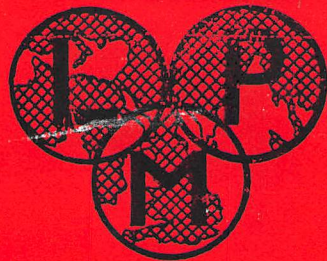
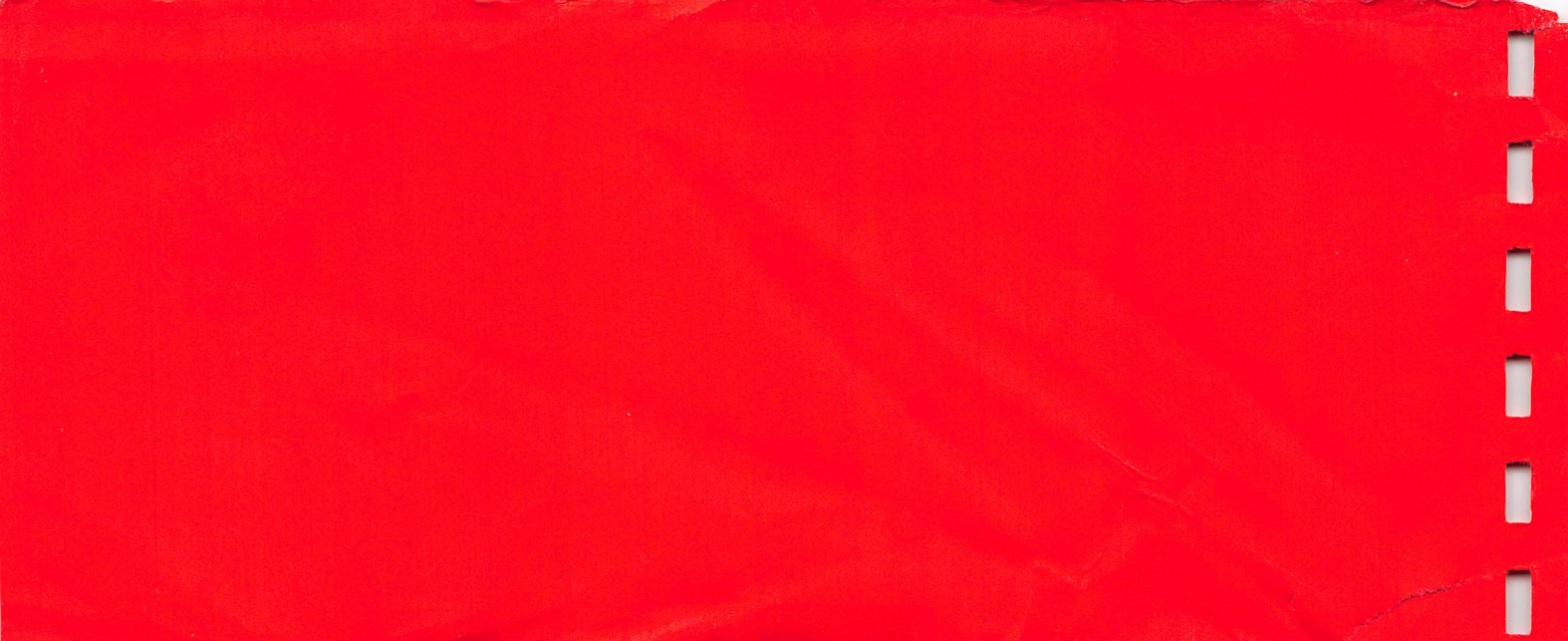




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THE GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY OF
SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGES IN ENGLAND:
SOME METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

L.M.P. WORKING PAPER NO. 2

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This working paper is a revised version of a paper read
at the Conference on South Asian Languages at Mysore,
India, January 1982.

I would like to acknowledge the help of a large number of people who worked together with the research team of the Linguistic Minorities Project in the fieldwork stages of the surveys from which much of the data reported in this paper is derived. I would especially like to thank John Penney and Zia Hassan of the Coventry City Council Planning and Architecture Department, and Nigel Grizzard of Bradford City Council Education Department, for the help they, and their colleagues in the computing centres of their two authorities, offered so willingly. Thanks also to Jenny Norvick for her work on the coding scheme for SLS, to Judy Tasker for her help with word processing and maps and to Harvey Goldstein for his editorial advice.

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1 Demography of South Asian Languages.

ABSTRACT

The absence of language questions in the national census, which is a reflection of the widespread assumption that England is a monolingual nation, makes it difficult to obtain reliable and accurate estimates of the different populations of minority language speakers from official published sources. This paper concentrates on the South Asian language populations and the particular methodological problems and opportunities that arise for an educational research project seeking to discover the national and local distribution of the languages. In many ways the issues relating to South Asian minorities are not untypical of linguistic minorities as a whole. Some statistics are available and are reviewed together with their limitations.

The methodologies employed by the Linguistic Minorities Project in a schools language census, and in selecting samples for a community language survey, are described. These enable more accurate demographic estimates about language groups within specific cities to be made. The distribution patterns of the South Asian Language speaking communities are shown to be related to the patterns of labour and housing established during the recent period of migration and settlement, and to the importance of local minority language community networks.

There remain many problems with the methodology and these are discussed. The major difficulty involves defining the boundaries of a language group and arises because of:

- a) differing perceptions of language and ethnic group membership in the different minority communities and the official institutions
- b) the fluidity of dialect/language boundaries inherent to many South Asian languages, which is rendered more complex by the migration process and the use of related languages as lingua francas and languages of literacy.
- c) the difficulty of defining the terms "speaker" or "user" of a given language in view of the present stage in the processes of migration and language shift.

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The Geography and Demography of South Asian Languages in England:

some methodological problems

1. INTRODUCTION

For over a quarter of a century now, significant numbers of speakers of many South Asian languages have been living in England. The emergence of these speech communities has been largely the result of processes of migration and settlement, in the years between 1955 and 1975, though it would be wrong to think of speakers of South Asian languages as mainly immigrants, since at present more than half of them have been born and brought up in England.

The introduction of these language groups, and others from South and East Europe and East Asia, to a nation which historically has regarded itself as monolingual, has begun to have a profound effect on political and educational debates. (Reid: forthcoming) In recent years for example there has been a growing discussion about the benefits of bilingualism and the feasibility of "Mother Tongue" teaching schemes. (Martin-Jones: forthcoming)

One catalyst in this debate has been the directive issued by the Commission of the E.C. which calls on member states (including the U.K.) to make provision for the teaching of the language and culture of the countries of origin of children of migrant workers. The British government, in responding to the directive, "insofar as national circumstances and education systems permit", has interpreted the directive as applying to children with origins anywhere in the world and not only those from other member states of the E.C. For a discussion of the terms of this debate see (Brook: 1980; Saifullah Khan: 1979; Tosi: 1979). Thus speakers of South Asian languages have come within the terms of the debate and the communities in which the languages are spoken have been increasingly active, both in terms of providing voluntary community-based classes for their children, and in terms of political lobbying in favour of the introduction of Mother Tongue teaching in state schools.

In view of this ongoing debate, both official agencies and local community groups have expressed interest in information concerning the size and distribution of the various language groups. It was with this in mind that the Department of Education and Science first granted funding for the Linguistic Minorities Project at London University Institute of Education. The compilation of reliable data relating to the demography and distribution of non indigenous minority language groups in England was one part of LMP's work necessary for our investigation of emerging patterns of bilingualism in selected parts of the country.

The LMP has been working on a very wide canvas, in collaboration and with support from local communities, organisations and education authorities, and using a wide variety of methodologies. The project involves an inter-disciplinary research team, and has covered a wide range of language groups in different parts of the country. In the process we have been confirmed in our opinion that a simple notion of a "language map" or language census

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approach are neither as easy nor as meaningful as they at first sound.

2. EXISTING STATISTICS

England, unlike other countries (including Wales and Scotland), has never had a language question in its census. This is hardly surprising, given the fact that the English have in recent centuries considered themselves monolingual as a nation, and have tended towards linguistic imperialism and reluctance to learn foreign languages. Of course, the language situation has never been quite so simple in that other languages have been in use; for example Cornish and Manx survived in England until comparatively recently, the gypsy community has maintained the use of Romany, and migrant groups such as the Huguenots and the Yiddish-speaking Jews have, in their time, been very important linguistic minorities. (Reid forthcoming).

However, on the whole, language has not been an important concern in official statistics and policy, with the result that there is no census information and very little from other sources, which addresses the question of linguistic demography. On the other hand in the context of a political debate over the issues of immigration control and social policy, which has developed in recent years, there has been a growing interest in questions of race, ethnic origin and nationality.

Thus in the 1971 Census there was a question about birthplace, and a further one about parents' birthplace. On the basis of this it is possible to make some fairly crude estimates about the numbers and distribution of various language groups. This has been done by Campbell Platt (1978). The figures given in Table One are taken from this source.

TABLE ONE

Overseas-born population of Great Britain, 1971 Census

<u>Country</u>	
INDIA	321,995
PAKISTAN (incl. Bangladesh)	139,935
KENYA (incl. S.Asians)	59,500

These figures contain a number of major weaknesses.

Firstly, they are now ten years out of date. Even for 1971 a multiplication of these figures by 1.5 is probably necessary in order to account for children born in Britain to these people. In 1971 the proportion of British-born children in the "coloured population" was around 4% according to Lomas (1974), being 47% in the case of parents born in India and 24% for Pakistan. As time goes on the proportion of British-born steadily increases. Since 1971 these figures will also have increased due to the migration

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of Asians from E.Africa to the U.K. in the early 70s and the arrival of dependent relatives.

Secondly, they are based on birthplace and parents' birthplace, which is obviously not equivalent to language group membership or use of language.

Thirdly, the birthplace categories are generally given in terms of nation states, whose boundaries do not usually correspond with the territory of linguistic groups. There is a special problem in the case of South Asia, since some older respondents may have referred to "India" meaning the whole of the sub-continent before partition, and all respondents in 1971 referred to a single state of Pakistan, which then included the territory which today forms the independent nation of Bangladesh.

The 1971 census breakdowns quoted in the paper by Campbell Platt show that about a third of the population born in the sub-continent were living in Greater London, with concentrations of Indian-born people in the Ealing, Hounslow and Brent areas of North London, in Newham in East London and in Wandsworth in South London. For Pakistani-born people the highest numbers were in the boroughs of Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest in East London. Outside London the major concentrations were in the West Midlands conurbation and the towns of West Yorkshire and Lancashire. Substantial numbers of people born in India were found in most of these places and also in Leicester, while the major settlements of Pakistani-born people were in Birmingham itself, Bradford and some of the smaller northern towns.

Other statistics besides the census have sometimes been produced if not widely published, often on the basis of extrapolating figures from sample surveys, for example demographic estimates on the basis of the National Household and Dwelling Survey of 1978, produced by various London boroughs (unpublished for the most part, except where reports have been submitted to and adopted by the local authority). Generally speaking, language has been a side issue in such surveys and the estimates produced have been derived either from a question on national origin or very simplistic language questions. Therefore such figures, based as they are on small local samples, should be treated with great caution, particularly at national level.

In the 1981 census there was eventually only one question about respondents' birthplace. This followed a long debate and extensive piloting of an "ethnic question". This fell between two stools by trying to be a nationality and "colour" question combined. The criticisms from many ethnic minorities revealed just how sensitive the question was, and how there was little hope of reliable and valid responses. The question was therefore dropped. Once again a question about birthplace was asked, and in the tabulations which are presently being issued a figure for "people living in households where the head of the household was born in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan" is given. However these statistics will be no use at all for obtaining estimates of linguistic minority populations and their distribution. For details of the debate on the census question see (Lomas: 1980).

There are also several estimates of the size of language groups in a number of local situations. Some have been worked out on

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the basis of survey results, or from analysis of names on electoral registers, or from statistics of births and deaths, but most are just "guesstimates" by interested parties in the local community or local authority. It is worrying for example to hear estimates of the Bengali-speaking population in East London ranging from 9,000 to 25,000, and a figure of 10,000 Gujeratis in the borough of Haringey, when LMP research suggests the maximum number as 1000. Such figures should, therefore, be treated with extreme caution, bearing in mind the fact that the political motives, as well as the sources behind each estimate, need investigation before they are accepted.

The various maps showing the distribution of the major South Asian language groups in England which accompany this paper have been drawn up on the basis of a number of the sources mentioned above, supplemented for some areas and groups with LMP findings. They should not be taken as comprehensive or demographically precise given the limited sources of data. However, we do believe they show the broad settlement pattern of language communities from the sub-continent.

Since there are no official statistics relating to languages, the only information about the distribution of the language groups across the country comes from a relatively informal collection of gathered knowledge about different localities. The main South Asian languages spoken in England in the 1980s are all from the northern part of the subcontinent. Given the historical relationship between them, the nature of the Indo-Aryan dialect continuum, and the way that language is used and mobilised as an ethnic and regional boundary marker in the subcontinent see (Das Gupta: 1970; Shapiro & Schiffmann: 1981; Mobbs: forthcoming). It is a vast oversimplification to attempt to establish the precise numbers of people who actually speak the standard languages of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. However, even in the minority overseas situation, families with origins in South Asia are likely to identify their own speech with the one or more of the official languages of their region of origin. In this sense we can say that the major language groups represented in England are Panjabi, Gujerati, Bengali and Pakistani Panjabi/Urdu.

