following existing research (Ross & Willigen, 1997; Pevalin, 2000; Pevalin & Rose, 2003; Li, 2007a), we use three satisfaction measures as indicators of quality of life. They are: satisfaction with work life, satisfaction with social life and satisfaction with life overall. In order to do this, we draw data from the British Household Panel Survey²² (BHPS) of 2005 (Wave 15), the only data source currently available with information that can meet our research needs in this chapter.

In the BHPS, the three satisfaction variables are measured as Likert scales ranging from 1 (not satisfied at all) to 7 (completely satisfied). To be consistent with analyses in the previous chapters, we have confined our analysis to men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 in Great Britain. As the ethnicity variable is collected the first time the respondent is interviewed, we merged the variable from the cross-wave data set. Religion is collected in Wave 14 and merged with the Wave 15 data. Given the attrition in panel data, only respondents successfully interviewed in both Waves 14 and 15 are retained in the current analysis. There are no data on sexual orientation, and hence we cannot discuss differences for same-sex relationships. Our focus is therefore on the intersectionality of ethnicity, religion and disability. We control for all other socio-economic and geographic variables as we did in previous empirical chapters. As in the previous empirical chapters, probability weights (in this case cross-sectional respondent weight) are used in all analyses in this chapter.

6.1 Descriptive analysis of quality of life

The data in Table 9 show the satisfaction scores by ethnicity, religion and disability, and by men and women. As the scores range from one to seven with higher scores meaning greater satisfaction, the last row shows that most people were fairly satisfied with their lives. For both men and women, work life seemed most satisfactory and social life seemed a little less satisfactory. Women were significantly

²² Details at <http://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/ulsc/bhps/>

more satisfied than men in work life but the two sexes were no different in social and overall life satisfaction.

Looking at the ethnic differences, no significant differences emerged for men with regard to work life (note that the BHPS was not designed for ethnicity research and there are insufficient sample sizes for ethnic groups, hence our results here should be regarded as tentative). In terms of social life, we find that Black African, Pakistani / Bangladeshi and Other men expressed greater satisfaction than their White counterparts. Pakistani / Bangladeshi men also expressed greater satisfaction with overall life. For women, most ethnic groups were similar in their subjective evaluations of the various facets of life satisfaction. Black Caribbean women were less satisfied with their work life whilst Indian women were less satisfied with their social and overall life than their White peers.

Religious differences for men were negligible except that Hindu men were somewhat more likely to express greater satisfaction with their social life than other groups. For women, Muslims were least satisfied with their social life whilst Hindu women were least satisfied with their overall life. Again, the numbers are small and we would urge caution in interpreting the results.

Disabled men and women were less satisfied in their social and overall life than were their non-disabled peers.

The overall picture is that there are few gender differences in the three aspects of satisfaction under consideration. The ethno-religious differences are also small, as are differences on disability. Given this, we shall use the pooled data for men and women in the modelling exercises below.

6.2 Statistical modelling on quality of life

The data in Table 10 show the results of statistical modelling on the three aspects of satisfaction: work life, social life and life overall. In each aspect, we present two models: the main effects of ethno-religious-disability variables and socio-demographic-geographic variables in Model 1, and additional interaction effects

between ethno-religious-disability and education in Model 2.²³

Looking at the data, we find that (other things being equal) disabled people were less satisfied, especially in social life and in life overall. Married people tend to be more satisfied, indicating that satisfaction is triggered by a much broader range of mechanisms than captured in our models, such as social capital and family life (Putnam, 2000; Li, 2007a). Younger people tend to be more satisfied with life, suggesting what has been termed 'youthful optimism' in life (Li et al. 2002). Gender differences are only shown in work life and there are no differences for education and geography, other things being equal.

The ethno-religious differences are generally as expected. By and large, people with Muslim and Hindu religious orientations are less satisfied in work life, but no difference was shown in social life and in life overall. Black groups tend to express greater levels of satisfaction with social life although that satisfaction is modified by education, namely, the highly educated Black groups were less satisfied in their social lives than their poorly educated peers. The picture for Chinese people seems to be a mirror image compared to Black people in social life. Poorly qualified Chinese were rather unhappy about their social life but their better educated counterparts were significantly more satisfied. With regard to life overall, we find (with the exception of disability as earlier noted) that it was demographic factors (age and marital status) that have a notable impact on overall satisfaction rather than ethno-religious attributes (the Black African effect at 3.157 is muted by the interaction with education at -1.365). The role of education for subjective perception of quality of life is indirect. Higher educational qualifications do help people gain access to the labour market and to more advantaged occupations with higher pay as we have earlier seen. Yet it does not seem to have a direct impact on subjective perception of quality of life once other socio-economic factors are taken into consideration. If anything, education produces a more critical and less satisfied citizenry, especially among Black African and Black Caribbean groups in relation to social and overall life

²³ We also carried out a series of analyses testing the class effects. Briefly, if we add class to Model 1, we find that the salariat were, other things being equal, more satisfied with work life, that no class differences were shown in social life, and that routine non-manual and salariat were more satisfied in overall life than the reference group of the working class. Yet, if we add interaction effects of class with ethnicity, religion and disability in Model 2, the model became very unstable with many empty cells. We therefore decided not to present the data with class effects.

(although more highly educated Pakistani / Bangladeshi and Chinese people seem to be more satisfied with their social life than their poorly educated peers).

6.3 Predictions of quality of life

In this section, we report predicted values for the three aspects of satisfaction based on predicted values from Model 2 in each aspect in Table 10. As there are only negligible effects between religion and education, between disability and education, and between sexes in general (Model 2 of Table 10), we only report predicted values for ethnicity by education for men and women together.

Figure 13 shows the predicted effects of ethnicity in each level of education in each of the three aspects of quality of life.²⁴ With regard to satisfaction with work, we find that there is little difference among the ethnic groups in the two lower levels of education but amongst the highly educated, people of Black Caribbean, Black African, Pakistani / Bangladeshi and Chinese appear to be less satisfied than their White peers. With regard to social life, we find that for the poorly qualified, Black Caribbean men and women tend to be more satisfied and Chinese were the least satisfied. Among the highly qualified, low levels of satisfaction are shown by the Black African and the 'Other' groups, and high levels in the Pakistani / Bangladeshi group. With respect to life overall, we again find that the highly educated Black Africans are the least satisfied.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have explored quality of life in terms of satisfaction with work life, with social life and with life overall. The main findings can be summarised as follows:

- Women tend to report greater satisfaction with their work life even when other factors are taken into account.
- Black Caribbean men tend to find their social life more satisfactory than their White peers although the groups with higher education tend to be less satisfied than their less qualified peers.

²⁴ Due to small sample sizes for ethnic minority groups, there are no valid data for Black groups with lower qualifications in terms of satisfaction with work, and no Black Africans with low qualifications in satisfaction with social life, or with life overall.

- Disabled people, men and women alike, are less satisfied with their social life and with their overall life situation, and their dissatisfaction remains even when we take into account their other socio-demographic attributes.

7. CONCLUSIONS

In this report, we have looked at the group-based disadvantages associated with ethnicity, religion, same-sex status, disability and gender. We have traversed a rather broad socio-economic space, ranging from fortunes in the labour market, through perceived discrimination in the labour market, to subjective perception of quality of life covering three aspects of life satisfaction (with work life, social life and life overall). For this purpose, we have used the most authoritative data sources and most appropriate techniques for each aspect of our analysis. In this chapter, we shall give a brief review of the key findings on the main groups across the socio-economic spaces and highlight new directions for research. To get a bird's eye view of the patterns and trends, we summarise the main findings in Tables 11 and 12 and in the following section. We reiterate here that although we believe that we used the best data sources currently available for our research purposes, our data on disability and same-sex status are much less than ideal. Results pertaining to these should be taken with caution. We await better data to be available in the future for further analysis in this regard.

7.1 Key findings

Gender

- Remarkable progress has been achieved in the last decade by women (especially by White women) in education and some notable progress in gaining access to the salariat.
- White working-class boys continue to have low levels of educational attainment which affects access to the labour market, income levels, career prospects and class position.
- Women still face greater obstacles in access to the labour market and in their earning powers, compared to men.
- For those who are economically active, women do not perceive greater levels of discrimination; if anything, they report lower levels of job refusals and promotion blockages, which could be a result of not applying for certain jobs and promotion opportunities.
- Overall, women report greater levels of satisfaction with their work life than their male counterparts.

Ethnicity

- For both men and women, all ethnic minority groups (with the possible exception of Indians) were less likely to find themselves in paid employment in the last decade and there has not been any progress in this regard – there is a long way to go before ethnic equality can be realised.
- Pakistani / Bangladeshi women were the least likely to find themselves in the labour market but there are small differences for the highly educated among them. For this group in particular, education is the key to entry into the labour market, higher incomes and higher class position.
- While poor education generally goes some considerable way to explaining the misfortunes of Pakistani / Bangladeshi men and women in the labour market, at the higher educational levels it is the Black African and Chinese men who had the lowest levels of employment and earnings – the Chinese may be paying a price for their economic segregation and socio-political marginalisation.
- Indian men and women are doing well in gaining socio-economic integration into mainstream British society.
- At each level of education, Black African men and women report themselves to be most severely discriminated against in the labour market, closely followed by Black Caribbean men.
- At higher levels of education, Black African and Black Caribbean men and women are least satisfied with work life, social life and life overall.

Disability

- Disabled men and women were less likely to find employment during the decade and to earn less money.
- The protective role of education is most clearly seen in helping them to gain access to the labour market.
- Disabled men and women in employment were earning somewhat (but not substantially) less than non-disabled people with the same level of education.
- Even with similar levels of education, disabled people tend to see themselves as more unfairly treated through having more job refusals and promotion blockages.

- Disabled people also find themselves less satisfied in their social and overall lives.

Same-sex status

- People in same-sex couples are more likely to be highly educated, in employment, earning more money, and occupying higher class positions.
- The apparent ‘advantages’ of people in same-sex rather than non-same-sex relationships are due mainly to their higher levels of education. Within the same level of education, there is not much difference in employment, and men in non-same-sex relationships earn more than men in same-sex relationships at both lower and higher levels of education.

Religion

- Religion plays an important role in people’s socio-economic life and, seen from its own perspective, people of minority religious identities, particularly Muslim, Hindu and Sikh groups, are much more likely to face unfair treatment in the labour market. This holds true for both men and women.
- Controlling for ethnicity and other socio-demographic attributes, we find that religion itself does not entail significant levels of reported discrimination, or substantial levels of dissatisfaction with perceived quality of life. It is ethnicity – rather (or more) than religion – which acts as a visible and ready conduit for disadvantage and perceived discrimination.

7.2 Future research challenges and policy implications

Many of the findings reported here confirm what we know about the position of potentially disadvantaged groups with regard to education, employment, income and class and the relationship between these variables. Confirmation strengthens our knowledge base, which is important for evidence-based policy-making. This analysis has provided new findings too, which highlight the need for further research in order to inform initiatives in policy-making.

With regards to gender, the success of White (predominately middle-class) women in education and employment highlights a growing class divide with working-class women not faring so well and even being left behind. Research and policy should continue to explore the factors that inhibit white working-class women’s educational

attainment and occupational advancement. Ongoing policy initiatives are required to reduce the penalties of motherhood for all women.

Similarly, further research and policy initiatives are urgently required on the continuing underperformance of white working-class boys in school and work. The classic issue of 'why working-class boys get working-class jobs', posed in the 1970s, remains a persistent problem. Research suggests that the Excellence in Schools initiative has been an important intervention in raising attainment levels (Machin et al. 2003). Further interventions are required to enhance training and advancement in employment.

Turning to ethnicity, we continue to see a growing divide between those ethnic groups which are improving their positions relative to the White population and those whose position remains as disadvantaged as before. The disadvantaged position of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women is readily apparent. That said, young Pakistani and Bangladeshi women's education is improving (Dale, 2005) which raises employment levels. Further work is needed on whether these processes are working for young men.

The position of Black African and Black Caribbean men and women in the labour market needs further exploration (Heath & Li, 2007). The following questions need to be addressed: why are they not enjoying the returns to education that Whites and Indians enjoy?; how and why are they being discriminated against?; how do the barriers operate against those with different levels of education, for those born in Britain and those born overseas?; how can discriminatory behaviour be effectively tackled?; how can policy interventions break these persistent inequalities and change things for the better?

Somewhat surprisingly, it emerged in this research that Chinese men had one of the lowest levels of employment and earnings. This may be the result of their economic segregation in the labour market and the fact that they do not have a loud voice in protesting against economic marginalisation. Further research and evidence is needed here. Moreover, with regard to all ethnic groups, research on changes across generations is important, to see if things improve – or not – for the second and third generation.

In relation to disability, it remains imperative to improve the educational performance of young disabled people where possible. The extent to which this can be done, and how it is done, depends on the level and nature of the disability. Much has been achieved in this respect as more disabled children and young people receive mainstream schooling. Nevertheless, good intentions do not always translate into good practices and more research is required into what happens at a local level to block change (following Beckett, 2006). Education is important in facilitating entry into employment, securing an income, and moving out of poverty and into independent living. That said, employers, managers and others still appear to discriminate against disabled people when they apply for jobs or seek advancement in their careers. Why prejudice and discrimination persist at a local level, and what might be the incentives for change, requires further research and policy interventions. Again, the blocks on change need to be broken down. A key challenge, however, is to obtain better and more detailed data to inform policy-making.

With regards to men and women in same-sex couples or with same-sex orientations, the findings present something of a paradox. On the one hand, there is a huge amount of literature, noted in Chapter 2, which documents prejudice and discrimination against gay men and lesbian women in education and employment. On the other hand, the available statistical data suggests that men and women in same-sex couples enjoy both educational and occupational success. How can this be? We have urged caution in any interpretation of the statistics which implies that men and women in same-sex couples are an advantaged rather than disadvantaged group. It may be that it is the successful people who are more willing to reveal their sexuality to interviewers and that there is still a great deal of hidden disadvantage. Further research is required on the impact of homophobia in schools on the educational attainment of young gay men and lesbian women and career prospects and income in employment. If homophobia affects outcomes (or willingness to report one's sexuality) in these ways, further policy initiatives to break down such barriers are required.

Finally turning to religion, we have stressed that religion and ethnicity are closely (but not wholly) intertwined, although it is ethnicity rather than religion which appears to be important for explaining labour market disadvantage. This is not to say that religion is unimportant or that religious groups are not disadvantaged, but

subsequent research must continue to disentangle religious and ethnic effects in education and employment and the precise mechanisms involved.

We have suggested that ethnicity is a more visible form of difference than religion and perhaps this is why the former rather than the latter is the basis of prejudice and discrimination. In the current climate however, we need to monitor the ways in which religious affiliation is becoming more visible (via the wearing of headscarves, other religious practices and so forth), which may become the basis of discrimination in the future, as Bradley's work on young Muslim women for the EOC (2007) has indicated.

In summary, the evidence suggests that the acquisition of educational credentials facilitates entry into the labour market and enhances income levels and access to higher class positions for all equality groups. It improves people's life chances and quality of life. Education protects people against the worst impact of group-based inequalities. This is why initiatives to enhance the educational attainment of all disadvantaged groups are so important.

At the same time, education protects disadvantaged people only to a certain degree. That is, some disadvantaged groups do not enjoy the returns to education that might be expected from their investment. Prejudice and discrimination in the labour market prevail, so that the most visible ethnic groups, for example, are thwarted in their life chances and quality of life. Targeted and sustained interventions in the labour market are required to break down remarkably intransigent social inequalities.

Table 1a Educational qualifications by ethnicity, disability and same-sex orientation and by gender in 2004/5

	Men				Women			
	Primary / none %	A / O Levels %	Degree %	(N)	Primary / none %	A / O Levels %	Degree %	(N)
Ethnicity								
White	26.9	47.4	25.7	63,712	28.6	45.5	26.0	65,104
Black Caribbean	36.1	47.5	16.4***	563	24.1	46.8	29.1	741
Black African	34.5	23.8	41.8***	678	40.3	29.7	29.9**	689
Indian	33.6	29.4	37.1***	1,468	41.8	27.8	30.4***	1,434
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	53.5	29.1	17.4***	1,343	58.3	31.3	10.5***	1,399
Chinese	38.6	24.8	36.6***	336	40.5	20.7	38.8***	404
Other	43.8	26.4	29.8***	1,719	43.9	27.9	28.2*	1,684
Disability / long-term illness								
No	24.6	47.1	28.3	58,308	26.7	45.6	27.7	60,753
Yes	46.4	39.1	14.5***	11,572	48.0	35.5	16.5***	11,106
Same-sex								
No	28.3	45.8	26.0	69,625	30.0	44.0	26.0	77,713
Yes	12.8	39.4	47.8***	255	14.7	33.9	51.4***	146
All	28.2	45.8	26.0	69,880	30.0	44.0	26.0	71,859

Notes:

1. For men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 and resident in Great Britain.
2. White includes White British, White Irish and White from the old Commonwealth countries (USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia).
3. NVQs are included in the appropriate levels as defined by the 2001 Census.
4. Bivariate significant tests are carried out with White, non-disabled / long-term illness and non-same-sex couples as reference categories respectively, with * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: The General Household Survey (2004/5) and Wave 1 from each quarter of the Labour Force Survey (2004/5).

Table 1b Educational qualifications by ethnicity, disability and same-sex orientation and by gender in 1996/7

	Men				Women			
	Primary / none %	A / O Levels %	Degree %	(N)	Primary / none %	A / O Levels %	Degree %	(N)
Ethnicity								
White	32.5	46.5	20.9	70,283	40.0	41.3	18.7	70,345
Black Caribbean	43.8	41.9	14.3***	575	41.6	36.0	22.3*	741
Black African	42.4	26.7	30.9***	441	50.1	28.6	21.3	476
Indian	45.2	29.5	25.3***	1,296	56.9	27.7	15.3**	1,275
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	63.5	24.7	11.8***	914	69.6	23.8	6.6***	972
Chinese	45.3	25.9	28.7**	238	49.7	22.1	28.2***	266
Other	47.1	32.8	20.0	997	47.9	34.2	17.9	1,139
Disability / long-term illness								
No	29.9	47.1	23.0	61,737	37.7	42.6	19.8	63,537
Yes	50.7	38.1	11.2***	13,030	58.6	29.6	11.8***	11,710
Same-sex								
No	33.6	45.6	20.9	74,627	40.9	40.6	18.5	75,174
Yes	17.5	43.5	39.0***	140	26.8	33.0	40.2***	73
All	33.6	45.5	20.9	74,767	40.9	40.6	18.5	75,247

Notes:

1. For men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 and resident in Great Britain.
2. White includes White British, White Irish and White from the old Commonwealth countries (USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia).
3. NVQs are included in the appropriate levels as defined by the 2001 Census.
4. Bivariate significant tests are carried out with White, non-disabled / long-term illness and non-same-sex couples as reference categories respectively, with * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: The General Household Survey (1996) and Wave 1 from each quarter of the Labour Force Survey (1996/7).

Table 2a Employment situation by ethnicity, disability and same-sex orientation and by gender in 2004/5

	Men				Women			
	Employed %	Unemployed %	Inactive %	(N)	Employed %	Unemployed %	Inactive %	(N)
Ethnicity								
White	78.6	3.6	17.8	71,121	68.6	2.6	28.8	74,346
Black Caribbean	67.5***	11.7	20.8	645	64.9*	5.3	29.8	829
Black African	65.6***	9.9	24.5	761	48.4***	5.7	45.9	982
Indian	74.4***	4.5	21.1	1,671	58.1***	2.9	39.0	1,644
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	60.8***	8.2	31.0	1,530	22.9***	4.4	72.7	1,571
Chinese	57.6***	4.8	37.6	389	56.4***	3.3	40.3	444
Other	65.0***	8.1	26.9	1,954	55.0***	5.2	39.8	2,111
Disability / long-term illness								
No	83.9	3.9	12.1	63,219	70.2	2.8	26.1	67,548
Yes	44.1***	4.2	51.7	12,245	40.4***	3.3	56.3	11,691
Same-sex								
No	77.4	4.0	18.6	77,878	66.8	2.8	30.5	81,826
Yes	87.3***	0.8	11.9	268	84.1***	1.4	14.6	160
All	77.5	4.0	18.5	78,146	66.8	2.7	30.5	81,986

Notes:

1. For men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 and resident in Great Britain.
2. White includes White British, White Irish and White from the old Commonwealth countries (USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia).
3. Bivariate significant tests are carried out with White, non-disabled / long-term illness and non-same-sex couples as reference categories respectively, with * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$.
4. Weighted data are used throughout the analysis.

Source: The General Household Survey (2004/5) and Wave 1 from each quarter of the Labour Force Survey (2004/5).

Table 2b Employment situation by ethnicity, disability and same-sex orientation and by gender in 1996/7

	Men				Women			
	Employed %	Unemployed %	Inactive %	(N)	Employed %	Unemployed %	Inactive %	(N)
Ethnicity								
White	76.6	6.6	16.8	72,963	64.9	3.9	31.2	74,846
Black Caribbean	63.4***	14.5	22.1	615	60.2**	10.7	29.2	795
Black African	57.4***	20.6	22.0	460	44.3***	12.7	42.9	488
Indian	72.4***	7.3	20.4	1,352	50.5***	5.7	43.7	1,346
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	53.5***	14.8	31.7	973	21.1***	5.7	73.2	1,027
Chinese	64.4***	8.6	27.0	242	55.2***	6.2	38.6	277
Other	60.7***	12.9	26.4	1,027	48.2***	8.3	43.6	1,187
Disability / long-term illness								
No	82.9	6.7	10.4	64,341	68.4	4.1	27.5	68,108
Yes	41.1***	8.3	50.6	13,319	35.9***	4.9	59.2	11,896
Same-sex								
No	75.7	7.0	17.3	77,519	63.6	4.2	32.2	79,927
Yes	89.3***	2.1	8.6	141	78.3*	3.6	18.2	75
All	75.8	7.0	17.3	77,660	63.6	4.2	32.2	80,002

Notes:

1. For men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 and resident in Great Britain.
2. White includes White British, White Irish and White from the old Commonwealth countries (USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia).
3. Bivariate significant tests are carried out with White, non-disabled / long-term illness and non-same-sex couples as reference categories respectively, with * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: The General Household Survey (1996) and Wave 1 from each quarter of the Labour Force Survey (1996/7).

Table 3a Weekly earnings (£) by ethnicity, disability and same-sex orientation and by gender in 2004/5

	Men			Women		
	Mean £	Standard deviation	(N)	Mean £	Standard deviation	(N)
Ethnicity						
White	482.9	331.8	30,313	291.8	231.6	32,774
Black Caribbean	405.5***	228.7	212	340.3***	196.8	309
Black African	408.5**	349.8	249	308.3	186.6	284
Indian	488.5	364.2	588	340.5***	251.0	552
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	306.1***	248.1	379	222.6***	163.8	180
Chinese	395.3**	285.0	108	305.9	253.4	130
Other	426.2***	310.7	683	317.5***	223.3	725
Disability / long-term illness						
No	486.3	335.8	28,138	297.9	234.3	30,235
Yes	396.8***	264.5	2,923	249.3***	189.1	3,095
Same-sex						
No	478.0	331.2	32,416	293.1	230.9	34,892
Yes	530.1	347.0	129	436.9***	263.9	77
All	480.4	334.2	32,545	293.8	232.4	34,969

Notes:

1. For men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 and resident in Great Britain.
2. White includes White British, White Irish and White from the old Commonwealth countries (USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia).
3. Bivariate significant tests are carried out with White, non-disabled / long-term illness and non-same-sex couples as reference categories respectively, with * p<0.05, ** p<0.01 and *** p<0.001.

Source: The General Household Survey (2004/5) and Wave 1 from each quarter of the Labour Force Survey (2004/5).

Table 3b Weekly earnings (£) by ethnicity, disability and same-sex orientation and by gender in 1996/7

	Men			Women		
	Mean £	Standard deviation	(N)	Mean £	Standard deviation	(N)
Ethnicity						
White	353.8	252.9	36,933	190.2	164.4	37,844
Black Caribbean	286.8***	161.4	248	222.7***	131.4	345
Black African	297.0***	201.3	142	198.1	122.0	148
Indian	326.0**	234.5	499	203.4	171.9	439
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	221.6***	193.6	244	137.2***	146.8	128
Chinese	364.7	318.0	78	228.7*	160.0	80
Other	341.6	317.6	377	235.9***	214.2	378
Disability / long-term illness						
No	357.0	256.3	35,297	193.0	166.1	36,326
Yes	295.1***	202.3	3,226	166.9***	144.4	3,046
Same-sex						
No	351.6	252.3	38,439	190.8	164.6	39,332
Yes	442.0*	391.9	84	340.2***	164.1	40
All	351.1	252.1	38,523	190.8	164.4	39,372

Notes:

1. For men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 and resident in Great Britain.
2. White includes White British, White Irish and White from the old Commonwealth countries (USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia).
3. In the LFS for 1996, earnings data are in Wave 5 but for 1997, they are available in both Wave 1 and Wave 5. As Wave 1 data are face-to-face interviews and are more reliable, Wave 1 data in 1997 are used.
4. Bivariate significant tests are carried out with White, non-disabled / long-term illness and non-same-sex couples as reference categories respectively, with * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: The GHS (1996); Wave 5 from each quarter of the LFS (1996); and Wave 1 in each quarter of the LFS (1997).

