



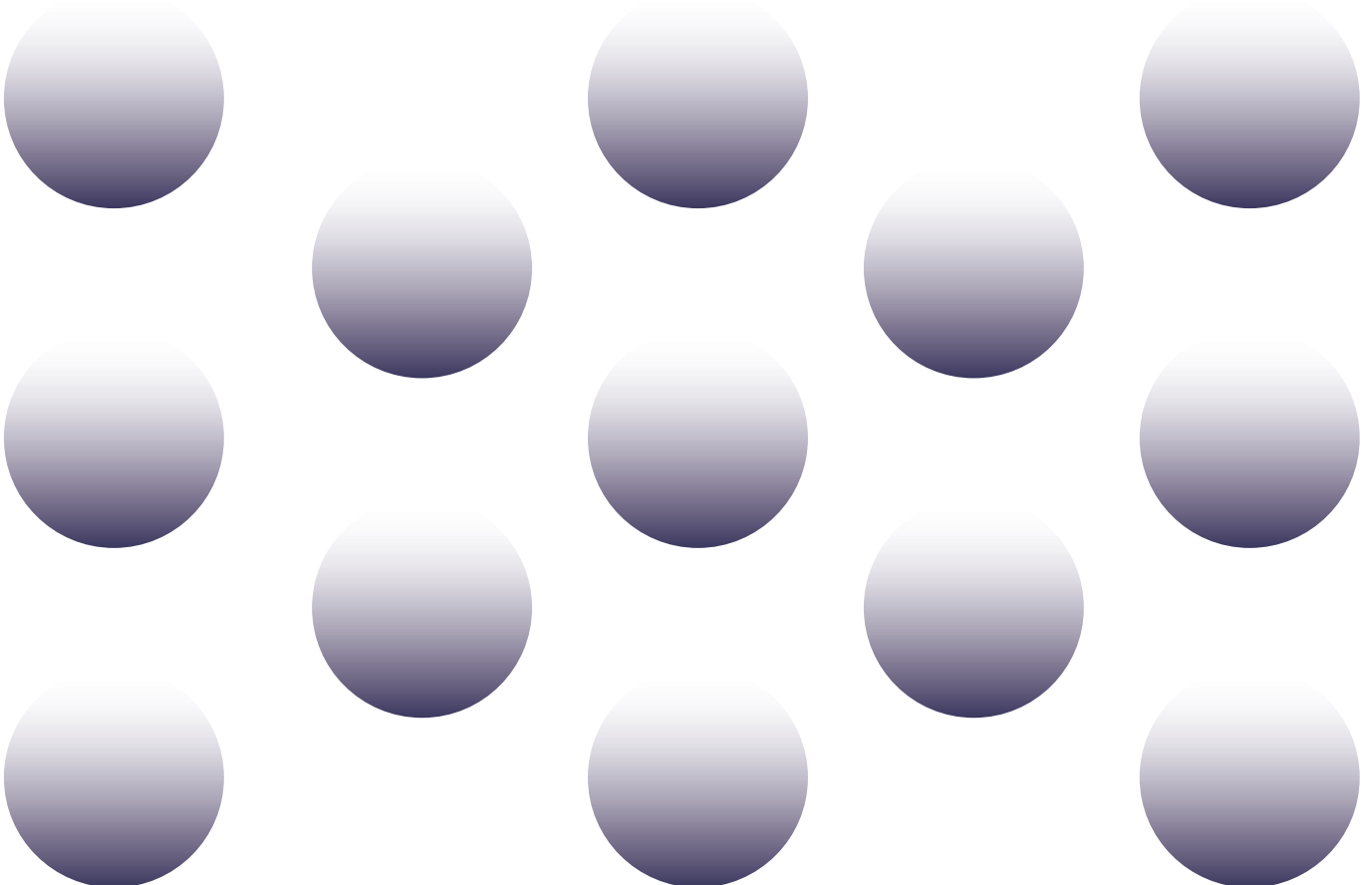
Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees

Housing, new migration and community relations

A review of the evidence base

April 2008

Neil Amas



© 2008, Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR)

ICAR does not have a Centre view. The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author.

The Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR) is an independent information and research organisation based in the School of Social Science at City University, London.

Address:

School of Social Science

City University

Northampton Square

London, EC1V 0HB

Tel: 020 7040 4595

Fax: 020 7040 8580

Email: icar@city.ac.uk

Web: www.icar.org.uk

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the Camelot Foundation which kindly funded the writing of this report and Dr Christopher McDowell and the staff at ICAR for providing advice and assisting with final editing.

The UK Government's recent tasking of a 'Commission on Integration and Cohesion' to examine and propose remedies for the root causes of community conflict in Britain's cities, and subsequent decision to invest £50 million to tackle such tensions, reflects an increasing anxiety about the 'crisis of cohesion' seen to be afflicting urban areas. Fears about 'home-grown' Islamic fundamentalism and links made between extremist violence and recent large scale immigration, have heightened concerns about divided communities and the perceived threat to the British way of life that emerged as key policy concerns following street disturbances in Northern cities in 2001 and subsequent reports of unrest between groups of new immigrants and local residents.

Recent research has shown strongly that access to housing, both social and privately rented, where most refugees, asylum seekers and new labour migrants are accommodated, is a critical social pressure point. Competition for social and private rented housing has increased markedly in recent years in certain city centres where new migrants increase population density at a time in which prices are rising and the housing stock is in decline. In response, Prime Minister Gordon Brown has put housing at the heart of his government's parliamentary programme.

Local housing policy and management have been identified in the Government's directives on community cohesion and neighbourhood renewal as key to reducing social tensions, while housing is also seen as playing a lead role in its strategy for integrating refugees.

Drawing on research evidence, this report seeks to bring together and reflect upon existing literature that makes links between housing and community relations between host and new migrant populations. It additionally considers gaps in the evidence base where further research is needed.

Contents	page
Cover Page	4
Chapter 1: Overview and Outline	
Introduction	6
Scope and methods	7
Structure	8
Chapter 2: Background	
Features of new migration	9
Legal and policy environment of new migration	10
Relations between new migrants and established residents	11
'Community Cohesion' and housing: the UK Government's policy response	12
Practical interventions	14
Competition for resources and the identification of housing as key to community relations	15
Chapter 3: Housing, new migration and community relations: key themes	
New migrant tenure patterns	19
Housing conditions and social exclusion	20
Housing policy	22
Housing management	25
Property market impact	26
Neighbourhood governance	27
Chapter 4: Conclusions	
Conclusion of the review	29
Gaps in the evidence base	29
Bibliography	32

Chapter 1

Introduction

New migration has brought highly visible changes to many of Britain's towns and cities and social relations within the UK are changing. The weakening of social solidarities and anxieties about separate and divided communities have been marked by a policy shift away from the traditional orthodoxy, which conceptualised the integration of migrants in terms of material needs and equal opportunities, towards an accompanying but greater focus on the development of social relationships, community links and a common stake in British society (Zetter *et al*, 2006). Ideas about 'Community Cohesion', which initially evolved from Government-led analyses of the causes of 'ethnic disturbances' in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford in 2001 and ongoing tensions in other urban areas, suggest that minority segregation is a problem that threatens Britain's social fabric. Mixed communities that share a common vision and values are discussed as part of the solution. New immigration and a further set of policy directives, many of which promote control and deterrence, have brought new challenges and anxieties, which are played out both at the level of national and local policy makers and amongst and between members of host and new populations (Allen and Cars, 2001; Zetter *et al*, 2006).