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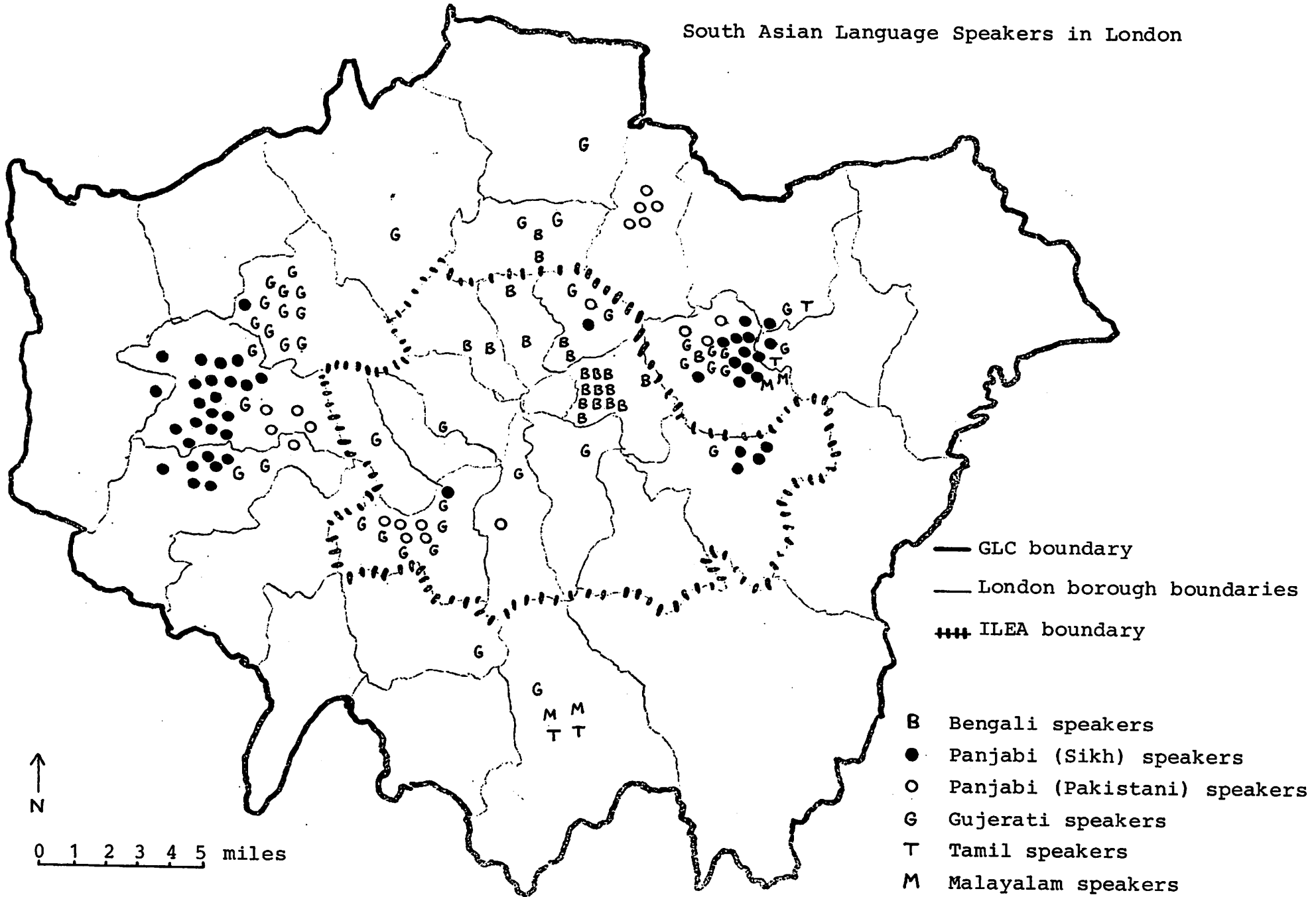
MAP 1

Major South Asian Language Groups in England



- Main communities of Panjabi (Sikh) speakers
- Main communities of Panjabi (Pakistani) speakers
- B Main communities of Bengali speakers
- G Main communities of Gujerati speakers

South Asian Language Speakers in London



3. ANALYSIS OF DISTINCTIVE ETHNIC NAMES

In the context described above, it was obviously difficult for our project to gather statistical information about the numbers and distribution of speakers of South Asian languages in England. It would have been very helpful indeed to have access to such information for the purpose of establishing sampling universes for our various surveys. Indeed this would have been necessary if we had chosen to undertake sampling procedures which were nationally representative for each linguistic minority in England. However, there appeared to be no way, given our limited resources, of producing reliable estimates for any language group, at the national level. Therefore, at a very early stage in our planning, we made the strategic decision to concentrate our research in a small number of localities and to investigate the demographic patterns at the city level, with the aims of collecting detailed information about the patterns of language and developing methodologies which might be used on a larger scale at a later stage.

The basis for our choice of localities in which to work was partly pragmatic (i.e. places where we had good entry points and contacts), yet also calculated to provide a range of languages and types of area in different regions. We were also keen to support existing networks and projects which were involved in the field of "mother tongue" teaching and research. From census information, and local knowledge, we chose to work in the following cities for the full range of our surveys:

a) Coventry (a city of 325,000 in the West Midlands where there is a large settlement of Panjabi-speaking Sikhs, a smaller one of Gujerati speakers, a good number of Panjabi- and Bengali-speaking Muslims, plus a number of European language groups such as Poles and Italians).

b) Bradford (a metropolitan district of 425,000 people in the West Yorkshire conurbation, where large numbers of Panjabi-speaking Muslims with origins in Pakistan, have settled in the inner city area. There is also a moderately large community of Panjabi Sikhs, some Gujeratis and Bengalis and a large number of people of Eastern European origin.)

c) London, especially the two boroughs of Haringey, (which is noted for its Cypriot communities, and also has a good number of South Asians of various language groups in its population,) and Tower Hamlets, (the East London borough which has the largest community of Bangladeshis in the country).

In choosing to work in these cities we were hoping, in some measure at least, to reflect the distribution of the various South Asian language groups suggested by census figures. The pattern of settlement of all the recent immigrant groups has largely been determined at the regional level by employment opportunities, with the result that the South Asian language groups have been concentrated to a large extent in unskilled work in the heavy industrial sector in the West Midlands, in the declining textile industry in West Yorkshire and Lancashire and in a range of industries in London and the South East (notably the clothing trade in the East End in the case of Bengalis, the retail trade in small shops in the case of the Gujeratis and in

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various industrial and service sectors for other language groups).

However, the distribution of language groups at the neighbourhood level within each city seems to be related much more closely to housing patterns. To exemplify this we shall look at the cities in some detail and explain our methodology in arriving at the figures to be presented.

a) Coventry

Our task in Coventry was to establish sampling universes for four South Asian language groups for our Adult Language Use Survey. The details of our procedure are written up elsewhere (Smith: 1982), but in outline the procedure was as follows. The heart of our methodology was the use of distinctive ethnic names as a way of identifying potential speakers of the different South Asian languages. In Coventry we used (in co-operation with the Planning Department of the Local Authority) a computerised method of scanning the electoral register for the city in a search for a large set of "designated ethnic names" which had been compiled into a dictionary, with each name coded for religion and probable language.

Using this computer programme we were able to calculate the frequency of these names, and their distribution across the city, down to the level of Polling District (there were about 250 of these in the city). From this we could make some estimates about the distribution and number of adults in each language group.

Of course there are many weaknesses in this approach, mainly stemming from the unreliability and incompleteness of the electoral rolls, the fact that the dictionary of designated names was less than exhaustive and the uncertainty and inaccuracy of human judgements as to probable language spoken by the bearer of each name. (For a full critique of this see (Smith: 1982)). However, when we had introduced some modifications in our procedure, including the step of supplementing the computer search of the registers with a manual one for some wards, and when our interviewers had brought back some data (including the proportion of cases where the name analysis approach had produced "wrong language" non-response) we believed we had estimates of the numbers of the main South Asian Language groups in Coventry which were more accurate than anything previously produced.

TABLE TWODistinctive South Asian Names on the
Coventry Electoral Register 1980.

(From Coventry Planning Department Data)

Names coded as;...	URDU	PANJABI	GUJERATI	HINDI
Urdu	1102			
Panjabi	56	7012		
Gujerati	20	128	2016	
Hindi	0	412	839	532
Total	1178	7608	3003	1783

The diagonal in the table represents the "firm designations".

There were also some 88 Bengalis (firmly designated) and 333 coded as Other (denoting in most cases names which could not easily be taken as distinctive to less than three language groups).

On the basis of the results of our fieldwork in Coventry we would wish to amend these figures in proportion to the percentage of our visited sample, which turned out to be speakers of a different language to the one that had been predicted by name analysis, see (Smith: 1982).

In the first place, the figure for the Hindi-speaking group is much less than the maximum suggested figure of 1783, and probably less than the minimum figure of 532. We would in fact be quite surprised if more than a couple of hundred adults actually speak Hindi as a mother tongue (though this figure is very much a guess). Most of the names which are coded as Hindi or possibly Hindi in the computer's dictionary are likely, on the basis of our experience with the adult survey and in view of results from our schools work, to be either Panjabi or Gujerati speakers.

In addition, again on the basis of our 'wrong language' returns, we estimate that 300 names (10%) coded as Gujerati may actually be Panjabi speakers. The result of these increases for the Panjabi group amounts to about 500 adults, making the maximum figure for the adult population (on the register) something in the region of 8,000. For the Gujeratis the gain from the Hindi group in the table, and the loss to the Panjabi group, are more or less equal, with the result that the suggested maximum figure for Gujerati adults of approx. 3,000 is probably approximately correct. (These figures compare very well with those for the school population given later.)

We are also fairly sure that the total number of Bengalis is higher than the 88 voters coded as such. There are probably between 150 & 200 Bengali-speaking families in the city. A large number of Bengali Muslim names were in fact coded as URDU or OTHER for the computer, since Muslim names are not very distinctive for language. Correspondingly, the number of Urdu

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speakers will be less than the 1100 given by the planning department. In any case, most of them will not be speakers of Urdu as a first or home language, but members of the language community we have labelled Panjabi (Urdu Script).

We used the term Panjabi (Urdu Script) or (U.S.) in respect of that community, mainly of Muslims from Pakistan, whose spoken language is mutually intelligible with the other Panjabi group but who are likely to have received their formal education through Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, and who will use the Urdu script for most written purposes. The term Panjabi (Gurmukhi Script) or (G.S.) was used in the context of our Adult Survey, to refer to the language community which relates to the norm of standard Indian Panjabi, as codified and written in Gurmukhi script. This population includes both Sikhs and Hindus. This terminology differs from that used by the Coventry planners in their work on the electoral rolls, which we have been using until now in this paper.

Most people with local knowledge of Coventry will be aware that the inner city area to the north of the city centre (the Foleshill "railway triangle") is the main area of settlement for the various South Asian groups. Our studies of the electoral wards of Foleshill and St. Michaels fill out the detail of the pattern of settlement for the Panjabi (Gurmukhi Script), Gujarati and Panjabi (Urdu Script) language groups (see maps 3-6).

Our detailed studies of the Coventry electoral roll showed how the distribution is constrained by the type of housing available. For example in the polling districts of St Michaels ward, which we knew to be dominated by municipally owned high rise blocks of flats, there were less than 10% South Asian names on the roll, while in adjacent polling districts containing substantial numbers of old terraced houses in private ownership, the proportion of South Asian names rose as high as 30 or 40%. Furthermore, in the outlying parts of the city which we knew to be modern council estates, South Asian names were practically absent. In fact there were probably more South Asian names in the owner occupier belt of the southern suburbs of Coventry than in the council estates.

So far as the distribution of the separate South Asian language groups in Coventry is concerned, we discovered in our work on the electoral rolls some interesting patterns of settlement. Firstly it emerged that the largest concentration of Panjabi (U.S.) households is in three or four P.D.s around the Eagle Street Mosque. In this area the housing is some of the cheapest in Coventry with generally low rateable values, but it is probably the presence of a strong network of Muslim compatriots, who speak the same language and are probably related through the same areas of origin and village-kin network, that confirms their preference for the locality.

There is also a small cluster of this language group settled in a single polling district on the western edge of the city centre. The rest of the Panjabi (U.S.) language group shows a settlement pattern in line with the general South Asian population, that is with the major settlement in the Foleshill ward and a few scattered households in other parts of the city.