Table 4a Class by ethnicity, disability and same-sex orientation and by gender in 2004/5

	Men					Women				
	Salariat %	RNM %	PB %	WC %	(N)	Salariat %	RNM %	PB %	WC %	(N)
Ethnicity										
White	40.3	6.3	12.9	40.5	62,006	36.5	20.1	5.3	38.2	60,819
Black Caribbean	27.9***	7.9	11.9	52.2	509	42.9**	19.7	2.2	35.3	606
Black African	38.9	5.3	6.4	49.4	513	37.3	12.8	2.2	47.7	550
Indian	47.2***	7.9	12.5	32.3	1,342	41.6***	17.4	4.7	36.4	1,134
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	23.1***	6.8	22.1	47.9	1,074	23.3***	20.3	6.8	49.6	488
Chinese	45.4	3.3	19.5	31.8	224	40.5	12.5	10.7	36.3	278
Other	40.4	5.8	11.5	42.2	1,428	41.2***	17.4	4.4	37.1	1,377
Disability / long-term illness										
No	42.1	6.3	12.8	38.8	55,884	38.1	20.1	5.3	36.6	54,914
Yes	26.7***	5.8	14.5	53.0	8,835	26.9***	17.9	5.1	50.2	7,853
Same-sex										
No	40.0	6.3	13.0	40.7	66,906	36.6	19.9	5.3	38.3	65,157
Yes	59.1***	8.9	13.0	19.0	251	59.4***	12.7	8.0	20.0	141
All	40.1	6.3	13.0	40.6	67,157	36.7	19.9	5.3	38.2	65,298

Notes:

1. For men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 and resident in Great Britain.
2. White includes White British, White Irish and White from the old Commonwealth countries (USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia).
3. Salariat: professional, administrative and managerial employees; RNM: routine non-manual employees and office clerks; PB: small employers with or without employees; WC: skilled manual workers, foremen / women and manual supervisors, and semi and unskilled manual workers including agricultural labourers.
4. Bivariate significant tests are carried out with White, non-disabled / long-term illness and non-same-sex couples as reference categories respectively, with * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: The General Household Survey (2004/5) and Wave 1 from each quarter of the Labour Force Survey (2004/5).

Table 4b Class by ethnicity, disability and same-sex orientation and by gender in 1996/7

	Men					Women				
	Salariat %	RNM %	PB %	WC %	(N)	Salariat %	RNM %	PB %	WC %	(N)
Ethnicity										
White	37.5	8.4	13.6	40.6	56,730	35.1	31.3	5.2	28.5	50,051
Black Caribbean	27.9***	7.7	9.2	55.2	403	38.1	27.6	2.2	32.1	494
Black African	40.8	15.4	5.4	38.4	270	37.8	23.9	1.9	36.4	221
Indian	38.7	9.5	16.1	35.7	980	28.8***	31.6	5.8	33.8	685
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	20.7***	12.5	20.5	46.3	522	20.7***	38.3	5.0	36.0	218
Chinese	43.6	8.1	26.4	21.9	152	40.8	24.3	12.1	22.8	151
Other	40.84	13.1	10.6	35.5	625	35.9	35.4	4.6	24.2	579
Disability / long-term illness										
No	38.5	8.5	13.2	39.8	53,639	35.6	31.5	5.1	27.8	47,435
Yes	27.4***	7.9	17.4	47.3	6,056	28.9***	28.9	5.9	36.2	4,985
Same-sex										
No	37.3	8.5	13.6	40.6	59,566	34.9	31.3	5.2	28.6	52,359
Yes	67.6***	8.8	4.6	19.1	129	56.4***	13.1	6.6	24.0	61
All	37.4	8.5	13.6	40.6	59,695	35.0	31.3	5.2	28.6	52,420

Notes:

1. For men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 and resident in Great Britain.
2. White includes White British, White Irish and White from the old Commonwealth countries (USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia).
3. Salariat: professional, administrative and managerial employees; RNM: routine non-manual employees and office clerks; PB: small employers with or without employees; WC: skilled manual workers, foremen/women and manual supervisors, and semi and unskilled manual workers including agricultural labourers.
4. Bivariate significant tests are carried out with White, non-disabled / long-term illness and non-same-sex couples as reference categories respectively, with * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: The General Household Survey (1996) and Wave 1 from each quarter of the Labour Force Survey (1996/7).

Table 5a Logit regression coefficients on male employment in 1996/7, 2004/5 and comparison over the decade

	1996/7			2004/5			2004/5 versus 1996/7
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	
Ethnicity (White=ref)							
Black Caribbean	-0.737***	-0.759***	-2.129***	-0.619***	-0.847***	-2.073***	-2.035***
Black African	-1.188***	-1.519***	-2.111***	-0.955***	-1.314***	-2.042***	-2.230***
Indian	-0.301***	-0.399***	-0.976***	-0.350***	-0.474***	-1.984***	-1.466***
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	-1.104***	-0.940***	-1.066***	-0.962***	-1.027***	-1.541***	-1.303***
Chinese	-0.819***	-0.929***	-2.586***	-1.315***	-1.281***	-1.990***	-2.128***
Other	-0.870***	-1.005***	-1.528***	-0.814***	-0.935***	-1.616***	-1.680***
Disabled (non=ref)	-1.962***	-2.094***	-1.565***	-1.929***	-2.199***	-2.787***	-2.088***
Same sex (non=ref)	0.994***	-0.246	-0.262	0.582**	0.459	0.501	-0.245
Age		3.338***	3.265***		3.924***	3.913***	3.554***
Age squared		-0.410***	-0.396***		-0.471***	-0.470***	-0.429***
Married (other=ref)		0.037	0.039		0.092***	0.089***	0.066***
No. children ≤ 16		-0.049***	-0.056***		0.001	-0.012	-0.037***
Children aged 0-5		0.327***	0.298***		0.329***	0.332***	0.306***
Country (England=ref)							
Wales		-0.273***	-0.256***		-0.261***	-0.249***	-0.252***
Scotland		-0.261***	-0.253***		-0.184***	-0.174***	-0.218***
Education		0.395***	0.305***		0.409***	0.244***	0.279***
Black Caribbean*education			0.143			0.485**	0.299*
Black African*education			0.035			-0.068	-0.029
Indian*education			-0.138			0.150	0.013
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*education			-0.038			0.080	0.021
Chinese*education			0.270			-0.147	0.002
Other*education			0.018			0.214**	0.140*
Black Caribbean*kids under 5			0.105			-0.823*	-0.322
Black African*kids under 5			0.360			-0.032	0.164
Indian*kids under 5			0.749***			0.006	0.424*

Pakistani / Bangladeshi*kids under 5			-0.075			0.081	0.031
Chinese*kids under 5			0.583			0.219	0.404
Other*kids under 5			-0.334			-0.025	-0.121
Black Caribbean*age			0.266***			0.096	0.191***
Black African*age			0.148			0.263**	0.230***
Indian*age			0.192***			0.370***	0.282***
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*age			0.067			0.104	0.100*
Chinese*age			0.283*			0.280*	0.291***
Other*age			0.139*			0.057	0.110**
Disability*education			0.371***			0.535***	0.447***
Disability*age			-0.268***			-0.081***	-0.189***
Black Caribbean*disability			0.585*			0.498	0.546**
Black African*disability			-0.020			-0.357	-0.246
Indian*disability			0.201			-0.334	-0.047
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*disability			0.121			0.145	0.105
Chinese*disability			1.369**			1.513*	1.392***
Other*disability			0.580**			0.574**	0.545***
Period (1996/7=ref)							0.130***
Black Caribbean in 2004/5							-0.136
Black African in 2004/5							0.213
Indian in 2004/5							-0.042
Pakistani / Bangladeshi in 2004/5							-0.089
Chinese in 2004/5							-0.206
Other in 2004/5							0.045
Disabled in 2004/5							0.016
Same sex in 2004/5							0.715
Constant	1.638***	-4.871***	-4.656***	1.741***	-5.987***	-5.642***	-5.168***
N	75,336	72,456	72,456	73,535	67,874	67,874	140,330

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 5b Logit regression coefficients on female employment in 1996/7, 2004/5 and comparison over the decade

	1996/7			2004/5			2004/5 versus 1996/7
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	
Ethnicity (White=ref)							
Black Caribbean	-0.169*	-0.166	-1.270**	-0.154	-0.290***	-1.508***	-1.355***
Black African	-0.893***	-0.907***	-2.472***	-0.959***	-0.945***	-2.870***	-2.779***
Indian	-0.636***	-0.549***	-1.525***	-0.500***	-0.584***	-1.250***	-1.340***
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	-1.980***	-1.566***	-1.378**	-2.036***	-1.624***	-2.082***	-1.701***
Chinese	-0.535***	-0.813***	-2.529***	-0.660***	-1.065***	-1.933***	-2.054***
Other	-0.726***	-0.750***	-1.668***	-0.659***	-0.726***	-1.452***	-1.580***
Disabled (non=ref)	-1.368***	-1.715***	-0.577***	-1.319***	-1.702***	-0.986***	-0.806***
Same sex (non=ref)	0.801**	0.586	0.584	0.968***	0.628	0.732	0.631
Age		2.293***	2.256***		2.578***	2.527***	2.377***
Age squared		-0.294***	-0.284***		-0.314***	-0.303***	-0.292***
Married (other=ref)		0.013	0.014		-0.007	-0.007	0.006
No. children ≤ 16		-0.360***	-0.362***		-0.418***	-0.422***	-0.391***
Children aged 0-5		-0.826***	-0.834***		-0.629***	-0.626***	-0.730***
Country (England=ref)							
Wales		-0.078*	-0.068		-0.085*	-0.073	-0.071*
Scotland		-0.104***	-0.094**		-0.086**	-0.081*	-0.087***
Education		0.554***	0.509***		0.667***	0.578***	0.545***
Black Caribbean*education			-0.005			-0.016	-0.004
Black African*education			0.178			0.183	0.194*
Indian*education			0.170			0.137	0.151*
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*education			0.361*			0.739***	0.599***
Chinese*education			0.140			0.090	0.114
Other*education			0.099			0.245***	0.203***
Black Caribbean*kids under 5			0.002			0.039	0.023
Black African*kids under 5			0.810***			0.444*	0.611***
Indian*kids under 5			0.703***			0.252	0.498***

Pakistani / Bangladeshi*kids under 5			0.048			0.219	0.173
Chinese*kids under 5			0.912*			0.835*	0.850***
Other*kids under 5			0.133			-0.140	-0.006
Black Caribbean*age			0.300***			0.393***	0.337***
Black African*age			0.281**			0.428***	0.394***
Indian*age			0.142*			0.088	0.116**
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*age			-0.266**			-0.279***	-0.261***
Chinese*age			0.334*			0.170	0.234**
Other*age			0.202**			0.100	0.154***
Disability*education			0.205***			0.281***	0.244***
Disability*age			-0.355***			-0.279***	-0.320***
Black Caribbean*disability			-0.053			-0.690**	-0.357*
Black African*disability			0.172			-0.053	0.030
Indian*disability			0.351			0.509**	0.430**
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*disability			0.992***			0.342	0.624**
Chinese*disability			1.325**			0.290	0.678
Other*disability			0.388			-0.076	0.116
Period (1996/7=ref)							0.058***
Black Caribbean in 2004/5							-0.061
Black African in 2004/5							-0.065
Indian in 2004/5							-0.080
Pakistani / Bangladeshi in 2004/5							-0.264*
Chinese in 2004/5							-0.189
Other in 2004/5							-0.055
Disabled in 2004/5							0.090*
Same sex in 2004/5							0.102
Constant	0.834***	-3.411***	-3.353***	0.998***	-4.292***	-4.101***	-3.738***
N	77,636	77,569	72,940	77,193	76,996	69,929	142,869

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 6a Regression coefficients on male gross weekly earnings in 1996/7, 2004/5 and comparison over the decade, using education as one of predictors

	1996 / 1997			2004 / 2005			2004/5 versus 1996/7
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	
Ethnicity (White=ref)							
Black Caribbean	-67.5***	-55.9***	31.5	-80.1***	-82.9***	93.6	68.0*
Black African	-59.5***	-86.6***	136.6**	-66.7*	-98.9***	30.2	44.3
Indian	-28.0**	-33.3***	-50.8	4.7	-13.3	9.6	-42.7
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	-132.9***	-91.7***	-2.8	-182.1***	-129.1***	-92.9	-42.7
Chinese	9.6	-6.0	-81.7	-93.8**	-70.6*	-64.4	-79.5
Other	-11.4	0.7	35.0	-57.9***	-43.7***	91.7	63.4
Disabled (non=ref)	-62.1***	-56.1***	-9.5	-90.4***	-81.9***	11.4	8.1
Same sex (non=ref)	89.2*	142.8	142.9	49.2	-4.4	-5.0	134.8
Age		357.6***	357.2***		458.8***	456.7***	397.9***
Age squared		-39.3***	-39.2***		-50.1***	-49.6***	-43.5***
Married (other=ref)		-2.3	-2.2		5.5	5.5	2.3
No. children ≤ 16		8.0***	8.1***		20.6***	21.4***	13.6***
Children aged 0-5		32.1***	33.7***		22.3***	25.4***	29.1***
Country (England=ref)							
Wales		-42.1***	-42.0***		-68.2***	-65.9***	-53.2***
Scotland		-31.2***	-31.0***		-45.2***	-45.3***	-36.9***
Education		100.8***	102.4***		143.6***	149.2***	122.1***
Black Caribbean*education			-18.3			-56.2	-35.3**
Black African*education			-51.5**			-91.9***	-73.8***
Indian*education			22.7			-0.1	10.5
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*education			-10.8			12.6	9.5
Chinese*education			17.3			-77.1*	-34.2
Other*education			-56.4*			-26.3	-27.0*
Black Caribbean*kids under 5			-43.9*			-19.3	-33.9
Black African*kids under 5			-13.6			-8.3	-16.2

Indian*kids under 5			-20.6			62.7	18.8
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*kids under 5			-86.3***			-124.2***	-104.4***
Chinese*kids under 5			-25.5			91.9	5.4
Other*kids under 5			2.7			-44.6	-19.5
Black Caribbean*age			-11.9*			-15.3	-12.7*
Black African*age			-30.1**			13.6	6.8
Indian*age			-5.6			-7.1	-4.1
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*age			-8.5			-3.3	-2.4
Chinese*age			10.6			49.2	39.4*
Other*age			23.4			-18.7	0.2
Disability*education			-11.0			-28.3***	-16.2***
Disability*age			-6.1*			-8.5	-7.6***
Black Caribbean*disability			26.8			-42.8	-4.2
Black African*disability			-16.6			64.1	10.3
Indian*disability			12.3			-73.2	-28.4
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*disability			-46.6			-57.3	-46.5*
Chinese*disability			68.8			48.2	28.9
Other*disability			-74.2*			-23.1	-55.7
Period (1996/7=ref)							113.8***
Black Caribbean in 2004/5							-25.7
Black African in 2004/5							2.5
Indian in 2004/5							22.8
Pakistani / Bangladeshi in 2004/5							-62.4***
Chinese in 2004/5							-52.9
Other in 2004/5							-43.4*
Disabled in 2004/5							-24.5***
Same sex in 2004/5							-134.3
Constant	358.8***	-583.7***	-587.9***	490.9***	-781.7***	-795.1***	-718.8***
N	37,369	37,297	37,034	30,343	30,243	28,965	65,999

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 6b Regression coefficients on female gross weekly earnings in 1996/7, 2004/5 and comparison over the decade, using education as one of predictors

	1996 / 1997			2004 / 2005			2004/5 versus 1996/7
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	
Ethnicity (White=ref)							
Black Caribbean	32.8***	26.1***	14.3	45.8***	38.3***	-12.4	1.5
Black African	8.0	7.8	6.9	9.5	13.6	14.2	-24.4
Indian	12.7	27.5***	-2.6	46.3***	34.9***	-25.0	-22.0
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	-52.9***	-11.7	69.2	-72.3***	-30.2**	-126.6*	-27.9
Chinese	37.1*	9.2	-36.1	14.3	-31.8	-241.3*	-148.2*
Other	46.1***	39.7***	-11.6	21.8*	20.5*	32.8	4.6
Disabled (non=ref)	-26.2***	-24.2***	6.0	-48.7***	-40.9***	11.9	9.5
Same sex (non=ref)	151.6***	151.3**	148.7**	142.0***	20.3	19.3	143.6**
Age		214.3***	213.7***		273.0***	270.0***	238.4***
Age squared		-26.7***	-26.6***		-32.9***	-32.6***	-29.2***
Married (other=ref)		1.1	1.1		-0.1	-0.2	0.9
No. children ≤ 16		-43.6***	-43.6***		-54.9***	-54.9***	-48.5***
Children aged 0-5		9.1***	8.2**		3.0	-0.2	5.8*
Country (England=ref)							
Wales		-19.4***	-19.4***		-21.0***	-21.0***	-19.8***
Scotland		-14.3***	-14.3***		-23.0***	-23.3***	-17.9***
Education		82.0***	82.9***		118.7***	122.3***	100.1***
Black Caribbean*education			-10.5			-8.2	-11.9
Black African*education			-22.4*			-28.0*	-17.8*
Indian*education			2.2			3.6	6.5
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*education			-47.0*			6.2	-10.0
Chinese*education			-1.2			-2.6	-0.7
Other*education			0.9			-37.7***	-15.1
Black Caribbean*kids under 5			35.9*			10.9	28.3
Black African*kids under 5			40.0*			74.9**	57.2**

Indian*kids under 5			27.7			32.6	27.9
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*kids under 5			16.9			0.7	-6.5
Chinese*kids under 5			68.1			56.6	56.4
Other*kids under 5			-35.9			61.5*	20.9
Black Caribbean*age			6.6			17.5*	10.7*
Black African*age			8.5			11.6	13.9
Indian*age			5.4			12.9	9.5
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*age			1.7			27.6*	15.1
Chinese*age			9.4			58.1*	39.1**
Other*age			17.4*			16.6*	18.9***
Disability*education			-8.3*			-20.9***	-12.3***
Disability*age			-3.6			-2.6	-2.9
Black Caribbean*disability			-1.4			4.0	3.5
Black African*disability			28.5			17.0	16.1
Indian*disability			1.0			2.7	3.9
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*disability			-49.8			2.4	-13.4
Chinese*disability			-5.4			134.6	157.1
Other*disability			-57.6*			-26.8	-40.4*
Period (1996/7=ref)							81.3***
Black Caribbean in 2004/5							17.9
Black African in 2004/5							10.0
Indian in 2004/5							3.4
Pakistani / Bangladeshi in 2004/5							-32.8*
Chinese in 2004/5							-24.7
Other in 2004/5							-21.4
Disabled in 2004/5							-13.9***
Same sex in 2004/5							-114.5
Constant	192.0***	-327.0***	-327.8***	296.2***	-436.3***	-436.8***	-409.1***
N	38,217	37,961	37,961	32,618	31,241	31,241	69,202

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 6c Regression coefficients on male gross weekly earnings in 1996/7, 2004/5 and comparison over the decade, using class as one of predictors

	1996 / 1997			2004 / 2005			2004/5 versus 1996/7
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	
Ethnicity (White=ref)							
Black Caribbean	-67.5***	-40.4***	0.0	-80.1***	-70.1***	0.0	0.0
Black African	-59.5***	-69.6***	0.0	-66.7*	-52.1	0.0	0.0
Indian	-28.0**	-26.4**	0.0	4.7	-7.3	0.0	0.0
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	-132.9***	-83.1***	0.0	-182.1***	-151.8***	0.0	0.0
Chinese	9.6	-3.1	0.0	-93.8**	-39.1	-93.8	0.0
Other	-11.4	-3.2	0.0	-57.9***	-50.0***	0.0	0.0
Disabled (non=ref)	-62.1***	-50.3***	0.0	-90.4***	-77.2***	0.0	0.0
Same sex (non=ref)	89.2*	385.1	385.2	49.2	11.5	11.5	0.0
Age		304.0***	0.0		360.2***	0.0	319.6***
Age squared		-34.1***	-34.0***		-39.8***	-39.7***	-35.6***
Married (other=ref)		-2.7	-2.6		5.0	4.9	1.5
No. children ≤ 16		9.0***	9.1***		18.6***	18.9***	13.9***
Children aged 0-5		23.2***	0.0		12.5*	0.0	0.0
Country (England=ref)							
Wales		-34.7***	-34.8***		-61.7***	-61.5***	-46.0***
Scotland		-17.8***	-17.9***		-22.2***	-22.1***	-19.5***
Class		115.1***	0.0		174.1***	0.0	0.0
Black Caribbean*class			-41.1**			-73.9***	-54.7***
Black African*class			-40.0*			-47.6	-36.7*
Indian*class			3.4			81.0***	35.7***
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*class			-0.4			-9.8	-3.2
Chinese*class			27.7			6.5	19.7
Other*class			19.2			22.5	32.3**
Black Caribbean*kids under 5			-43.7*			-15.7	-36.0
Black African*kids under 5			-19.3			-28.8	-22.8

Indian*kids under 5			-19.6			60.2	10.1
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*kids under 5			-60.9**			-116.3***	-87.8***
Chinese*kids under 5			-26.6			22.0	-6.1
Other*kids under 5			0.2			-23.4	-12.3
Black Caribbean*age			-6.6			-8.2	-7.9
Black African*age			-21.1*			17.7	8.9
Indian*age			-7.4			-0.3	-5.2
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*age			-15.9			-7.9	-8.0
Chinese*age			12.2			8.0	11.8
Other*age			20.2			-11.5	3.1
Disability*class			-18.2***			-37.2***	-25.2***
Disability*age			-3.1			-5.5	-4.3*
Black Caribbean*disability			20.6			-29.9	-2.7
Black African*disability			-20.7			51.0	12.3
Indian*disability			33.3			-74.0	-3.4
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*disability			-63.4*			-88.2**	-73.8***
Chinese*disability			20.1			119.7	54.2
Other*disability			-59.4*			-16.0	-33.2
Period (1996/7=ref)							0.0
Black Caribbean in 2004/5							-27.9
Black African in 2004/5							11.5
Indian in 2004/5							12.9
Pakistani / Bangladeshi in 2004/5							-88.0***
Chinese in 2004/5							-32.4
Other in 2004/5							-52.3**
Disabled in 2004/5							-30.7***
Same sex in 2004/5							-365.4
Constant	358.8***	-518.3***	-522.3***	490.9***	-663.2***	-671.2***	-617.6***
N	37,369	37,169	37,169	30,343	29,245	29,245	66,414

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 6d Regression coefficients on female gross weekly earnings in 1996/7, 2004/5 and comparison over the decade, using class as one of predictors

	1996 / 1997			2004 / 2005			2004/5 versus 1996/7
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	
Ethnicity (White=ref)							
Black Caribbean	32.8***	31.5***	0.0	45.8***	37.6***	0.0	0.0
Black African	8.0	18.3*	0.0	9.5	41.1***	0.0	0.0
Indian	12.7	30.9***	-25.0	46.3***	35.0***	0.0	0.0
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	-52.9***	-8.8	0.0	-72.3***	-21.9*	-13.1	0.0
Chinese	37.1*	27.8	0.0	14.3	25.3	0.0	0.0
Other	46.1***	40.8***	0.0	21.8*	14.6	0.0	0.0
Disabled (non=ref)	-26.2***	-20.2***	0.0	-48.7***	-34.9***	0.0	0.0
Same sex (non=ref)	151.6***	134.6**	134.6**	142.0***	-0.2	-0.8	0.0
Age		172.5***	0.0		174.6***	172.5***	0.0
Age squared		-22.6***	-22.5***		-22.6***	-22.5***	-22.5***
Married (other=ref)		0.5	0.6		0.5	0.4	0.6
No. children ≤ 16		-35.9***	-35.9***		-45.1***	-45.1***	-39.8***
Children aged 0-5		3.9	0.0		-9.0*	0.0	0.0
Country (England=ref)							
Wales		-14.1***	-14.0***		-15.4**	-15.6**	-14.1***
Scotland		-7.6**	-7.6**		-10.7**	-10.8**	-8.8***
Class		87.0***	0.0		175.5***	0.0	0.0
Black Caribbean*class			-9.4			-24.1	-17.2*
Black African*class			-16.3			-39.8**	-11.5
Indian*class			4.8			11.4	16.0
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*class			-6.8			-34.4	-10.2
Chinese*class			12.4			21.0	34.3*
Other*class			25.5			-8.4	26.9**
Black Caribbean*kids under 5			28.8*			8.1	22.9
Black African*kids under 5			33.6*			102.2***	65.7***

Indian*kids under 5			15.2			19.5	10.3
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*kids under 5			29.8			-21.8	-4.5
Chinese*kids under 5			72.6			-4.8	52.6
Other*kids under 5			-28.1			56.3*	22.1
Black Caribbean*age			14.0**			12.7	14.5**
Black African*age			20.3*			24.0*	24.9**
Indian*age			11.9			10.0	8.6
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*age			9.0			23.5	14.9
Chinese*age			17.2			14.4	14.3
Other*age			20.1**			18.6**	20.0***
Disability*class			-8.3**			-27.6***	-11.5***
Disability*age			-1.0			-0.1	-0.2
Black Caribbean*disability			6.6			-16.1	2.1
Black African*disability			11.9			6.9	5.5
Indian*disability			-5.3			-1.2	2.5
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*disability			-19.9			-17.8	-12.9
Chinese*disability			75.0*			123.3	135.6
Other*disability			-36.0			1.5	-11.1
Period (1996/7=ref)							0.0
Black Caribbean in 2004/5							13.1
Black African in 2004/5							12.7
Indian in 2004/5							-6.1
Pakistani / Bangladeshi in 2004/5							-30.4
Chinese in 2004/5							-3.6
Other in 2004/5							-35.1**
Disabled in 2004/5							-19.6***
Same sex in 2004/5							-97.6
Constant	192.0***	-266.2***	-264.8***	296.2***	-382.9***	-384.5***	-326.1***
N	38,217	38,020	38,020	32,618	31,119	31,119	69,139

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 7 Job refusal and promotional blockage by ethnicity, religion, disability and gender (% answering 'yes')

	Men				Women			
	Job refusal	Promotion blockage	Refusal / blockage	(N)	Job refusal	Promotion blockage	Refusal / blockage	(N)
Ethnicity								
White	20.8	11.2	27.5	6,032	17.6	10.0	23.8	7,136
Black Caribbean	38.6***	24.8***	50.5***	542	24.9***	17.4***	33.4***	865
Black African	58.9***	28.2***	65.9***	551	36.4***	25.8***	47.0***	800
Indian	29.2***	15.9**	36.4***	1,075	29.9***	18.9***	39.5***	1,101
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	33.8***	17.0***	40.9***	930	33.4***	13.5	39.1***	991
Chinese	16.6	10.7	19.8	141	31.4**	16.7	36.7*	165
Other	28.6***	18.8***	37.2***	1,025	28.1***	18.5***	37.4***	1,220
Religion								
Christian	19.8	11.6	26.7	5,729	16.9	10.5	23.43	7,466
Muslim	32.7***	15.2*	39.2***	1,510	32.4***	17.3*	38.85***	1,592
Hindu	26.6**	15.6*	33.7**	581	26.8***	17.8***	36.64***	561
Sikh	30.8**	14.7	38.9***	300	33.1***	23.3***	43.29***	294
Other	27.4	18.2	38.1*	307	22.9	8.1	26.63	435
None	25.1***	11.1	31.4**	1,851	21.0**	10.1	27.29*	1,903
Disability / long-term illness								
No	21.8	11.4	28.3	8,206	18.2	9.7	24.2	8,929
Yes	22.3	14.4*	30.6	2,071	19.9	15.9***	29.2**	2,421
All	21.9	11.8	28.7	10,298	18.5	10.6	26.9	12,282

Notes:

1. For men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 and resident in England and Wales.
2. Bivariate significant tests are carried out with White, Christian and non-disabled / long-term illness as reference categories respectively, with * p<0.05, ** p<0.01 and *** p<0.001.

