

# Housing, integration and segregation: *A rapid literature review*

March 2018



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March 2018

# Acknowledgements

We would like to express our thanks to all those who provided advice and guidance in the development of this work. We would like to thank the four advisors for their initial input in identifying key themes and literatures to explore, and in particular to Professor David Robinson in this regard. Special thanks also go to MHCLG staff in providing feedback on initial drafts, and specifically Maria O'Beirne, for her constructive advice and support throughout the project. Sarah Ward at CRESR also played a key role in preparing the report for publication. Responsibility for the content of this report rests with the report authors.

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# 1. Introduction

To provide an updated picture of the role of housing in shaping processes of integration and segregation, this rapid literature review was commissioned by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) in 2017. This has formed part of the work to develop the government's Integrated Communities Green Paper.

By way of background, in 2015 the UK government initiated a review of 'integration and opportunity in isolated and deprived communities' (DCLG, 2016, p.5). Led by Dame Louise Casey, this review (henceforth the Casey Review), represented a renewed interest in these issues, following concerted efforts to build 'community cohesion' after the civil disturbances of 2001 (Home Office, 2001; LGA, 2002; CI&C, 2007). In the official assessment of these latter events (Home Office, 2001), a distinctive role was attributed to housing, which was deemed to be '...a major determinant of the shape of communities... [and] on the relationship between different races and cultures' (Home Office, 2001, p.42). Whilst the Casey Review does not afford such a significant role to housing in its analysis, it does highlight instances where housing policies and practices can counter processes of integration. It also issues a dedicated recommendation to 'understand how housing and regeneration policies could improve or inhibit integration locally' (DCLG, 2016, p.169).

To assist with our current understanding of the role of housing in shaping processes of integration and segregation, this rapid literature review was undertaken on behalf of MHCLG. Within short timescales and resource constraints the review has been guided by five specific questions:

- i. What impact does housing policy have on integration or segregation amongst communities from different backgrounds and, within this context, the management of housing and its impact on integration?
- ii. Where residential segregation does exist, what steps can local authorities, housing providers or others take to prevent, reduce or mitigate the negative effects of this?
- iii. In areas of high diversity and/or high levels of immigration, what can local authorities, housing providers or others do to reduce feelings of unfairness or resentment over pressures on and allocation of housing resources?
- iv. What are the key indicators/measures of segregation and desegregation at national/local level which could be used to track change?
- v. What are the main gaps in evidence that should be addressed?

The report begins by seeking a clearer understanding of the core concepts guiding this review; integration and segregation. The approach to identifying and reviewing evidence is then discussed, along with reflections on the evidence reviewed. Section four then summarises the evidence from reviewed sources, responding to each of the five review questions in turn. The report concludes with some brief reflections on this exercise and key considerations for policymaking in this field.

## 2. Key concepts

### 2.1. Integration

Despite becoming a part of the policymaking lexicon, 'integration' has taken on different meanings for different audiences, with little signs of a settled definition (Castles *et al*, 2001; Ager and Strang, 2008). Various questions and debates have therefore emerged. For instance, should integration be defined by assimilation of a

minority group, who accept the values and norms of the majority community, or is a plurality of values and norms possible, or even desirable? Other debates have centred on defining integration in terms of interaction, with the former seemingly predicated on the latter. Hence, an integrated and cohesive community is defined in spatial and residential terms, where people from different backgrounds interact with one another. Conversely, where there is no interaction in physical spaces, it is suggested that people can live 'parallel lives' (Home Office, 2001, p.9).

However, this understanding of integration, with its focus on residential proximity and interaction, has been questioned (Robinson, 2005; Robinson and Pearce, 2009; McGarrigle and Kearns, 2009). Whilst the potential of 'contact' to increase tolerance and improve inter-group relations has been extensively reviewed and evidenced (Crisp *et al*, 2012; Kaufmann and Harris, 2015), this may not be a simple solution to the issues faced. Firstly, evidence suggests that important conditions are required in the nature of the contact before attitudinal changes take place, and these are often absent. Contact must be premised on conditions such as individuals working cooperatively toward a shared goal, in a system in which integration is institutionally sanctioned (Dixon and Durrheim, 2003; Robinson, 2005). Secondly, evidence suggests neighbourhood preferences may powerfully disrupt - or become operational before - any positive changes in attitude and behaviour take place (Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002). Despite this, scholars such as Kaufmann (2015) have highlighted how in wards where minorities constitute half (or more) of the local population, there are major differences in the attitudes of the white population, for instance, in their reduced demands for lower levels of immigration.

There are various conceptual frameworks which provide some definitional precision around these issues. Historic efforts in the UK (Castles *et al*, 2002) have identified linkages between integration and various other concepts, including assimilation, acculturation and incorporation. Whilst helping ensure greater conceptual clarity, such conceptual work often lacks the means to be operationalised. The European Council have undertaken extensive work to define a number of measures and indicators of integration, stressing the need to measure variations in access to labour markets, housing, education and social services, along with participation in political processes and treatment in judicial systems (Council of Europe, 2002). Ager and Strang's (2004) work is also valuable in this regard, and has sought to show how integration of refugees can be understood and assessed, through a set of indicators for integration (see appendix 1 for their model). This stresses the components required for integration, ranging from specific rights and entitlements through to access to key resources, such as housing. In sum, there does not appear to be an authoritative method of defining and measuring integration, though certain approaches might help refine current efforts.

Clear connections have been made between the notion of integration and 'community cohesion', a concept which came to prominence in the UK in the 2000s. Understanding the meaning of 'cohesion' is therefore important. Varying definitions of community cohesion have been offered and Cantle (2017) charts the emergence of these, beginning with those which highlight; the presence of a common vision and a sense of belonging among all people in an area; the appreciation and valuing of people different backgrounds; ensuring similar life opportunities; and the existence of strong and positive relationships between people from different backgrounds in various settings and institutions (LGA, 2002). Revisions and amendments to this conception have been made to encompass issues of trust, rights and responsibilities. Other definitions have emerged which highlight additional components of a cohesive community, including the need for stable social order, reduced wealth disparities and attachments to place (Kearns and Forrest, 2000).



While relevant to the current review, these conceptual debates cannot be resolved here. The purpose of this literature review is to inform the Integrated Communities Green paper by exploring the role of housing in enabling or preventing integration, and hence we have worked with the definition of integration that emerged from, and is set out in, the Casey Review of 2016. Hence 'integration' is taken to mean; 'the extent to which people from all backgrounds can get on – with each other, and in enjoying and respecting the benefits that the United Kingdom has to offer' (DCLG, 2016, p.20).

## **2.2. Segregation**

The notion of 'segregation' would appear equally contested, with the concept often used to describe undesirable residential patterns, isolation or separation of a group. The term residential 'clustering' is often used to describe certain settlement patterns, as this term is seen to carry fewer connotations than 'segregation'. The Home Office review following the 2001 disturbances defined segregation as 'The extent to which different groups are geographically, economically and socially separated' (Home Office, 2001, p.59). It is suggested that segregation can appear in different spheres beyond housing, for instance, in schooling, employment, service use and social life (Home Office, 2001), and can be defined in different ways in reference to different markers of identity, for instance, ethnicity, class or economic status (Catney, 2015; Phillips and Harrison, 2010).

The phenomenon of clustering of minority groups, and whether this constitutes segregation, has been the subject of long running debate (Peach, 1996; Phillips and Harrison, 2010), with a frequent problematising of ethnic segregation. In contrast, the segregation of other groups has not been problematised, for instance, those within gated communities (Atkinson and Flint, 2004). Furthermore, the 'segregation' of white populations is typically seen as unproblematic, perhaps based on the assumption that they share 'British values' as a de facto result of their ethnicity (Robinson, 2005). Beneath definitions of segregation, then, are implicit issues and questions about why certain instances of 'segregation' are problematic or worthy of policy attention. Linked to this, one might differentiate segregation through constraint or 'bounded choices' (McGarrigle and Kearns, 2009; Tomlins, 1999), and segregation which is voluntarily chosen (Varady, 2008). As noted below, the clustering of certain groups may relate as much to the movement of other groups, as to active clustering of the group in question. Therefore care is required in not simply assuming segregation is a product of active choice, and may be a consequence of other factors and constraints.