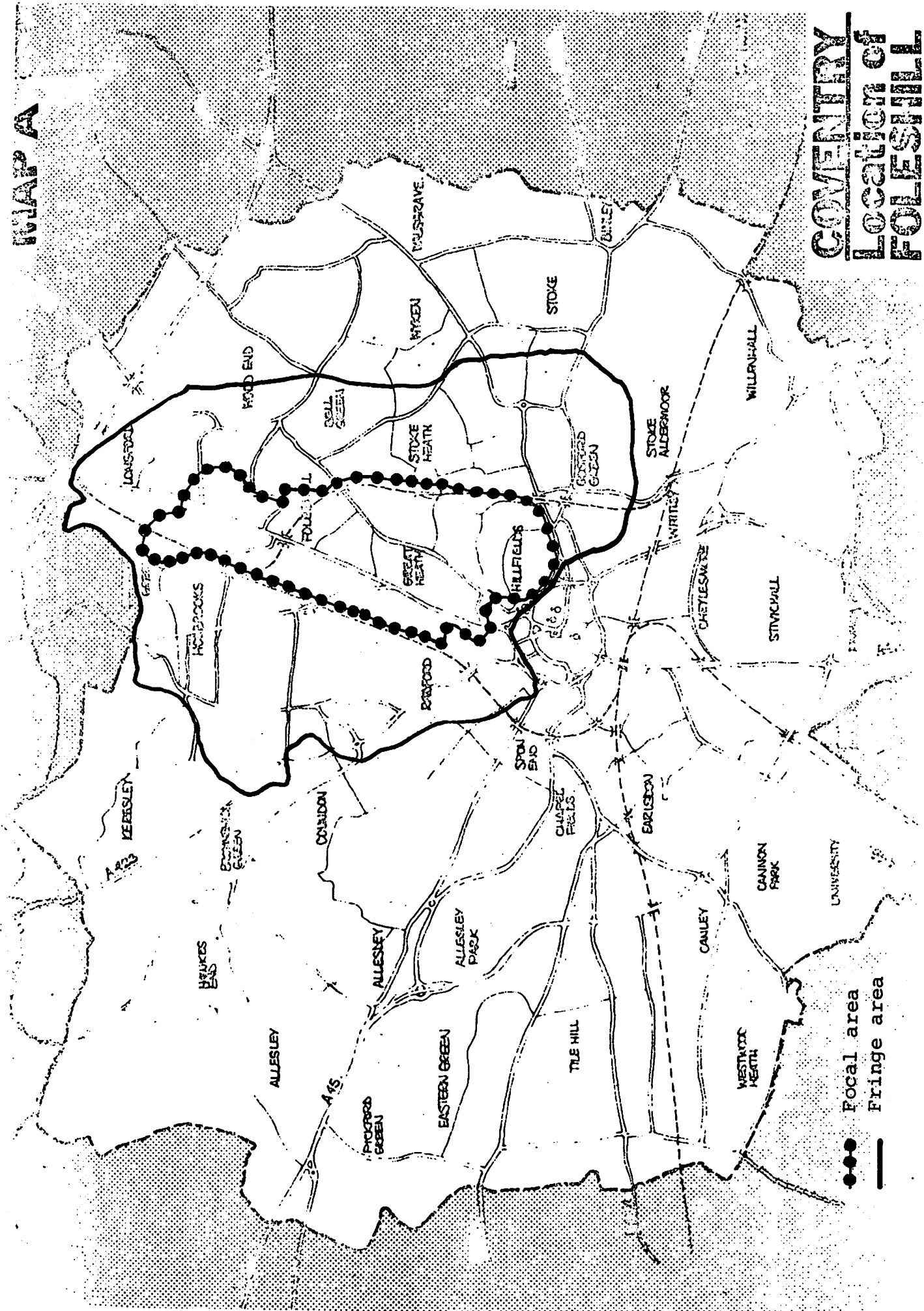
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The Panjabi (G.S.) language group, which is by far the largest of the South Asian communities, is concentrated in the north of the city. The focal neighbourhood is in the polling districts at the northern end of the "railway triangle" where up to 39 % of the neighbourhood's population belong to this group. 35 % of the group live in zone one at the northern end of the triangle, another 16% in the Hillfields area (St Michaels ward) at its southern end, while a further 30% live in a ring of four or five wards immediately surrounding it. The final 18% live scattered through the rest of the city. Not surprisingly, almost all the gurdhwaras and other community resources for this community are to be found in the first two zones.

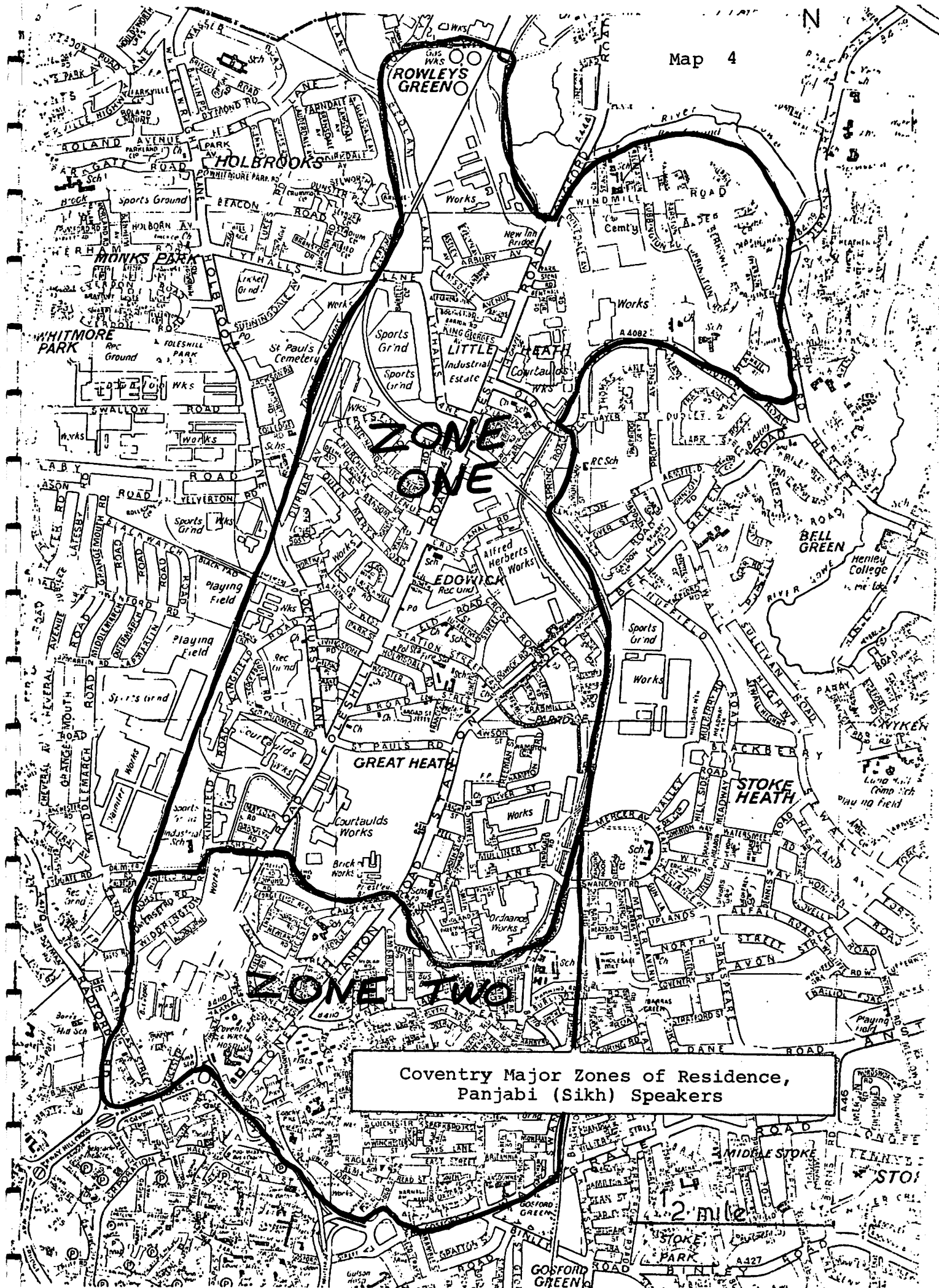
Map 3 Main Area of South Asian Residence, Coventry

MAP A

COVENTRY
LOCATION OF
FOLESHILL

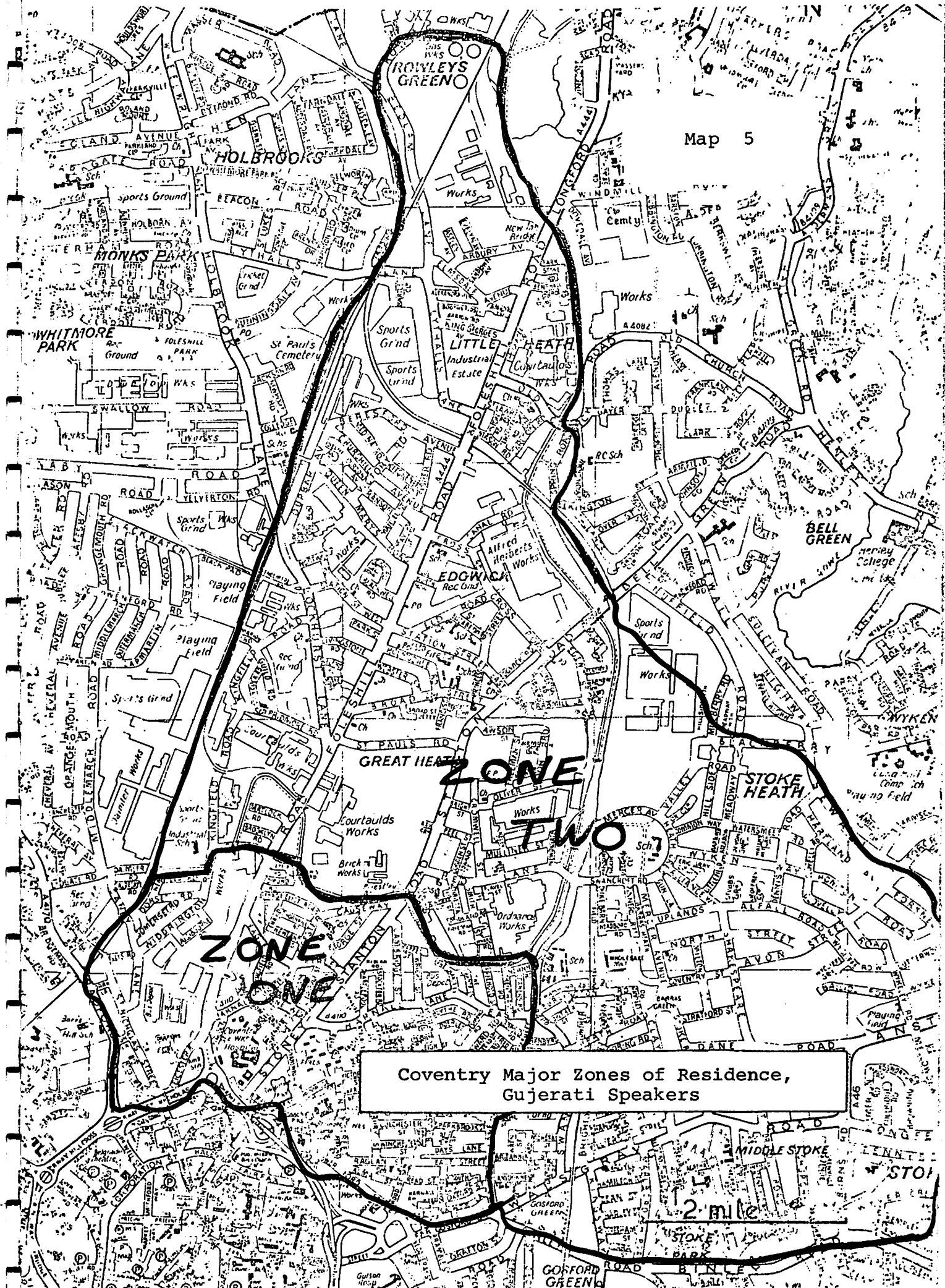


●●● Focal area
 - - - Fringe area



Coventry Major Zones of Residence,
Panjabi (Sikh) Speakers

1/2 mile

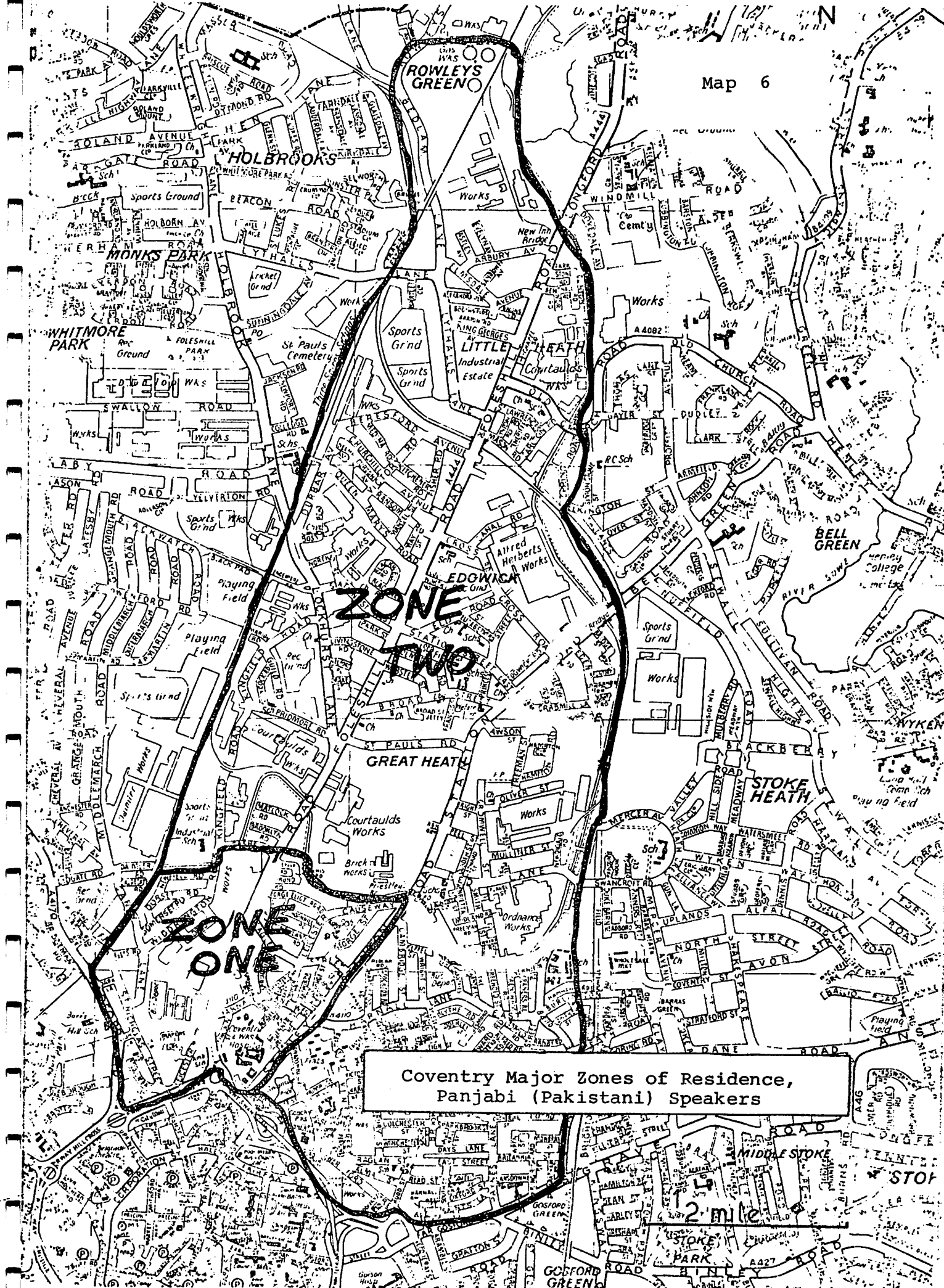


Map 5

ZONE ONE
ZONE TWO

Coventry Major Zones of Residence,
Gujerati Speakers

1/2 mile



Coventry Major Zones of Residence, Panjabi (Pakistani) Speakers

2 mile

The Gujerati community's focal neighbourhood is the Hillfields area and has extensions in a more dispersed settlement pattern to the east rather than the north. Our central zone, containing 31% of the Gujerati names, more or less fills the base of the "railway triangle". The secondary zone spreads out to the east from Hillfields into Stoke and north to include the rest of the "railway triangle". Here live 38% of the Gujerati population, mixed in with the Panjabis. The rest of the Gujerati population is scattered round the outlying parts of the city. The Hindu temple, where most of the Gujeratis worship, is found in Zone One.