However, while much is made in policy circles and the media about immigration, separated communities and the threats to community relations, only gradually is our knowledge growing about experiences of new migration at the local district or neighbourhood level and the impact on local interactions. Contemporary UK community relations have become a hotly debated subject and a host of interventions have been launched to foster 'social cohesion', yet there remains a dearth of research, evaluation and evidence-based analysis on which to shape approaches to such interventions and inform policy. Little is known on the challenges for both new arrivals and existing residents at the local level and their 'community relations needs,' although there are increasingly signs that researchers are beginning to examine these. In particular, the Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR) has since 2001 published a number of studies on public attitudes and the impact of new immigration on local relations.¹ Community cohesion policy has pointed to the physical self-segregation of ethnic groups as the root cause of local tensions, and accordingly suggested that 'residential mixing' is part of the solution. However, group tensions can be observed in ethnically mixed areas (Amin, 2002), while clustering has been observed as not only a 'natural' tendency for new immigrants early in the settlement process, there being two or three decades before successive generations of immigrants begin to disperse away from 'cluster areas' (Simpson *et al*, 2006), but also one which signifies the attaining by an individual of safety, social networks and, therefore, a form of cohesion (Phillips, 2006b). While this is single group as opposed to the inter-group cohesion envisioned in community cohesion policy, the creation of bonds within social groups are increasingly seen as a prerequisite for making links to the wider community and therefore may be viewed as essential building blocks for the kind of broader cohesion that the Government aspires to (Rudiger, 2006).

From the evidence available, it appears that tensions and conflict have been seen to increase in areas where new migrants have settled (Boswell, 2001) and tensions are more likely to occur in neighbourhoods where there is little history of immigration (Boswell, 2001; Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Spencer *et al*, 2006; Ward, 2008). However, most of the literature on the impact of migration is focused

¹ See <http://www.icar.org.uk/uts>

on the migrant-specific barriers to integration, most commonly in the field of health, and tends to focus on second generation immigrants as opposed to asylum seekers and refugees, with even less on new labour migrants, and the majority of studies are limited, often characterised by small qualitative samples.

Where local tensions have been reported, housing and competition for other scarce resources are a perceived cause of grievance and tension (D’Onofrio and Munk, 2004; Dwyer, 2005; Rudiger, 2006; McGhee, 2006; Ward, 2008). In a survey of projects working to reduce community tensions across the UK, 12 out of 17 project leaders who expressed a view reported that the main concern of local host residents receiving new migrants was related to access to and competition for jobs, housing and welfare benefits (Amas and Crosland, 2006). The Government has drawn attention to perceptions amongst established populations of an ‘essential unfairness’ in the system of housing allocations. Responding to concerns expressed by ‘angry’ constituents in east London about preferential treatment, government minister Margaret Hodge argued that British nationals have a ‘legitimate sense of entitlement’ to social housing over many new migrants (BBC, 2007b).

This review will examine the research relating to these perceptions, and how processes within housing management and policy and the property market may lead to such grievances. The report will also briefly examine wider, related factors that need to be taken into account in discussions about resource-linked tensions and, finally, suggest evidence gaps in the literature and further research needs.

Scope and methods

The aim of the review is to scope existing literature on housing and community relations in regards to new migrants. For the purposes of this study, new migrants are defined as asylum seekers, refugees and labour migrants from the European Union (referred to in the text as ‘new labour migrants’) who have arrived in the UK since the 1990s. Some reference, where relevant to the contemporary situation, is also made to the experiences of previous immigration movements into the UK from the New Commonwealth countries, mainly the Caribbean, the Indian sub-Continent and Asians from East Africa.

The review focuses on evidence relating to community relations, the impact of new migration at a local neighbourhood level, where housing is a key variable, as well as outlining information and research gaps. While it was not possible to undertake a full systematic literature review within the timescale, the study attempted to be as comprehensive as possible. It was not within the remit of the review to critically appraise each included study in terms of methodology and robustness of data, although mention is made of research which is clearly limited in size or scope where relevant. Literature was confined to British studies and European reports were only considered where the UK was one of a number of countries included.