Whilst the Casey Review sets out its definition of 'integration', 'segregation' is not as explicitly defined. However, the review does identify patterns of residential clustering, identifying evidence of minority groups being 'dispersed' as well as more 'concentrated'. The terms concentration and segregation are differentiated within the review; concentration is taken to mean 'the total proportion of a particular faith or ethnic group living within a wider area, regardless of the degree to which they are distributed in relation to other groups'. Segregation expresses 'the extent to which households from a particular ethnic or faith group live side by side with others from the same background within an area' (DCLG, 2016, p.41). This differentiation seems to focus attention on the settlement patterns of specific ethnic groups at a lower level geography. For the purposes of this evidence review we take segregation to mean the localised clustering of minority groups, but draw out the nuances and complexities of what this means in practice.

### 3. The nature of the evidence reviewed

The review was commissioned as an initial step to gauge the range of literature on this topic, and to highlight some of the key lessons from past research and practice. The time and resource constraints necessitated a focused approach to this. The review was therefore progressed through two overlapping stages. Firstly, we initiated discussions with four advisors - experts knowledgeable in this field - to identify key literature and themes related to the review questions. This allowed the review team to hone in on key sources and remain focused on issues of core relevance. At the same time we undertook targeted literature searches, through Scopus and via IDOX requests<sup>1</sup> on combinations of keywords such as 'integration', 'segregation' and 'housing'. It was agreed that there was not sufficient resource to review any international literature, although some relevant references are included. Frequently cited work in this field, such as Harrison *et al* (2005) and Perry (2007) are book-length documents, presenting particular challenges to the review. Capturing insights from documents deemed to be critical texts was prioritised, given the specific demands of the questions. In total 40 documents were reviewed with evidence relating to each review question being summarised and entered into a matrix. The full list of these sources can be found in the References section.

The literature comprised both academic books and articles, along with 'grey literature' in the form of policy-orientated documents and good practice guides. We confined the review of grey literature to sources from government departments, sector membership bodies such as the Chartered Institute of Housing, and other recognised housing specialists. A significant body of literature specifically addressing the relationship between housing and community cohesion emerged in the period 2001-2010. As much of this literature discusses the potential of housing policies and practices to improve community cohesion (deemed a related concept to integration and segregation), the review draws heavily on this.

Despite our efforts to target the review, and review as much literature as possible, there are inevitable gaps. In particular, there are significant literatures on the themes of social exclusion, marginalisation, stigmatisation, inequality, and 'mixed' communities, all of which relate to debates about integration and segregation, and the role of housing in this. Additional avenues for enquiry emerged throughout, but the rapid nature of this review has not permitted a full exploration of these.

### 4. Evidence review

#### 4.1. The impact of housing policy and management on integration or segregation

This section considers the evidence relating to key question (i) What impact does housing policy have on integration or segregation amongst communities from different backgrounds and, within this context, the management of housing and its impact on integration? In responding to this review question a diverse literature is drawn upon including a range of academic sources. These explore the linkages between housing and ethnicity/race, and the challenges in securing cohesion or integration through housing policy. Combined with this material is a broad array of grey literature which investigates the role of housing policy and management in affecting certain outcomes, and how alternative forms of action might enhance cohesion and integration. The major themes which emerged can be summarised under eight headings:

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<sup>1</sup> IDOX Information Services. See <http://idoxgroup.com/knowledge-services.html>



- The structural factors shaping the potential for housing related responses;
- The role and impact of housing management;
- The functions of other housing-related bodies;
- The limitations of housing levers to increasing cohesion;
- Housing as a means of extending residential choices;
- The impact of discrimination in the housing system on residential settlement patterns;
- Intervention through partnership;
- Policy and practice challenges for housing organisations.

We now consider and discuss the evidence for each of these themes in turn:

- **Structural factors shaping the potential for housing-related responses.** Housing providers operate in a broader set of dynamics affecting integration and segregation. Dorling (2007), in his work for the Commission on Integration and Segregation, suggests that various signs of 'disintegration' are the product of more fundamental inequalities in 'health, wealth, work, poverty, and knowledge' (Dorling, 2007, p.9). Similarly, it is noted that poverty and discrimination, as well as the 'pull of the ethnic cluster', drive ethnic segregation (Harrison and Phillips, 2003, p.36) and that socio-economic inequalities affect choice and therefore residential settlement patterns (Finney, 2013). Different groups experience different housing pathways, which entail varying entitlements and access to social housing and support, security of tenure, and housing conditions (Robinson and Pearce, 2009). Evidence suggests that minority ethnic groups are disproportionately affected by poverty and deprivation, and these factors powerfully influence their perceptions and housing choices (Perry, 2007; Robinson, 2005). Deprivation of various kinds can also fuel hostility and tension between residents from different backgrounds (CLES, 2014; Muir, 2008; Cope, 2009), an issue discussed in section 4.3. The importance of deprivation and disadvantage to integration creates challenges to housing providers, and raises questions about their capacity to counteract some of these substantive socio-economic forces. There are housing policies and practices that can be effective (discussed below), but these are contingent on some these wider socio-economic factors.
- **The role and impact of housing management.** Attempts have been made to categorise the ways in which housing management in the social housing sector can contribute to community cohesion, affecting the potential for integration or patterns of segregation. Robinson *et al* (2004, p.26-33) identify the following housing management functions:
  - Developing new stock to meet differing needs, widen choice and affect mobility.
  - Renovating and remodelling stock to meet different needs, and engaging different groups in renewal areas to create dialogue and a shared vision.
  - Advertising properties to widen access to different forms of housing and areas, and to change perceived barriers to access.
  - Using allocations to increase applications from different groups, widening choice and demonstrating fairness in the allocation process.
  - Enhancing tenant participation to build a shared understanding between tenants, and ensure service delivery factors in differing needs.

- Providing tenancy support, to assist those moving into new areas and support host communities through change.
- Applying strong tenancy management to tackle issues of harassment, anti-social behaviour and other crime which can exacerbate tensions between groups.

Perry (2011, p.75) also lists a set of overlapping functions by housing organisations, stressing their role in monitoring and assessing different housing needs, creating new housing pathways and performing wider neighbourhood management functions.

- **The functions of other housing-related bodies.** Other bodies, such as local authorities, can make related interventions, such as using powers to tackle poor housing conditions, overcrowding, and health and safety or environmental concerns in the private rented sector (Perry, 2007), as these may fuel local tensions. Housing providers and local public bodies can also involve residents in planning and understanding the implications of regeneration schemes, aiming to head-off tensions around the allocation of resources (Robinson and Pearce, 2009). Local authorities in particular are well-placed to monitor and plan for changing populations, and how the particularities of place must be accounted for in housing-related policies and practices (CIH and HACT, 2008; Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015; Perry, 2007). There is a historic literature on how local planning systems account for, and are alive to, issues concerning race relations (Thomas, 2000; RTPI & CRE, 1983). More recent policy guidance has emerged on how planners can account for the needs and use of space by those of different faiths, and how their engagement in planning processes might be improved (AHRC Faith and Place network, 2015). Nonetheless, significant and recent literature on how the planning system can help improve integration or mitigate segregation was not identified.
- **The limitations of housing levers to increasing cohesion.** With the emergence of policies to improve community cohesion (Home Office, 2001; 2004) it was assumed that housing provided two levers to achieve some level of de-segregation; through housing allocations and by diversifying tenures. Scholars suggest neither of these are likely to be a panacea (Robinson, 2005) and that the 'keys to constructive social development lie primarily outside the realms of housing renewal and governmental strategies for social engineering' (Phillips and Harrison, 2012, p.221). Furthermore, our understanding of the limits of housing policy are sharpened when the decisive agency of individuals is appreciated, for instance where minority ethnic households develop strategies to avoid residential moves and resist incentives/disincentives, even within the most constrained circumstances (Harrison, 2003; Law, 1996; Robinson, 2005). Areas of ethnic segregation have, in part, grown organically around key facilities and institutions, such as churches, mosques and shops, and the location of these affects housing choices (Perry, 2007) making efforts to promote residential movement difficult. Interacting with these dynamics, there are other factors affecting residential movement beyond the housing domain, such as those related to the welfare system. For example, commentators suggest that recent welfare reforms may have unintended consequences for segregation (CLES, 2014), driving movements by households to cheaper, smaller properties in different locations. However, little evidence for this was uncovered. Added to this, rapid changes in tenure patterns - away from social housing toward private rented accommodation - may mean the traditional housing levers (such as social housing allocations) are far less powerful in affecting integration and desegregation. How housing providers can plan for, monitor and then adapt to changing policy and tenure profiles is an important dilemma.