One important feature of the Gujerati population is that there is a small Gujerati Muslim community. They are clustered very closely together in a couple of streets in the Hillfields area. We established this almost by chance, because our names analysis of the electoral rolls led us to include these households in the Panjabi (U.S.) sample, only for our interviewers to discover that they, and most of their neighbours, were Gujerati-speaking. There is a small "madrassa" school for this community in one of the streets.

Any attempt to explain these distributions must centre on the way they relate to the type of housing in the railway triangle area. It is largely a residential area, though there are some industrial plants and other centres of employment (such as bus depots) within it and nearby. The housing is largely late 19th Century or early 20th Century terraced houses, with varying levels of amenity. The vast majority of such houses fall at the cheaper end of the owner occupied market, and this is one factor that made them attractive for South Asians and enabled them to buy rather than rent. There have been a number of studies of housing patterns for ethnic minorities, e.g. Banton (1979), Flett (1972), Rex & Tomlinson (1979), and all point to the conclusion that South Asians are under-represented in the public housing sector and over-represented in the older owner occupied terraces of inner city areas. The settlement pattern in Coventry for all South Asian groups broadly fits this pattern. All South Asians tend to be subject to the constraints of the housing market which tend to limit their access to the public sector and the upper end of the owner occupied sector.

However, when it comes to the settlement pattern for the different language groups in Coventry it would appear that some measure of choice comes into play. The fact that particular small neighbourhoods attract high concentrations of Gujeratis, while others with very similar types of housing are predominantly settled by Panjabis, suggests that many families express a preference to stay close to fellow members of the linguistic, religious or caste group. It seems reasonable to believe that the pattern of settlement on the neighbourhood level came about largely as a result of the pattern of chain migration to Britain and the use of established personal and community networks in the process of settlement.

Thus the structural discrimination inherent in the housing market works together with the pattern of chain migration and kinship network to produce a high degree of residential segregation. The detailed settlement patterns cannot be simply explained in terms

of the type and cost of housing involved. The fact that it is possible to identify clear focal neighbourhoods for each language group in Coventry suggests that some measure of neighbourhood preference is at work within the wider socio-economic constraints.

b) BRADFORD

Similar work was carried out by the LMP in Bradford in an attempt to establish sampling universes for the Panjabi (U.S.) and Panjabi (G.S.) Adult Language Use Surveys. In Bradford we found it impossible to arrange the use of a computerised method of scanning the Electoral Rolls, largely because of time pressure. Therefore the estimates we have for the adult population of the two groups are not so detailed and probably not so accurate.

However, a number of Bradford-based researchers had already used a manual names analysis method on the Electoral Roll for demographic work. Raminder Singh (1979²) had looked at the Sikh (more or less = Panjabi (G.S.) population), while the local Community Relations Council had produced figures for the major religious groups, and the City's Corporate Policy Unit had used these, together with statistics from the Area Health Authority and from the education department, in making demographic projections for the South Asian community. (Bradford M.D. Council (1979))

The geography of linguistic groups in Bradford is more complicated than that of Coventry for a number of reasons. Firstly, Bradford's hilly topography has meant that land use patterns are somewhat constrained and residential areas tend to have fixed natural boundaries in a way that Coventry's do not. On the other hand Coventry has a fairly well-defined city limit where the suburbs meet green fields, while Bradford Metropolitan District has been developed outwards in ribbons up the valleys, and merges via a string of small urban villages into the the west Yorks conurbation. The administrative boundary of the metropolitan district includes within it some isolated moorland farms and hills, while on its eastern side it is a purely administrative line, dividing suburban Bradford from suburban Leeds in an arbitrary fashion.

Nonetheless, the distribution pattern of the various linguistic groups is broadly similar to that in Coventry, with the South Asian language communities largely concentrated in the older terraced, owner-occupied housing near the city centre. There are a increasing number of prosperous families living in the suburbs and outlying villages and a very small number of South Asian households on the peripheral municipal estates.

There is a similar pattern of focal zones for the separate language groups. The Panjabi (G.S.) group is concentrated in the eastern part of the city, with 70% of the Sikh names on the Electoral Roll being found in our Zone One (and nearly 40% of them in the single ward of Bradford Moor), 25% of them live in another five wards to the west and south west of the city, with only 5% distributed around the remaining area.

It should be borne in mind that the number of Sikh names on the register is put at only 2459 and that even in Bradford Moor only

8.6% of the electorate bears a Sikh name, accounting for only 43% of the Asian names within the ward. It is also necessary to remember that the counting of Sikh names does not correlate 100% with the language group. In particular Panjabi-speaking Hindus, of which there are an unknown number in Bradford, are excluded. We are indebted to Raminder Singh for these figures which he calculated from the 1977-78 voters lists. (Singh: 1979)

For the Panjabi (U.S.) group it has not been possible to obtain official or accurate language based estimates of the population in Bradford. However, if we take the figures produced by the Bradford CRC for South Asian names as a whole (20,894 South Asian names in the 3 constituencies making up Bradford city), take off the approx 2500 Sikhs and around the same figure to allow for Gujaratis and other minority language groups such as Bengali and Hindi speakers, we would estimate that there are at least 15,000 Muslim Pakistani adults living in Bradford. The majority of these are from the Mirpur district of the Pakistani part of Kashmir and will use the Mirpuri dialect of Panjabi as their home language. Most of the others will originate from other districts of the Pakistani Punjab such as Jhelum, Sialkot, Multan and Campbellour and will speak the appropriate local dialects. Apart from the Pathan community, who will be speakers of Pushtu, almost all the Pakistanis in Bradford will therefore fall into the language group we have labelled "Punjabi (U.S.)".

Although LMP was unable to do a detailed analysis of the distribution of this group across Bradford, we do have some indication of the distribution of the Panjabi (U.S.) community across the city. Our first source is the CRC breakdowns (Bradford Community Relations Council: 1980-81) for all Asian names on the register by polling district, and the second is an analysis undertaken by officers of Bradford M.D. Council on their computer of some of the commonest Muslim names on the Bradford Electoral Roll. Assuming these names (KHAN, ALI, BIBI, BEGUM, etc.) in the Bradford setting will be mostly Pakistanis and that the majority of them will belong to the language group we have defined as Panjabi (U.S.) and that they are equally distributed across the community, then we can make some estimates about the proportions of this language group around the city. Of course, many of these names can be found in other language groups (for example KHAN is more typically Pushtu/Pathan than Panjabi) since they are common to many sections of the Muslim community. However, in Bradford, where local knowledge (later backed up by our schools census work) suggests that about two thirds of the South Asian population is Panjabi (U.S.) speaking and since we have already looked at the distribution of the Panjabi (G.S.) population, such name analysis, though crude, is still quite helpful.

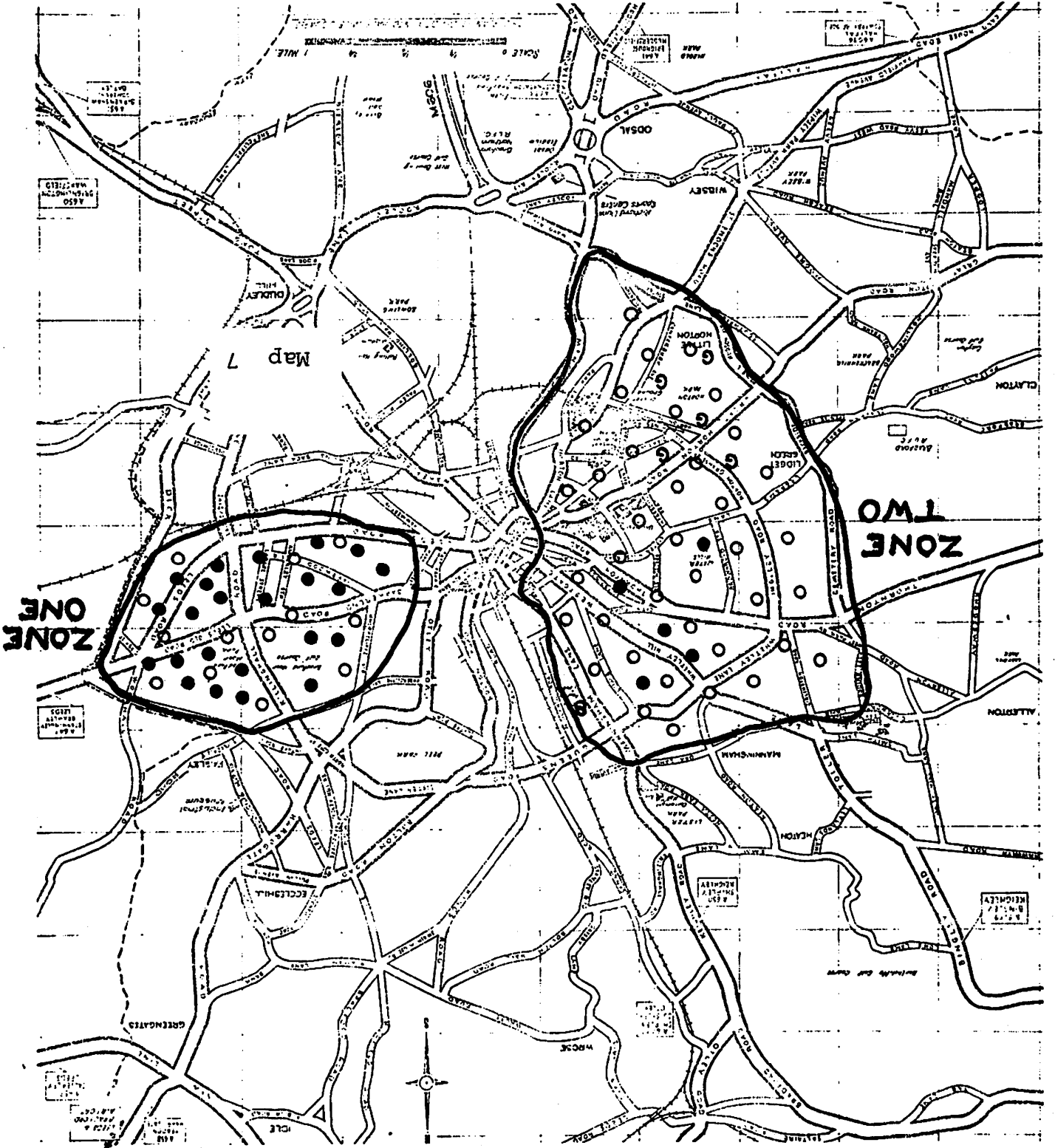
In outline our findings were that the distribution of the Panjabi (U.S.) language group complemented and overlapped with that of the Panjabi (G.S.) group, in that the focal area was the western and south western side of town where 65% of the language group lived in our Zone Two, while 18% lived in Zone One on the eastern side. The remaining 17% were scattered around the outlying areas. The key wards for this group are Manningham and University where 32% and 44% of the electorate have South Asian names, with less than 4% of those names being Sikh. (Singh: 1979)

Other South Asian language groups we became aware of (but did not conduct detailed survey work with) include communities of Gujarati, Bengali and Pushtu speakers. By accident or local knowledge we came upon a number of geographical clusters of each of these groups, which again highlight the importance of close ethnic networks choosing to live close together in a small number of adjoining streets. Gujaratis, for example, have settled in Bradford in considerable numbers (maybe 1000-plus families) and their focal area seems to be the Great Horton ward.

It became apparent during the course of the survey fieldwork that the population turnover in certain neighbourhoods of inner city Bradford is rapid. This is particularly so in certain polling districts within the University and Manningham wards. Many of the worst areas of housing are currently being demolished prior to redevelopment and many South Asian families have been recently rehoused. This means that the pattern of distribution reported here has already changed significantly.

The overall distribution of the South Asian language communities in Bradford, as in Coventry, tends to confirm the suggestion that it is the constraint of limited access to the housing market, coupled with a desire to remain part of a localised ethnic network, that determines the settlement pattern of these linguistic minority groups within the city to which they have been drawn by employment opportunities.