Evidence was reviewed from a number of disciplines and policy arenas, including housing, immigration and asylum, urban studies, ethnic and racial studies, regeneration and renewal, community development and community cohesion. Literature was identified from existing staff and resources at the Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees, a review of key social science databases, relevant websites on new migrant issues and of agencies working with new migrants, websites of leading housing organisations, websites of trusts working on social issues, such as the Joseph Rowntree Trust,

policy documents accessed through the Home Office and Department of Communities and Local Government websites and the research databases of key academic institutions. Data was sourced from academic studies and journal papers, policy reports and documents, strategy papers and practitioner-based good practise guides.

Structure

This report is presented in four chapters. Chapter Two examines recent events and circumstances as they pertain to housing, immigration and community relations in the UK. It looks at the physical, policy and legal environment facing new migrants and their particular situation in relation to housing and to community relations and reviews wider policy analysis and responses to the perceived 'crisis of cohesion.' Practical approaches in response to local tensions are also briefly discussed, followed by a review of evidence where housing, specifically, has been identified as an influencing factor of social and community relations within research and policy. Chapter Three first reviews literature in regards to tenure and settlement patterns of new migrants. It then examines evidence in relation to five housing-related themes linked to tensions between newcomers and established populations: housing exclusion, housing policy, housing management, the impact of new immigration on property market conditions and wider neighbourhood governance issues. Chapter Four draws out some of the main findings and suggests gaps in the evidence base for potential further research. A full bibliography follows.

Chapter 2

Features of new migration

Migration and immigration are creating specific places in the UK and Europe which are ethnically highly diverse. The emergence of 'super-' or 'hyper-diversity' in Britain is distinguished by 'a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade' (Vertovec, 2006). Between 1990 to 1998 the number of applications for asylum in the United Kingdom averaged around 33,700 per year (excluding dependents). In 1999, the number of applications increased significantly to 71,160 and remained high in subsequent years, rising to 84,130 – the highest level ever – in 2002, before falling significantly to 33,930 in 2004 (Peach and Henson, 2005) and 23,610 in 2006 (Home Office, 2007). There is no reliable data on the total size of the refugee population (those asylum applicants granted leave to remain), but, according to the National Audit Office, between 20 and 30 per cent of asylum applicants between 1994 and 2004 were granted some sort of settlement status (*ibid*). Similarly, there is no reliable data on the numbers of applicants who, once refused asylum, remain in the UK. Figures vary, with the Home Office estimating the number of failed asylum seekers and other unauthorised migrants in the UK at between 310,000 and 570,000 (Home Office, 2005c).² Numbers of migrants from the EU Accession countries are contested, with figures estimated at between 375,000 and 636,000 new arrivals between May 2004 and August 2006 (BBC, 2006a; 2006b).

Whereas modern Britain experienced mass immigration from New Commonwealth countries in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the settlement characteristics of more recent movements, from the 1990s until the present day, are distinctive in a number of ways. New Commonwealth migrants were chiefly labour migrants from the Caribbean, Indian sub-Continent, and included Asian refugees from East Africa and tended to cluster around the old industrial centres in the North and the Midlands. New immigrants are made up of asylum seekers, refugees and, more recently labour migrants, from a highly diverse number of origin countries.³ Settlement of asylum seekers and refugees, largely managed through the UK Government's dispersal programme, has been mainly housing-led. Where settlement has been employment-led, as it has for new labour migrants from Europe, new arrivals have tended to head for areas where there are new job opportunities, including highly diverse areas such as London, but also places with little experience of receiving large numbers of culturally and ethnically different newcomers, such as Lincolnshire and Norfolk (Robinson and Reeve, 2006). There are similarities in terms of public reaction, with Berkeley *et al* (2006) finding that negative public attitudes, possibly shaped by a form of 'moral panic' reflected by national newspapers and alarmist political messages, were similar now as then, though immigration is found to be higher in the public mind today. Zetter *et al* (2006) further find that socio-economic disadvantage, media hostility and anxiety that immigration is out of control have been continual features of the politics of immigration over the last century. There are also similarities in historical experiences of migrant settlement in terms of housing tenures, with most new migrants, like New Commonwealth immigrants before them, starting off in poor quality, private