- **Housing as a means of extending residential choices.** Promoting housing choice, encouraging the movement of minority groups beyond traditional clusters, and supporting spatial pioneers is a frequent theme in the literature (CLES, 2014; Perry, 2007; Harrison and Phillips, 2003; Phillips, 1998; Robinson, 2005) and some of the activities cited by Robinson *et al* (2004) above have that objective. In a counterpoint to such efforts, it is also consistently noted that choice is often bounded by simple economics but also by the fear of moving into areas where there may be possible abuse and harassment (CLES, 2014; LGA, 2002; Harrison and Phillips, 2003). International studies have shown that preferences, in terms of who your neighbours are powerfully affects residential choices, and therefore patterns in ethnic segregation (Schelling, 1971; Bouma-Doff, 2007). Stillwell and Phillips (2006) highlight the significance of a variety of constraints on residential mobility, but also how family and community networks 'cement local connections' to certain areas. In presenting the housing measures affecting the choices of households, particularly minority groups, those related to social housing come to the fore, notably in assisting groups struggling to access private provision (Harrison and Phillips, 2003). The role of price in the market for housing is a key consideration in understanding changes in residential patterns. Submissions to a DCLG committee on Community Cohesion and Migration (2008) highlighted changes (and concerns) in areas like Barking and Dagenham (CIH and HACT, 2008), where the availability of comparatively cheaper accommodation was contributing to major population change.
- **The impact of discrimination on residential settlement patterns.** There is a wide literature on how historic and current housing policies and practices can discriminate between groups, with the potential to diminish choice and compound ethnic segregation. This includes; 'racial steering' by estate agents, diminished access to mortgage lending, discrimination by private landlords in selecting tenants, and discriminatory processes in the social housing system (Beider and Netto, 2012; Bowles *et al*, 1998; Harrison and Phillips, 2003; Jeffers and Hoggett, 1995; Phillips and Harrison, 2010; Rex and Moore, 1967, Robinson, 2002). It is suggested that such processes diminish the potential for integration of minority ethnic groups, shaping residential settlement patterns in counter-productive ways (Robinson, 2005). There is a need to acknowledge, however, that white populations are more than twice as likely as minority ethnic groups to perceive discrimination in the allocation of social housing (Perry, 2011) and this is a longstanding, politically charged issue (Wilson, 2016a). Race relations legislation prohibits differential treatment of groups in social housing allocations based on their race or ethnicity. However, the obligations and freedoms that housing providers have within allocations processes has changed over time, creating opportunities to preference those with a local connection (Wilson and Barton, 2016b). The impact of such changes on different groups is unclear, though historical evidence has highlighted the potentially detrimental effects of this on integration (McGarrigle, 2010). Despite sources suggesting that certain migrant groups have received disproportionate access to social housing (Migration Watch, 2011), there is a body of literature which counters such claims, particularly for new migrants (e.g. Robinson, 2007; Rutter and Lattore, 2009). Increasing demand for social housing and the net loss of social housing units is seen to have fuelled these arguments (CIH and HACT, 2008).
- **Intervention through partnership.** Housing providers are nested within wider governance and partnership arrangements, and their capacity to enhance community cohesion or change patterns of segregation requires proactive co-ordination with other local bodies, and alignment with other local strategies (Perry, 2007; Perry, 2011; Robinson *et al*, 2004). Nonetheless, with their localised housing management functions, housing bodies are well placed to lead varied community development and neighbourhood management work with residents that makes cohesion possible, including building relations between

new and settled communities (Cole and Robinson, 2003; Catney, 2016; Perry, 2007). This issue is discussed in more detail in section 4.3. Valuable lessons regarding the development of cohesion strategies, and associated multi-agency action plans, were found in evaluations of the Welsh Cohesion Strategy (Welsh Government, 2012). The Welsh Strategy acknowledges how community cohesion can be undermined by deprivation and social exclusion, and the central role housing has in any efforts to address this. Evaluations of this strategy point to the effective ways in which government strategy aligned with dedicated funding, and influenced the local resourcing of cohesion initiatives.

- **Policy and practice challenges for housing organisations.** Harrison *et al* (2005) highlights seven interlocking challenges for housing policy and practice in terms of achieving the desired goal of cohesion. These can be summarised as; 1) confronting racism and discrimination within housing-related bodies, 2) ensuring services are sensitised to different group's needs; 3) ensuring investment takes account of the impact on different ethnic minority groups; 4) developing policy which reflects and involves diverse groups; 5) ensuring greater inclusion of different groups in the ownership and management of housing; 6) focusing on, and accounting for, differences other than those related to ethnicity; and 7) ensuring housing bodies are alive to, and shape, changes beyond the housing field. Since Harrison provided these insights the policy and funding landscape for housing providers, such as housing associations, has changed markedly. One might add the additional challenge of meeting these aims within a period of constrained public spending, and where such providers are increasingly seeking to balance social objectives with commercial drivers (Mullins *et al*, 2016).

## 4.2. Mitigating the negative effects of segregation

In the following section we consider the evidence relating to review question (ii) 'Where residential segregation does exist, what steps can local authorities, housing providers or others take to prevent, reduce or mitigate the negative effects of this? The evidence presented draws significantly upon good practice guidance and policy documents by various authors, in addition to work by noted scholars in this field. The major themes which emerged can be summarised under five headings:

- targeting deprivation and the limits of contact/interaction;
- Valuing mutual support networks;
- social housing lettings and desegregation through extended choice;
- regeneration programmes and their effects on segregation;
- promoting integration through new housing development.

Each of these themes, and the related evidence, is discussed in turn below:

- **Targeting deprivation and the limits of contact/interaction.** Scholars have suggested that US initiatives related to racial segregation, in contrast to UK equivalents, have tried to address underlying deprivation, full citizenship and nurture relations (Iceland, 2014). In contrast, in the UK similar goals have been approached by using housing allocations to achieve social mix, and have been 'small scale and have [had] correspondingly limited effects' (Iceland, 2014, p.1). Iceland argues that directly addressing the causes of ethnic inequalities is likely to be more effective than 'cosmetic policies that merely try to alter residential choices' (Iceland, 2014, p.1). As noted in section two, care is also required in assuming interaction between diverse groups will naturally result in integration, questioning simple contact theory arguments (Robinson, 2005). Focusing on

integration over addressing inequalities between different groups may be a 'potentially dangerous route to the stigmatisation of particular neighbourhoods' (Finney and Simpson, 2009). The evidence would seem to suggest that addressing segregation requires at least some attention to underlying deprivation and disadvantage.