Residential Pattern of South Asian Language Speakers, Bradford (city)



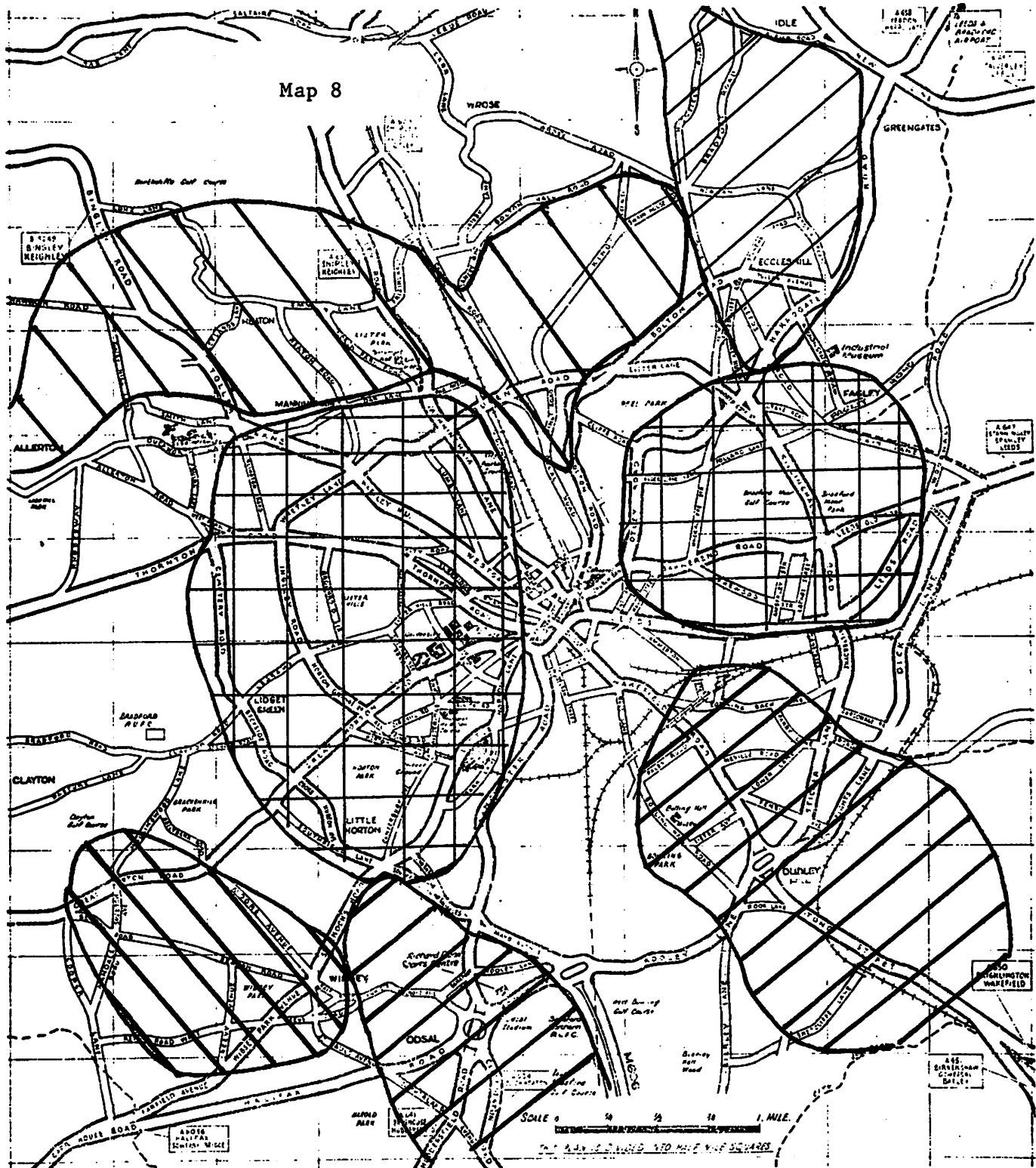
● Panjabi (Sikh) speakers

○ Panjabi (Pakistani) speakers

○ Gujarati speakers

● Bengali speakers

Housing Zones, Bradford (city)



Municipal housing estates

Older terraces, mostly owner occupied

Better quality owner occupied

c) London

The third city in which we undertook Adult Language Use Survey work was London. Only two South Asian groups were involved; Bengalis and Gujeratis. (We did however use similar demographic techniques with Greek, Turkish and Chinese names on the Electoral Rolls.) The Bengalis we surveyed came from two London boroughs (Tower Hamlets and Haringey) and the Gujeratis from Haringey alone.

We decided to limit ourselves to these two boroughs because of the huge size of London and because of good contacts within each of them. Tower Hamlets was chosen because it is well known as the focal area for the Bengali community and Haringey because we were already committed to work there with other language groups and with other kinds of survey work. In fact, if we had been looking for the focal area of the Gujerati community in London we should undoubtedly have chosen the borough of Brent (with Wandsworth or Newham as second choice).

For the Gujeratis in Haringey we undertook the usual scanning of the Electoral Roll for Gujerati names. We discovered approximately 250 households with Hindu Gujerati names and 50 with Muslim Gujerati ones in a strategically selected set of electoral wards which covered about half the borough and included a representative mix of housing types. Because of this partial scanning it is not easy to make detailed estimates of the total borough population of Gujeratis, or about the proportions of their local distribution. However, the main focal areas for this group would appear to be in the north central part (Bowes Park) and south eastern part (Noel Park through to Bruce Grove). The Muslim Gujeratis show a different sort of distribution, with a small number (mainly Ismailis) living in the prosperous Muswell Hill area and a few in council estates in Coleraine ward. However, for Gujeratis as a whole the main factor about their distribution is that most live in low- to mid-priced owner-occupied terraced or semi-detached housing. The standard of their housing (and certainly the prices) appears to be somewhat higher than that of Gujeratis living in Coventry. We would suggest, but have little firm evidence, that the Gujerati community in London as a whole is relatively dispersed due to the high proportion of Gujerati families (particularly those from East Africa) who have taken over corner shops. However, there are focal areas for Gujeratis in Brent, Newham and Wandsworth.

Bengali Speakers in London

For Bengalis we decided to concentrate our efforts on the East London borough of Tower Hamlets, on the basis of estimates from the community that about 75% of all Bengali speakers in London live there. However, we felt it would be useful to draw a contrasting stratum of our sample from another area, since the East End community is made up almost entirely of Bangladeshi Muslims, mainly from the Sylhet district and therefore not truly representative of the Bengali-speaking community as a whole. We chose to look for the rest of our sample in Haringey, since we were already working there, and were told that there were Bengali speakers in fair numbers living in the borough. However, we were unable to do any detailed demographic work using name analysis of

the Electoral Roll in either Tower Hamlets or Haringey. Nonetheless, we did discover some other sources of statistics on which we felt able to base our sampling strategy and the following comments on the distribution of the Bengalis in London.

The "local knowledge" estimate for Haringey suggests there may be something over 100 Bengali-speaking families living there, but with our attempts at electoral roll work we only managed to pick out 90 households with fairly definite Bengali (Hindu or Muslim) names. When interviewers visited these addresses it turned out that about a third had moved or were not Bengali speakers. Thus it appears that for calculating the demography of Bengalis, in Haringey at least, the name analysis method is of very limited use. As our Schools Language Survey (see below) identified 200+ Bengali-speaking children it is likely that there are more than 100 Bengali households in the borough. It is worth noting that a large proportion of the Bengali speakers in Haringey are Indian Hindus rather than Bangladeshi Muslims and include a fair number of people with non-manual and professional occupations.

The Bangladeshi community in Tower Hamlets, on the other hand, is predominantly Muslim, poor and less educated and working in bad conditions in the garment making trade (or unemployed). In addition, the Bengali community in the East End experiences much hostility from the local English community, which comes to the surface in numerous acts of racial harassment and violence and is articulated at its most extreme by groups such as the National Front. Because of the economic, housing and serious "race relations" situation in which they live it has been very difficult for the authorities to compile accurate statistics or even electoral registers. The informal estimate of the Bengali population in Tower Hamlets that is commonly quoted by community workers in the area stands at about 9,000 or 10,000 for the Bengali population as a whole.

There are two sources which suggest that such a figure is not unreasonable. A schools language census conducted by the Inner London Education Authority in 1978 (ILEA: 1979) suggested there were 1852 Bengali-speaking children in schools in Tower Hamlets. The more recent ILEA census conducted in February 1981 (ILEA: 1982) suggests that this figure has almost doubled in two years. Although part of the increase may be due to changes in the wording of the ILEA census questions, the major reason is that large numbers of wives and children have arrived from Bangladesh in recent years to be reunited with the male members of their families.

Secondly, a local housing survey of the Spitalfields ward conducted in 1980 which interviewed 20% of all households (SHAPRS: 1981) suggests that the Bangladeshi population of the ward is around 3000 (of whom only 900 are female). Given the size of the single ward in comparison with the borough, together with the distribution of Bengali-speaking children by primary school as suggested by the ILEA census (1979), it is reasonable to assume that Spitalfields ward contains about a third of the borough's Bengali-speaking households.

within the borough as a whole the focal area for Bangladeshi community is Brick Lane in the Spitalfields ward. The housing survey mentioned above claims that 47% of the ward's population

are Bengali. Furthermore, it is known that a high proportion of the remaining residents of the ward are living in institutions, mainly hostels for nurses, medical students and the homeless (a century after William Booth founded the Salvation Army the East End is still the country's major centre for vagrants). An examination of the voters' list for the area was carried out with a view to looking at the local distribution of Muslim names which, in the context of Tower Hamlets, were very likely to be Bengali speakers. It was very evident that in some streets or blocks of flats the proportion of Bengali names was as high as 90%, while in nearby blocks less than one name in a hundred was Bengali.

From the ILEA schools census figures, backed up by some rapid work on the Electoral Rolls and local knowledge, it is clear that the remainder of the distribution of Bengalis in Tower Hamlets is concentrated in housing to the south of Spitalfields ward and stretching out eastwards along the line of the Commercial Road. There is a significant concentration of Bengali names in the Shadwell area, beyond which there is a considerable thinning out of the distribution. In the north eastern half of the borough there are practically no Bengali names, with the exception of a small but significant cluster which is found on a single council estate in Bromley by Bow.

The explanation behind this pattern of distribution is somewhat different from that for the South Asian language groups in Coventry and Bradford. For in Tower Hamlets as a whole there is 2% or less of owner occupied housing and the Bengalis do not by and large live in it. Most of the housing is owned municipally, either by the Greater London Council or the Tower Hamlets Borough Council. The Spitalfields survey suggests that Bengalis are underrepresented in council housing (they form 28% of council tenants as against 47% of the ward population). There is also strong evidence to suggest that Bengalis are the object of discrimination by the housing authorities in that they are over represented in the oldest and worst types of council property.

The rest of the housing in Spitalfields ward is privately rented and has very poor amenities. The pattern of distribution of the Bangladeshis can be explained by the fact that, when the community was developing, the predominantly male population settled in some of the worst of this privately rented housing. When, in the process of redevelopment, some of this housing was condemned and demolished the local authority had a legal duty to rehouse any tenants. Thus an increasing proportion of Bengali speakers came to live in council property, and an allocations policy which was, in effect if not intentionally, racist determined the rest.

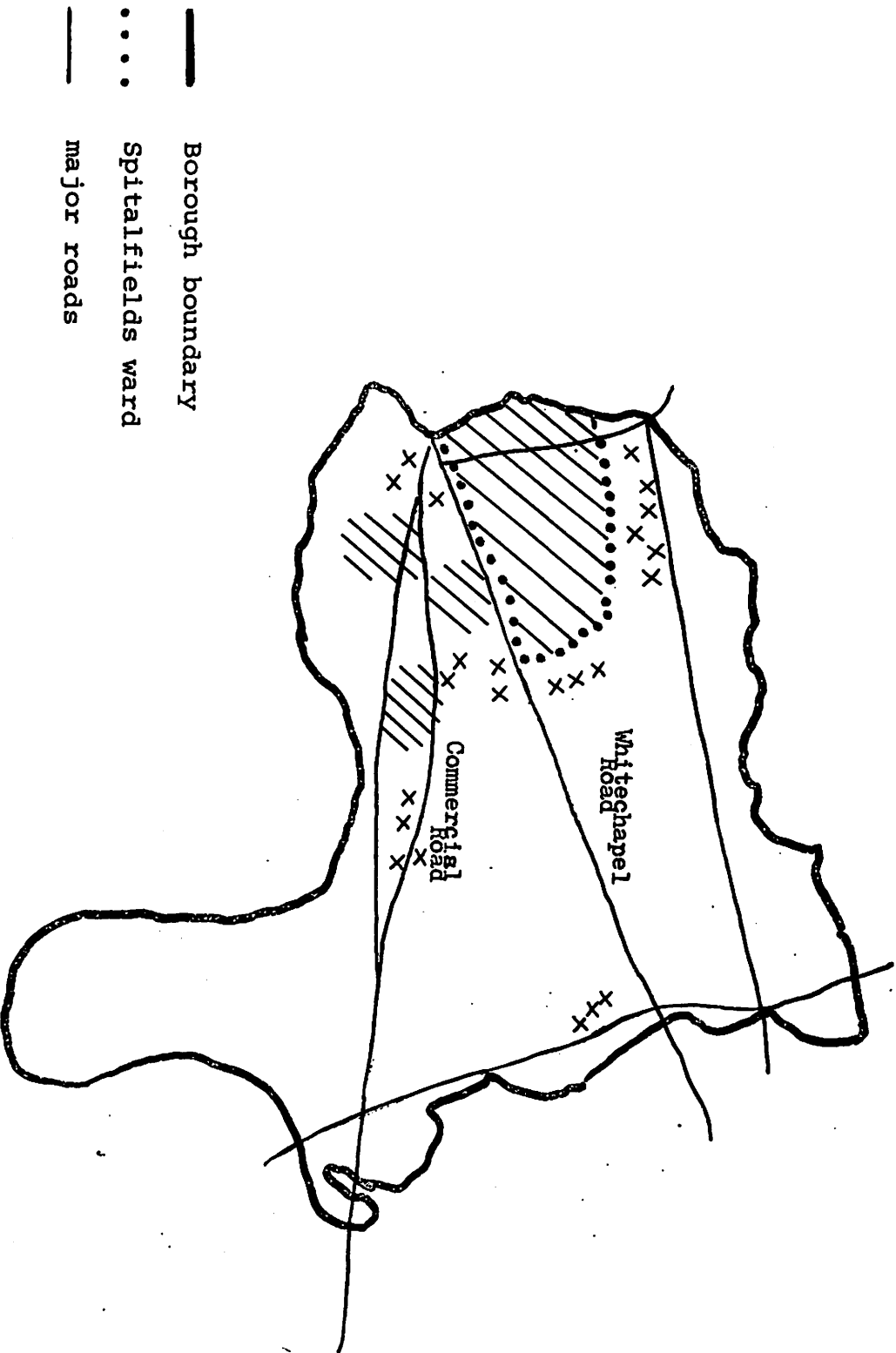
Furthermore, because of racist attacks, the Bangladeshi community resisted the policy of dispersal throughout the borough, with matters coming to a head in the "ghettos" dispute of 1978 (SHAPRS: 1981). Since that time the housing authorities have had a de facto policy of "safe estates" and do not attempt to persuade Bangladeshis to accept housing outside of them. The result is a very high level of ethnic segregation and encapsulation which, when linked to the generally low levels of income and education, further worsens the generally poor life chances for the Bengali speaking people of the East End.