² For more on failed asylum seeker and over-stayer statistics, see www.icar.org.uk/?id=6575

³ Home Office statistics show a wide range of counties of origin of asylum applicants, with at least 49 different countries of origin identified between 1997 and 2005 (Home Office, 2006)

rented accommodation (Modood *et al*, 1997, Phillips, 2006a), an issue to which this paper returns in Chapter Three.

Legal and policy environment of new migration

Asylum seekers arriving in the UK since the 1990s have been faced with a rapidly changing policy and legal environment. Before 1993, newly arrived asylum seekers enjoyed the same welfare and housing rights and benefits as British nationals. Increasing asylum numbers and pressure on services in London and the South East,⁴ was accompanied by a succession of Acts and legal changes which restricted housing options, lowered welfare entitlements and, according to Garvie (2001), reduced opportunities for self-sufficiency. The 1999 Asylum and Immigration Act, enacted in 2000, paved the way for a national scheme of asylum seeker dispersal through which responsibility for housing and support was centralised, moving from Local Authorities to a new department at the Home Office, the National Asylum Support Service (NASS), which has recently been subsumed within the functions of the UK Border Agency (UKBA).⁵ While some asylum seekers exercise their right to find their own accommodation, usually with friends or relatives, most were, and remain so today, accommodated under the scheme. The main features of the scheme are dispersal to twelve designated regions in the UK where demand for housing is lower than in London and the South East, the allocation of accommodation on a 'no-choice' basis and the requirement to move on from UKBA accommodation within 28 days of receiving a final decision on refugee status (Phillips, 2006b). Those granted refugee status enjoy the same housing and welfare rights and entitlements as British nationals.

The central aims of dispersal were to reduce pressure on housing and other services in London and the South East, avoid the incidence of secondary migration to those areas, deter further arrivals and avoid adding to problems of social exclusion and racial tensions (Hynes, 2006). The Government planned to disperse asylum seekers in 'language clusters', further criteria for choice of location being an existing ethnic minority population and the availability of support. However, in practice, dispersal has been led by the availability of vacant and cost-effective accommodation, which has been offered up by the mainly private providers to which UKBA contracted out its housing services (Phillips, 2006a; Hynes, 2006). Much of this is in neighbourhoods with existing social problems, often characterised by poor quality housing, community tensions and high levels of unemployment and crime (Phillips, 2006b; D'Onofrio and Munk, 2004). Hynes (2006) finds a significant relationship between dispersal locations, the 88 most deprived local authority districts (as defined by the Government's Social Inclusion Unit) and areas with high levels of unemployment, with more than 70 percent of dispersal locations in deprived districts in 2004. Hynes further finds that several dispersal locations were suspended or ceased at the request of police and other agencies, a fact that appears to support Boswell's (2001) assertion that 'dispersal may have helped reduce tensions in areas from which asylum-seekers are dispersed, but it has created far greater problems in new receiving areas.'⁶

⁴ Asylum seeker accommodation in the region tripled from 6,666 to over 20,000 between 1997 and 1999 (Garvie, 2001)

⁵ During the writing of this review, NASS ceased to exist as a department of the Home Office, and presently asylum support is dealt with and processed by the Home Office's newly formed UK Border Agency (UKBA). However, the dispersal scheme remains part of UKBA policy.