- **Valuing mutual support networks.** Efforts to 'disrupt clustering' (Phillips and Harrison, 2010) of certain groups may result in a loss of social capital within that community which has performed an essential function. Social support networks and mutual relations between those in clustered areas can be a key coping or adjustment mechanism. Furthermore, tight social bonds can be a distinctive feature of sustainable communities, which housing providers deem particularly valuable (Goodchild and Cole, 2001; Robinson *et al*, 2004). Mutual support is seen as key in the early stages of resettlement, e.g. by refugees (Atfield *et al*, 2007). A further contradiction emerges for particular groups. In reference to refugees, for example, Cheung & Phillimore (2013) suggest that those who maintain regular contact with co-nationals and other members of their ethnic group, have more contact with people from other parts of society and other organisations. Simply disrupting 'segregation' patterns may therefore have undesirable consequences.
- **Social housing lettings and desegregation through extended choice.** The allocation of social housing is seen as a means to increase contact between different communities and create social mix (Home Office Review Team, 2001). Choice-based lettings (CBL) have provided a means to engage minority groups in discussions about allocation processes, and how this system is designed. Perry (2007, p.81-83) highlights examples in Sheffield, where BME communities were involved in the development of the CBL system, and in Wakefield where work with a local Polish deli helped raise awareness of the system for vulnerable, hard to reach polish residents (see appendix 2 and 3). Despite this, analysis of social lettings under CBL systems has suggested that they can increase the concentration of ethnic minority groups in certain areas, particularly areas with high levels of deprivation (Manley and Van Ham, 2011). To increase choice and affect residential settlement through lettings processes requires moving beyond a narrow focus on allocation policies, to 'marketing and advertising, lettings procedures, tenancy management, repairs and maintenance, monitoring and evaluation' (Robinson, 2005, p.1420). Robinson (2005) and Perry (2007), both cite the example of Bradford's Homehunter scheme, which sought to improve access to social housing for certain BME communities which were under-represented in the social housing stock (see appendix 4). Despite these good practice examples facilitating greater residential choice is not easy, even with effective community development work (Harrison and Phillips, 2003). Robinson *et al* (2004) highlight the importance of reassurance and commitment to addressing problems of harassment and racism that spatial pioneers often encounter. Practical examples of such work, in Northfields and Rochdale, is presented in appendix 5-6. Lessons can be learned from the development of BME housing associations in meeting diverse needs, adding valuable and culturally sensitive services, and extending access to housing to new groups (Harrison *et al*, 2005). With the vast majority of households living outside of the social housing sector, the limits of interventions by such providers should be acknowledged, though decisions about who is housed, and where, remain important.
- **Regeneration programmes and their effects on segregation.** The role of different regeneration programmes in the 2000s, in addressing community cohesion, provides valuable lessons. In assessing the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders, Robinson and Pearce (2009) note potentially valuable practice, such as a Equality Impact Assessments being used to plan housing and



development programmes. The impact of large scale renewal on differing groups, and the potential to 'disrupt clustering', is seen as needing much deeper analysis (Phillips and Harrison, 2010, p.232), particularly where there is large-scale demolition and displacement takes place. This connects to a more critical literature which highlights how regeneration initiatives, particularly those seeking (implicitly or explicitly) gentrification, can lead to a less diverse population, displacing minority groups currently residing in the area (Lees *et al*, 2016). Improvement in living conditions and the physical environments, on its own, is unlikely to be sufficient to create cohesive communities and affect the major causative factors shaping segregation (Harrison *et al*, 2005; Phillips and Harrison, 2010). Such initiatives are also unlikely to affect the residential choices of affluent white populations, whose housing mobility can directly affect the processes driving segregation (Phillips and Harrison, 2010). Meaningful community consultation and engagement are crucial in regeneration programmes, so different groups can discuss the impact of changes on their choices, the use and allocation of resources, the impacts on them and their assets (Perry, 2007; Phillips and Harrison, 2010). There may be opportunities to empower local communities to own and manage local assets (Harrison *et al*, 2005), or at least devolve investment decisions in ways which promote cohesion (CLES, 2014).

- **Promoting integration through new housing development.** The development of new housing can impact on the residential settlement patterns of different groups, promoting moves by minority groups to new areas (Perry, 2007). Similarly new development can reinforce or consolidate segregation if the settlement patterns of different groups are not considered. (Home Office, 2001). Recent government initiatives have encouraged the creation of 'mixed communities' through new housing or via regeneration schemes (DCLG, 2010). Such programmes focused on changing the mix of incomes and housing tenures in an area, rather than focusing on the mix of ethnicities. Evaluations highlight the financial tensions in trying to affect a change in a local population through asserting controls on tenure (DCLG, 2010). The limited scope of this type of intervention is acknowledged in a number of documents reviewed (Perry, 2007; Phillips and Harrison, 2010; Robinson and Pearce, 2009). As discussed in section 4.5, evidence relating to the development of social housing, and how this can be used to change settlement patterns, is limited. Previous government grant programmes for new social housing have sought to capture information about access to new units by minority ethnic groups. Robinson *et al* (2002) assessed such data for grant programmes in the early 2000s, finding that actual lettings to minority ethnic groups largely undershot housing providers estimates, often by a significant margin (Robinson *et al*, 2002). New development can therefore target minority groups, extend housing choices, and encourage 'spatial pioneers' (Phillips, 1998) beyond traditional settlement areas, but the outcomes may be variable. The role of specialist and BME housing associations is important in this process (Harrison *et al*, 2005), as this can ensure schemes identify and meet the needs of minority groups, and encourage movement into new areas (Perry, 2007). One successful example of this is the partnership between Nashayman Housing (a BME housing association) and Home Housing Association in Bradford. The former sought to develop new housing outside traditional settlement areas of the Asian community (see appendix 7). Perry (2007) suggests this has instigated settlement by members of this community to these new areas, with moves being seen across different tenures also.



### 4.3. Reducing tension and feelings of unfairness in areas with diverse populations

This section considers the evidence relating to key question (iii) 'In areas of high diversity and/or high levels of immigration, what can local authorities, housing providers or others do to reduce feelings of unfairness or resentment over pressures on and allocation of housing resources'? The focus of this question on effective practices and policies has meant targeting good practice guidance and policy documents by various authors, but also a limited amount of academic literature. Various case studies and good practice is identified but from a relatively limited range of literature, much of which relates to efforts under the community cohesion agenda. The major themes which emerged can be summarised under eight headings:

- principles to pre-empt and manage resentment and tension;
- the specific challenge of housing allocations;
- community development and neighbourhood management;
- working with arriving and settled communities;
- embedding integration within housing organisations;
- the particularities of place and its effects;
- the potential and risks of local regeneration/area based initiatives;
- working with private sector landlords.

We now consider and discuss the evidence for each theme in turn:

- **Principles to pre-empt and manage resentment and tension.** Tension and conflict over the distribution of resources, such as social housing, is a frequently cited issue in the community cohesion literature (Home Office, 2001; LGA, 2002). Housing providers have an important role in arbitrating between resource demands. Perry, (2007, p.65) sets out a number of principles to follow, in order to mitigate potential disputes and resentment (see Appendix 8). These highlight good practice on; information provision and explaining resourcing decisions and their impacts, 'myth busting' activity, involving and preparing communities for change, responding flexibly and proactively when disputes and hostility emerge, and developing a shared understanding of different needs and priorities. Housing providers are encouraged to monitor local changes in population, but also perceptions of cohesion and community relations, and to use their unique residential and housing management data to identify stress-points or potential problems (CLES, 2014; Perry, 2007; Robinson and Pearce, 2009).
- **The specific challenge of housing allocations.** Tension over social housing allocations is a recurrent theme in the literature, with a marked differences between the findings of academic studies and the content of public debates (Robinson, 2007). Specific recommendations have sought to address tensions and resentment through increased transparency and local involvement. The participation of tenants and residents groups in discussions about allocation policies is recommended, alongside processes for transparent decision-making (CLES, 2014; Perry, 2007; CIH and HACT, 2008). The Commission on Integration and Cohesion suggested developing 'community lettings plans that explicitly consider the dynamics of integration and cohesion locally' (CI&C, 2007, p.124). As the private rented sector has taken a more significant role in housing minority groups (Finney and Harries, 2013), this raises questions about the ways in which settlement patterns and the experiences of minority groups might be positively influenced by public bodies when individuals are housed in private

tenures. In pursuit of integration and residential mobility by certain groups, Harrison and Phillips (2003, p.72-73) highlight the need for inter-agency efforts and tenancy support to help people locate in new 'settlement nodes' (Cameron and Field, 1998; Phillips and Unsworth, 2002).