1 mile (approx)

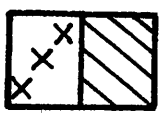
London Borough of Tower Hamlets
(ILEA Division 5)

Map 9

Residential Pattern of Bengali Speakers in East London



- Borough boundary
- Spitalfields ward
- major roads



concentrations
scattered

4. AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO LANGUAGE DEMOGRAPHY:
THE SCHOOLS LANGUAGE SURVEY

The method of searching electoral registers outlined above has a number of advantages when looking at the local distribution of ethnic names, but is only a rough and ready method of making estimates of language group populations. It is only valid when used for language groups that are, for the most part, registered to vote (or listed in some other way) that have a set of distinctive ethnic names that are good predictors of language use (at least for a given neighbourhood) and when the general population, including children, can be calculated from the number of adults. Of course these conditions are rarely, if ever, completely satisfied.

One important additional limitation of the names analysis method is that it can only provide information about the adult population. For educational purposes, and in cases where the age profile of a minority population is biased towards young people, as is the case with most South Asian language groups in England, information about the school age population is crucial. As one of its tasks LMP designed a Schools Language Survey, or more precisely, census, which could be used throughout the schools of any local authority which wanted to know more about the language skills and resources commanded by its pupils. This survey was first used in the Peterborough division of Cambridgeshire, then in Coventry, Bradford and Haringey (and is currently being used in a number of other LEAs). We will now proceed to describe how we approached the task, the difficulties we faced and the kind of results obtained, in connection with South Asian language speakers.

As mentioned above the ILEA had already carried out a language census in their schools in 1978 (ILEA: 1979) and this had produced some very useful and interesting results. For example, there were 128 languages mentioned as first languages, and 10.5% of children were reported as speaking a language other than English at home. In some respects this census served as a starting point from which we developed our own survey strategy.

The ILEA survey could be criticised on a number of methodological points, two of which we attempted to remedy. In the first place, ILEA had asked teachers to note down for their class the number of pupils speaking each language (other than English) without necessarily putting any questions to the pupils, thus relying on the teachers' knowledge of their pupils and of the languages of the world. Secondly, the question was set in the context of other questions about lack of English skills, which we felt conveyed to the teacher an idea that the home language was of secondary importance, and indeed that bilingualism was a problem rather than a valuable linguistic resource.

In the Schools Language Survey (SLS) we asked each class teacher to approach every pupil in the group (individually) and ask the following questions:

"Do you yourself ever speak any language at home apart from English?"

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If the pupil answered "yes" the teacher was then to ask:

- "what is the name of that language?"
- "Can you read that language?"
- "Can you write that language?"

The teacher was given some guidance as to interpreting and recording answers and encouraged to ask exploratory questions in order to clarify the name of the language, and whether the pupil used or knew further languages. In the notes column explanations about country of origin, languages of literacy or names of dialects could be inserted. (see Figure One)

We discovered that this approach generated an interesting series of problems. They can be grouped at four different levels; administrative, perceptual, classificatory (coding) and interpretive. We need to examine each of these before going on to present any results.

a) Administrative problems

The administrative problems of any large scale survey are always immense, and are greatly increased when the collection and recording of data is conducted by people who may not be very interested in, or have the time to appreciate, the purposes of the survey. Often teachers in British schools find any extra paperwork onerous and may perceive research to be only marginally relevant to their day to day work. Very few non-specialist teachers could be expected to have a detailed appreciation of the linguistic and educational issues involved in the "mother tongue issue". There are also many justifiable political sensitivities about collecting statistics, particularly when they are related, or perceived to be related, to the sensitive issues of race relations and multiculturalism.

The result of this is that everywhere a lengthy process of negotiation and discussion with teachers was carried out, and even where LMP had the full support of the LEA, to the extent that completion of the survey returns was firmly requested by the Chief Education Officer, the rate of response was always marginally less than the 100% which might be expected from a census type approach. Some headteachers still declined to do the survey, others, quite reasonably, pleaded special circumstances such as classes of very young, deaf or educationally sub normal children, while a few others, especially in schools where bilingual children were unlikely to be found, simply returned incomplete forms with a note saying, "there are none of these children in this school", or something similar, sometimes leaving the impression that nobody had taken the trouble to ask.

However, in general the response rate was acceptably high and the majority of teachers had taken trouble to discover the information required. A minority had obviously been fascinated and provided us with extensive further information. For many schools the whole exercise was seen as a valuable learning experience for pupils and teachers alike.

The second major administrative problem was lack of consistency in data collection. Naturally, all reasonable steps were taken in order to encourage a consistent approach. The procedure to be

used was specified on the form itself, though we have no way of being sure whether every teacher read or understood it. Briefing sessions for interested teachers were arranged, and in each city where SLS was used a small team (usually of specialist or advisory language teachers) were briefed in further detail in order to staff a telephone advisory service during the week in which the survey was carried out. Nonetheless we are not in a position to claim that the data was collected in a totally consistent and controlled fashion.

b) Perceptual problems

Problems relating to the perception of the meaning of the questions provided one of the biggest difficulties in interpreting the data from SLS. In essence these concern the definition and naming of language categories. Researchers, teachers and children will tend to have different levels of awareness about language boundaries and categories and the differences within these groups will also be great. In the process of communicating the nature of the data collection task, members of the three groups will undoubtedly pass on some of their perceptions to the respondents and back to the researchers. But the transmission process will be only partial and the researchers will be left wondering what some respondents meant when they reported the use of a given named language. No matter how much redundancy is built into the system problems will remain.

One such problem involves the naming of South Asian languages and the diverse categorisation systems that operate in England. The LMP team would tend at the "surface" level to use a set of language names which corresponds to the set of official languages recognised by the governments of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Thus we would talk in terms of "Gujerati, Bengali, Urdu, Hindi, Panjabi, etc." However, as researchers with a background in sociolinguistics, we are well aware of the nature of the dialect continuum in the subcontinent, of geographically, socially and contextually conditioned variation and of the role of language names as symbolic markers of political and ethnic loyalty. Therefore, we would want to ask many further questions about language use. On the other hand, given the obvious limitations of a census type approach, we would be very satisfied to receive returns which gave all answers unambiguously categorised in terms of the official languages recognised in the subcontinent. And if, in addition, we received some further information about major regional varieties such as Kutchi, Mirpuri and Sylhetti that would be a bonus.

The perceptions of the "customers" for our research findings also had an influence on the survey design. Since education authorities, and the linguistic minority communities themselves, are concerned with education in the standard, national or community language, details of vernacular varieties, or the linguistic details of the "mother tongue" dialects, were not immediately required for educational planning as opposed to curriculum design. For these purposes, statistics of the number of potential pupils in each language learning group would be sufficient. If our SLS could gather data which would fit these categories it would satisfy the needs of the users of our data for a language census of the conventional type. Unfortunately,

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as we shall see, for some language communities this sort of demography was almost impossible.

The perception of teachers about the languages of the sub-continent varies enormously, from those who have studied some linguistics and are well read about South Asia, to the vast majority, who receive most of what they know about language and the ethnic minority groups in Britain from the mass media and their contacts in daily life. For the majority the major ethnic category will be "ASIAN", (this category, in the British context, includes only people with South Asian ancestry and is for the most part applied on the basis of skin colour). While they will be aware that "ASIANS" come from different countries, and most likely that "ASIANS" speak a number of different languages, few will know much about the languages themselves.

So for many teachers the process of using SLS, of reading our notes about languages and asking for further information from their pupils, colleagues, libraries or members of the local community, will involve opening themselves to a wide range of new influences on their system of linguistic and ethnic classification. Thus, in some cases at least, the boundaries of linguistic categories for our "interviewers" may be fluid and transient at the moment they fill in the form. Many other teachers will complete the survey in a much more routine fashion, using their already fixed pattern of ethnic and linguistic categories.

One further complication in understanding the perceptions of linguistic categories is that schools and communities in different parts of the country will tend to hold localised perceptions of language categories. These arise because of the prominence and significance of different languages in different neighbourhoods. Much depends on the effectiveness and type of multicultural education policy in the different Local Education Authorities and, in particular, on the level of awareness that has been achieved by teacher training. Different schools within the same authority will also show widely different understandings.

For example, in relation to the Bengali language, a teacher in a school in a village in Cambridgeshire may happen to have a single Bengali-speaking pupil whose father is the local GP. She might know him as "Dr Chatterjee, the Indian doctor" and if her pupil is not very clear about the name of his language would enter the word "Indian" on the form and leave it at that. A teacher in inner city Coventry on the other hand might have two Bengali-speaking pupils, the daughter of a doctor from Calcutta and the son of a factory worker whose family come from a village in Sylhet. Because of the situation in Coventry, where multiculturalism and minority languages have been generally recognised as an important part of the educational agenda, and where the major language community is usually defined as the Panjabi Sikhs, the teacher will probably realise that his two pupils speak a language which is not Panjabi, obtain the name BENGALI and enter it as such on the SLS form for both pupils with no further comment.

Suppose now a teacher in Tower Hamlets has a class containing 15 Bengali speakers. Suppose too she has a special interest in

language and multicultural education and is well aware that most of the children she teaches come from families originating in Sylhet, but that a few come from Dacca. She may well investigate the matter for each child and spell out on the form in some detail that one child is Sylhetti-speaking, another speaks standard Bengali and a third can easily switch between the two varieties. However, suppose her colleague in the next room is an older Bengali speaker with strong prescriptive attitudes about the importance of "pure" Bengali. He may have a similar class in which a dozen pupils speak a language which he knows is Sylhetti, a "corrupt" form of the language which no self-respecting Bangladeshi should speak. He may then, in order to make his point, enter them as BENGALI.

Similar considerations might well occur in the case of Gujerati-speaking areas. Some teachers in the London Borough of Brent for example (where the major minority language is Gujerati) would make a consistent distinction between Kutchi and Gujerati, others in Bradford or Peterborough would tend not to see it as relevant (even where they had heard of Kutchi).

This type of problem reaches its most difficult in the case of Panjabi. The problems of collecting language data in the census in the Hindi, Urdu Panjabi regions of India is well documented. (Khumbhandani: 1979) We have already outlined some of the difficulties when defining our categories of Panjabi (G.S.) and Panjabi (U.S.). But inevitably not everybody uses these categories, with the result that interpretation of the data becomes even more difficult.

The difficulty of the terms Panjabi and Urdu can be illustrated with reference to Coventry and Bradford. In Coventry, where the majority community is Panjabi and Sikh (in our terms Panjabi (G.S.)), the common perception amongst teachers is that PANJABI is the language spoken by Sikhs. Members of the Muslim community are distinct from the Sikhs and must therefore speak a different language. Since, when one asks Pakistani Muslims living in Coventry about their language, they will usually say they speak URDU (meaning the national language in which most Pakistanis are educated, will write if they can write at all and want their children to be educated in) the teacher will tend to write down "URDU". Even if the teacher is linguistically aware, and probes to discover whether the speaker actually uses a variety of Panjabi and which dialect it is, there is a good chance that the respondent will react strongly against being called a Panjabi speaker, since he will want to maintain the ethnic boundary between his community and the Sikhs. Since in Coventry not many teachers are aware of the details of the language background of the relatively small number of pupils of Pakistani origin, most are likely to accept the term Urdu at face value.

In Bradford however, where the Panjabi (U.S.) community is the majority group, it appears that teachers as a whole have become far more aware of the fact that the majority of their Muslim pupils will speak some dialect of Panjabi. Some teachers will even have a sound working knowledge of the geography of the different districts in which their pupils' families originated. In addition the Muslim community in Bradford, being larger and better established in proportion to the Sikhs than in Coventry, will tend to be more willing to make distinctions within the

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Pakistani community, rather than simply to express their Muslim and national solidarity with loyalty to the national language (Urdu). The result is that, in general, the SLS returns for Bradford will report as Panjabi speakers many children who in Coventry might have been reported as Urdu speakers, despite their very similar linguistic repertoires. In addition the returns for our Panjabi (U.S.) category are likely to be more detailed and explicit about the dialect used, and the use of Urdu as a language of literacy, than the Coventry ones. (See Table 3 and Tables 5-7)

The problem of course is that teachers will tend to be inconsistent as a group, and even as individuals, in how they apply the categories. See the sample SLS return (Figure 1). The result of this is that there is bound to be uncertainty in the figures reported for the Panjabi (U.S. and G.S.) communities within and between the cities. The best we can hope to present is maximum and minimum estimates for each group, with many qualifications as to how to interpret them. In a purely linguistic investigation this may not matter very much, since there is probably a fair degree of mutual intelligibility between the varieties. But from the point of view of sociological, political or educational discussion it would be folly to ignore the symbolic value of the terms "Urdu" and "Punjabi" for the Muslim and Sikh communities in different parts of England.

The categories used by teachers in different settings for defining languages may be complex, but those used by children of South Asian origin in England are even more interesting. As awareness of ethnic identity develops in a child, language may come to play an important part as a marker of ethnic affiliation. However, as children are introduced at more or less the same time to notions of race, nationality and culture, and meet different sets of ethnic categories in the family, teachers and peer group, it is not surprising if their systems of linguistic categories are ill-defined. It is from the peer group that complications beyond those already discussed are usually derived.

In some inner city schools many of the monolingual "English" pupils hold strongly negative views about the South Asian groups around them. These prejudices derive from values transmitted by the media and the local "white" indigenous community, which often feels "oppressed and powerless" in the face of a complex capitalist society and impersonal state bureaucracy. Frequently the older established community transfers its resentment onto "outsiders" in a process of "scapegoating". Often the categories which define the outgroup are unexamined; it is simply that "we" are British, white, English, nominal Church of England and working class, while "they" are foreign, coloured, Pakistani, Muslim (or possibly Indian, Hindu, etc). "English" teenagers, when asked what LANGUAGES their classmates speak have been known to use all of the terms given below and do not generally distinguish (in the first place at least) between language, "race", nationality and religion.