⁶ Boswell (2001), p. iii

While little evidence exists about the location of those granted refugee status, and even less on new labour migrants, both of whom are free to seek housing in the location of their choice (but, in the latter case, are not eligible for state-provided accommodation until they have made tax and national insurance contributions for at least twelve months), a study in one region found that around 50 per cent of refugees stay on in dispersal areas (Phillips, 2006b). 'Local Connection' policy dictates that refugees who seek social housing under homelessness legislation must apply in the area to which they were dispersed, an incentive to continued settlement in these locations. Available research on the settlement patterns of refugees have led Robinson and Reeve (2006) to state that, across the UK, 'refugee households have tended to find themselves in the worst housing on the least popular estates.'⁷

Relations between new migrants and established residents

There are few large scale or in depth studies about community relations in areas of new migrant settlement. However, Boswell (2001) notes a 'tangible rise in incidents of racial harassment in new cluster areas'.⁸ Hynes' (2006) finding, that asylum seeker dispersal to certain locations was suspended or ceased at the request of police and public authorities, suggests community tensions and the potential for conflict are high in certain dispersal areas. Rudiger (2006), in a review of literature on community relations as they affect migrant integration, notes 'frequent reports' of attacks against asylum seekers and conflicts between incoming and established groups. She also found that British attitudes to immigrants are consistently more negative than the European average, and that tensions exist in relations between new and established groups in certain geographical areas as well as a potential for tension found in national opinion data.⁹ A recent British survey found high levels of mistrust and resentment towards others in regards to their use of public services and benefits, with most suspicion directed at asylum seekers and recent migrants.¹⁰ In qualitative studies, Ward (2008), Valentine and McDonald (2004) and Phillips (2006b) find prejudice towards and harassment of migrants. Ward (2008) found less negative attitudes towards new labour migrants than towards asylum seekers and refugees in her study of community relations in Coventry, one of the few reports which differentiate between attitudes towards different categories of migrants. She also found less negative attitudes among new labour migrants towards established residents than among asylum seekers and refugees. Ward's research in Coventry is also one of the few studies that look at attitudes from the opposite perspective, that of migrant attitudes towards host populations. There is also a dearth of evidence in relation to the existence or otherwise of harassment by migrants towards established residents.

Some studies found that harassment and tensions between new and established groups were highest in predominantly white neighbourhoods with little recent history of integrating immigrants (Robinson and Reeve, 2006, Casey *et al*, 2004), while Amin (2002), reviewing research on the location of racial antagonisms, points to old white working class neighbourhoods experiencing successive waves of immigration, lamenting the loss of a 'golden ethnically undisturbed past,' and 'white flight' suburbs of aspirant working class and middle class white families, fearing the replacement of a 'homely white

⁷ Robinson and Reeve, 2006, p.27

⁸ Boswell, 2001, p.25

⁹ Rudiger, 2006. p.5

¹⁰ Duffy, B. (2004) *Can We Have Trust And Diversity?* London: MORI, 19 Jan, quoted in Rudiger (2006)

nation by another land of foreign cultural contamination and ethnic mixture.¹¹ Studies by Rudiger (2006), Phillips (2006b), Amas and Crosland (2006) and Leicester City Council (2003) suggest a more nuanced picture, that tensions are not just between white and migrant groups, nor exclusively in established white neighbourhoods, but that tensions are also evident between groups of established minority populations and new migrants, specifically in Southampton, Peterborough and Derby.

In regards to the profile of participants in such conflicts, Boswell (2001), in studies of dispersal in Germany and the UK, notes that anti-foreigner sentiment, enhanced by media coverage and political mobilisation, tends to be perpetrated by male adolescents and young adults with low levels of education. Ward (2008) also finds the perpetrators of harassment are predominantly young people, while conflicts between groups of new migrants and established residents Southampton, Peterborough, Derby and Wrexham, involved groups of young males.