- **Community development and neighbourhood management.** Intensive work within local communities constitutes many of the examples of good practice in the literature reviewed (CLES, 2014; Perry, 2007; Hawtin, 1999; Migration Work Trust, 2017; Robinson and Pearce, 2009). Notable work in this field was found in Northern Ireland, with grassroots projects funded and promoted by the national Housing Executive (see NIHE, 2017 for various example projects). Across these varied contexts, community development work has focused on building interaction and understanding between diverse groups. Practical examples include Gateshead Housing Company's 'Gateshead Together Week' (CLES, 2014) (see appendix 9), and more formal approaches to mediation and conflict resolution, such as that developed in the Good Relations programme in Oldham and Burnley (Perry, 2007; Robinson and Pearce, 2009) (see appendix 10). CLES (2014) highlights key neighbourhood management functions which can enhance cohesion, which includes providing access to services and facilities in physically isolated areas, dealing with poor housing and environmental conditions, offering space for community groups to meet and hold events to promote interaction, and encouraging participation of all groups in decision-making fora. How minority groups are represented in governance arrangements for housing providers is important, having implications for interaction between differing groups, and bridging local tensions (Perry, 2007; CIH and HACT, 2008). Perry (2007, p.161) highlights how groups such as the Kirklees Federation of Tenants' & Residents' Associations (KFTRA) have operated. Such community development and neighbourhood management activity is deemed 'resource hungry' (Robinson and Pearce, 2009, p.24), and this raises questions about whether in the current climate of housing association and local authority finances, these activities will be possible.
- **Working with arriving and settled communities.** Various literature highlights the need to support and assist households arriving in new areas (CLES, 2014; Cole and Robinson, 2003; Catney, 2016). Language acquisition is critical as it empowers individuals to negotiate access to housing, education, and the labour market (Catney, 2016; CIH and HACT, 2008). CLES (2014, p.15) highlight the work of Leeds Housing in offering ESOL courses. The literature also highlights the importance of community development work with existing communities, in areas where minority groups are arriving. Perry (2007) highlights numerous examples of this, relating to work relations with Polish migrants (Northwards Housing), refugees (Northfields Estate) and gypsies and travellers (an anonymous county). These examples are summarised in appendix 5 and 11) Achieving a degree of cohesion between settled and new communities may be enhanced through estate agreements and compacts, aimed at building shared values and norms (Perry, 2007). Housing providers may also play a role in helping plan and adapt local services to rapid population change (CIH and HACT, 2008; Phillimore, 2011).
- **Embedding integration within housing organisations.** Housing organisations can integrate those from minority groups into their operations, increasing their interaction with other residents, and helping the organisation adapt to their needs. Projects like Reach In, run by HACT, have demonstrated how this adaption process can be operationalised through work with refugees (Phillimore, 2017), whereby refugee volunteers work in frontline service provision. In so doing there is the potential to 1) improve employment prospects for refugees, 2) address skills gaps within the provider organisation, 3) improve housing services for migrants and 4) help providers create more cohesive

communities. Phillimore (2017, p. 12) argues that 'one of the most cost-efficient ways to achieve integration is through embedded initiatives promoting institutional changes'. Housing bodies can better address issues of integration when their policies and practices are developed with the meaningful participation of minority groups (CLES, 2014; Perry, 2007; Phillips and Harrison, 2010). Furthermore, it is important that internal policies within housing organisations prevent discriminatory practices which may undermine policy goals of integration. Chahal (2010, p.167), for example, sets out a number of important questions for housing organisations to guide their policies and practices, ensuring there is an adequate deterrent for discrimination within the housing system..

- **The particularities of place and its effects.** In every location there will be varying institutional and support structures, different experiences in accommodating people from different backgrounds, and varying physical spaces which affect intercultural encounters (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015). Some of these factors can be influenced by housing providers, especially if partnerships and networks are harnessed (Perry, 2007). Nonetheless, these particularities of place will shape how a settled community 'accommodate[s] diversity' (Flint *et al*, 2008, p.183). Addressing localised tensions requires showing that the benefits of any investment are shared, and that new groups contribute rather than simply take from local communities' (Perry, 2011; Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015). Furthermore, knowledge of local contexts held by housing providers can help identify those communities where tensions are most likely; those with little past experience of accepting migrants and where there are higher levels of deprivation (Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Robinson and Platts-Fowler, 2015). Sturgis *et al* (2014) corroborates such findings asserting the importance of economic deprivation in predicting levels of cohesion, but also the effects of existing ethnic diversity on such measures in cities such as London.
- **The potential and risks of local regeneration/area based initiatives.** Tensions can arise in regeneration programmes, as conflict emerges over incoming resources (Perry, 2007). Area based programmes, often led by, or involving housing providers, have played a key role in previous cohesion efforts. As one interviewee in Robinson and Pearce's study (2009, p.16) noted, local staff within area based programmes can play a central role in 'co-ordinating, leading, pushing, shoving, prompting, funding, monitoring' cohesion related activities, ensuring that work which necessarily cut across multiple-agencies can be managed and undertaken in a co-ordinated way. This learning about area based programmes is particularly relevant due to the recommendations in the Casey Review, which suggest the creation of area-based initiatives to enhance community cohesion (DCLG, 2016, p.167). Guidance on cohesion and areas-based programmes was made available in 2004 (ODPM, 2004). However, the literature highlights concerns that these initiatives, operating at local scales, will not be able to address the systemic issues underwriting local tensions (Harrison *et al*, 2005). Organisational frameworks for local initiatives are key to ensure voice and control for minority groups, and others often neglected in centrally controlled and top down programmes (Harrison *et al*, 2005).
- **Working with private sector landlords.** Perry (2007, p.89) sets out a range of actions that local authorities can take to address issues in private rented accommodation that may be the cause of localised tensions. This includes enforcement action on health and safety issues, licensing of landlords and landlord accreditation schemes. Perry (2007) gives the example of Crewe and Nantwich, where a polish-speaker was employed to mediate with polish residents to remedy environmental issues which were causing localised tensions (see appendix 12). There is potential for local authorities and other

housing bodies to work with private landlords to create dedicated lets for groups such as refugees. Here there has been concerted effort to develop effective models (HACT, 2010).

#### 4.4. Indicators of segregation and desegregation

In the following section we consider the evidence relating to review question (ii) 'What are the key indicators/measures of segregation and desegregation at national/local level which could be used to track change'? The evidence presented draws largely on the work of scholars who have specialised in assessing residential settlement patterns. The major themes which emerged in reference to this review question can be summarised under five headings:

- patterns of dispersal and the use of census data;
- established measures of segregation;
- beyond measures of change toward an understanding of processes;
- accounting for difference in difference;
- understanding urbanisation and counter-urbanisation.

Each of these themes, and the related evidence, is discussed in turn below:

- **Patterns of dispersal and the use of census data.** There are numerous sources that suggested that ethnic segregation is decreasing (Catney, 2015; Catney, 2016; JRF, 2013). Simpson and Finney (2009, p.53) note how historic patterns in census data reveal that 'neither minority self-segregation nor White flight shows up in the detailed migration statistics'. And yet, these issues remain pervasive in both public and policy debates. Census data is arguably problematic, not just in terms of its categorisation of different ethnic groupings, but also possible errors in numeric values relating to migration (Simpson and Finney, 2009). Defining the most suitable measures for assessing this issue is a key priority (see bullet point below). There is the potential to use information beyond the Census, for instance, detailed migration statistics (Simpson and Finney, 2009).
- **Established measures of segregation.** Simple indicators of segregation are often used, which tell us the proportion a certain group constitutes in a wider population. In the Casey Review arguments for increased segregation are made on the basis of how many wards have 40% of their population made up of people of a specific nationality. What is often implicit in these calculations is that segregation by certain groups is more problematic than others. Segregation along the lines of class, wealth or poverty is deemed by some to be more appropriate measure (Dorling, 2007; Dorling and Ballas, 2008). Some scholars have sought to make a more explicit connection between certain forms of segregation and 'segregation-related problems' (Varady, 2008). Such studies and debates reveal the need for transparency as to why segregation of certain groups is the focus of attention, and why certain identity criteria are used to assess segregation rather than others. Simple assessments of changes in residential patterns can be misleading. The seeming paradox of greater 'mixing', but also 'isolation' of minorities from white populations has been discussed by Cantle and Kaufman (2016). Furthermore, identifying an increasing number of areas where a minority group forms the majority of residents, does not provide the basis to argue that this is due to the movement of members of that group towards existing clusters. Indeed, an increase in a minority group's numbers may be due to immigration and natural population growth (Simpson, 2004). Framing residential changes as 'white flight' or as a result of ethnic conflict

ignores of the more 'benign demographic change of family building, which is the primary driver of population growth in many areas for ethnic minority groups due to their young age structures'. (Finney, 2013, p.17-18).