PAKKI, PAKISTANI, INDIAN, HINDU, MUSLIM, PUNJAB, ASIAN,
and many which are far more derogatory than these.

This data comes from personal observation and from the results of our Secondary Pupils' Survey which aimed, amongst other things,

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to pick up perceptions of majority group monolinguals. (The main purpose of SPS was to investigate levels of language skills, and patterns of language use, by means of a self completion questionnaire, administered to a sample of multilingual and monolingual students in secondary schools.)

It is not surprising that, in this general context, some South Asian children prefer to deny the fact that they speak any language apart from English, some use the same terminology for their languages as their English monolingual peers and others seem unable to give a clear answer to the question about language name. It is a common experience to ask a South Asian child informally about the language used in the home and to be told "we speak Indian" or even "we speak Pakki". Usually it is possible, with older children at least, to take the matter further and establish the name of the regional language, but in this case the child is quite likely to be amazed that a "white" person knows or cares enough about the language not to accept the first answer without question.

Please put this first question individually to *all* pupils in your class:--

Question 1. 'DO YOU YOURSELF EVER SPEAK ANY LANGUAGE AT HOME APART FROM ENGLISH?'

Do not enter on this form pupils who answer 'no' to this first question. But for each pupil who answers 'yes', ask, and record answers to the following questions. (Where even a modest skill is claimed, treat this as a positive answer.)

Question 2. 'WHAT IS THE NAME OF THAT LANGUAGE?'

Question 3 'CAN YOU READ THAT LANGUAGE?'

Question 4 'CAN YOU WRITE THAT LANGUAGE?'

TO RECORD ANSWERS, PLEASE PUT A CIRCLE AROUND FIGURE 1 or 2 AS APPROPRIATE

Pupils Answering 'yes' to Question 1		Question 2 Name of Language Spoken	Question 3 Can Pupil Read it?	Question 4 Can Pupil Write it?	Notes on Dialect, Language of Literacy, Country, etc.	LEAVE THIS COLUMN BLANK PLEASE					
28-29	30		31	32		X 33	A 34-36	B 37-39	C 40-42	D 43-45	E 46-48
					TEACHER NO. 1						
01	boy - 1 girl - 2	Panjabi Hindi	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2							
02	boy - 1 girl - 2	Serbo Croat	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2							
03	boy - 1 girl - 2	Hindi Panjabi	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2							
04	boy - 1 girl - 2	Bengali	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2							
05	boy - 1 girl - 2	Urdu	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2							
06	boy - 1 girl - 2	Urdu	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2							
07	boy - 1 girl - 2	Panjabi	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2							
08	boy - 1 girl - 2		yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	TEACHER NO. 2						
09	boy - 1 girl - 2	Panjabi	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	speaks Urdu also (Indian)						
10	boy - 1 girl - 2	Panjabi	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	reads some Urdu (Mirpuri)						
11	boy - 1 girl - 2	Urdu	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	speaks Panjabi also						
12	boy - 1 girl - 2	Panjabi	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	(Mirpuri)						
13	boy - 1 girl - 2	Gujerate	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	Kutchi						
14	boy - 1 girl - 2	Panjabi	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	reads and writes Urdu at home						
15	boy - 1 girl - 2	Panjabi Urdu	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	Mirpuri						
16	boy - 1 girl - 2	Panjabi Urdu	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	Hinko						
17	boy - 1 girl - 2	Panjabi	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	Gurmukhi						
18	boy - 1 girl - 2	Panjabi	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	Also writes Urdu and Arabic						
19	boy - 1 girl - 2	Bengali	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	Sylhetti						
20	boy - 1 girl - 2	Chinese	yes - 1 no - 2	yes - 1 no - 2	Speaks Cantonese also Hakka						

c) Classificatory (coding) problems

The problems of perceptions of language categories naturally lead on to major problems in coding the data. We were committed to a coding scheme based on the following principles:

- a) It should preserve the maximum amount of differentiation between different answers when the data was transferred to machine readable format.
- b) It should enable us to group together as unambiguously as possible codings which represented the "languages" defined by the researchers so that eventually every child could be assigned to one of these "language groups".

Nonetheless, we still encountered many problems which called for difficult judgements rather than straightforward coding.

Given the vast range of descriptions possible for children from the same language community, and the wide range of language labels possible, it was necessary to construct a complex coding book for the language variables. When the rules set out there were applied rigorously, the task was for the most part relatively simple, and the coding was unambiguous. However the sheer size of the coding book, and the fact that new language labels which cropped up in the course of the coding process required the assignment of new codes, meant that errors could sometimes creep in undetected. The coding book was expanded and developed as SLS was used in new areas, at the cost of a small amount of inconsistency, as some cities needed more detailed codings for certain language groups than did others. The final product, however, was a clear scheme of coding which could cope with the vast majority of potentially difficult cases.

One further problem was in our method of dealing with second languages and languages of literacy. Since the preliminary analysis of SLS concentrated exclusively on the data coded in column A, for first spoken language, we had to choose between making interpretations at the coding stage, based on additional information about second languages or languages of literacy (coded in the other columns), or waiting till a later stage to correlate information about the additional languages by complex computer analysis. In principle we decided on the latter course, though it was inevitable that in certain difficult cases coders would be influenced in their judgments about the coding of first language by what they saw in the additional information columns.

For example, if Panjabi was entered for Question 2 and the "yesses" were ringed in the literacy questions, and a comment like "writes Urdu and Arabic" was entered, interpretation would be very difficult. Most likely it would mean that the pupil was in our terms "a speaker of Panjabi, probably of Pakistani origin, who uses Urdu as a literacy language (and most probably cannot write Panjabi in either script) and has some knowledge of Quranic Arabic." However, we cannot claim that this is the case with anything approaching certainty.

It is even more difficult in cases where the entry is less precise, e.g.

Panjabi no no also Urdu

In such cases there is no way of knowing whether the speaker can write and/or speak Urdu or whether s/he is just uncertain about the name of the language spoken in the home.

d) Interpretation problems

Even after the coding problems are dealt with there remains a basic question of interpretation of the processed data. Although our questions clearly ask for a minimal level of skills to be reported in both spoken and written languages, it is clear that our definition of "speaker" leaves many questions unanswered. The figures we are able to report on the basis of SLS are gathered by self-report, mediated through teachers and collected in an uncontrolled set of situations. Thus we cannot claim that they report accurately the number of speakers of South Asian languages in the schools of each local authority, let alone the level of linguistic skills or details of language behaviour of these speakers.

The limitations of self-report language data are well attested in the literature. Most census data is collected from adults so it is likely that the problems arising there apply a fortiori to work with children and adolescents, such as our SLS. Analysis of the Canadian census has shown how self-report of "language spoken" varies over the years more with the political and inter-ethnic climate than with demographic changes or language shift. (De Vries: 1975) Thus German was much under-reported during the war. Most language census data shows similar patterns with strong language loyalty leading to high figures, and feelings of linguistic shame or insecurity to low ones. (De Vries: 1978) Similar findings are reported from Indian census data showing the growth in the number of speakers of Hindi and various minority languages in response to language politics. (Khubchandani: 1979; Das Gupta: 1970) Mobbs (1981) reports the problems associated with language naming in the case of Hindi and Urdu in Britain. Until we are able to gather and analyse other forms of data, collected in situations other than a classroom census (which we hope eventually to do) we cannot be certain about how such factors affect our present SLS data.

The following tables give some indication of the numbers of South Asian language speakers in the schools of four local authorities where SLS was carried out in 1980 or 1981. Table 3 gives some indication of the range of language labels given in the four areas, and the especially detailed information about additional languages from Bradford is given in Tables 5-7. Table 8 gives our best estimates for the major South Asian language groups in the schools of the four LEAs.

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TABLE 3

SCHOOLS LANGUAGE SURVEY: SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGE LABELS REPORTED

LEA	PETERBOROUGH	HARINGEY	COVENTRY	BRADFORD
Languages				
PUSTU		5		395
PATHAN				15
PUSHTU Afghanistan				1
PUSHTU HINKO				3
HINDI	36	71	194	171
HINDI AFRICAN	2		1	1
Unkn dial. Hindi	1			1
HINDUSTANI			1	1
HINDI GURMUKHI			1	2
URDU	419	143	476	2571
URDU AFRICA	8	1		2
URDU PAKISTANI		20	1	76
URDU INDIA			2	
Unkwn.dial.URDU	1			1
URDU MAURITIUS		1		2
Urdu Hinko				1
URDU AFGHANISTAN				1
URDU MIRPURI				15
URDU TANGRI				1
URDU AZAD KASHMIR				15
URDU JALAM				3
URDU LAHLPUR				1
URDU GUJERATI				1
URDU GUJERATI PANJABI				1
URDU ZAGODH				3
URDU RAWALPINDI				2
URDU JALUNDER				2
MACATI PAKISTAN				1
HINDU PANJABI		1	1	4
PANJABI	458	116	3,408	4477
MIRPURI		11	143	1897
PANJABI GURMUKHI	29	23	634	558
PANJABI PAKISTANI	90	5	22	332
PANJABI AFRICAN	1	3	6	5
PANJABI SIKH	1		18	17
PANJABI HINKO			1	10
PANJABI MIRPURI-Urdu			2	18
MIXED URDU PANJABI		1		91
PANJABI HAZARA				1
PANJABI DINA				1
PANJABI CAMBELPUR				1
PANJABI AZAD KASHMIR				11
PANJABI LAHORE				1
PANJABI W. PAKISTAN				43

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BRADFORD	COVENTRY	HARINGEY	PETERBOROUGH	LANGUAGES
355	131	202	4	BENGALI
1		15	2	BANGLADESH
1				KARI KUNA
1				SINGAROLI
1				NOOR KALI
85	6	10		SYLHETTI
1014	1093	412	223	GJERATI AFRICA
106	14	39	27	UGANDAN INDIAN
1				BROACH
1				MEMON
1				GJERATI INDIA
46	1			GJERATI w. Swahili
77	20	10	7	KUTCHI
2				KUTCHI AFRICAN
1	5	22	4	SINGHALESE
9	4	11	10	TAMIL
		3		SRI LANKAN TAMIL
5	1	4		MARATHI
		7		KONKANI
1		3		KOKI INDIA
1		1		SINDHI
1		1		NEPALI
1		1		ORIYA
		1		RAJASTHANI
1		2		TELGU
5		3	1	MALAYALAM
		1		KANNADA
		1		"MANDA" (Mundar?)
		1		"THLU" (Tulu?)
	1			Other Indic unsec.
30	44	15	34	"INDIAN"
6	1	1	1	"INDIA"
8	7	3	1	"HINDU"
3	1			PANJABI OR HINDI
67	2	2	4	"PAKISTANI"
57	2		12	"PAKISTAN"
			1	"WEST PAKISTAN"
	1		1	"EAST PAKISTAN"
		1		"UGANDAN INDIAN"
		1		"INDIAN MUSLIM"
	1			"MUSLIM"
12,657	6267	1175	1397	Total South Asian languages

In this table some data is missing, therefore totals do not tally with the following tables.

NB

LEA

Bradford SLS: Additional languages reported

On the basis of information coded in column A (name of the first spoken language) alone it was exceedingly difficult to assign some pupils to a language group or community. This was particularly so in the case of pupils reporting use of one or more of the languages or dialects within the Panjabi/Urdu/Hindi complex. However, from this information on first spoken language (reported) it was possible, by recoding to merge most of the many detailed codings given into a smaller number of probable language groupings as follows.

TABLE 4Bradford SLS: Preliminary language groupings

PUSHTU (including terms such as Pathan)	415
HINDI	176
BENGALI (including Sylhetti)	449
GUJERATI (including Kutchi)	1250
URDU	2701
PANJABI (U.S)	2419
PANJABI (G.S)	588
PAKISTANI	124
"PANJABI" (unspecified)	4480
"INDIAN", etc.	44
Other Asian languages	<u>30</u>
Total South Asian languages	12,676

The term URDU included all cases where "Urdu" appeared alone in column A, with or without some further geographical specification.

The group "PANJABI (U.S)" brought together all cases which could be identified on the basis of information in column A as belonging to the Panjabi Urdu script (i.e. Pakistani Panjabi) community. Such dialect terms as "Mirpuri" and specifications such as "Panjabi (Muslim from Pakistan)" and "Panjabi/Urdu" were included in this group.

The group "PANJABI (G.S.)" brought together all cases which could be identified on the basis of language in column A as likely to belong to the Panjabi Gurmukhi script (i.e. Indian Panjabi) community.

The grouping "PAKISTANI" included all those cases where only a vague geographical term which could be identified as in Pakistan was coded.

The "PANJABI" grouping consisted of the remaining cases, where only the label "Panjabi" was coded in column A.

Further information about second languages, and languages of literacy within these language groups, would enable a large number of pupils to be assigned to the major language communities. Therefore second languages and languages of literacy were cross-tabulated for these groups with the following results.

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NB In the following tables information is given for only those pupils who were recorded as being speakers of the major South Asian languages found in Bradford. The bilingual children reporting less frequent South Asian languages in column A, or recorded with indefinite terms, may also use other languages as languages of literacy or second spoken languages. It should also be remembered that there are about 2000 bilingual children recorded in the Bradford SLS who speak non-South Asian languages at home.