Source: The Home Office Citizenship Survey of 2003 and 2005 combined.

Table 8 **Logit regression coefficients on job refusal / promotion blockage by sex**

	Men			Women		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Ethnicity (White=ref)						
Black Caribbean	1.021***	1.006***	0.832	0.515***	0.372**	-0.023
Black African	1.676***	1.520***	0.622	1.141***	0.937***	0.443
Indian	0.473*	0.423*	-0.561	0.717**	0.578**	1.005
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	0.622**	0.567*	0.484	0.669	0.425	-0.413
Chinese	-0.623	-0.825*	-1.486	0.548	0.423	-1.387
Other	0.443**	0.318*	-0.182	0.664***	0.490***	0.193
Religion (Christian=ref)						
Muslim	0.065	-0.108	-0.845	0.131	-0.054	0.034
Hindu	-0.100	-0.158	-0.234	-0.018	-0.038	-0.449
Sikh	0.143	0.072	-0.090	0.237	0.206	-0.811
Other	0.474*	0.407	0.528	0.117	0.139	-0.033
None	0.259**	-0.072	-0.529	0.236**	-0.084	0.066
Disabled (non=ref)	0.142	0.478***	0.745*	0.292**	0.514***	0.566*
Age		-0.036***	-0.038***		-0.033***	-0.033***
Married (other=ref)		-0.260***	-0.248**		-0.238**	-0.237**
Wales (England=ref)		-0.320	-0.321		-0.847**	-0.865**
Education		0.282***	0.227***		0.331***	0.360***
2005 (2003=ref)		-0.378***	-0.539***		-0.361***	-0.559***
Black Caribbean*education			-0.026			0.061
Black African*education			0.307			0.067
Indian*education			0.166			-0.115
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*education			-0.089			0.356
Chinese*education			0.171			0.787*
Other*education			0.175			0.070
Black African*Muslim			0.244			-0.686
Indian*Muslim			0.209			-0.107
Muslim*education			0.448			-0.116

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Hindu*education			0.180			0.042
Sikh*education			0.208			0.313
Other*education			0.036			-0.127
None*education			0.114			-0.165
Disabled*education			-0.117			-0.052
Black Caribbean in 2005			0.503			0.584**
Black African in 2005			0.383			0.828**
Indian in 2005			1.208**			-0.291
Pakistani / Bangladesh in 2005			0.764			-0.032
Chinese in 2005			0.810			0.110
Other in 2005			0.252			0.300
Muslim in 2005			-0.617			0.594
Hindu in 2005			-0.809			0.625
Sikh in 2005			-0.597			0.654
Other in 2005			-0.403			0.734
None in 2005			0.525**			0.571**
Disabled in 2005			-0.026			0.119
Constant	-1.071***	0.055	0.301	-1.268***	-0.405*	-0.352
N	7,725	7,714	7,714	8,244	8,236	8,236

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 9 Mean scores on work, social life and life overall by ethnicity, religion, disability and sex

	Men				Women			
	Work	Social life	Overall	(N)	Work	Social life	Overall	(N)
Ethnicity								
White	5.21	4.71	5.07	3,970	5.45	4.68	5.05	4,517
Black Caribbean	5.41	5.57**	5.47	11	4.51*	4.49	4.32	18
Black African	5.41	4.13	4.37	9	4.50	3.64	4.08	6
Indian	5.55	4.64	4.85	40	5.43	4.13*	4.41*	43
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	4.77	5.37**	5.60*	26	5.32	4.30	4.84	27
Chinese	6.21	4.03	4.87	3	4.40	3.47	4.52*	5
Other	5.27	3.79*	4.27*	32	5.51	4.16	4.65	34
Religion								
Christian	5.29	4.77	5.12	1,582	5.50	4.76	5.10	2,349
Muslim	4.55	5.05	5.34	32	4.80	4.21**	4.86	39
Hindu	5.32	5.47*	5.06	16	5.42	4.25	4.30*	16
Sikh	5.73	4.51	4.77	12	5.33	4.10	4.28	15
Other	5.32	4.45	4.74	65	4.92*	4.95*	4.87	98
None	5.21	4.69	5.03	2,540	5.40	4.64	4.99*	2,344
Disability / long-term illness								
No	5.24	4.76	5.11	4,226	5.44	4.74	5.09	4,736
Yes	5.31	4.41*	4.48***	328	5.53	4.15***	4.34***	376
All	5.24	4.74	5.07	4,555	5.44***	4.70	5.04	5,118

Notes:

1. For men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 and resident in Great Britain.
2. Owing to missing data on characteristics, the numbers for ethnicity, religion and disability may not add up to the sample N. Weighted analysis and unweighted Ns. Bivariate significant tests are carried out with White, Christian, non-disabled / long-term illness and men as reference categories respectively, with * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: The British Household Panel Survey (2005).

Table 10 OLS regression on satisfaction with work, social life and life overall

	Work		Social life		Overall	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Ethnicity (White=ref)						
Black Caribbean	-0.635	-0.986	0.212	2.550**	-0.157	0.157
Black African	-0.379	2.066	-0.775	2.584*	-0.763	3.157*
Indian	0.725*	3.242*	-0.737*	-1.887	-0.293	-1.832
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	1.715*	5.634	0.068	-5.854	-0.063	-0.128
Chinese	0.095	1.641	-0.989	-5.012*	-0.324	0.032
Other	0.079	0.775	-0.735**	-0.347	-0.558*	0.129
Religion (Christian=ref)						
Muslim	-2.034*	-4.046	-0.145	4.367	0.045	0.177
Hindu	-0.845*	-4.162*	0.644	1.392	-0.249	0.602
Sikh	-0.598	-0.725	0.207	-0.467	-0.311	-0.250
Other	-0.355	-1.180	0.091	0.463	-0.197	0.201
None	-0.109*	-0.274	-0.167***	-0.159	-0.132***	-0.140
Disabled (non=ref)	0.078	-0.065	-0.487***	-0.629*	-0.632***	-0.649*
Age	0.001	0.001	-0.003	-0.003	-0.005**	-0.005**
Women (men=ref)	0.220***	0.221***	-0.072	-0.066	-0.037	-0.036
Married (other=ref)	0.175**	0.179**	0.047	0.045	0.403***	0.400***
Education	-0.048	-0.078	-0.031	-0.044	0.036	0.034
Country (England=ref)						
Wales	0.002	-0.001	-0.144	-0.145	0.046	0.039
Scotland	-0.090	-0.089	-0.020	-0.021	-0.064	-0.064
Black Caribbean*education		0.122		-0.936**		-0.125
Black African*education		-0.867		-1.169*		-1.365*
Indian*education		-0.896		0.442		0.577
Pakistani / Bangladeshi*education		-1.471		2.414*		0.027
Chinese*education		-0.658		1.761**		-0.175
Other*education		-0.263		-0.149		-0.267
Muslim*education		0.755		-1.713		-0.060

Hindu*education		1.218		-0.275		-0.297
Sikh*education		-0.100		0.338		0.054
Other*education		0.309		-0.139		-0.164
None*education		0.067		-0.003		0.004
Disabled*education		0.062		0.069		0.009
Constant	5.264***	5.340***	5.021***	5.034***	5.045***	5.046***
N	3,607	3,607	5,241	5,241	5,237	5,237

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 11 Is there fair employment?

Do ethnic minorities, women, disabled people and members of same-sex partnerships have the same chances of gaining access to employment and the salariat class, or have the same levels of pay, as their peers of the same age and educational level? Do they report similar levels of job and promotion refusals and do they have equal overall life satisfaction?

	Employment	Access to the salariat	Weekly earnings	Job and promotion refusals	Overall life satisfaction
Ethnicity (White British=ref)					
Black Caribbean	Much worse	Much worse for men	Much worse for men	Much worse	Slightly worse
Black African	Much worse	Much worse for men	Much worse for men	Much worse	Slightly worse
Indian	Much worse	Yes	Yes, similar	Somewhat worse	Slightly worse
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	Much worse	Much worse	Much worse for men, somewhat worse for women	Somewhat worse for men, not for women	Slightly worse
Chinese	Much worse	Yes	A little worse for men, not for women	Yes	Slightly worse
Gender (men=ref)	Somewhat worse	Somewhat worse	Somewhat worse	Yes	Slightly worse
Disability (non-disabled=ref)	Much worse	Much worse	Somewhat less	Somewhat worse for women	Much worse
Same-sex (non-same-sex =ref)	Yes	Yes	Yes	(Not available)	(Not available)

Continued on next page

Table 11 Is there fair employment? *(Continued)*

Sources:

- Employment – Tables 5a, 5b, with gender differences from further analysis (a little for Indian women, much worse for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, but not for women in other ethnic groups)
- Salariat class – special analysis for this table
- Weekly earnings – Tables 6a and 6b, with gender differences from further analysis (women in each ethnic group earning less than their male peers)
- Job and promotion refusals – Table 8
- Satisfaction – Table 10.

Notes:

1. Much worse: statistically highly significant and with a large coefficient; somewhat worse: statistically significant and with relatively large coefficients; slightly worse: statistically non-significant but with a fairly large coefficient.
2. In the case of overall life satisfaction, the small sample size means that we lack statistical power and cannot be sure.
3. Gender differences are from special analysis for this table.
4. Data on the labour market situation are based on the current period (2004/5).

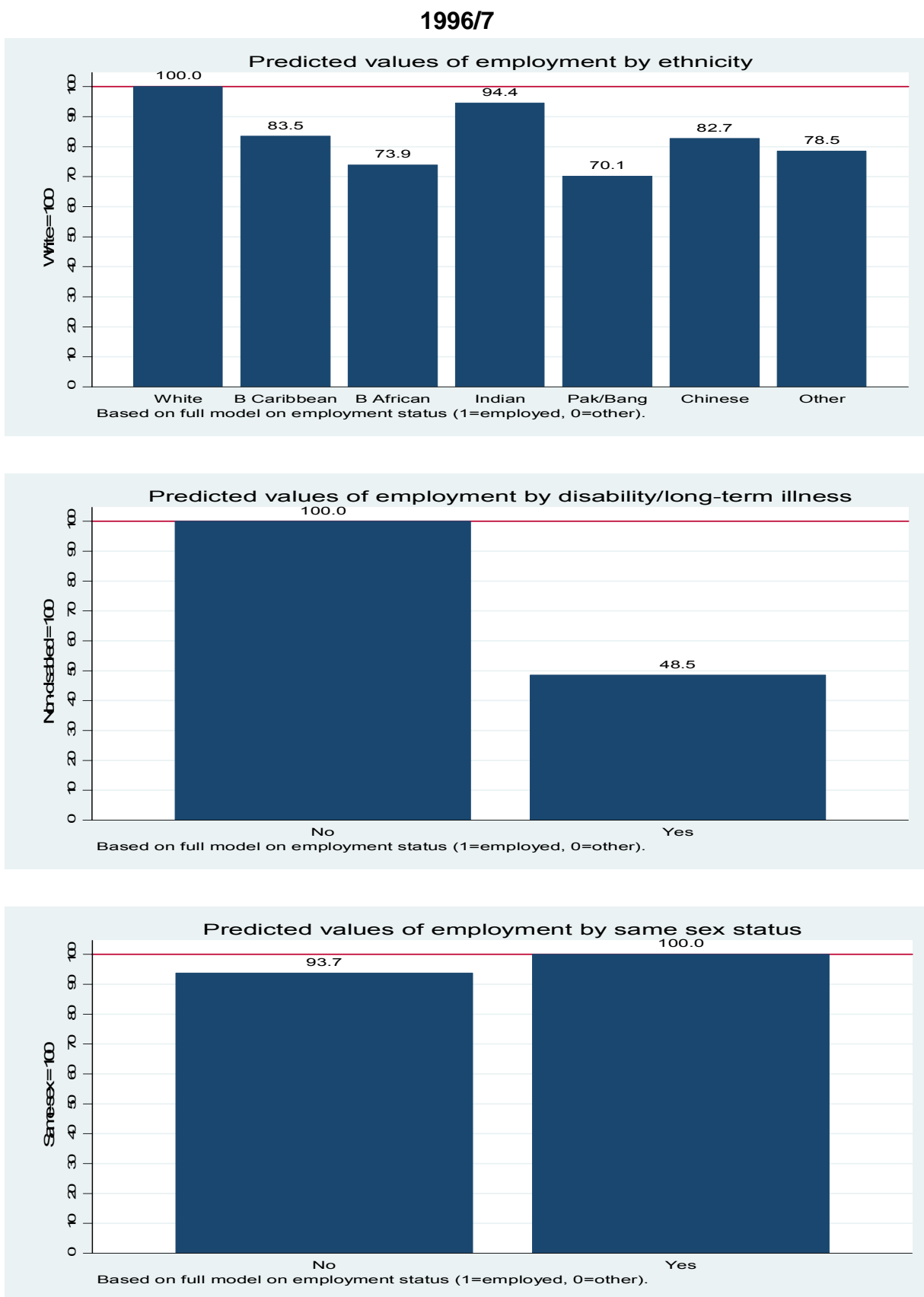
Table 12 Has there been progress towards fair employment over the period 1996/7-2004/5?

	Employment	Access to the salariat	Weekly earnings
Ethnicity (White British=ref)			
Black Caribbean	No real progress	No real progress	No change
Black African	No real progress	No real progress	No change
Indian	No real progress	Yes, real progress	No change
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	No real progress	No real progress	Much worse
Chinese	No real progress	No real progress	No change
Gender (men=ref)	Yes, notable progress	Somewhat worse	Somewhat worse
Disability (non-disabled=ref)	Yes, notable progress	Somewhat worse	Slightly worse
Same-sex (non-same-sex= ref)	No change	No change	No change

Notes:

1. Data from further analysis adding sex*period interaction to pooled data in Tables 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b controlling for all other variables in the models.

Figure 1 Predicted values of male employment



Continued on next page

Figure 1 Predicted values of male employment (Continued)

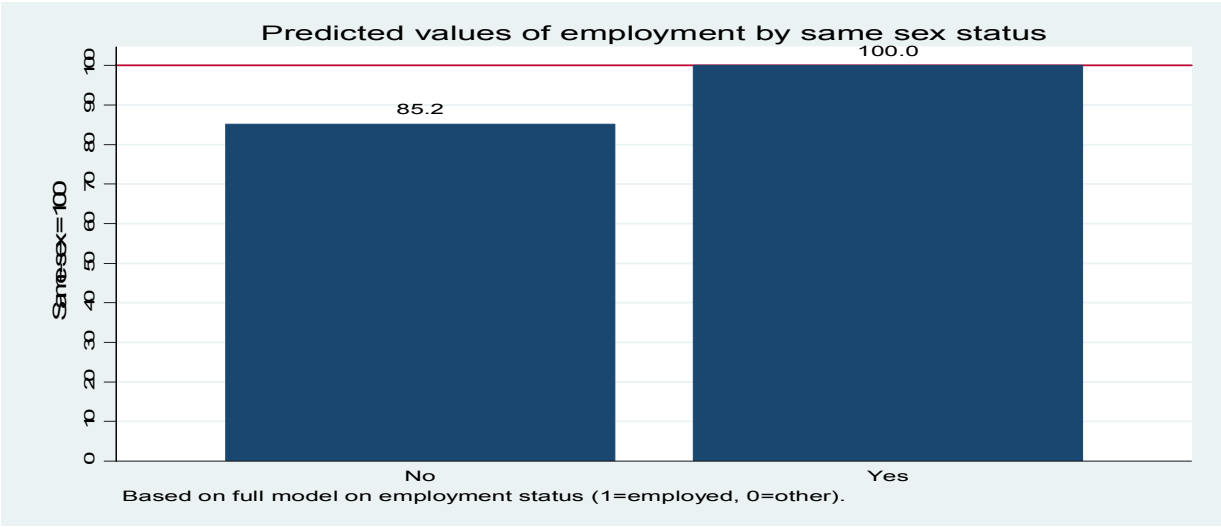
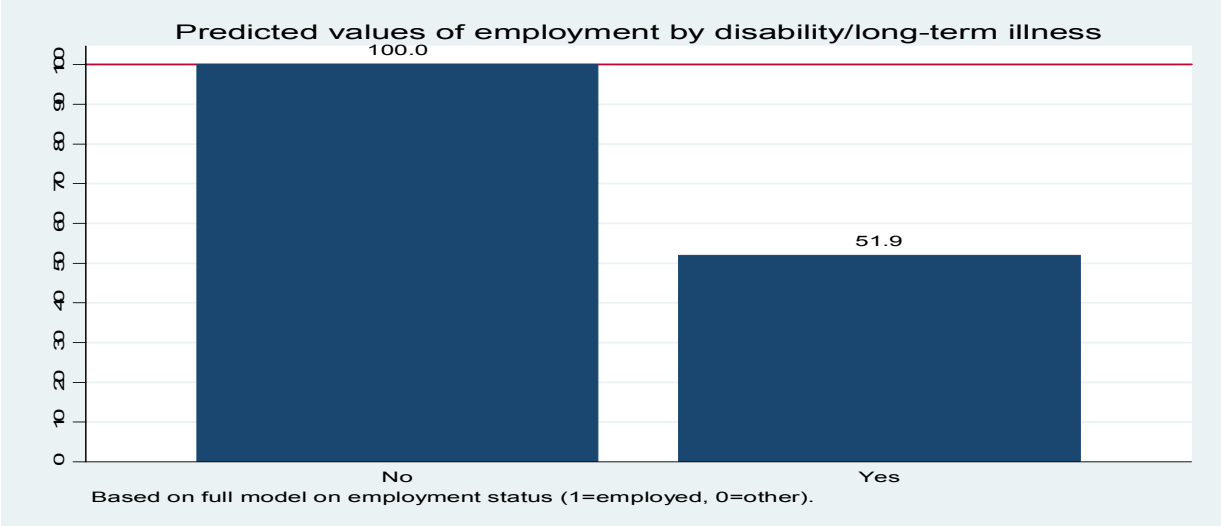
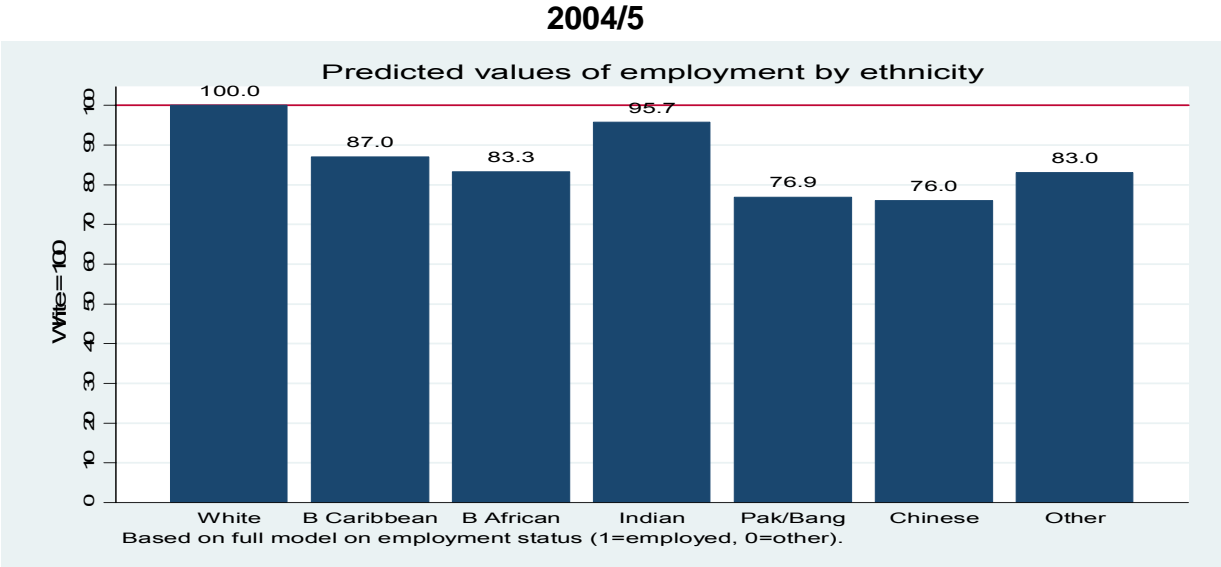
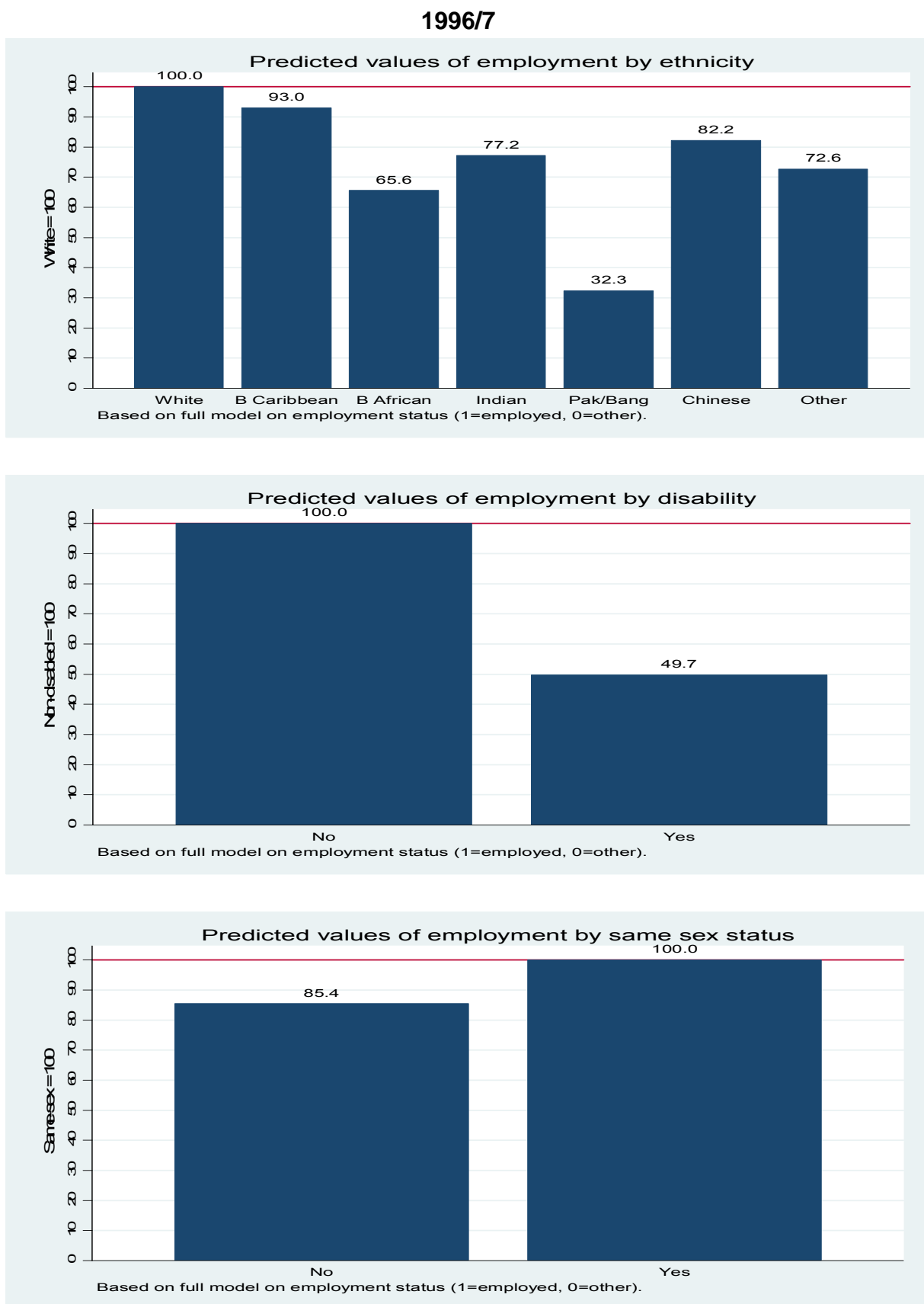