- **Beyond measures of change toward an understanding of processes.** Measuring a group's prevalence in a local population, or using an Index of Dissimilarity, might help explore changes in segregation over time, but this does not reveal why residential settlement changes occur, i.e. what is affecting moves, choices, behaviours. This requires qualitative insight. Also spatial evenness may say little about levels of interaction between different groups. Massey and Denton (1988) provided a means to look for patterns in 'changing inter-ethnic interactions' (in Catney, 2016, p.17). As noted above, Ager and Strang's indicators for community cohesion (2004) may be useful, and returning to these may help focus data collection and monitoring toward experiences and perceptions of integration and segregation. As has been noted above, indicators that simply quantify changes in movements by different groups may fail to account for disadvantage between groups, and how this may explain residential patterns and experiences more effectively than the 'colour divide' (Markkanen and Harrison, 2013, p.422). Furthermore, the focus purely on spatial movement does not provide insights into the differential access to, or choice of, housing (Finney, and de Noronha, 2015).
- **Accounting for difference in difference.** Accepting the different trajectories, needs and choices of different minority groups is important; this means understanding the 'difference in difference' and subtleties beyond homogenous groupings (Markkanen and Harrison, 2013). Rees and Phillips (1996) highlighted the movement of Indian populations from inner to outer London, but a lack of spatial pioneers in the Pakistani/Bangladeshi communities in Bradford, Oldham, Burnley etc. Building on this, studies have highlighted different levels of segregation for different ethnic minority groups, and diverse experiences by gender and generation (Phillips, 1998). Accounting for the centrality of age in residential movement and choices is also important. Age-centred analyses found residential segregation between 1991 and 2001 decreased for all age cohorts, with the largest gains in evenness among young adults (Phillips, 1998). Simpson and Finney (2009) suggest there are common aspirations among White and South Asian young adults, both which are willing to relocate to live in better environments.
- **Understanding urbanisation and counter-urbanisation.** Analyses of changes in residential patterns should factor in movements between urban and more rural settings. As Catney (2016, p.763) has noted in reference to ethnic minority groups 'diversification into suburbs and rural areas, observed for the 1990s, was a significant feature by 2011...[there was a] spreading out of minority groups to new locales'. Simpson and Finney (2009) also highlight this issue, and how employment and the income composition of each minority ethnic group may be affecting attitudes toward suburbanisation and counter-urbanisation.

#### 4.5. Gaps in the evidence base

This section highlights gaps in evidence and understanding in relation to the role of housing in affecting integration and segregation. These gaps have either been identified by other scholars and commentators, or have emerged from within the review process as significant areas where literature appeared limited. Within the scope of this rapid review it was not possible to systematically assess whether current evidence meets these gaps. However, we might suggest that as scholarship in this field has diminished in recent years, it leaves the evidence base somewhat out of date, particularly given recent developments in housing policy and provision.



Hence, a more fine grained understanding of the issues outlined below, with contemporary evidence, might allow for more effective solutions to be developed to the problems identified in the Casey Review. We have identified four key gaps:

- **Improving explanations and indications.** The factors shaping the behaviours of different groups, and the causal processes which explain residential settlement patterns, need to be better understood (Catney, 2015; McGarrigle and Kearns, 2009). This has become increasingly important in an age where 'super-diversity' has brought major policy challenges (Vertovec, 2007). Segregation or desegregation as a quantified outcome tells us little about intentions or behaviours. Perceptions of local areas, experiences of individuals and changing aspirations are key to understanding residential choices and processes of integration (Harrison and Phillips, 2003; Robinson and Platt-Fowler, 2015; Simpson and Finney, 2009). Gaps in understanding remain regarding the dispersal of groups beyond traditional clusters; is it simply a matter of all households searching for improved housing conditions and away from dense urban areas (Simpson and Finney, 2009), or are other factors at work? And what challenges do these patterns pose to new host communities, who have not yet experienced the settlement of minority groups (Catney, 2015)? There is a need to map correlations between contextual measures of different cities and neighbourhood places and variations in integration outcomes (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015), and to identify common stress indicators, which may signal diminishing community cohesion (CLES, 2014).
- **The impact of increasing private provision.** Gaps in understanding have emerged in understanding how changing housing markets are impacting on different groups in different tenures (Finney and de Noronha, 2015; Harries *et al*, 2015). Linked to this are uncertainties about the impact of a changing welfare system on different minority groups (Phillimore, 2011). Pertinent questions arise in terms of how an expanding private rented sector is affecting the experiences, choices and local interactions of minority groups with others (JRF, 2013). Is discrimination, poverty, poor housing conditions worsening among minority groups through private provision, or is it increasing choice and removing barriers to dispersal? In essence, the impact of increasingly private forms of housing provision on segregation and integration is not fully understood, though significant work is emerging (de Noronha, 2016). Local authorities where housing is cheaper have worried about the influx of poorer residents into some areas, and in turn how this affects residential moves of more affluent residents (CIH and HACT, 2008). On such issues class and ethnicity can be hard to disentangle (Phillips and Harrison, 2010), but given the significance of deprivation and poverty on integration, noted above, this demands more attention. Added to these gaps in knowledge is a lack of examples about how housing providers and public bodies can work with, and intervene in, private markets in pursuit of goals such as integration. Very few good practice examples of this emerged from the literature, though Perry (2007) provides a small number. This links to the broader gap in knowledge concerning housing providers capacity and appetite to tackle some of the issues discussed, particularly as commercial concerns come to the fore (Mullins *et al*, 2016).
- **The impact of different interventions on segregation, integration and cohesion.** Very little evidence was found regarding differential access to housing through large scale housing supply programmes, such as Help to Buy. The government's evaluation of this programme does not report, for instance, on the take-up of equity loans by different ethnic groups (Findlay *et al*, 2016). Similarly, only limited historic intelligence about differential access to Shared Ownership properties was found (Wallace, 2008; LRC, 1998). It is unclear if and how these programmes are affecting change in segregation and integration. Limited recent literature was found which discussed the role of the planning



system in changing residential settlement patterns or supporting increased integration. Clearly, the local plan making process is an opportunity to engage people from different backgrounds in forward planning, and in so doing plan for their housing needs, but beyond this we found little planning literature on these themes. This begs the question, could local planning processes be more active in encouraging integration and shaping residential settlement accordingly. If so, how might this be done in operational terms? Questions also remain about the impact of practices and projects highlighted and celebrated in the grey literature. Limited examples were found (Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2011), but this issue seemed particularly pronounced in reference to community development and neighbourhood management work by housing providers. Important questions remain about whether the good practice examples identified by various works (Perry, 2007; CLES, 2014) ever had a sustained and measurable impact on integration and community cohesion.

- **Appreciating heterogeneity.** As noted above, scholars urge trying to understand the 'difference in difference', and the variance in the motives, behaviours, choices and pathways of different minority groups. The reliance on Census data, and the simple categorisations of ethnicity for instance, may hinder a richer understanding of difference across various identity fields. It has been difficult to find evidence revealing information about the different motives, needs and choices of women, those with disabilities, elders and others groups within minority groups (Harrison and Phillips, 2003). Some studies have explored these issues, for instance, the experiences of women in ethnic minority households (Phillips, 1996; Ratcliffe, 1997), but these studies appear rare.

#### 4.6. Summary

This rapid review was commissioned by MHCLG to aid a better understanding of the role of housing in shaping integration and segregation, to help inform the new Integrated Communities Strategy.

Although the review had to be very focused on key sources and themes - an extensive literature review was beyond the scope of this work - sources reveal valuable, informed evidence that can help shape government and local agency responses to some of the challenges identified. We can, perhaps, distil some of the key messages as follows:

- Housing policy and practice can and does shape residential settlement patterns which, in turn, can result in some degree of residential clustering (which can be defined by any number of criteria, including ethnicity). However, beyond housing interventions there are many other factors which can shape this, as described above. These include economic factors concerning incomes and job opportunities, but equally relate to the desire to remain in positive social networks, live close to valued institutions, to insulate from potential etc. Housing can, therefore, play a key role in addressing problems arising from segregation, but it is contingent on other structural and personal factors.
- Notwithstanding the point above, there are many examples of good practice where housing interventions appear to have had a positive impact on integration, access to housing and services, extending housing choice, and smoothing community relations. Some of these have been extracted from the source material and presented in the Appendices. Nonetheless, this evidence relates to housing policies and practices from a different era, and there is a paucity of evidence about how housing bodies can intervene now, in what is a changed housing market, public policy regime and an age of 'super-diversity'.