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TABLE 5Bradford SLS: language of literacy reported

Of n pupils giving as Language A	x	reported as lit. lang.
415	PUSHTU	73 Urdu 2 Panjabi 6 Arabic
176	HINDI	4 urdu 3 panjabi 1 mirpuri
449	BENGALI	15 urdu 3 Sylheti 1 Arabic
1250	GUJERATI	3 Hindi 54 Urdu 4 Arabic
2701	URDU	2 Pushtu 1 Hindi 25 Panjabi 5 Mirpuri 1 Panjabi (G.S.) 2 Gujerati 16 Arabic
2419	PANJABI (U.S.)	1 Russian 662 URDU* 3 Arabic 2 Kutchi
588	PANJABI (G.S.)	16 Urdu 1 Arabic
124	PAKISTANI	7 Urdu
4480	"PANJABI"	1102 Urdu 19 Hindi 21 Arabic 3 Reliq. Panjabi 1 Swahili 1 Mirpuri

TABLE 6

Bradford SLS: reported second languages of literacy

Of n pupils giving as Lang.A.		x reported as 2nd lit.lang.	
415	PUSHTU	2	Urdu
		1	Panjabi
		1	Mirpuri
		84	Arabic (etc.)
176	HINDI	3	Arabic
449	BENGALI	5	Urdu
		55	Arabic (etc.)
1250	GUJERATI	75	Arabic
		1	Kutchi
		1	Relig. Panjabi
		1	Creole!!
2701	URDU	1	Farsi
		2	Pushtu
		1	Gujerati
		329	Arabic (etc.)
		1	Telugu
2419	PANJABI (U.S.)	1	Sanskrit
		1	Urdu
		1	Bengali
		564	Arabic (etc.)
588	PANJABI (G.S.)	32	Arabic
124	PAKISTANI	6	Arabic
4180	"PANJABI"	1	Pushtu
		1	Hindi
		5	Urdu
		1	Telugu
		566	Arabic

TABLE 7

Bradford SLS: second spoken languages reported

Of n pupils	giving as Lang A	x reported speaking also	
415	PUSHTU	17	Urdu
		22	Panjabi
176	HINDI	8	Panjabi
		3	Gujerati
		1	Marathi
449	BENGALI	1	Hindi
		1	Urdu
		3	Panjabi
		5	Sylhetti
		1	Arabic
1250	GUJERATI	7	Hindi
		8	Urdu
		3	Panjabi
		1	Sylheti
		3	Kutchi
		1	Mauritian
		1	Pakistani
2701	URDU	1	German
		1	Italian
		15	Pushtu
		1	Sanskrit
		1	Hindi
		135	"PANJABI"
		54	Panjabi (U.S.)
		5	Panjabi (G.S.)
		5	Gujerati
		1	Singhalese
		1	Kukni
		16	Arabic
		1	Swahili
2419	PANJABI (U.S.)	3	Pushtu
		53	Urdu
		3	Gujerati
588	PANJABI (G.S.)	6	Hindi
		5	Urdu
		4	Panjabi (U.S.)
124	PAKISTANI	2	Urdu
		1	Panjabi
4480	"PANJABI"	13	Pushtu
		21	Hindi
		261	Urdu
		3	Gujerati
		7	Arabic
		2	Swahili
		1	Fijian

Third Spoken Languages

Only 34 pupils who gave a South Asian language in col A claimed a third spoken language. 16 of these were from the "URDU" group and 10 from the "PANJABI" group and in all language groups these third languages represented a fairly wide range of the South Asian languages and dialects.

Distinguishing between the "Panjabi" speakers

Although the tables given above do not completely clarify the picture (and it should be noted that since the literacy and 2nd spoken language figures are independent we may have some pupils appearing in both sets of tables) they do enable us to see that of the 4480 pupils in the "problem" category of "Panjabi" for language A, a large number of them (at least 1100) most likely belong to the Panjabi (U.S.) community. The evidence suggesting this is the fact that so many cases have reported Urdu as a language of literacy or second spoken language. On the other hand there are far fewer cases within the "Panjabi" category which can be assigned to the Panjabi (G.S.) language group on the basis of some clue appearing in the 2nd language or literacy languages columns.

There remain therefore 3000-plus cases in the "Panjabi" group on which we have no evidence within the SLS data on which to assign them to the (U.S.) or (G.S.) community.

There is no easy way to tackle the problem, but one route using external data is to work on the basis of Electoral Roll figures as given by Raminder Singh (1979). According to his calculations on the 1978 Electoral Roll 2549 Sikh names appeared. The nearest figures for the total of Asian names are for the following year, when 16,786 were found by the CRC (1980-1). This would suggest that about 14% of the South Asian population are Sikhs.

Extrapolating onto the SLS figures 14% of the 12,676 total would make the estimate for Panjabi (G.S.) speakers in the population covered by SLS in schools approximately 1775. This estimate would probably be low since it would not include Panjabi Hindus who use Gurmukhi Script. But this would be offset by the fact that the Pakistani population seems to have been growing faster than the Sikh one in the last few years. Supposing the figure of 1775 Panjabi (G.S.) is correct, the remaining children in the complex would be about 8574 in number and assignable to our Panjabi (U.S.) group. This would make 66.3% or exactly two thirds of the total South Asian population in Bradford schools. The remaining 20% of South Asian language speakers in Bradford schools would be those reported as speakers of Gujerati, Bengali, Pushtu and other languages.

In principle the figures for Coventry could be treated in the same way. In our electoral roll work we had found that approximately 8000 out of 12000 electors with distinctive South Asian names had names which were coded as Panjabi (G.S.). This figure of two thirds tallies very closely with the figure of 4066

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Panjabi speakers (65% of South Asian language speakers reported in SLS). Despite reservations and uncertainties caused by the problem of name analysis for Panjabi-speaking Hindus on the Coventry voters' list, these figures tend to support the suggestion that in Coventry few teachers or pupils used the language label "Panjabi" without further specification to refer to the language spoken by children from the Panjabi (U.S.) community. The labels URDU and MIRPURI account for the vast majority of the 651 children assigned to the Panjabi (U.S.) group. The fact that this amounts to 10% of the total number of South Asian speakers reported matches the fact that just under 10% of the South Asian names on the Electoral Roll were placed in the Muslim/Urdu category by the name analysis. However, the uncertainty over language assignments of Muslim names makes it dangerous to draw too many conclusions at this point.

The general conclusion is that the problem of language labelling between the two Panjabi groups is almost exclusive to Bradford, where particular local circumstances (such as the range of language groups living locally, the fact that the largest and best known local minority group is Pakistani and the high level of some teachers' awareness about their language situation) have produced an unusually varied and detailed set of language categories in the responses to SLS.

In Table 8 below an attempt has been made to group the SLS figures for the four LEAs into the major South Asian language groups. The special method for Bradford was outlined above. In the other areas the groupings for the most part are much closer to the original data in that a very high proportion of the Panjabi (G.S.) group derives from labels such as "Panjabi" and its variants and the majority of the Panjabi (U.S.) group derives from the labels "Urdu" or "Mirpuri" and their variants. Thus, in strict terms, the figures are not comparable, though we would argue that it is impossible to get better comparable estimates for the two Panjabi groups from the data which is available.

TABLE 8

Schools population of South Asian language speakers
in four local authorities

The multifarious codings are grouped together into major language communities. The details of the grouping method depend on specific local factors as outlined above.

	Peterborough	Haringey	Coventry	Bradford
Pushtu	-	5 (.4%)	-	415 (3.2%)
Gujerati	257 (19%)	451 (39%)	1119 (18%)	1250 (9.9%)
Bengali	7 (.5%)	227 (19%)	137 (2%)	449 (3.5%)
Hindi	38 (3%)	71 (6%)	197 (3%)	176 (1.4%)
Panjabi(U.S.)	535 (39%)	184 (15%)	651 (10%)	<u>8547</u> (66.7%)
Panjabi(G.S.)	489 (35%)	141 (12%)	4066 (65%)	<u>1775</u> (14%)
Other Indian Languages	15 (1%)	61 (5%)	12 (.02%)	30 (.2%)
Indefinite terms	36 (3%)	21 (2%)	54 (.1%)	44 (.3%)
Totals	1377	1161	7397	12676

The underlined figures are estimates made on procedures outlined below. Therefore the Bradford total does not tally precisely.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper has shown that, despite the methodological difficulties and the scarcity of previous statistics relevant to the languages of the South Asian minorities in England, it is possible to study with some degree of success the demography and distribution of the South Asian languages, at least at a local level. The use of distinctive ethnic names from the electoral register gives a reasonable indication of the numbers of adults from the different language backgrounds and their residential patterns. However, the estimates can only be approximate, in that accuracy is limited by the quality of registration procedures and the indistinctiveness as regards language of many names. These procedures could be repeated at regular intervals over time as the basis of a longitudinal study. Indeed the planning department in Coventry and the CRC in Bradford have already undertaken the exercise over a number of years. However, as a long term guide to patterns of language shift such techniques are totally useless, since it is evident that over a period of twenty or more years the number of ethnically distinctive names on a register may well increase, though the actual number of speakers of the minority languages may fall dramatically.

The paper has shown how such a study demands various complex and time-consuming techniques, which could be dangerously misleading and politically indefensible if used without sensitivity and close knowledge of the local populations. The purposes for which "ethnic" statistics are collected and used are already an area of much debate. (Runnymede Trust/Radical Statistics Group: 1981) Therefore the purposes and implications of any large scale demographic study using name analysis or other methods need to be carefully assessed before work commences.

Our alternative method of undertaking a language census has been proved feasible in a schools setting, where the data collected is of great value for educationalists and parents concerned with the provision of "mother tongue tuition". Repeat surveys on a regular basis within a Local Authority would be extremely valuable, both as a check on the reliability of the instrument and to enable LEAs to monitor the pattern of language shift within their schools, both over the years and within individual age cohorts. However, there are limitations in this method, both in its reliance on self-report and in the intrinsic complexity of the multilingual situation in which many South Asian language speakers in Britain live. Our experience with SLS has identified a number of crucial methodological issues which would have to be faced if it was ever proposed to introduce a language question in the national census for England.

Combining the two methods which we have used allows us to make some estimates for the total (adult and child) population of major language groups in cities like Bradford. However, since our figures are only approximations, further external sources of data would be needed to make our estimates more precise. In any case, a mere "head counting" approach, on its own, is not the main aim of the Linguistic Minorities Project, since such statistics would inevitably oversimplify both the linguistic and social issues relevant to minority languages. The more

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interesting and relevant task is to come to a fuller understanding of the range of linguistic resources, loyalties and behaviour in the South Asian and other linguistic minority groups in England.

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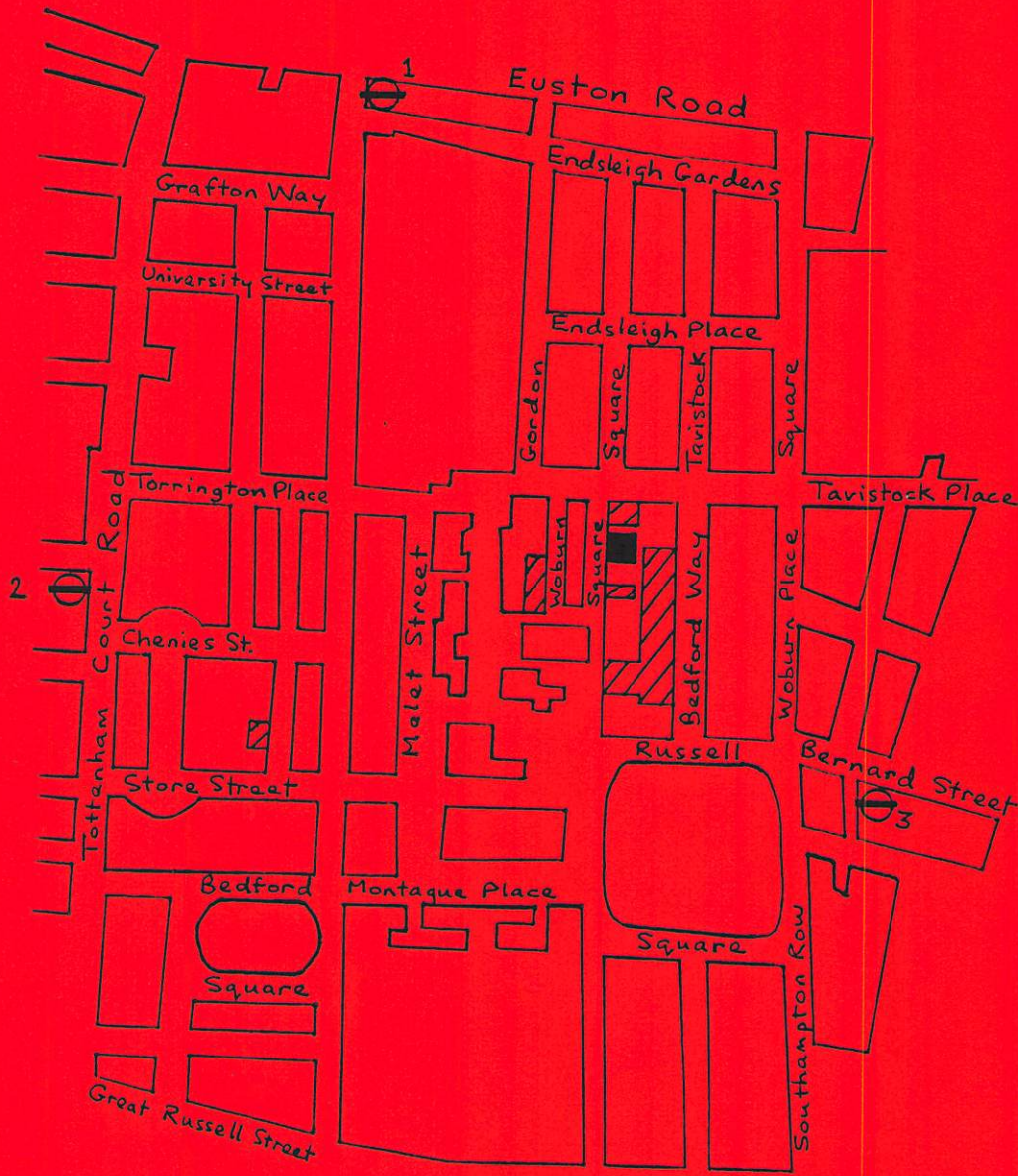
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