Figure 2 Predicted values of female employment



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Figure 2 Predicted values of female employment (Continued)

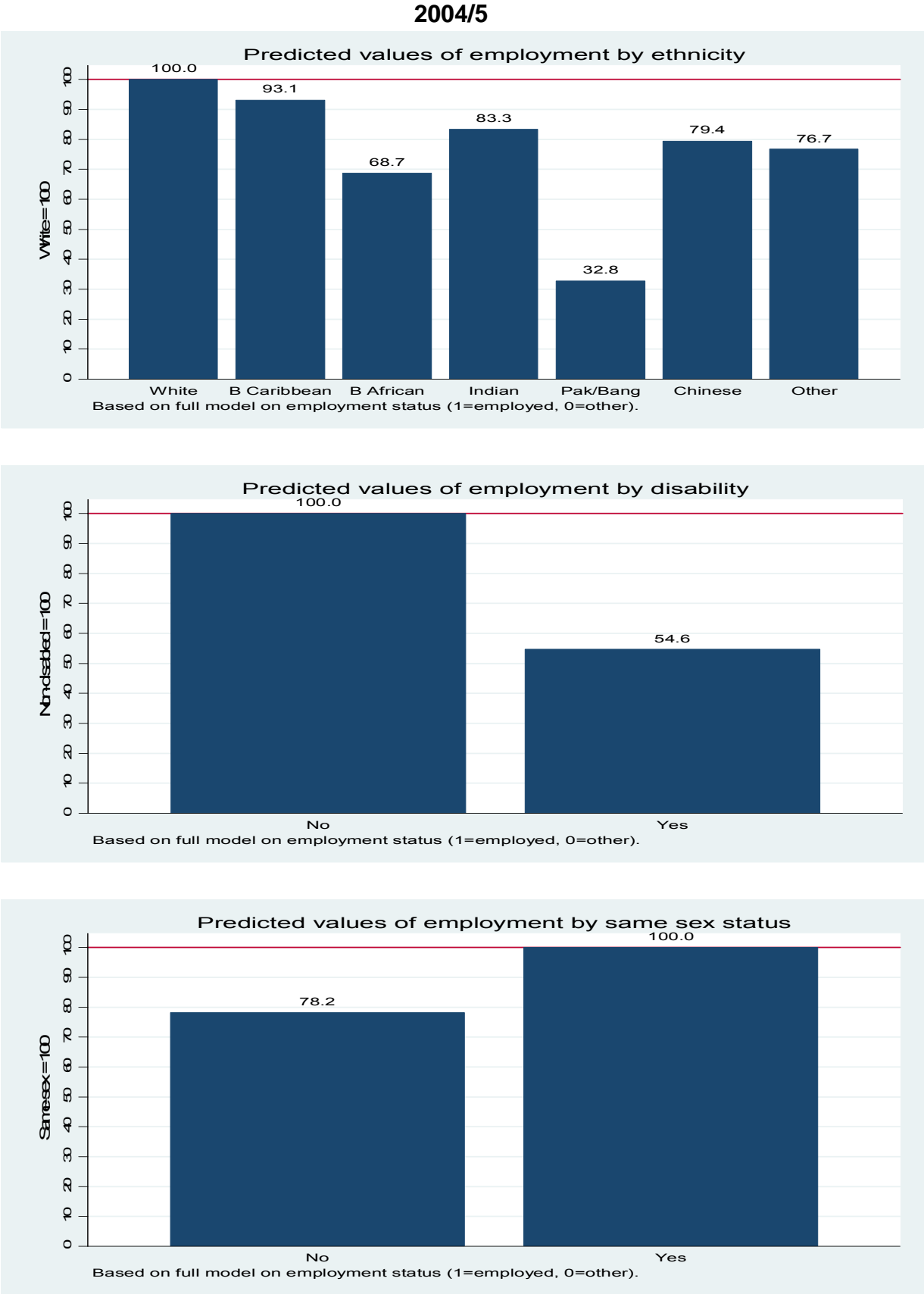
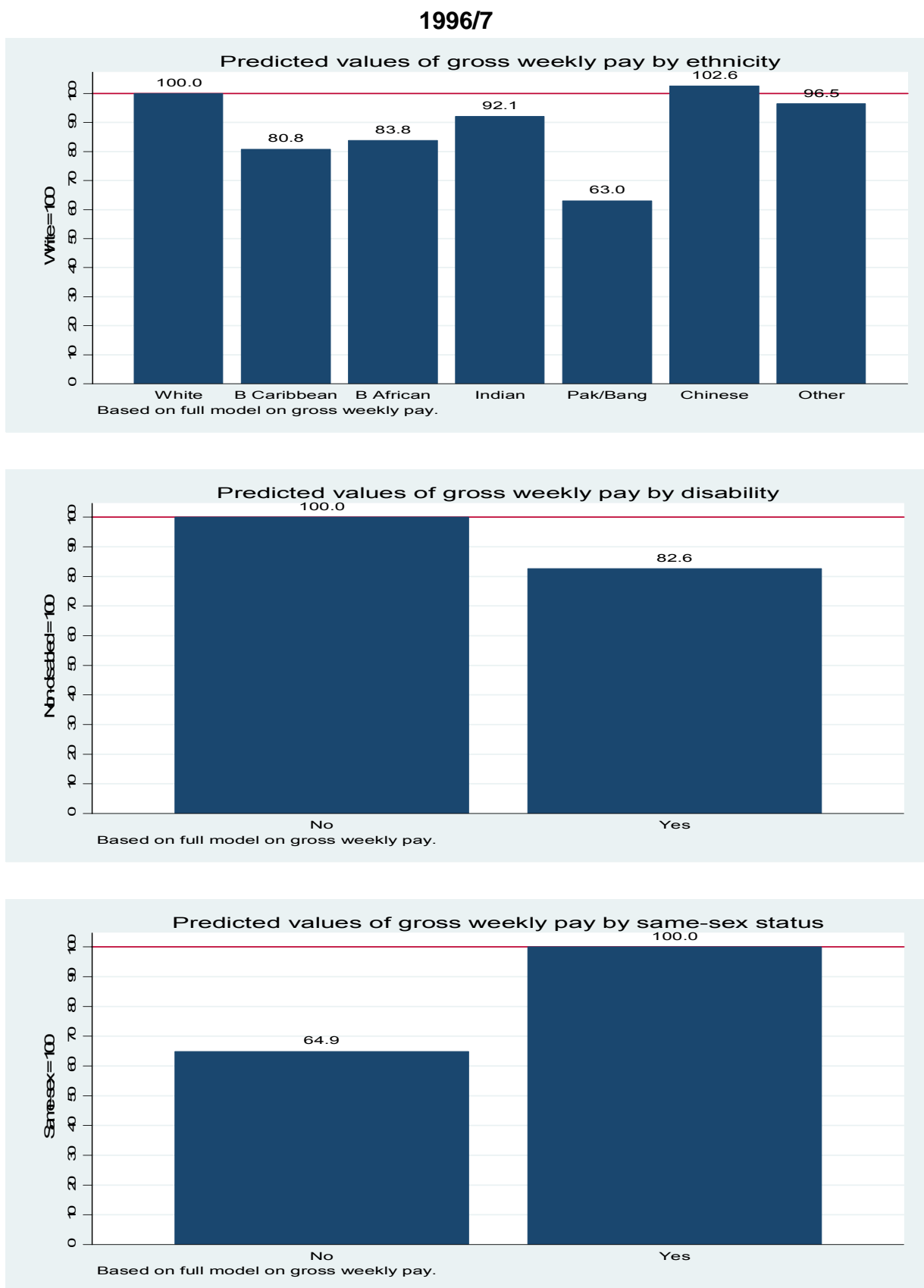


Figure 3 Predicted values of male gross weekly earnings



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Figure 3 Predicted values of male gross weekly earnings (Continued)

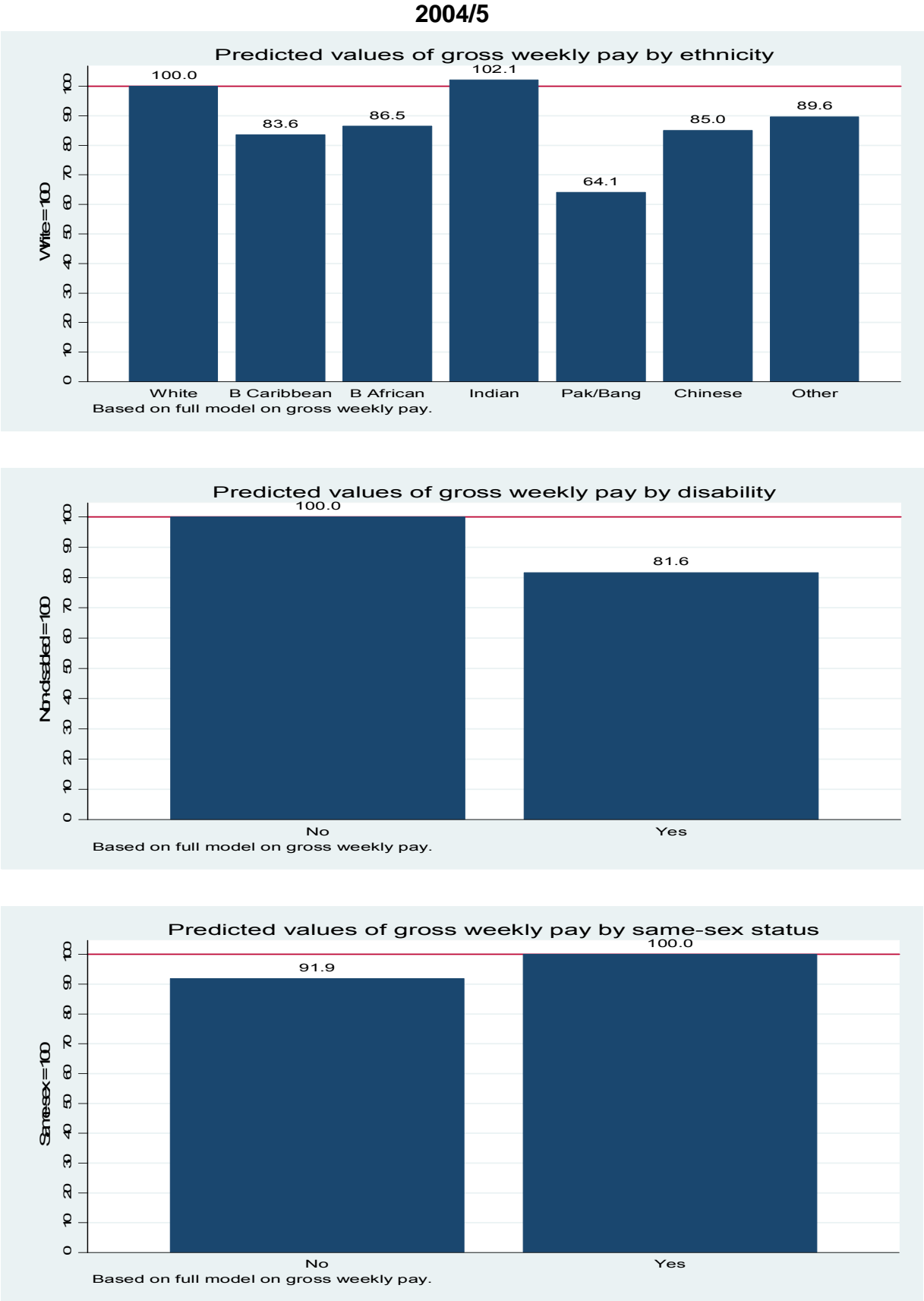
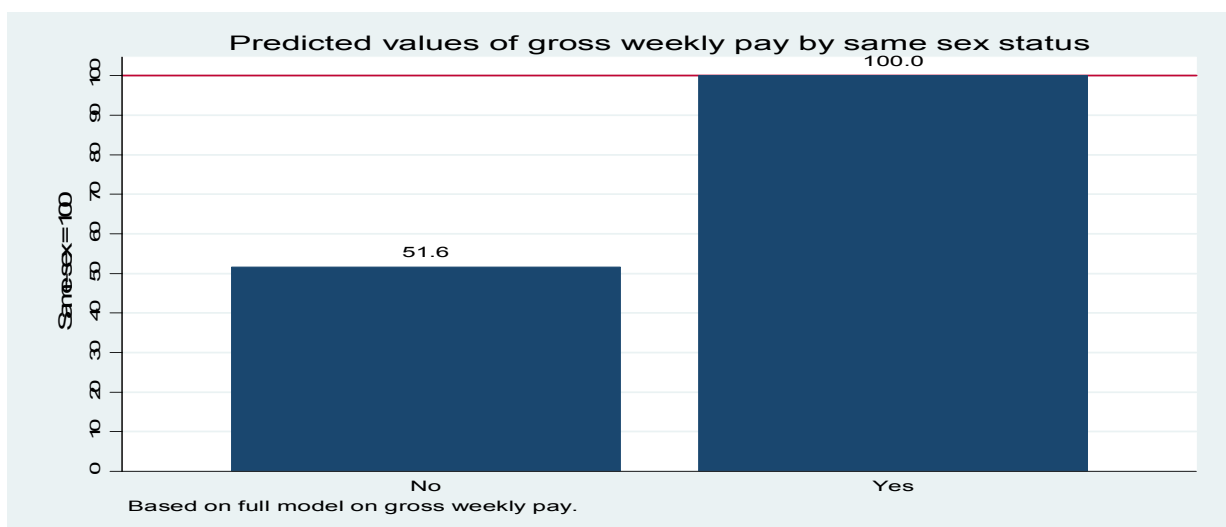
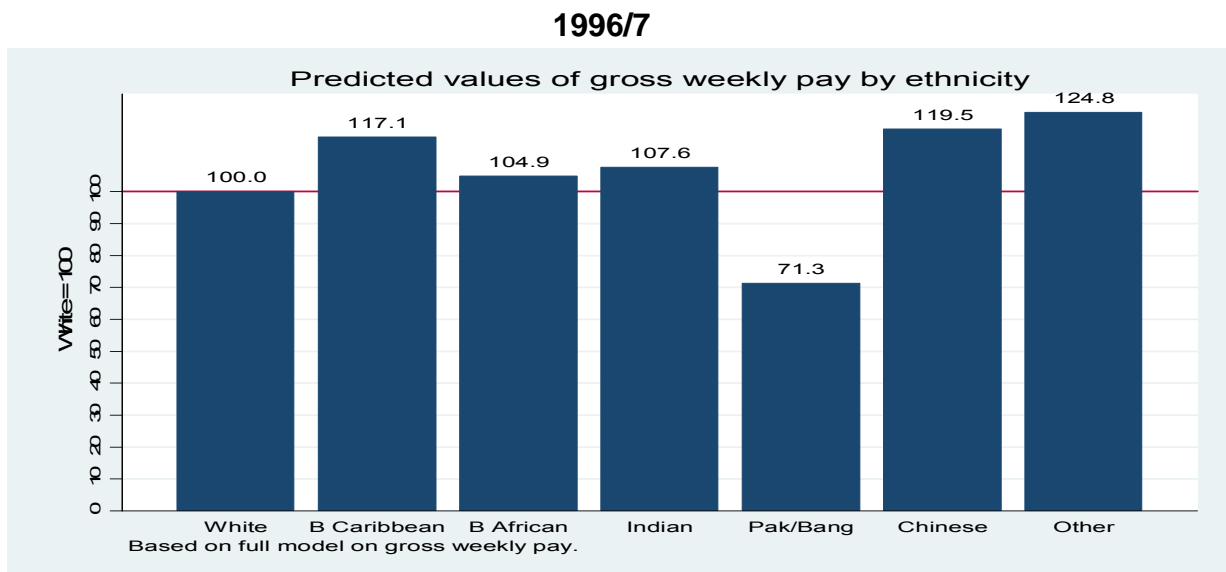


Figure 4 Predicted values of female gross weekly earnings



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Figure 4 Predicted values of female gross weekly earnings (Continued)

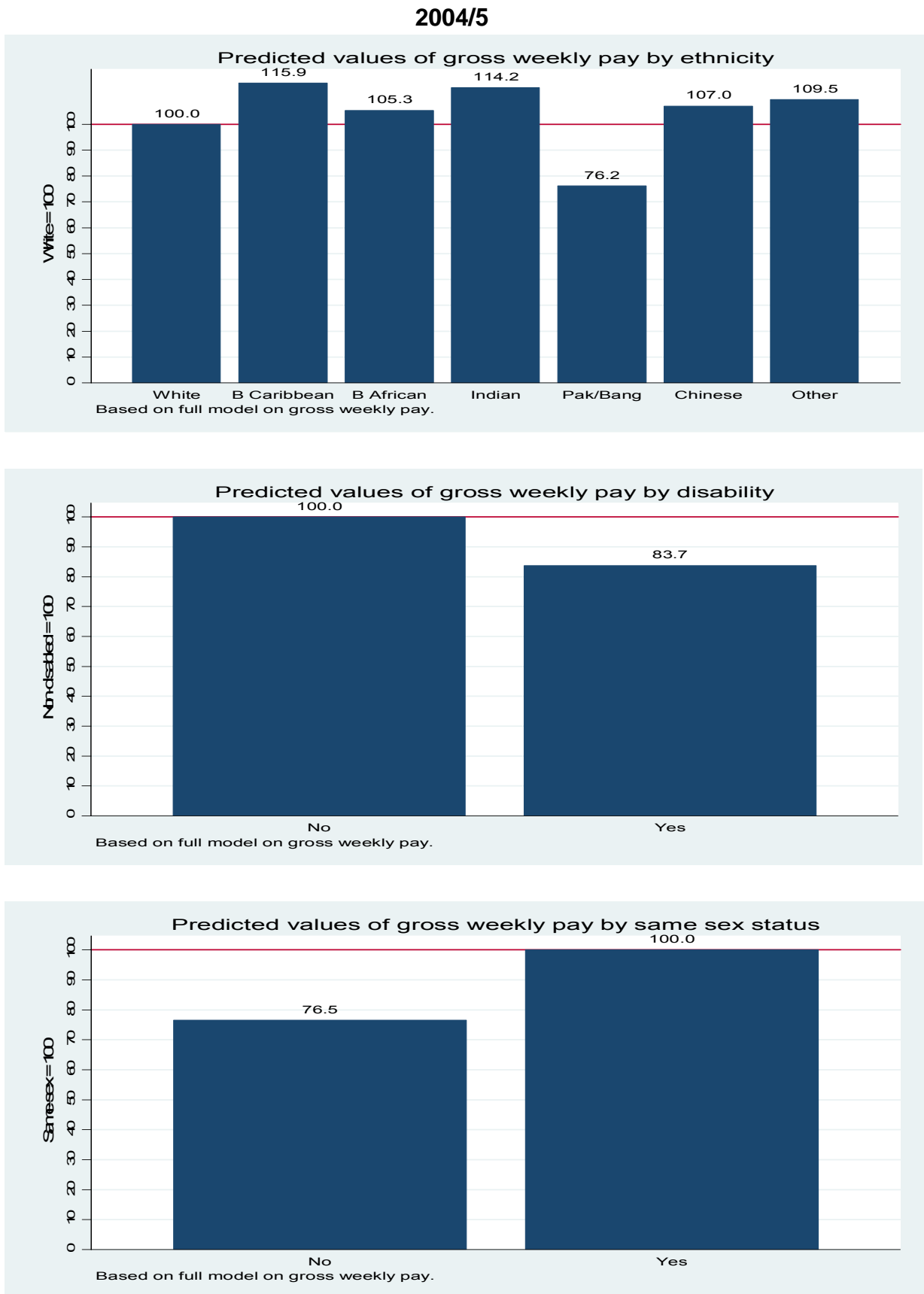
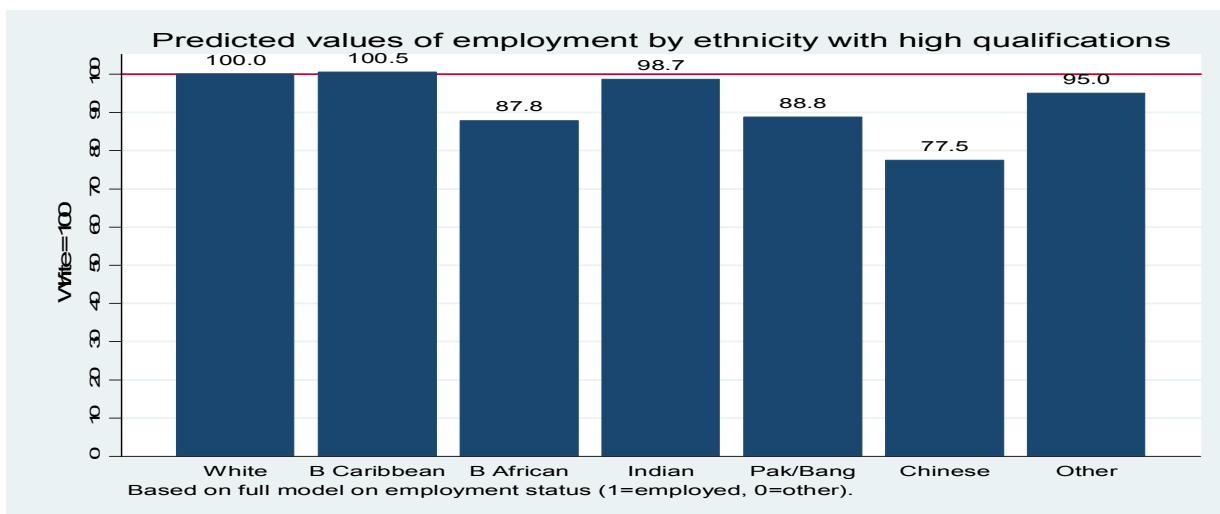
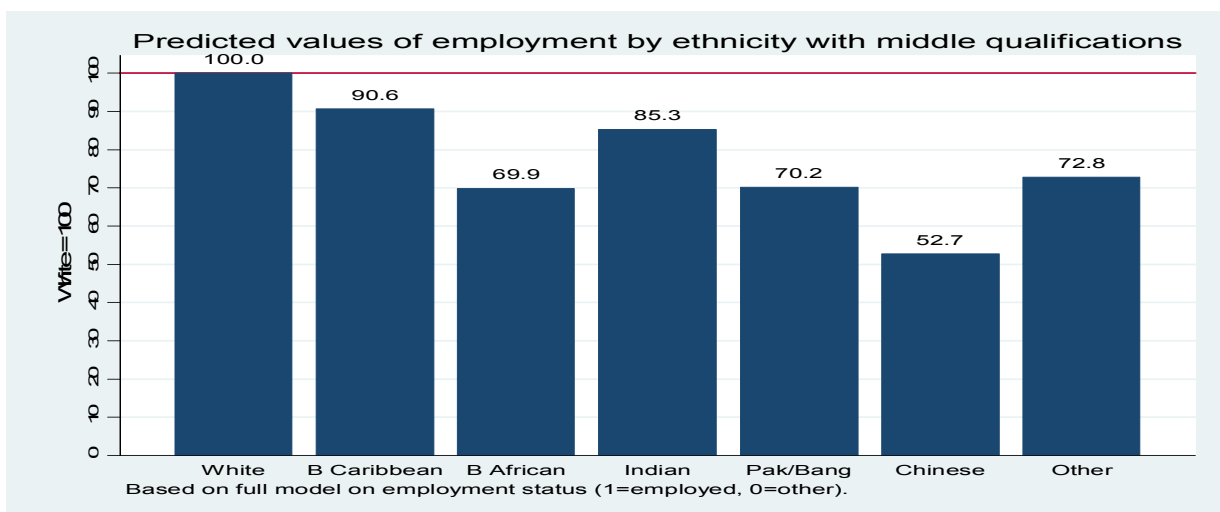
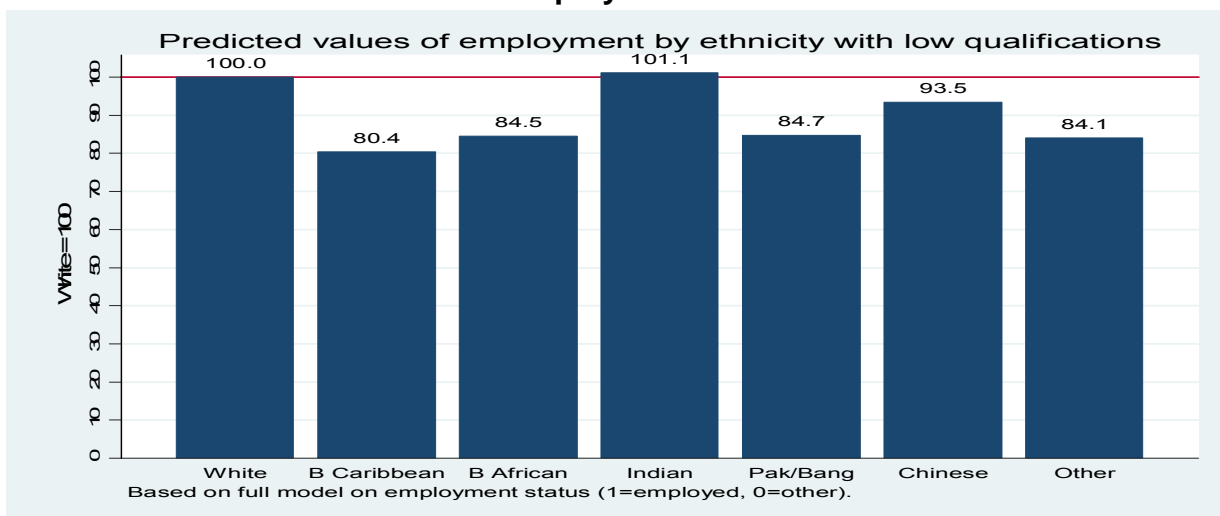