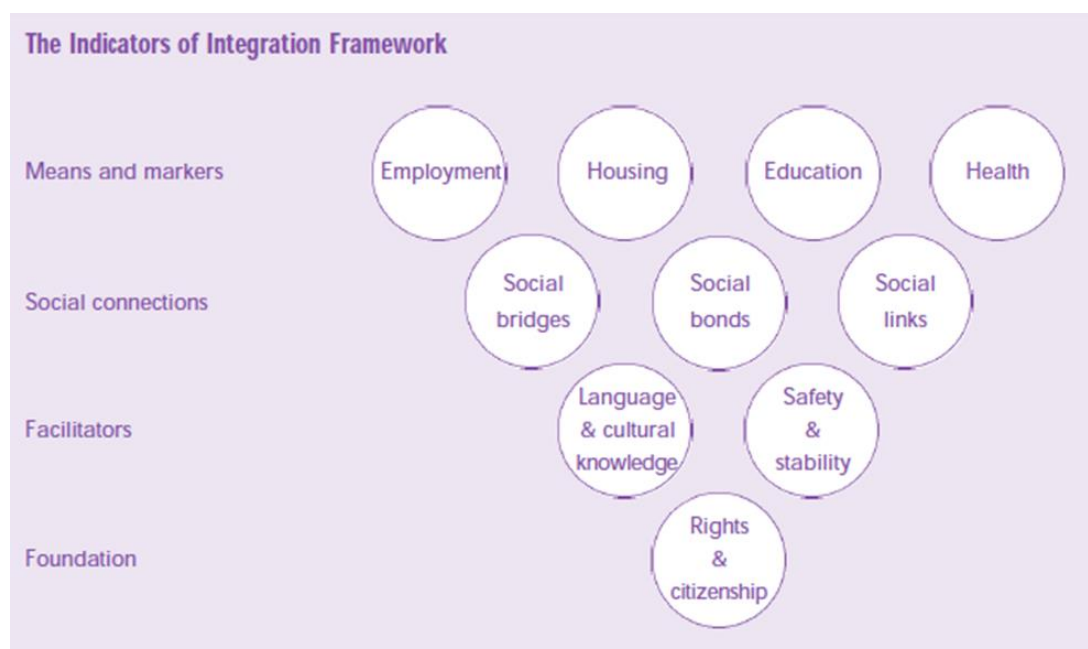
- Measures of integration can be overly simplistic, with data unable to reveal true patterns of movement or explain causal processes. This can result in assumptions about the settlement patterns and motivations of particular communities, problematizing certain neighbourhoods, or assuming homogeneity between different groups. We can improve our assessments and understanding of segregation by building on simple measures of dissimilarity between ethnic groups, to develop a deeper understanding of residential patterns which factor in other socio-economic and demographic data.
- Gaps in knowledge remain in terms of explaining and forecasting changing settlement patterns, and the outcomes and challenges this can create. There is a pressing need to understand how rapid changes in the housing market and government interventions are impacting on different groups, accounting for this variation in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status and so on. In the 2000s a large and valuable body of work emerged in this field, associated with the development of community cohesion policies, but this appears to have diminished in recent years. There is an argument in light of the new Integrated Communities Green Paper, to return to some these longstanding and unanswered questions, and to set out the contemporary role that housing-related bodies can play in improving cohesion and integration.

## Appendices: Good practice examples and related material

The following examples have been drawn from a variety of grey literature reviewed in the course of this study. Selection of each example has been made given their relevance to the specific questions in the review posed. Most of the examples provided come from local projects by various stakeholders, including local authorities, housing providers and developers, area-based regeneration agencies and community and voluntary groups. There are examples including activity by private enterprises, but these are limited. This reflects much of the good practice literature in focusing on the role of public bodies, and their partners, in seeking to affect integration and diminish segregation.

Some of the examples presented were either purposefully time limited or were terminated after a period of time. As noted above, there has been no systematic, summative evaluation of the impact of community cohesion policies on housing issues, and therefore the impact of discontinuing such programmes is also poorly understood.

### Appendix 1: Ager and Strang's Indicators of Integration Framework



Source: Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2004) *Indicators of Integration: final report*. London: Home Office. ([Crown Copyright](#))

### Appendix 2: Sheffield Homefinder

**Sheffield 'Homefinder'**

Sheffield's CBL scheme has a property shop accessed personally or through its web page ([www.sheffieldpropertyshop.org.uk/](http://www.sheffieldpropertyshop.org.uk/)). Results of lettings (which help to show the transparency of the scheme) are published weekly in a free local advertising newspaper. BME groups were involved in designing the scheme, and there is evidence of the satisfaction of BME customers with it.

Source: Perry, J. and Blackaby, B. (2007) *Community Cohesion and Housing: A good practice guide*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing and The Housing Corporation.

### Appendix 3: Wakefield's Homesearch CBL

#### Contacting the Polish community in Wakefield

Wakefield's 'Homesearch' CBL scheme was introduced in February, 2007 with the aim of reaching as many people as possible – particularly the vulnerable or hard-to-reach. This includes more than 1,000 Polish people working in the area, hard-to-reach because they are scattered geographically. However, a Polish delicatessen was identified and contact made with it.

The delicatessen became a main point of contact with the Polish community:

- it was used to launch information sessions about CBL
- guidance/posters were produced in Polish (and cross-checked by the shop owners) for display in the shop
- a focus group was held with EU migrant workers.

Pre-launch information sessions on CBL were attended by over 1800 people and over 100 were Polish, indicating that the publicity had an effect.

Since the launch, more than 50 members of the Polish community have joined the CBL scheme and are actively taking part in bidding for properties.

Further information: [pwood@wdh.co.uk](mailto:pwood@wdh.co.uk)

Source: Perry, J. and Blackaby, B. (2007) *Community Cohesion and Housing: A good practice guide*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing and The Housing Corporation.

## Appendix 4: Bradford Homehunter

### Choice-based lettings has an impact in Bradford

Bradford Homehunter is a CBL scheme run by the LSVT organisation, Bradford Community Housing Trust (BCHT), as the managing agency for the local authority. The scheme offers applicants convenient, transparent and easy-to-follow processes when looking for rented homes with either BCHT or other local housing associations. It aims to ensure that BME applicants have the opportunity to move to all areas of the Bradford District, including those that have traditionally had a low BME population.

Significant successes so far include:

- Increase in lettings to BME households from 12.7% of the total in 2005/6 to 15.5% in 2006/7.
- Overall rise in BME membership of the scheme since it started in 2002, from 17% to 23% – there are now 10,521 registered BME bidders.
- Introduction of a new allocations policy to address changing demand for social housing and offer improved support for all vulnerable groups, including refugees and asylum seekers.
- A partnership with West Yorkshire Probation Service to give support to vulnerable ex-offenders and help provide security at neighbourhood level.

Bradford Homehunter's successful approach to increasing BME access to social housing has been recognised by housing partners. It has also been highlighted as an example of positive practice in the CRE *Code of Practice on Race Equality in Housing*.

Further information: Kathryn Wood, Homehunter Manager – 01274 254110.

Source: Perry, J. and Blackaby, B. (2007) *Community Cohesion and Housing: A good practice guide*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing and The Housing Corporation.



## Appendix 5: Northfields, Leicester

THE NORTHFIELDS ESTATE Leicester	
<b>Agencies involved</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Morton and Northfields Tenants and Residents Association</li> <li>• STAR Tenancy Support Team</li> <li>• Leicester City Council Asylum Team</li> <li>• Humberstone Neighbourhood Housing Office</li> <li>• Refugee and Asylum Seeker Support Group</li> <li>• Homeless Families Centre</li> <li>• Northfield Neighbourhood Centre</li> <li>• Refugee Housing Association</li> <li>• police</li> <li>• local primary schools</li> </ul>
<b>Geographical focus</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• a local authority estate of some 400 properties and an adjacent area of 300 private properties, which has historically had a predominantly white population and is located adjacent to the city centre and bordering neighbourhoods popular with different minority ethnic groups</li> </ul>
<b>Objectives</b>	<p>Rather than being an explicit and carefully co-ordinated initiative, this example focuses on a series of inter-related activities and projects that have together facilitated the accommodation of asylum seekers and other minority ethnic households, particularly Somali Dutch Nationals, in a difficult-to-let estate that historically had a predominantly white population. The overlapping objectives of the different agencies involved included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ensuring the future sustainability of the estate</li> <li>• accommodating asylum seekers waiting a decision and housing asylum seekers granted leave to remain in the UK in the context of a relatively high demand housing market</li> <li>• responding to the concerns of local residents and limiting potential tensions between long-term residents and new tenants</li> <li>• limiting the likely incidence of racial harassment and anti-social behaviour</li> </ul>
<b>Local community cohesion pathfinder</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leicester is a community cohesion pathfinder</li> <li>• the focus of the pathfinder's activities is young people</li> <li>• housing issues are not addressed directly in the area plan and landlords are not recognised as central to delivery of the pathfinder's key objectives</li> </ul>

Source: Robinson, D., Coward, S., Fordham, T., Green, S. and Reeve, K. (2004) *How Housing Management Can Contribute to Community Cohesion*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing.



## Appendix 6: Rochdale Community induction Project

THE COMMUNITY INDUCTION PROJECT Newbold, Rochdale	
<b>Agencies involved</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ashiana Housing Association</li> <li>• Guinness Trust</li> <li>• Rochdale Metropolitan Borough Council</li> <li>• Rochdale Boroughwide Housing</li> <li>• Northern Counties Housing Association</li> <li>• St Vincent's Housing Association</li> <li>• Surma Housing Co-operative</li> <li>• Oldham and Rochdale Partners in Action (housing market renewal pathfinder)</li> </ul>
<b>Geographical focus</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the project's activities are focused on the Newbold area of Rochdale and the Coldhurst and Chadderton areas of Oldham. (This evaluation focuses on the situation in Newbold, an area of Rochdale with a relatively large south Asian population that was reported to be under-represented on social housing estates in the neighbourhood.)</li> </ul>
<b>Objectives</b>	<p>The Community Induction Project (CIP) provides assistance and practical support to help south Asian families take-up housing opportunities outside traditional population clusters, although services provided through the project are available to all residents. More specific objectives, supporting this overarching target, include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• promoting the Newbold area as a place to live</li> <li>• supporting new and existing tenants and residents from all groups to live in the area</li> <li>• making the area a safer place to live</li> <li>• facilitating interaction between residents</li> <li>• binding agencies working in the neighbourhood into partnership structures to support the achievement of common goals</li> <li>• creating a sustainable community</li> </ul>
<b>Local community cohesion pathfinder</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rochdale is a community cohesion pathfinder</li> <li>• the Guinness Trust is a pathfinder partner</li> <li>• housing issues are indirectly addressed in the area plan, but not a central concern</li> </ul>

Source: Robinson, D., Coward, S., Fordham, T., Green, S. and Reeve, K. (2004) *How Housing Management Can Contribute to Community Cohesion*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing.

## Appendix 7: Nashayman and Home Housing Association

### Creating culturally diverse communities in Bradford

Nashayman HA, working with Home HA, developed two housing schemes in Bradford in 2002 – in Allerton and in Westwood Park, neither of which were in traditional areas of settlement by Asian communities. One is about half a mile and the other three miles from the nearest settlement areas. Nashayman became involved in the developments as a new way of seeking to meet BME housing needs, as development opportunities are limited in traditional settlement areas.

Five years on, these two developments have become very popular both for BME and non-BME customers. Demand is very high and turnover has been very low. In Allerton, there have only been three vacancies during the five years and in Westwood Park only six vacancies.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that since the schemes were completed, people from BME backgrounds have gradually begun to move into the wider area, both through taking up tenancies with other landlords and through owner occupation.

Over the last five years, Nashayman has continued to develop schemes which are outside traditional BME areas in Bradford and the success of the above projects has been replicated.

Further information: [ulfat.hussain@nashayman.org.uk](mailto:ulfat.hussain@nashayman.org.uk)

Source: Perry, J. and Blackaby, B. (2007) *Community Cohesion and Housing: A good practice guide*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing and The Housing Corporation.

## Appendix 8: Perry's (2007) principles for fairly allocating resources or arbitrating between different interests

- Get information – about the area in general as well as the groups in question, so that the targeting can be justified, is based on demonstrable need, and is not arbitrary.
- Create local partnerships – work with, not in parallel to, the other agencies in the area, whether statutory, voluntary or community-based.
- Involve the community – decision-making at local level about what the priorities are, as long as the group involved is broadly-based, is more robust than a decision taken at the town hall (although some decisions may need to be taken centrally – see below).
- Prepare the community – if a particular group is to be targeted for good reason, but it might cause resentment, get the explanation in first.
- Explain the wider benefits – often the targeted investment will have some wider benefits. For example, providing kids with a kick-about area might mean they create fewer problems for older people.
- Spread the benefits – try to ensure that everyone in a neighbourhood gets some benefit from investment, even if it is partly concentrated on certain groups or parts of the area.
- Be flexible – if possible, keep resources for emerging needs and to respond to community views.

- Don't ignore problems – if resentment occurs, try to deal with it. In Burnley, the council organised visits so that people unfamiliar with high priority areas could see for themselves the problems being faced and better understand the council's decisions.
- Bust myths – later we discuss myth busting across a whole area or organisation, but it is equally important at local level. Make sure any resources or campaigns work at local level (e.g. in neighbourhood newspapers) as well as city wide.
- Develop understanding – people may have little idea of the problems which particular groups have, which means they are in greater need. It is important to make information available in ways that reach those who might otherwise criticise the priorities chosen.

Source: Perry, J. and Blackaby, B. (2007). *Community Cohesion and Housing: A good practice guide*. Chartered Institute of Housing and The Housing Corporation: Coventry

## Appendix 9: Gateshead Together Week

Initiative: **Gateshead Together Week**<sup>40</sup>, The Gateshead Housing Company

As part of the Cohesion Strategy for all Gateshead partner organisations, the Gateshead Housing Company holds an annual Gateshead Together Week. This addresses some of the myths and fears about other ethnic groups which are sometimes exaggerated and exploited by local or national politics. The week involves a range of community cultural events, such as resident visits to mosques, school linkage projects and interfaith football tournaments.

Source: Perry, J. and Blackaby, B. (2007) *Community Cohesion and Housing: A good practice guide*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing and The Housing Corporation.

## Appendix 10: Building Good Relations Programme

### Building Good Relations programme, Oldham and Burnley

Developed in partnership with Mediation Northern Ireland, the project develops awareness of and capacity to deliver mediation practice, as a tool for addressing community conflict. The project has worked at three levels:

- *Civic Leadership* – work with senior people in local agencies and elected politicians to develop their awareness of mediation practice and how it can be used as a tool to address communal conflict.
- *Practice Development* – training & mentoring of mediation practitioners and development of supportive structures for this process.
- *Work to address projects and cases* – the use of mediation to work through communal conflict and build good relations.

In Oldham, the project has been delivered since 2003. Starting with workshops with communities, it then focused on civic leadership and work in particular neighbourhoods. More recently, the project has trained local mediation practitioners, and has fed in lessons learned to the borough's tension monitoring systems. The ambition is now to provide conflict awareness and basic conflict resolution skills to a wide range of frontline staff and people in communities, as well as developing the existing practitioners as mediators capable of dealing with more difficult issues.

In Burnley, the work began in 2005 and has been funded by the housing market renewal pathfinder. It focused on four issues: housing market renewal, residential segregation, education and relationships between agencies and the communities they serve.

Source: *Our Shared Future*, para. 6.45.

Source: Perry, J. and Blackaby, B. (2007) *Community Cohesion and Housing: A good practice guide*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing and The Housing Corporation.

## Appendix 11: Crewe and Nantwich mediation

### Responding to migration in Crewe and Nantwich

Around 3,000 migrant workers live in the borough, mainly in private rented housing. Complaints began to emerge about rubbish and noise problems in HMOs, and the council was concerned about the potential impact on community cohesion. It co-ordinated a response from a range of agencies, making links with the new community by using a Polish-speaking volunteer (who later became an employee). Mediation methods and community wardens were used to tackle neighbourhood environmental problems. (See also the Wulvern Housing example on page 67.)

Further information: *Crossing Borders*, case studies 1 and 2.

Source: Perry, J. and Blackaby, B. (2007) *Community Cohesion and Housing: A good practice guide*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing and The Housing Corporation.



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*Housing, integration and segregation: A rapid literature review*

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