Figure 5a Predicted values of male employment and gross weekly earnings by ethnicity and by educational qualifications in 2004/5

Employment



Continued on next page

Figure 5a Predicted values of male employment and gross weekly earnings by ethnicity and by educational qualifications in 2004/5 (Continued)

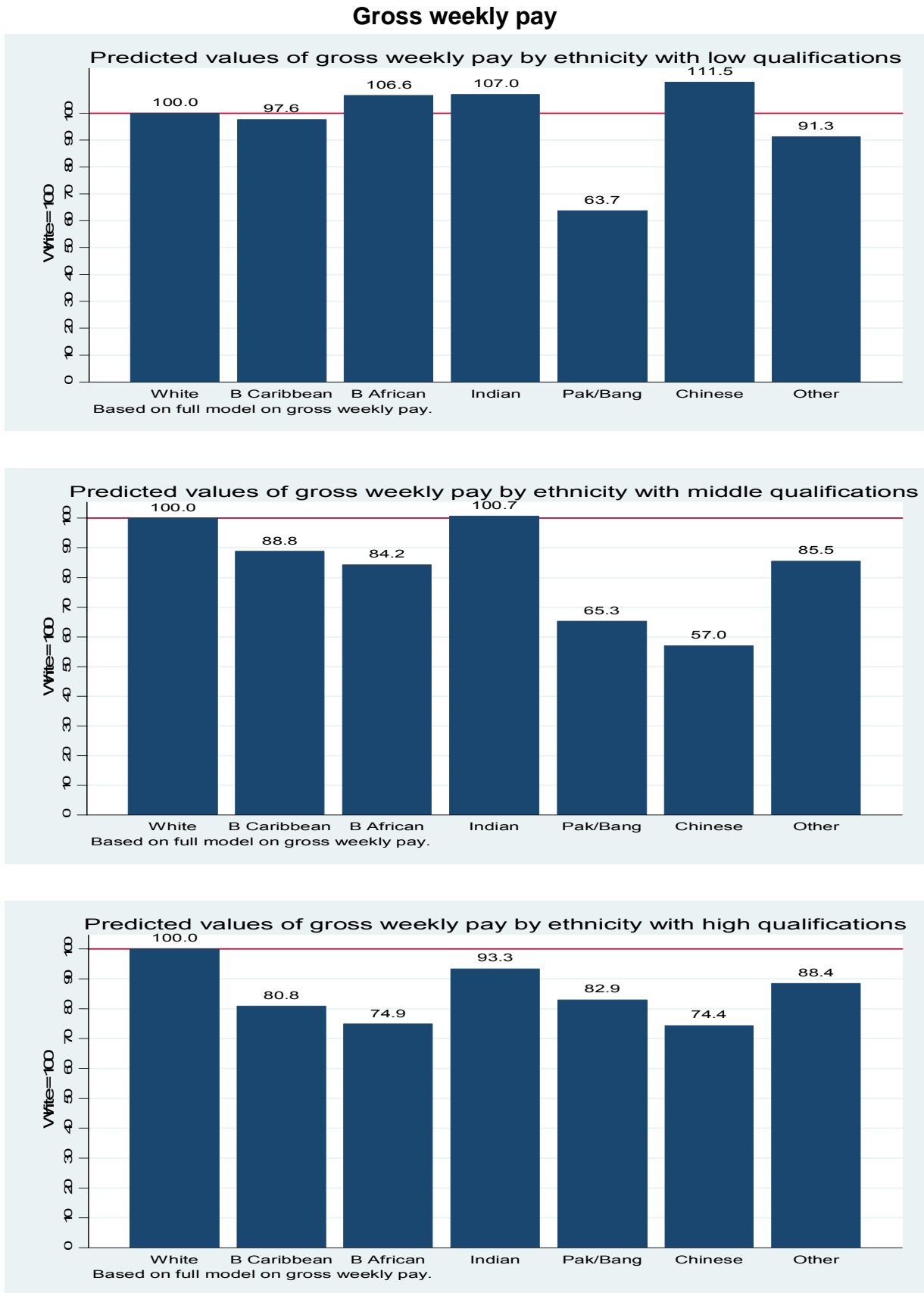
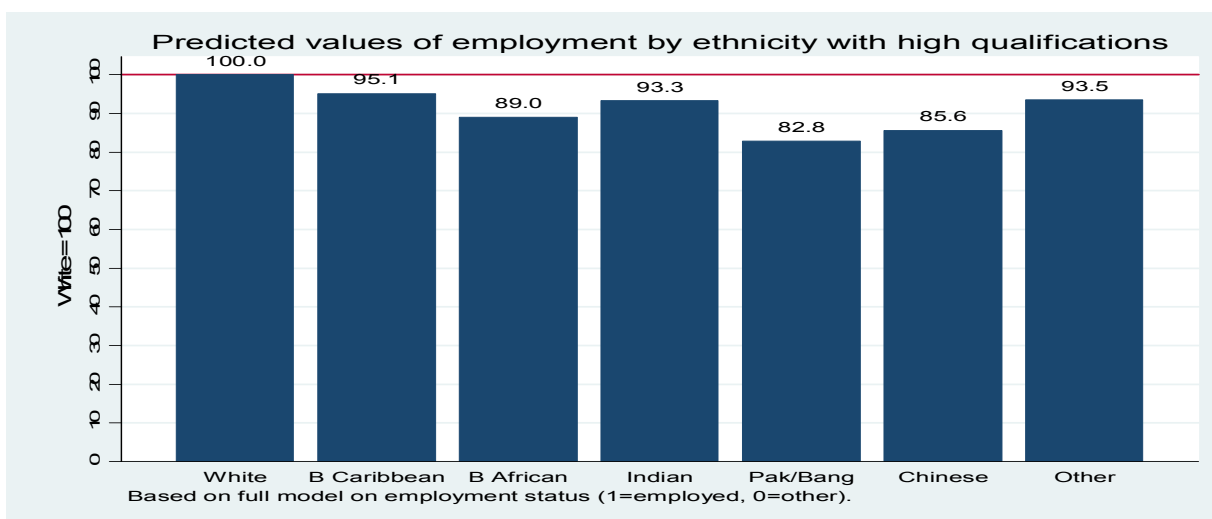
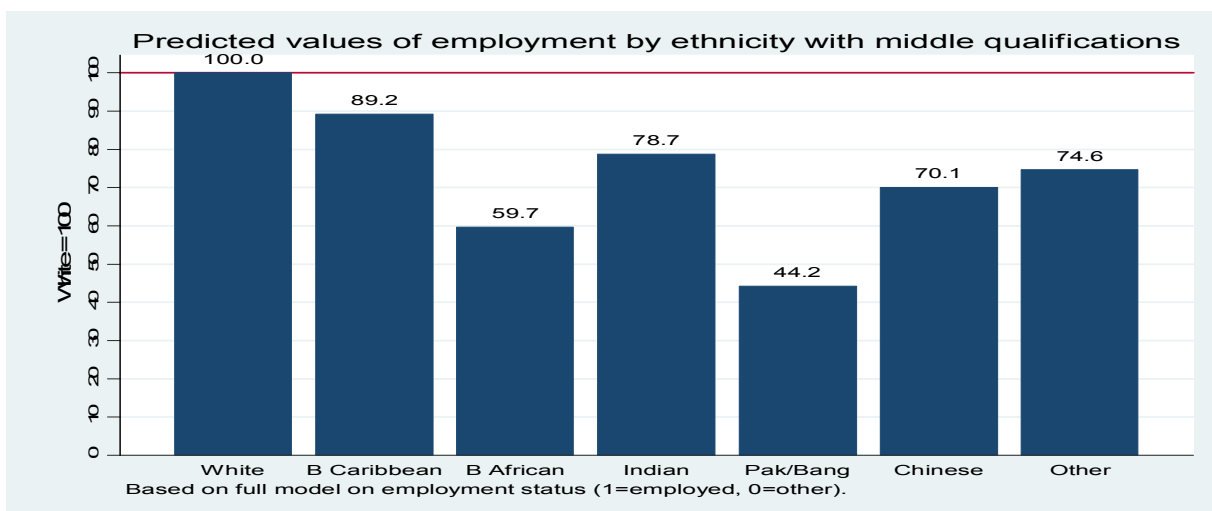
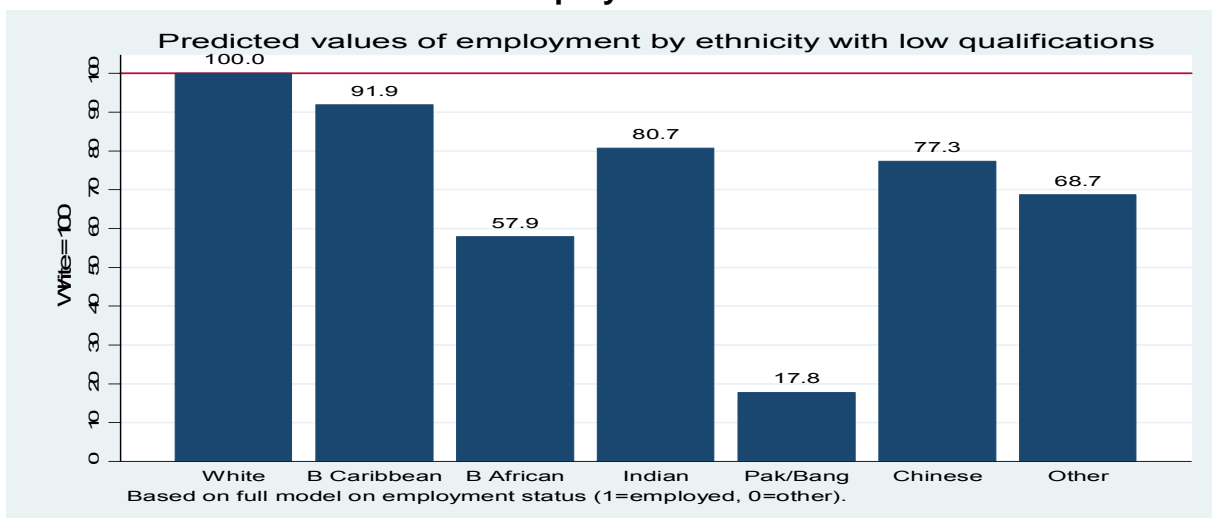


Figure 5b Predicted values of female employment and gross weekly earnings by ethnicity and by educational qualifications in 2004/5

Employment



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Figure 5b Predicted values of female employment and gross weekly earnings by ethnicity and by educational qualifications in 2004/5 (Continued)

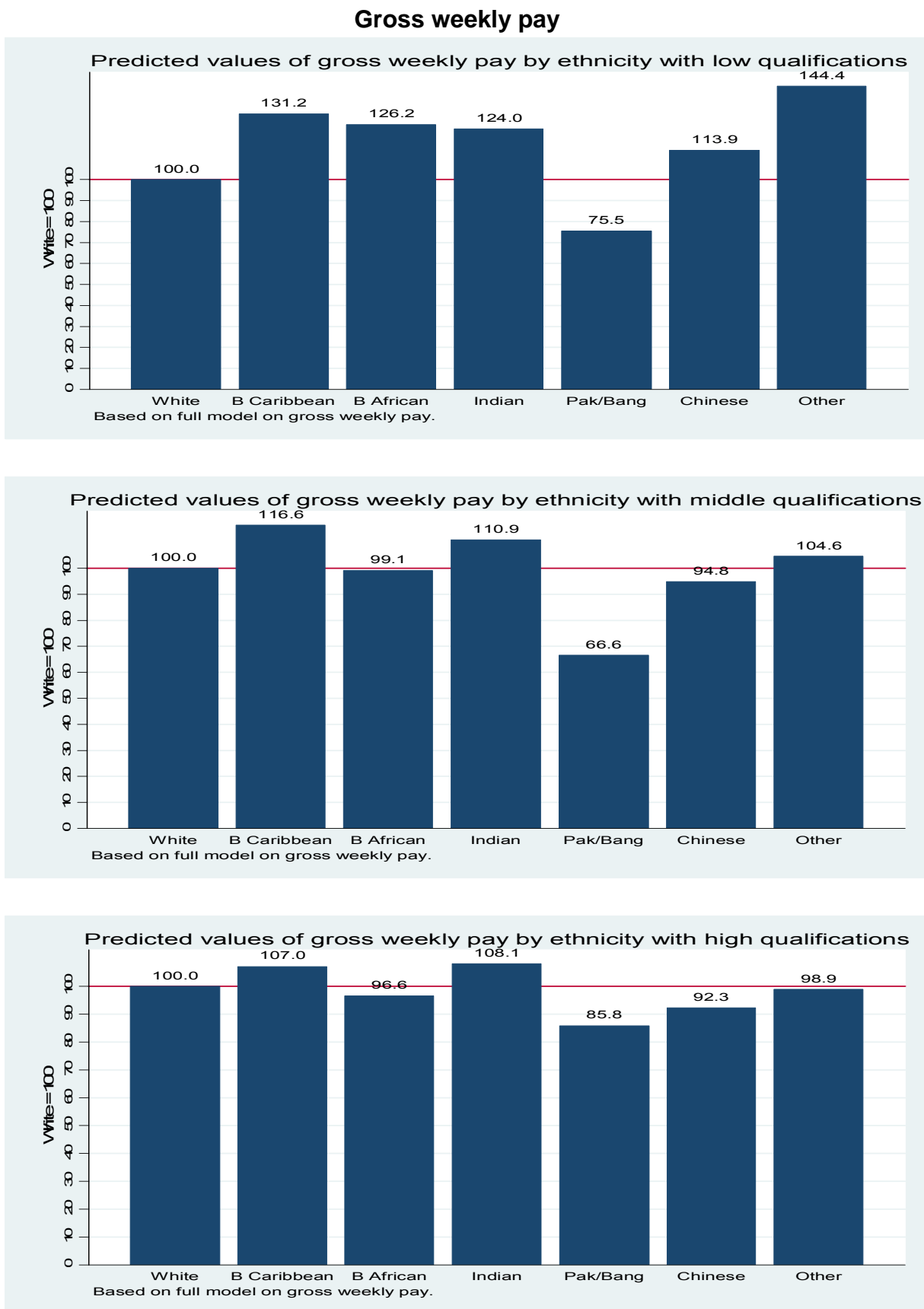
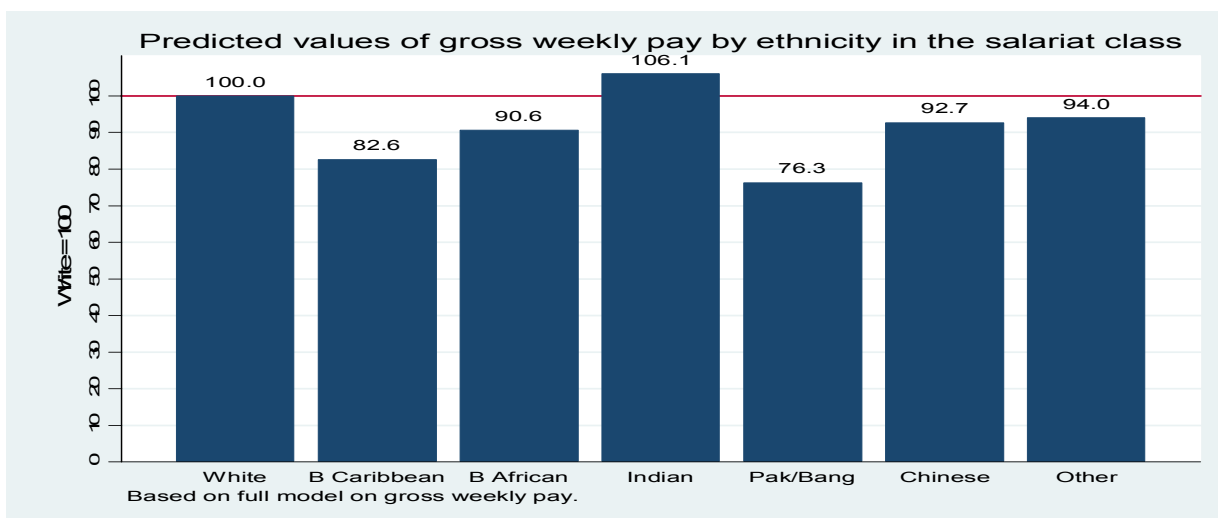
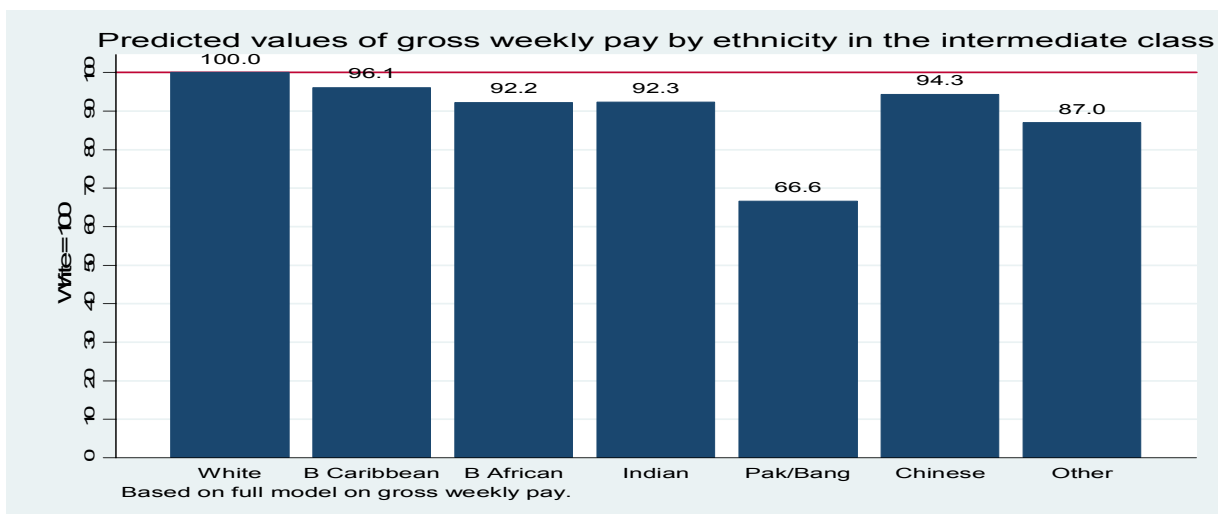
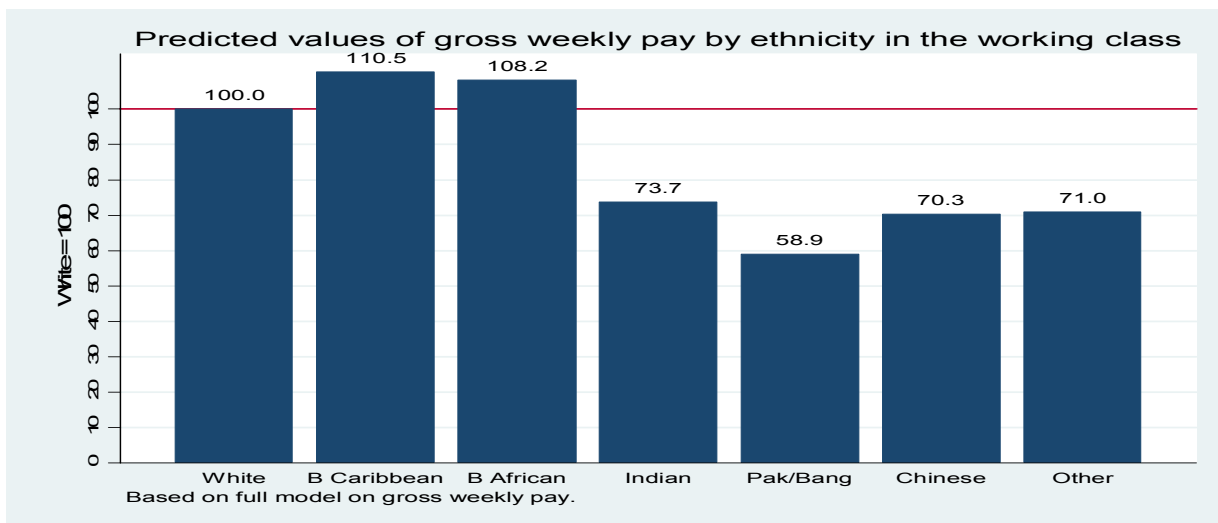


Figure 6 Predicted values of gross weekly earnings by ethnicity and by class in 2004/5

Male



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Figure 6 Predicted values of gross weekly earnings by ethnicity and by class in 2004/5 (Continued)

Female

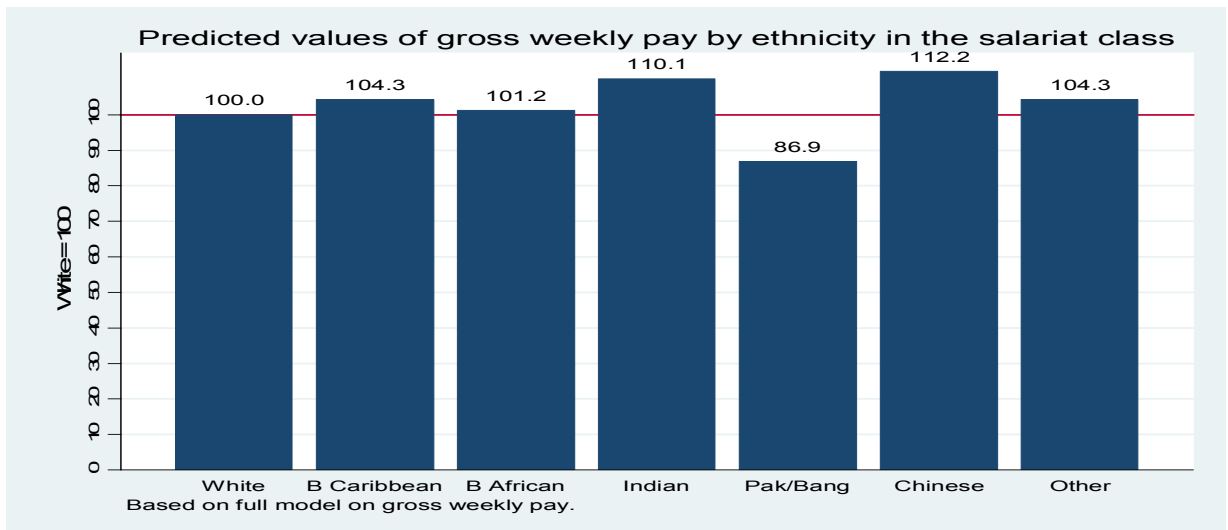
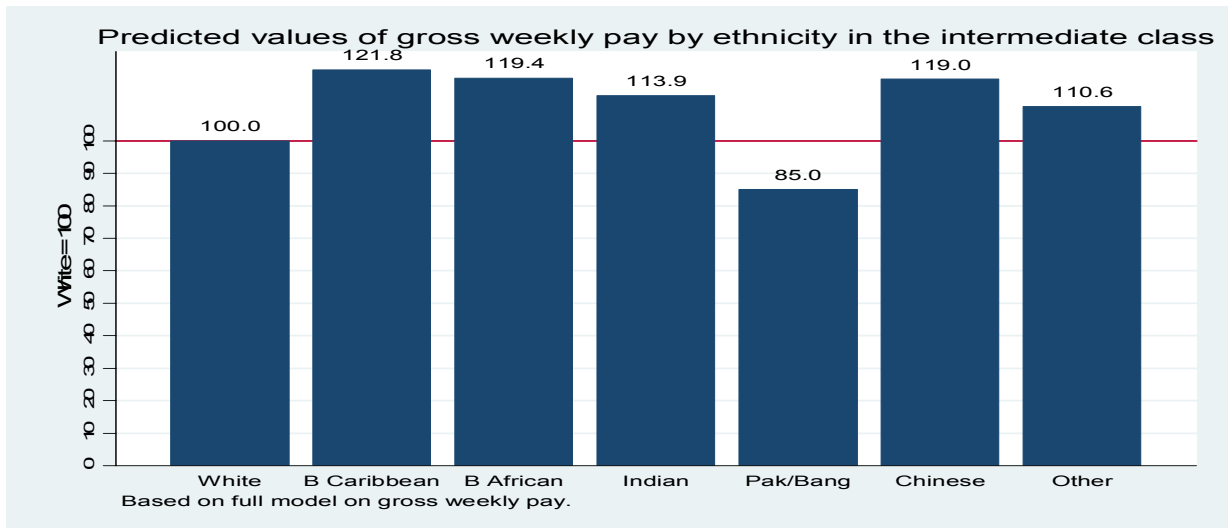
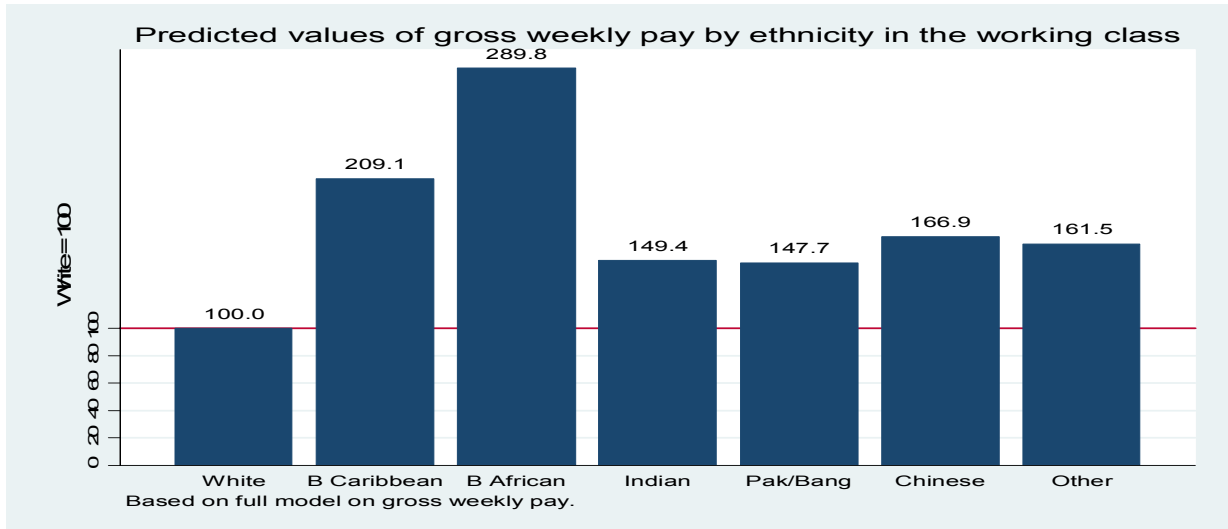
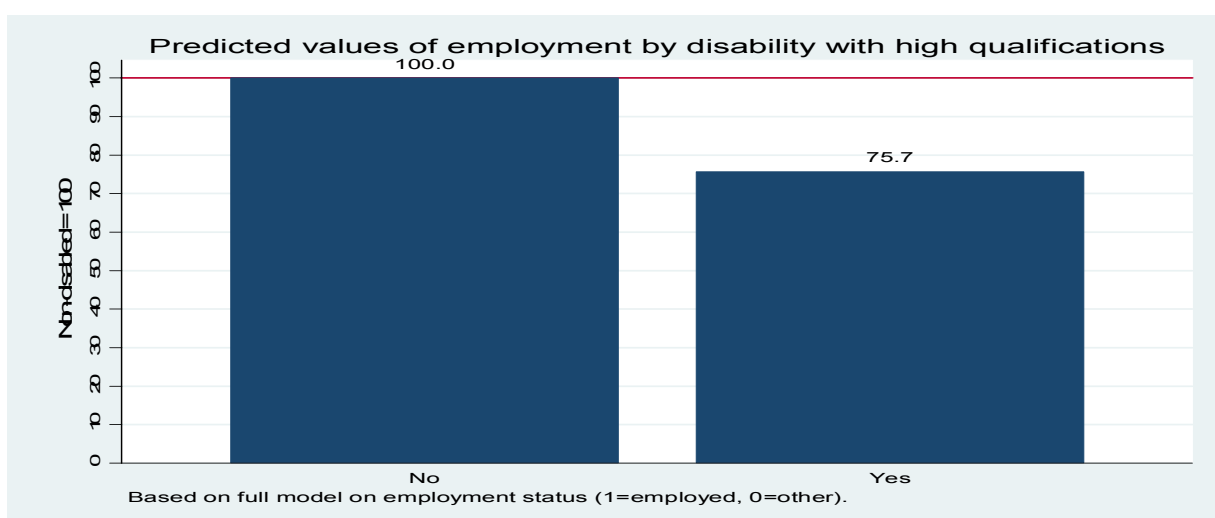
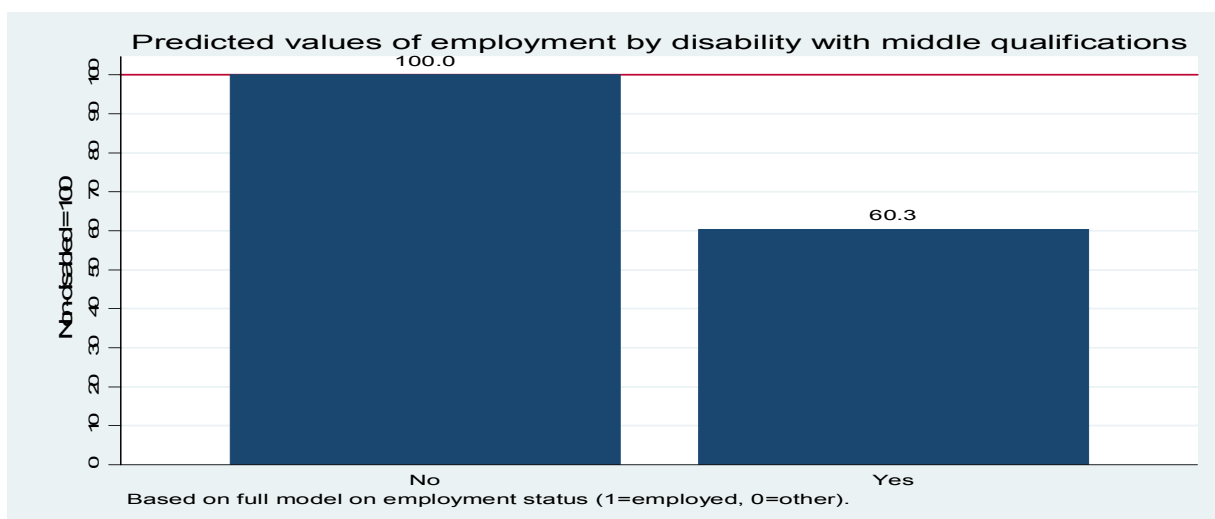
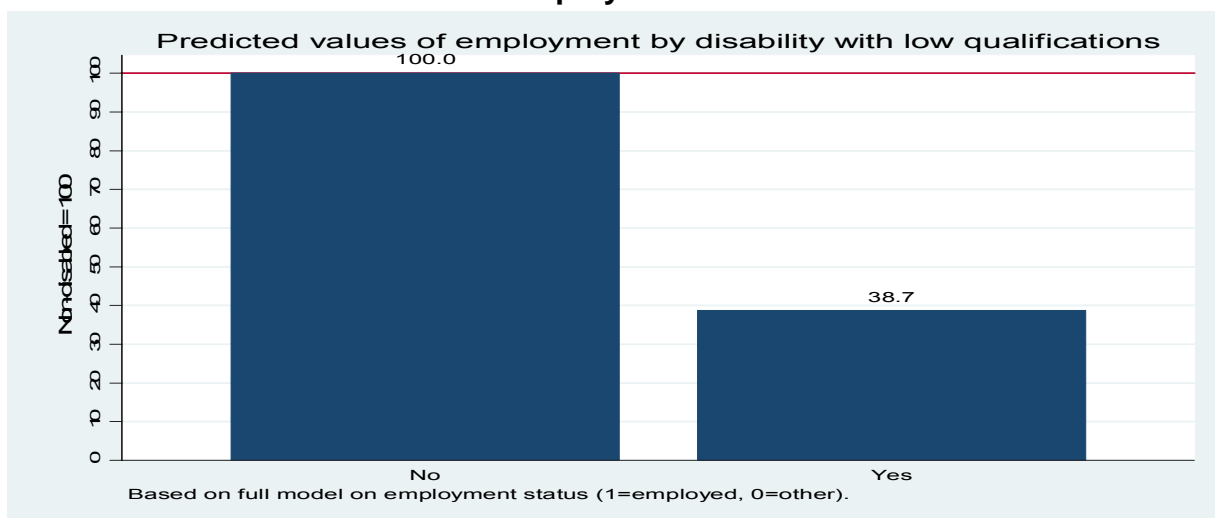


Figure 7 Predicted values of male employment and gross weekly earnings by disability and by educational qualifications in 2004/5

Employment



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Figure 7 Predicted values of male employment and gross weekly earnings by disability and by educational qualifications in 2004/5 (Continued)

Gross weekly pay

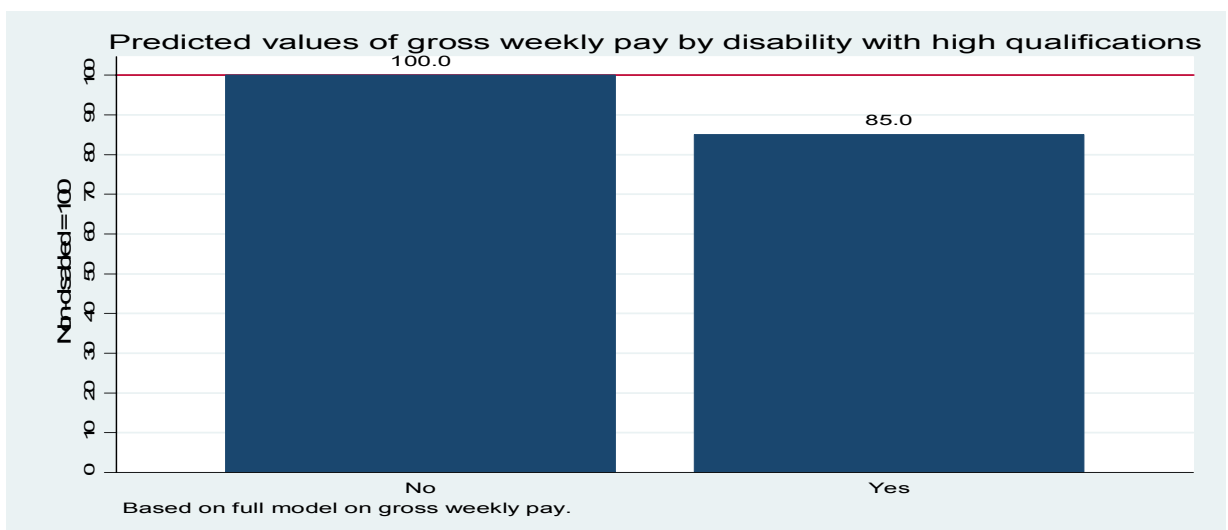
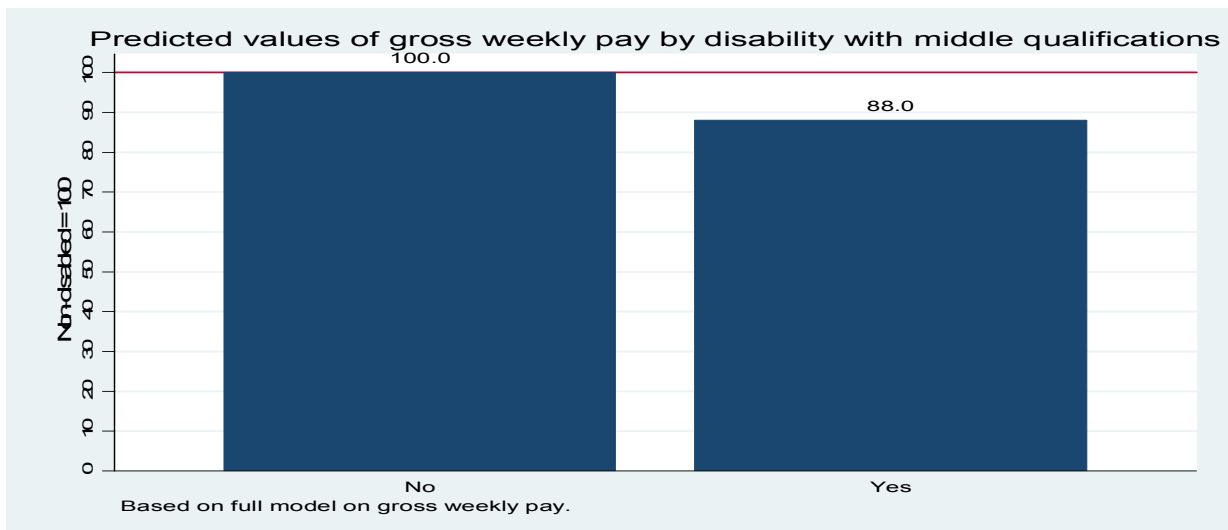
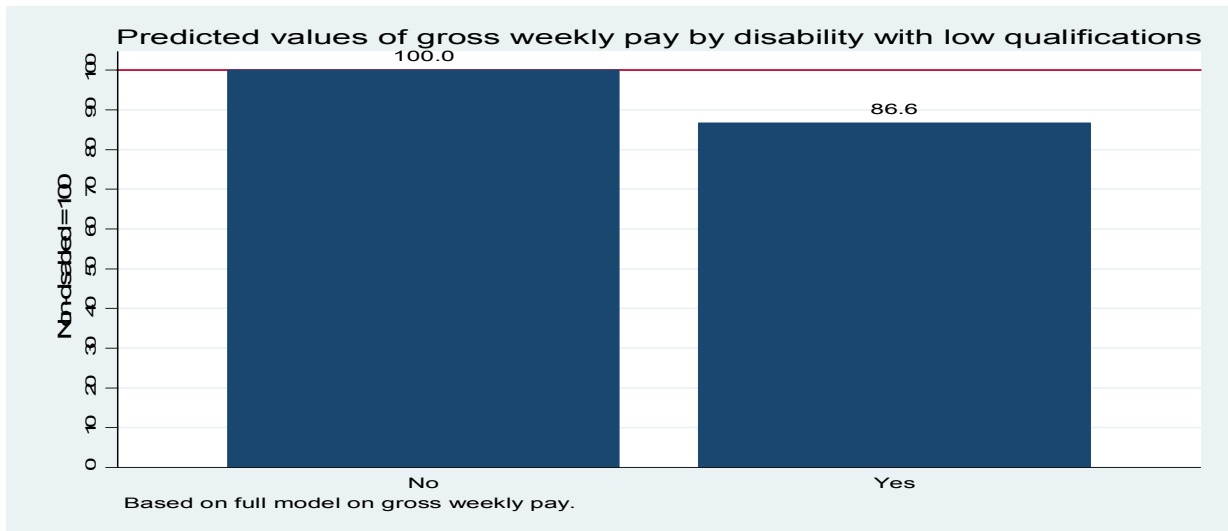
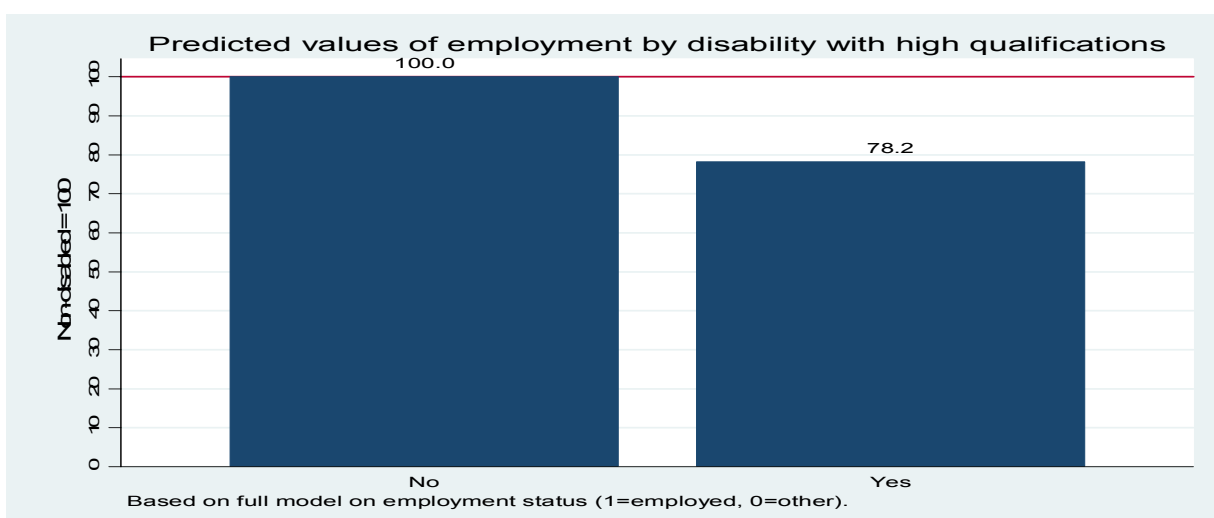
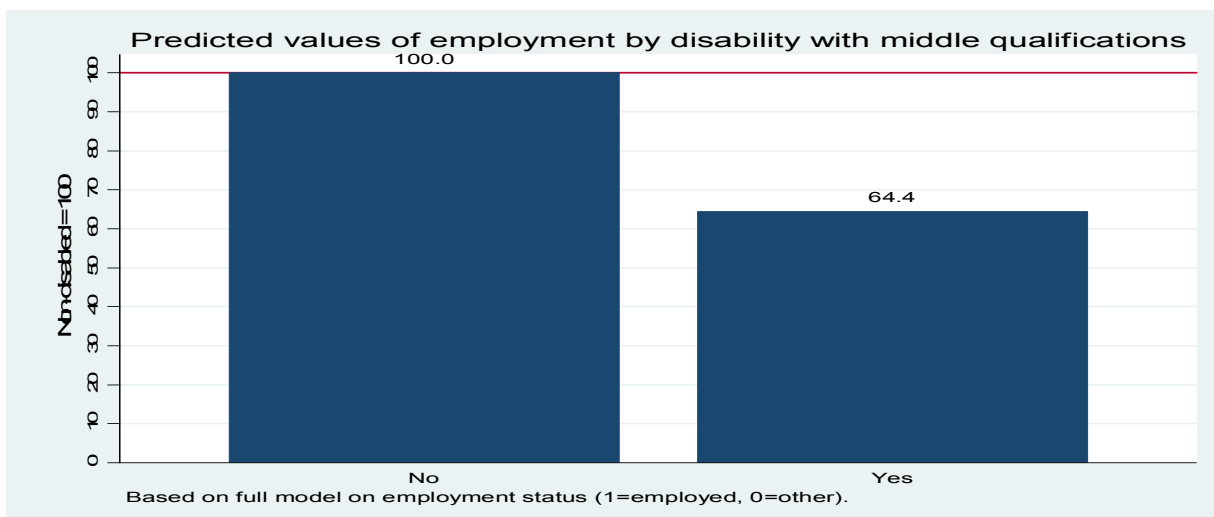
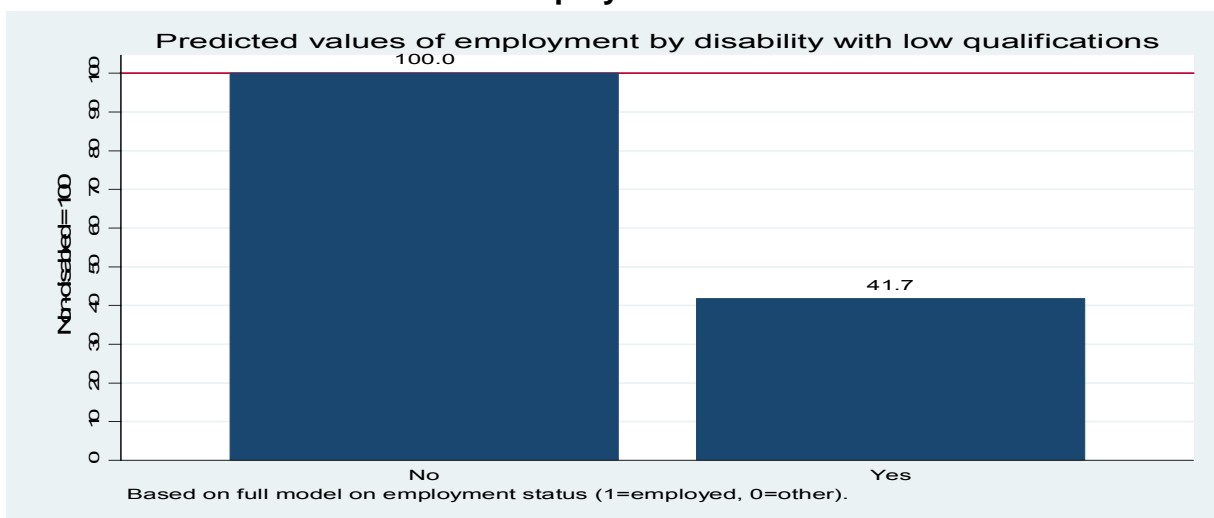


Figure 8 Predicted values of female employment and gross weekly earnings by disability and by educational qualifications in 2004/5

Employment



Continued on next page

Figure 8 Predicted values of female employment and gross weekly earnings by disability and by educational qualifications in 2004/5 (Continued)

Gross weekly pay

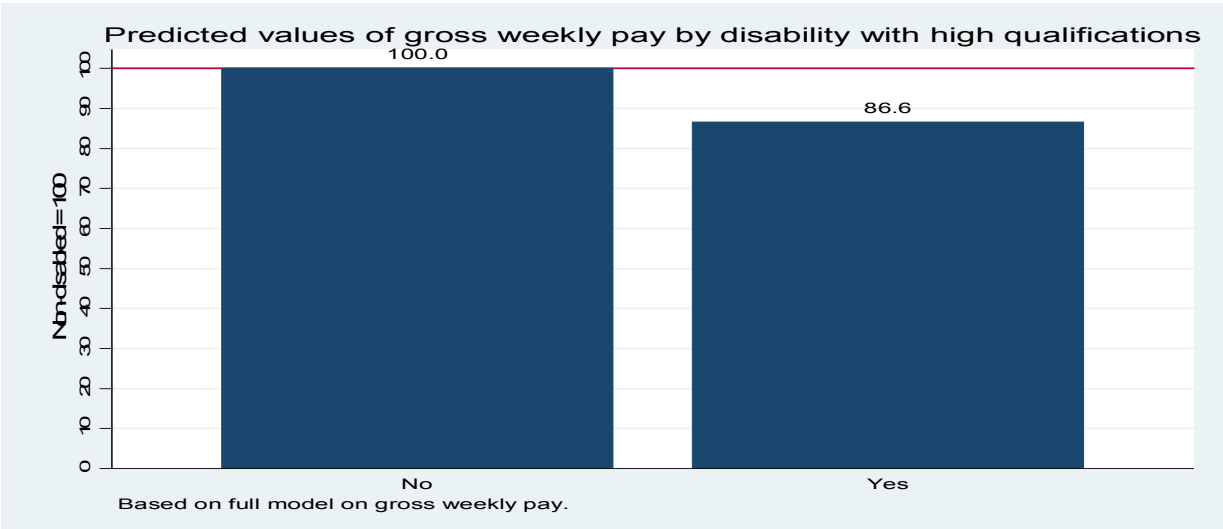
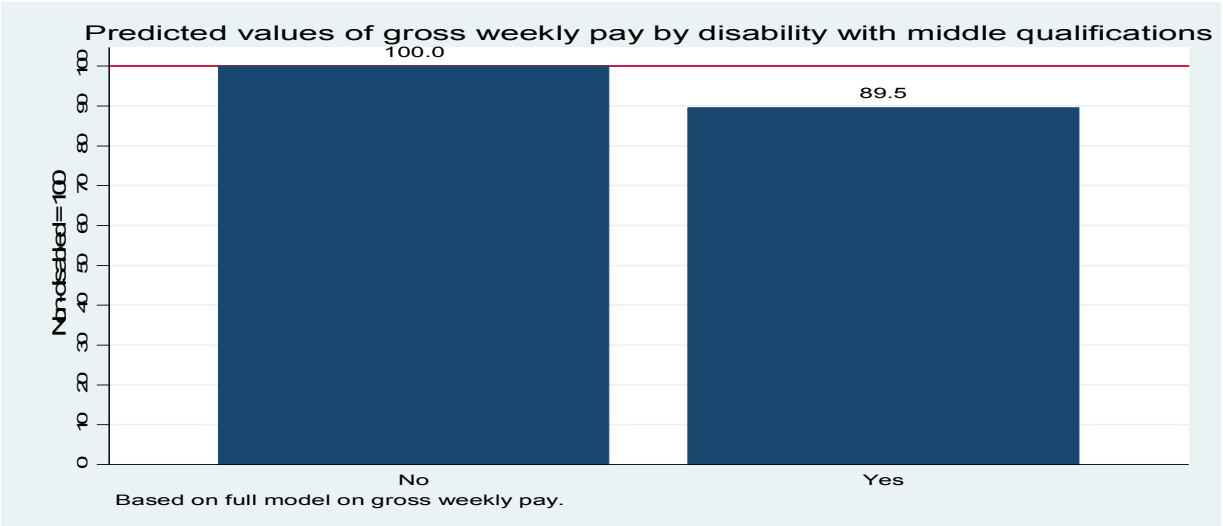
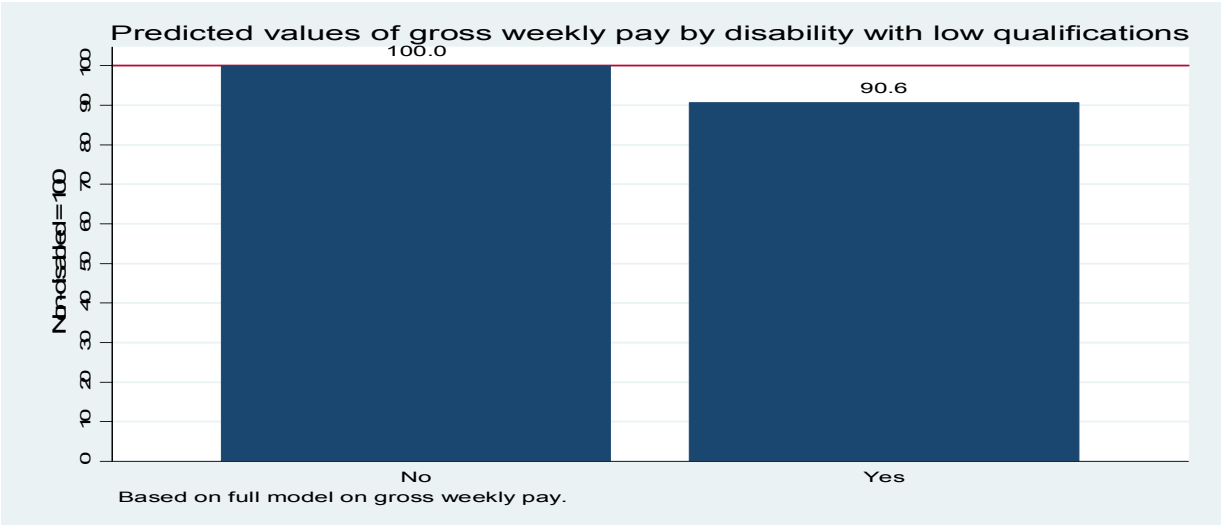
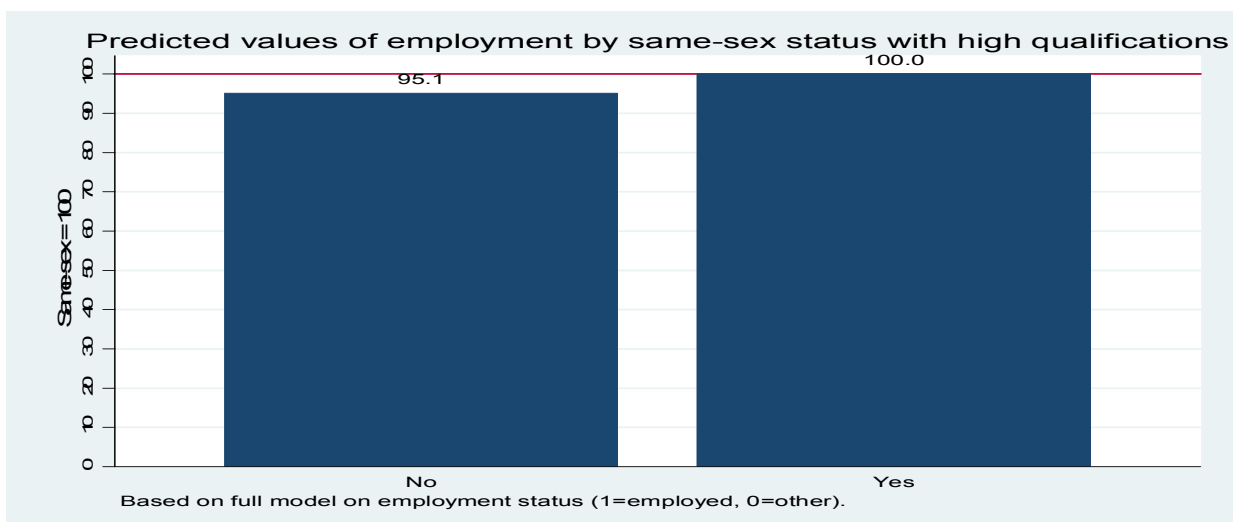
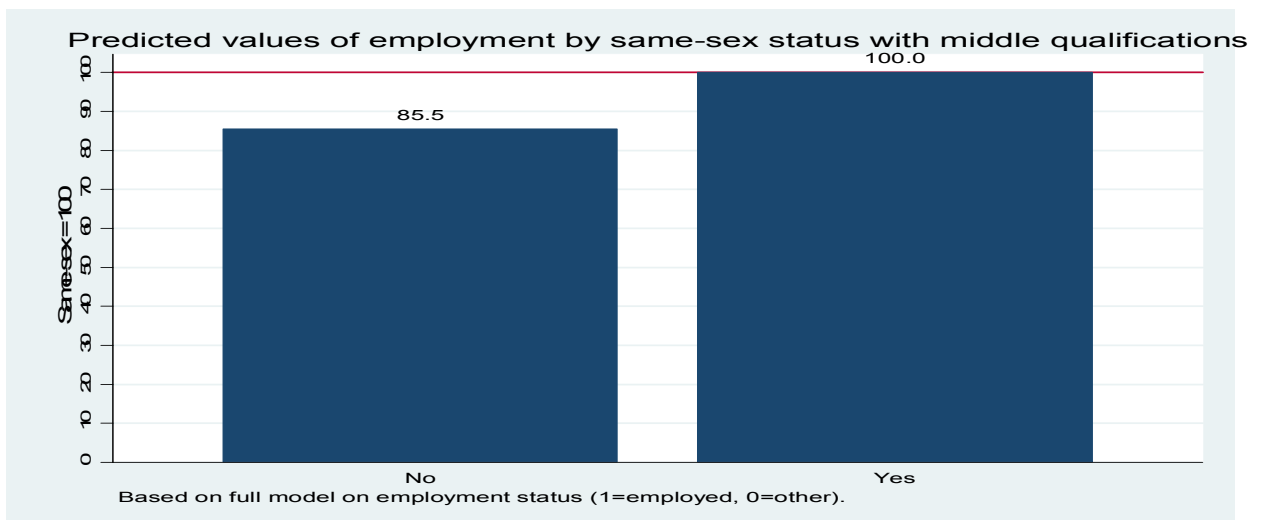
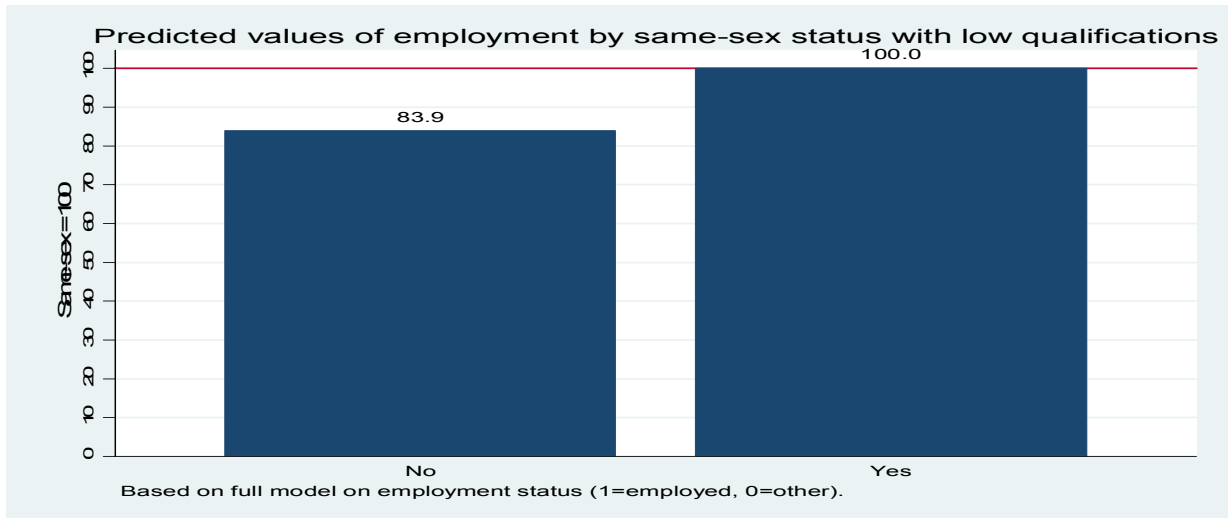


Figure 9 Predicted values of male employment and gross weekly earnings by same-sex and by educational qualifications in 2004/5

Employment



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Figure 9 Predicted values of male employment and gross weekly earnings by same-sex and by educational qualifications in 2004/5
(Continued)

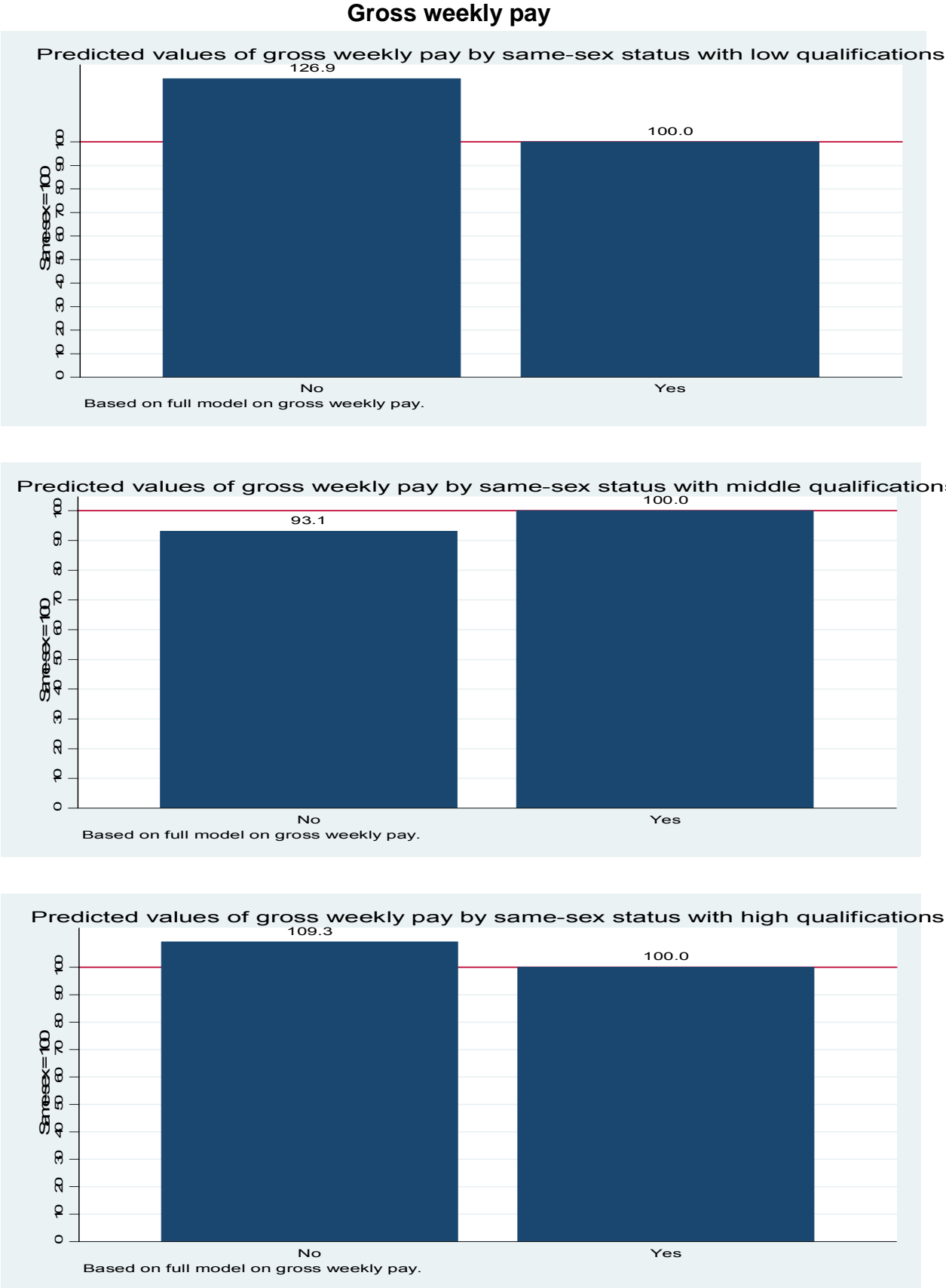
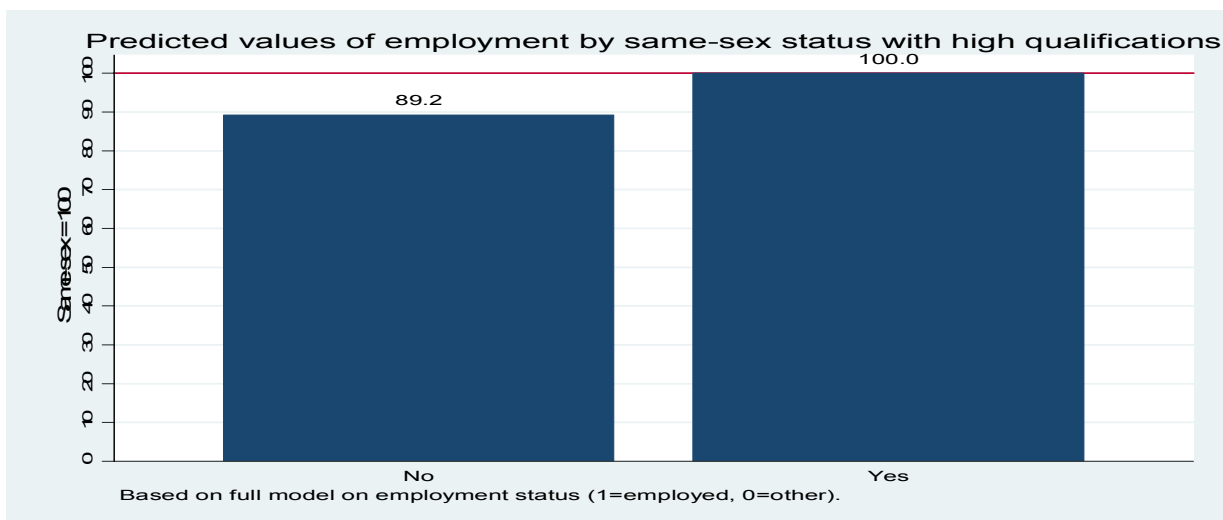
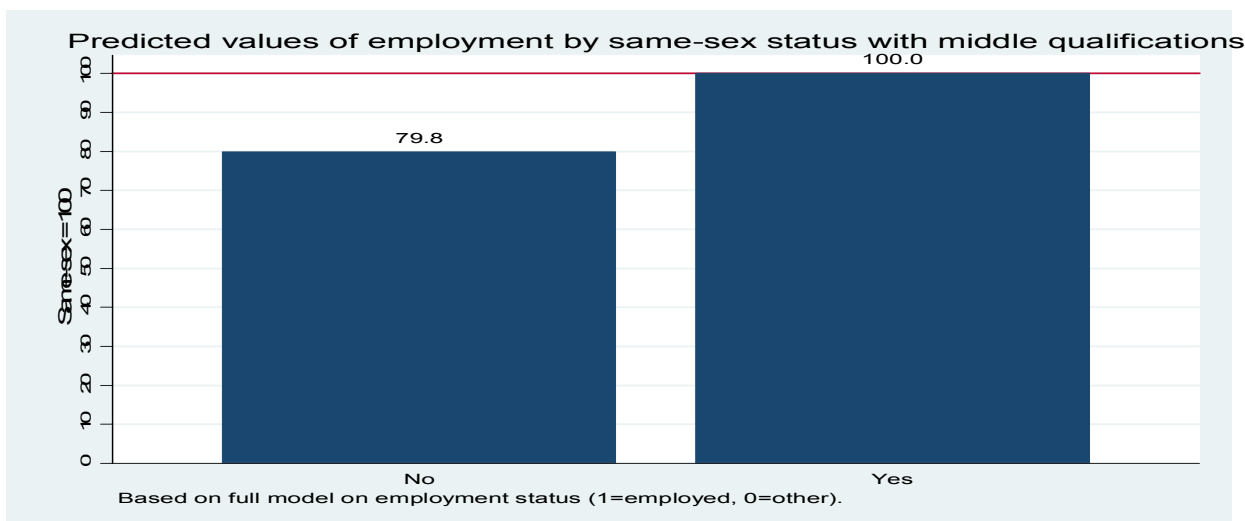
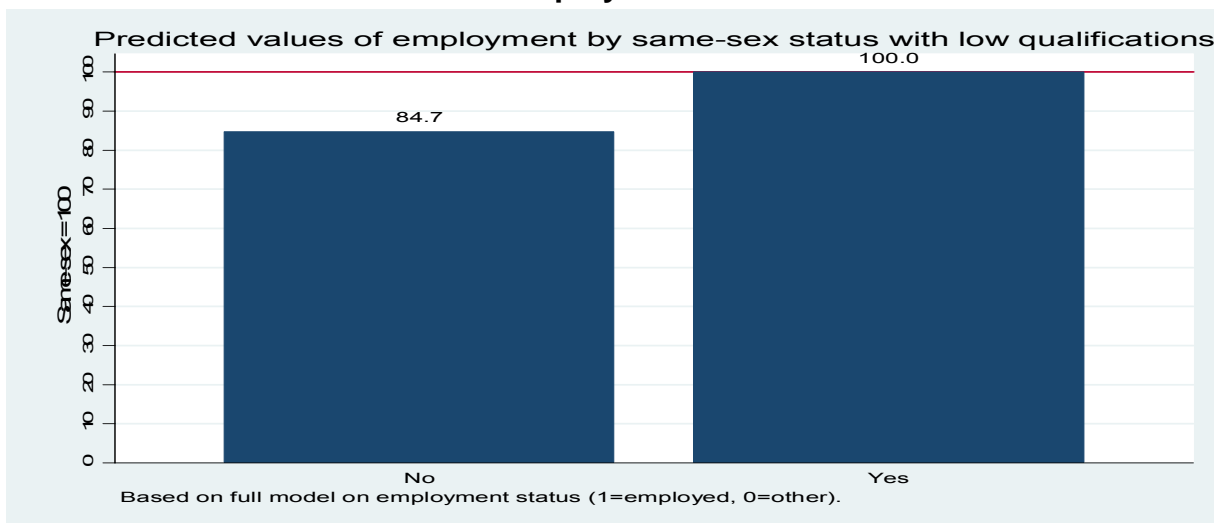


Figure 10 Predicted values of female employment and gross weekly earnings by same-sex status and educational qualifications in 2004/5

Employment



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Figure 10 Predicted values of female employment and gross weekly earnings by same-sex status and educational qualifications in 2004/5
(Continued)

Gross weekly pay

- No observations for poorly-educated women in same-sex couples

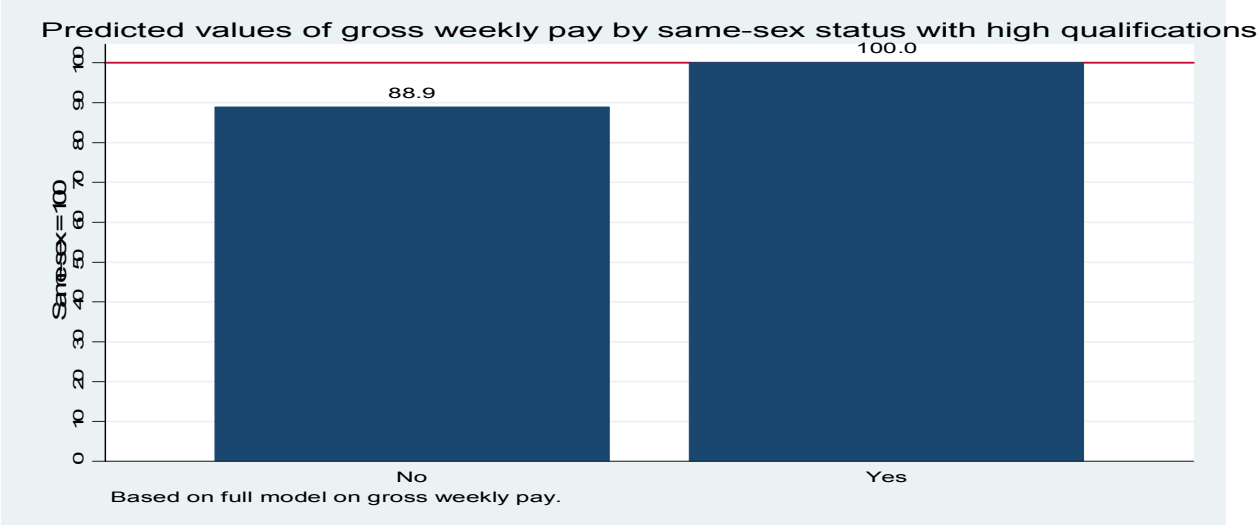
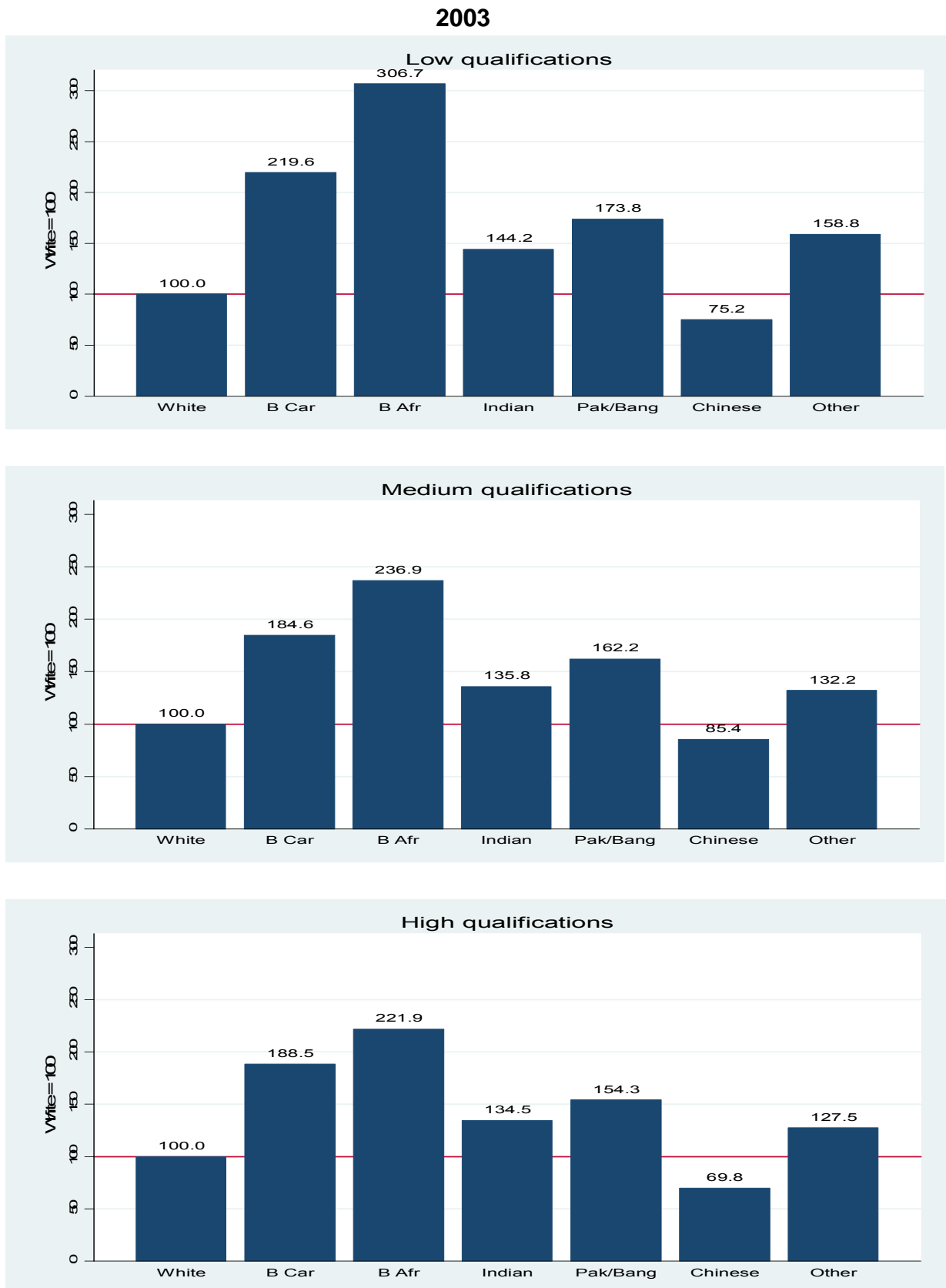


Figure 11 Predicted values of male perception of discrimination (job refusal / promotion blockage in the last five years)



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Figure 11 Predicted values of male perception of discrimination (job refusal / promotion blockage in the last five years) (Continued)

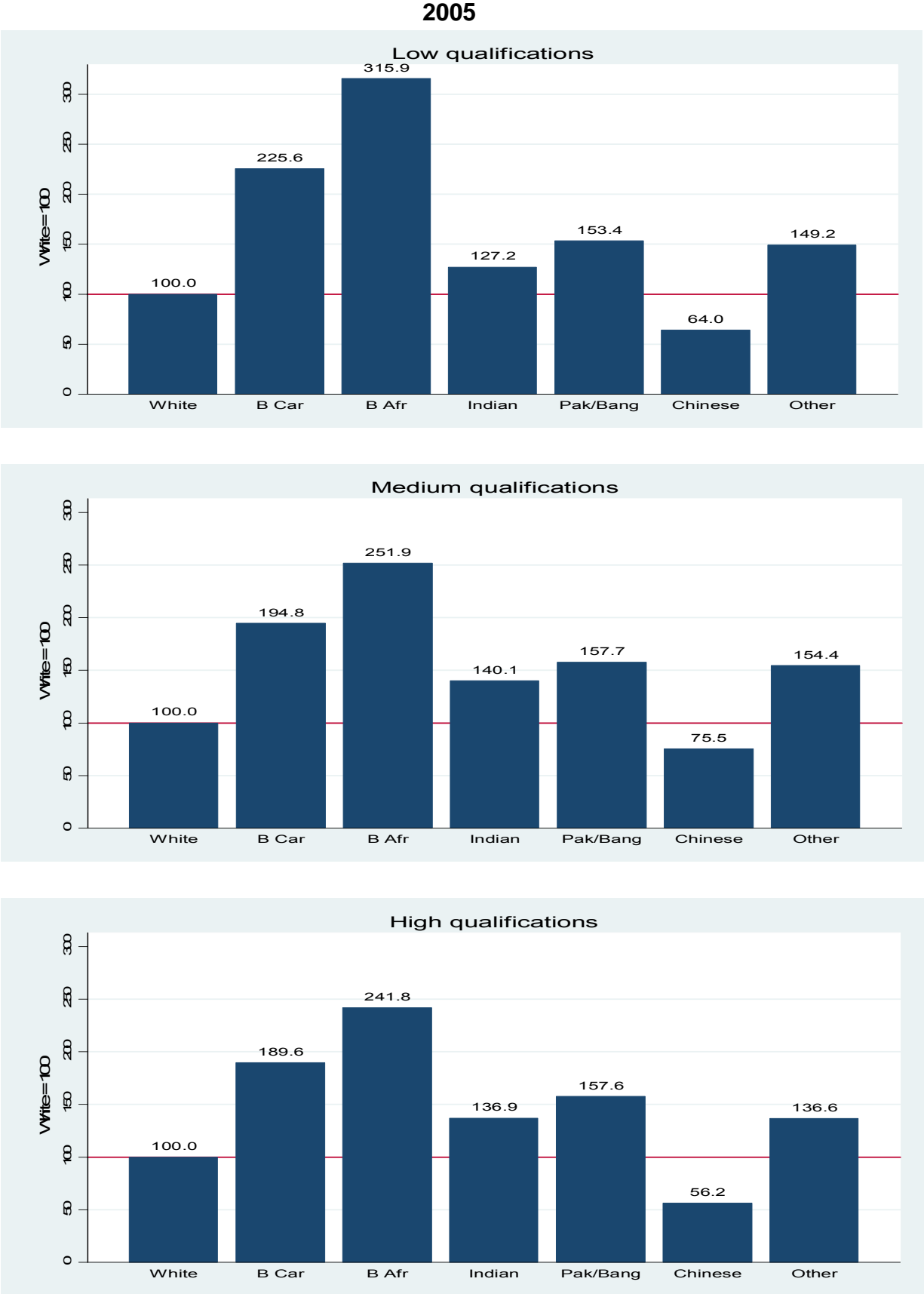
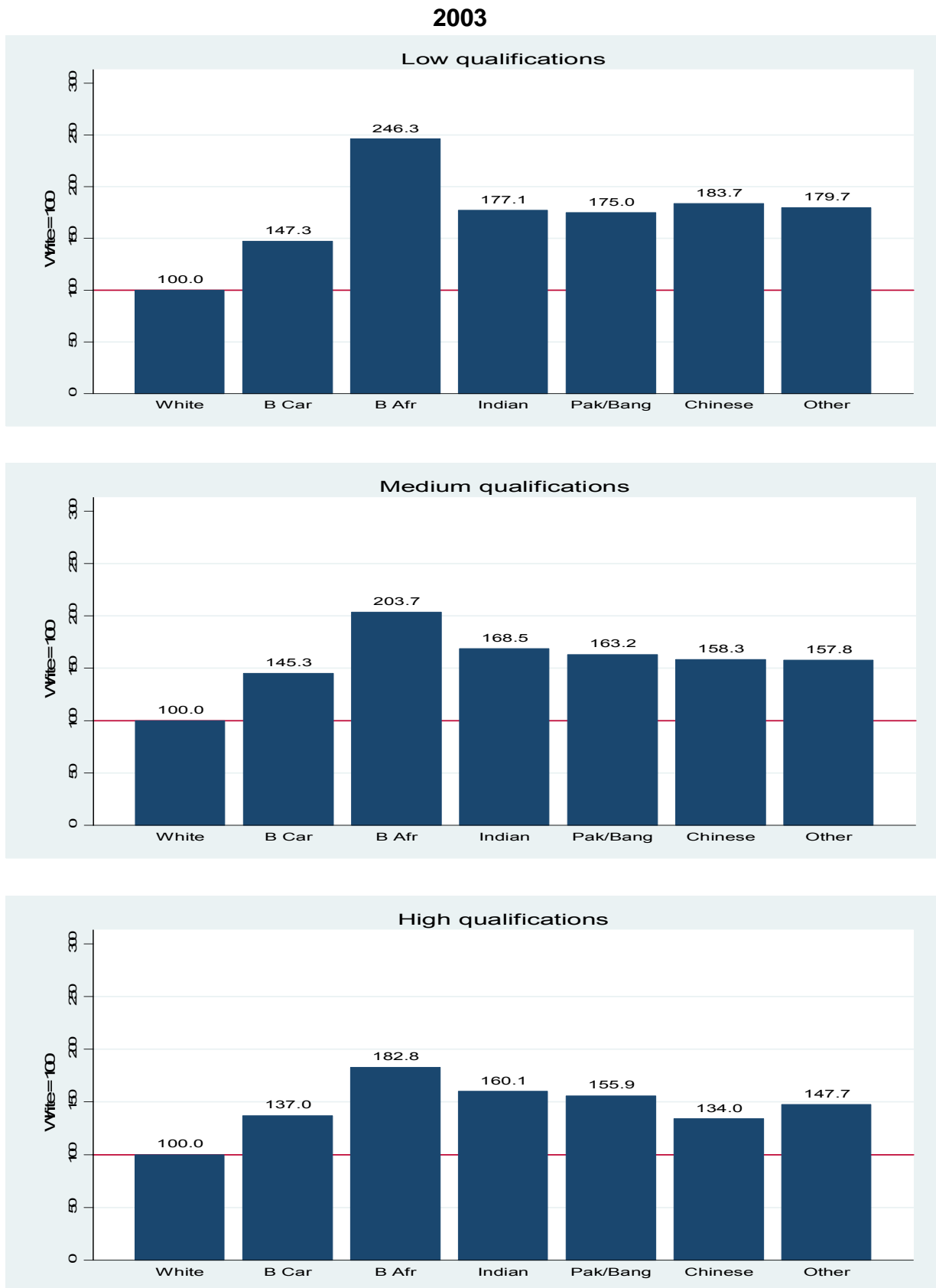


Figure 12 Predicted values of female perception of discrimination (job refusal / promotion blockage in the last five years)



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Figure 12 Predicted values of female perception of discrimination (job refusal / promotion blockage in the last five years) (Continued)

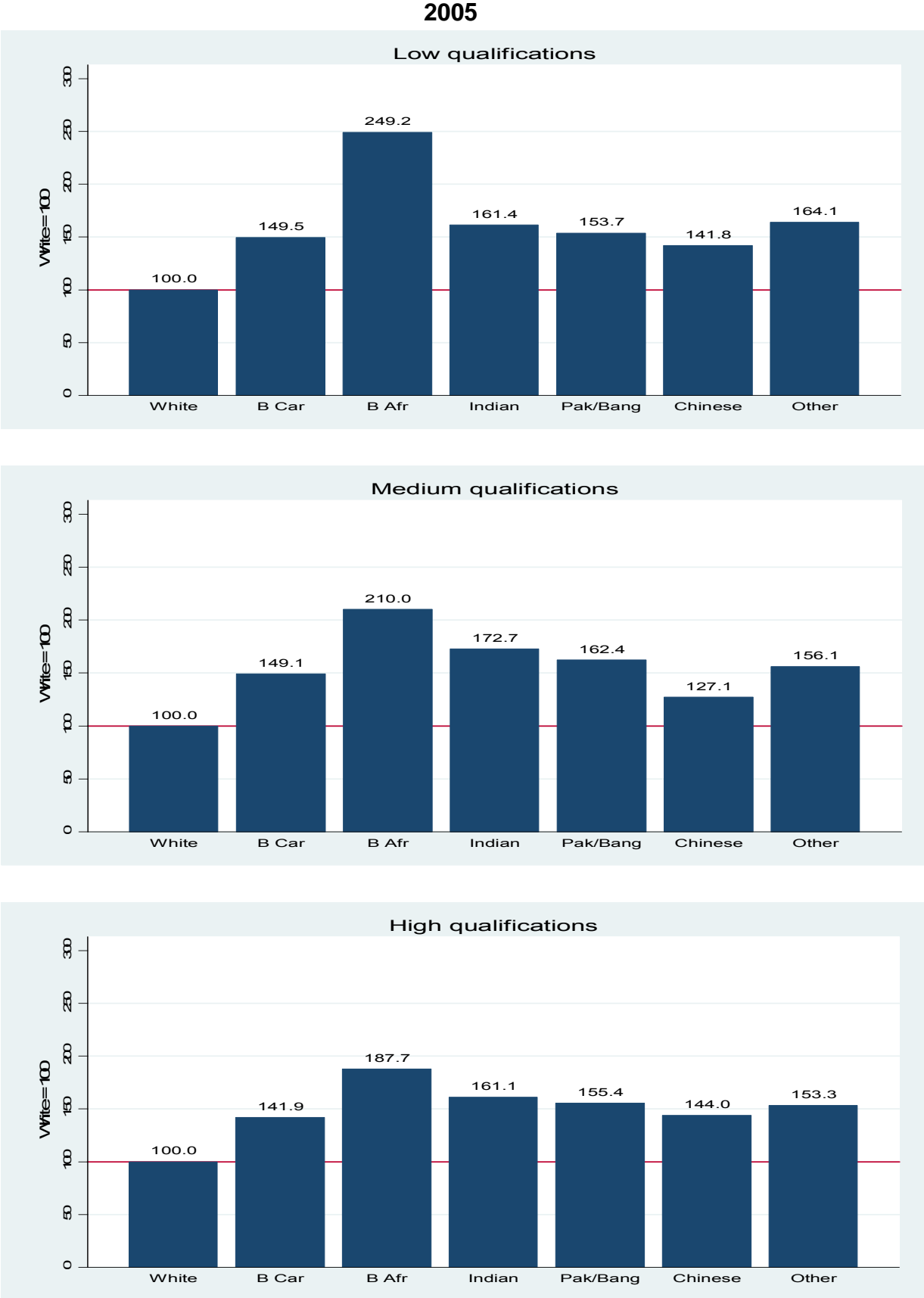
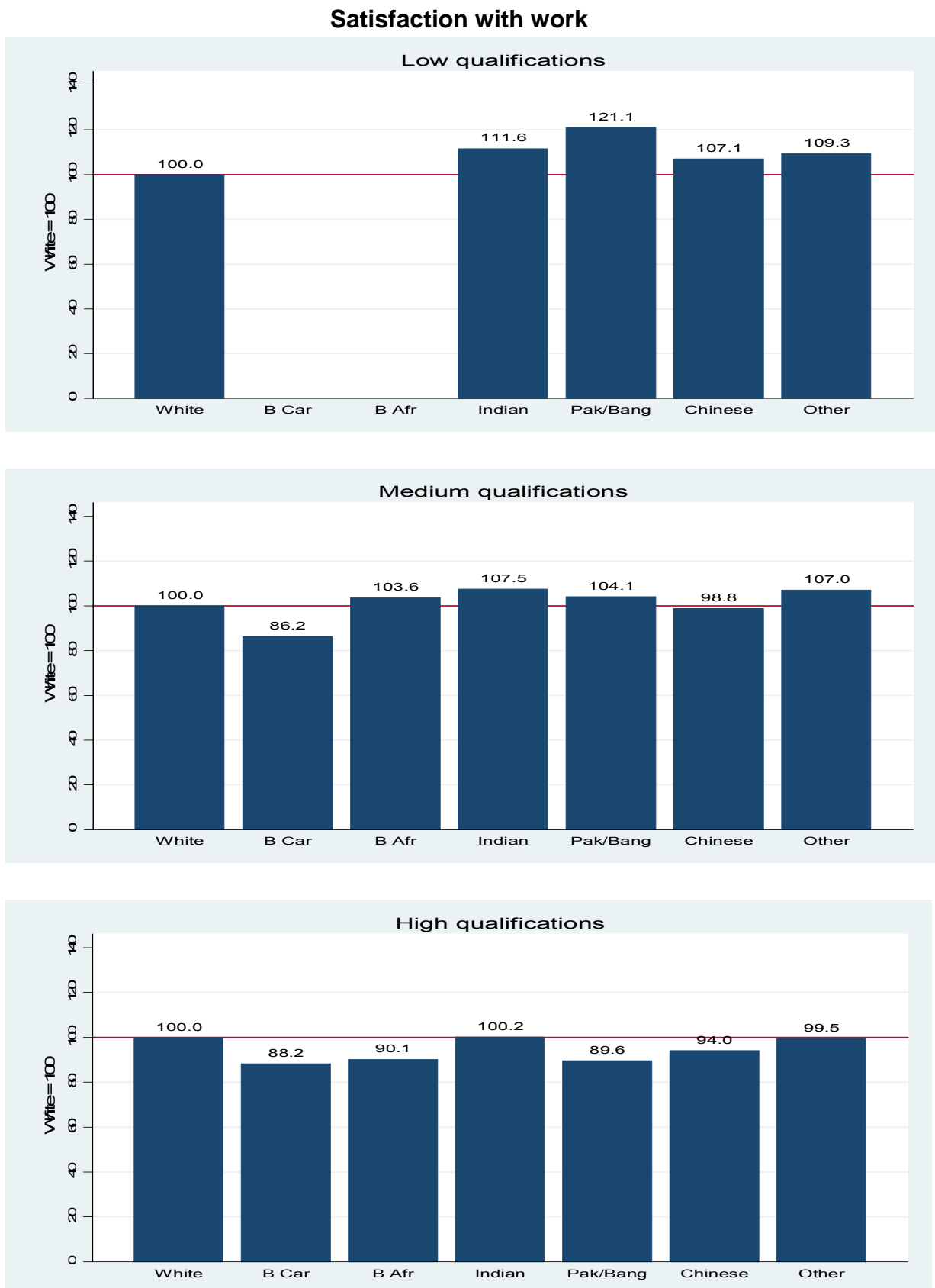
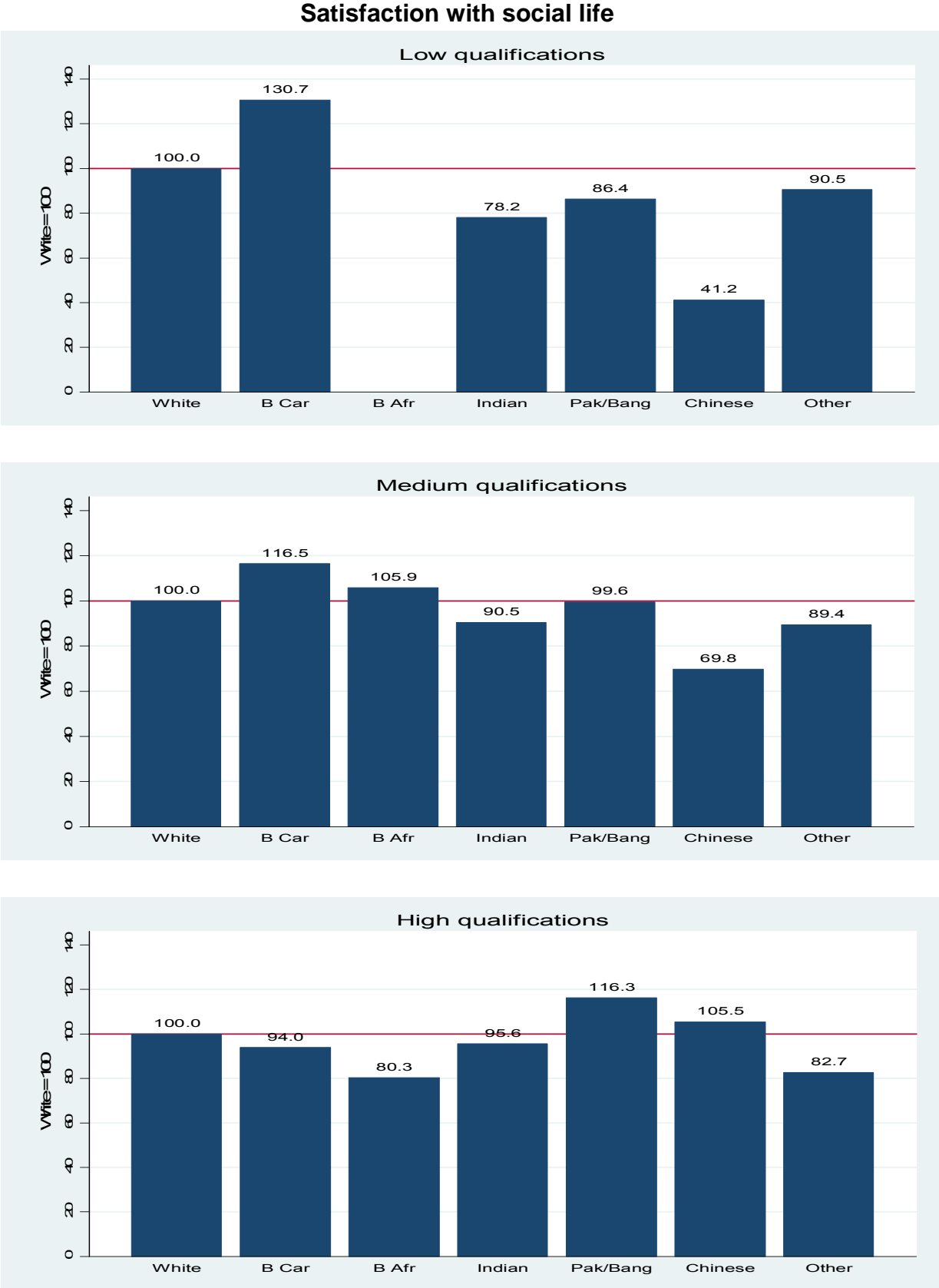


Figure 13 Predicted values of subjective perception of satisfaction with work, social life and life overall by ethnicity and education



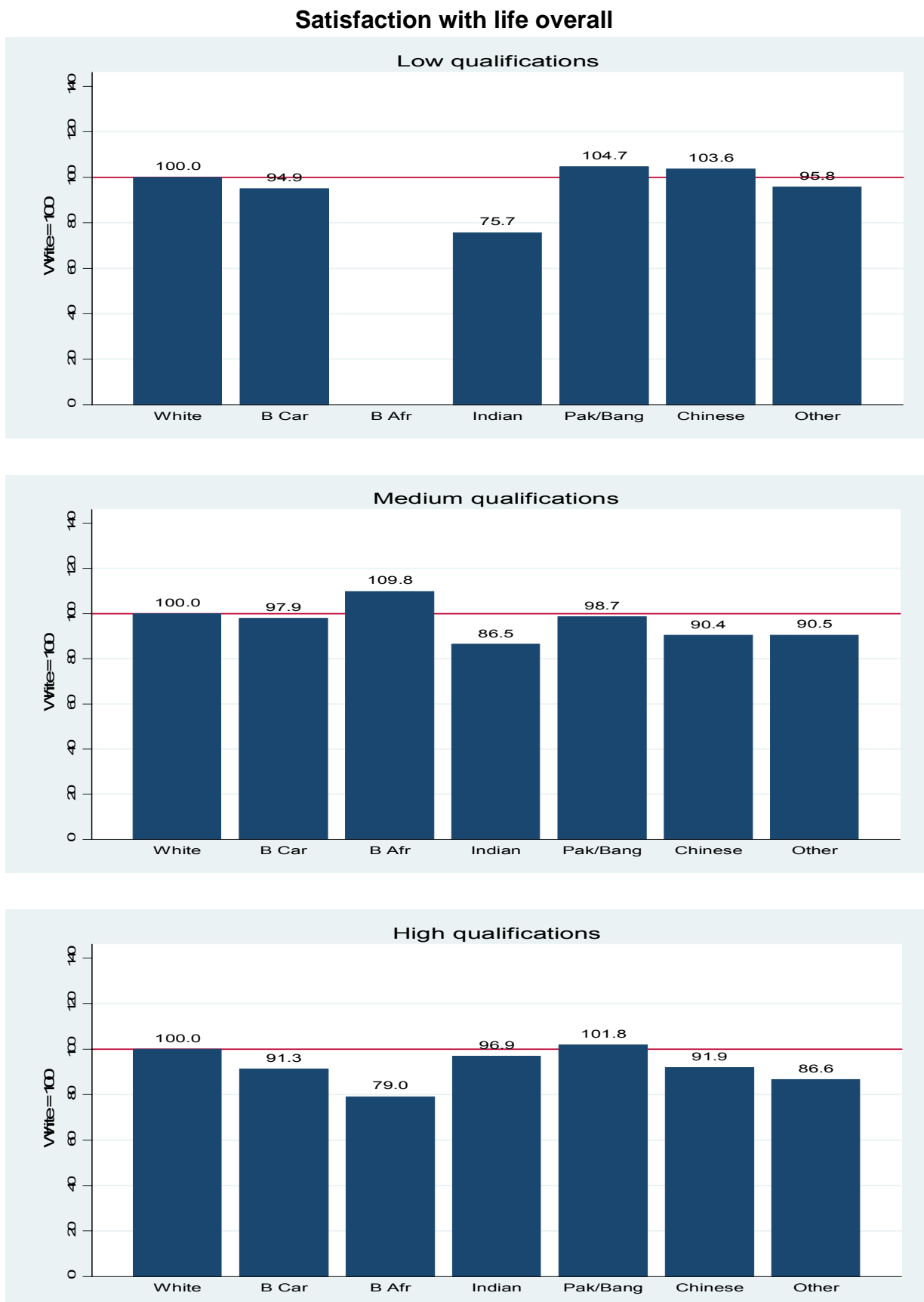
Continued on next page

Figure 13 Predicted values of subjective perception of satisfaction with work, social life and life overall by ethnicity and education (Continued)



Continued on next page

Figure 13 Predicted values of subjective perception of satisfaction with work, social life and life overall by ethnicity and education (Continued)



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APPENDIX

Age, disability / long-term limiting illness and presence of dependent children aged 0-5 by ethnicity (mean or percentage)

	Men				Women			
	Mean age	Mean No. of children under 16	% with children aged 0-5	% with long-term illness	Mean age	Mean No. of children under 16	% with children aged 0-5	% with long-term illness
1996 / 1997								
White	39.9	0.61	15.6	17.2	39.3	0.72	19.0	14.8
Black Caribbean	39.0	0.63	17.7	17.2	39.2	0.79*	22.5*	17.9*
Black African	33.8***	0.76**	21.4***	8.4***	33.9***	1.23***	38.1***	14.4
Indian	37.7***	0.97***	22.3***	15.5	36.8***	1.07***	23.9***	14.1
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	33.8***	1.70***	35.8***	21.8***	32.8***	1.75***	36.8***	17.9**
Chinese	34.9***	0.79*	16.4	11.2*	37.0**	0.83	17.2	6.9***
Other	34.3***	0.89***	22.9***	16.9	33.7***	0.99***	27.9***	14.8
All	39.5	0.63	16.1	17.1	38.7	0.73	19.6	14.8
2004 / 2005								
White	41.1	0.56	11.1	16.4	40.4	0.67	13.7	14.8
Black Caribbean	39.0***	0.65*	13.1	17.3	37.5***	0.86***	17.7***	17.2
Black African	35.2***	0.86***	19.7***	7.9***	34.4***	1.19***	26.5***	10.2***
Indian	37.7***	0.73***	14.7***	11.9***	37.2***	0.80***	16.3**	13.6
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	34.3***	1.30***	26.8***	18.0	33.3***	1.55***	29.9***	19.5***
Chinese	32.5***	0.37***	6.2**	5.9***	36.3***	0.45***	8.3***	7.9***
Other	34.7***	0.74***	17.8***	14.5*	34.9***	0.83***	21.0***	12.4**
All	40.4	0.58	11.7	16.2	39.7	0.69	14.4	14.8

Notes:

1. For men aged 16-65 and women aged 16-63 and resident in Great Britain.
2. White includes White British, White Irish and White from the old Commonwealth countries (USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia).
3. Bivariate significant tests are carried out with White, not disabled / long-term illness and non-same-sex couples as reference categories respectively, with * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: The General Household Survey and Wave 1 from each quarter of the Labour Force Survey.

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This report analyses the relationship between education, employment, income and social class to identify trends in group-based inequalities relating to gender, ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation.

WHAT IS ALREADY KNOWN ON THIS TOPIC:

- Women and some ethnic minority groups are increasingly likely to obtain good educational qualifications, jobs and income.
- Nevertheless, women on average continue to earn considerably less than men, while people from most ethnic minority groups remain less qualified and are less likely to secure good jobs than white people.
- There is greater variation among ethnic minority groups than between ethnic minority groups as a whole and white people.

WHAT THIS REPORT ADDS:

- This is the first time that patterns and trends in the educational and work-life experiences of several equality groups are analysed in a single study.
- Education protects ethnic minority groups, women and disabled people against disadvantage in employment and income. However, they do not enjoy the returns to education that might be expected.
- Men from some ethnic minority groups report high rates of job refusals and promotion blockages, while women from all ethnic minority groups report unfavourable treatment.