'Community Cohesion' and housing: the UK Government's policy response

The wider policy response to tensions between established and migrant groups has largely originated from analysis and recommendations in response to the problems perceived to exist within established Asian communities. The analysis of the problem, that ethnic minority communities are self-segregating, spatially, socially, culturally and economically, and that this inevitably leads to social breakdown and conflict, lies at the heart of both UK and European policy. Fortuijn et al. (1998) offer the following description of this thinking:

'...segregation has an outspoken negative connotation and is predominantly focused upon the ethnic dimension. ... The fear [of ghettoisation] is based on the idea that a sequence of events may happen which is regarded as unwanted. That sequence is: increasing spatial segregation will lead to increasing separation of different social and ethnic classes and population categories; in its turn, that will produce ghetto-like developments and will finally result in the disintegration of urban society.'¹²

The 2001 disturbances in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford are seen largely as resulting from the residential concentration of Asians, a form of self-segregation that leads to other forms of segregation, in schools, employment and public life. The 'Cantle Report' which followed the disturbances, encapsulates this view:

'Whilst the physical segregation of housing estates and inner city areas came as no surprise, the team was particularly struck by the depth of polarisation of our towns and cities. The extent to which these physical divisions were compounded by so many other aspects of our daily lives, was very evident. Separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives. These lives often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges' (Independent Review Team, 2001, p. 9).

¹¹ Amin, 2002, p.961

¹² Fortuijn J D Musterd S and Ostendorf W 1998 International migration and ethnic segregation: impacts on urban areas *Urban Studies*, 35 367-370, quoted in Simpson *et al*, 2006

This analysis, which has shaped the UK government's policy on community relations, is also reflected at the wider European level. A 2003 report on immigrant integration by the European Commission states that housing segregation is inherently undesirable and should be tackled by housing policy.¹³

The community cohesion agenda, initially falling to the Home Office's Community Cohesion Unit, drew heavily on the findings of the Cattle report and local reviews commissioned in Oldham (Oldham Independent Panel Review, 2001) and Burnley (Burnley Task Force, 2002). Great emphasis in the community cohesion agenda has been placed on the contribution of inner-city residential ethnic segregation to inter-group unrest and conflict. Recently, however, the Commission on Integration and Cohesion, launched by the Department for Communities and Local Government to review causes and solutions to divided communities, has called for a more nuanced policy response. Reporting in June 2007, the Commission argued that while 'residential segregation' should continue to be the main concern for policy makers in some areas, in others it may be only one of a number of contributory factors:

'...our message is really that in some types of areas, residential segregation will be the issue to focus on. And in those areas, efforts to bring people together in the other spheres will need to be redoubled to counter the effect that residential segregation has. But that boiling down concerns about integration and cohesion into a narrow focus on residential segregation does not adequately reflect the types of challenges experienced by different types of areas.'¹⁴

At the time of writing, it remained to be seen whether the report's findings bring about changes to the Government's approach to cohesion.

Research evidence also suggests a more complex picture, with a number of studies finding that: longer established ethnic minorities are moving to the suburbs (Robinson and Reeve, 2006); that there is both in- and out-migration of ethnic minority communities resulting in a maintaining of the status quo rather than increased minority concentration (Phillips, 1998); and that segregation is a result of positive identification and the need for security rather than defensive separation, reflecting a form of social cohesion rather than social exclusion (Phillips, 2006a, Phillips 2006b, Simpson *et al*, 2006). To illustrate this point, Simpson *et al* (2006) point to earlier settlements in the UK of Jews, Huguenots and Irish, whose concentration were viewed as 'congregative rather than segregative.'¹⁵

Robinson (2005) argues that community cohesion policy is built on disputed notions of community, 'over-blowing ethnic difference'. It is his assertion that the emphasis on ethnic, and more recently, religious difference, masks other forms of 'community' or common identities through which individuals form into groups, such as class, gender, and age (many local conflicts are reported to involve predominantly young men). This serves to perpetuate not only stereotypes that often find expression through tabloid reporting, such as Asian, white or asylum seeking gangs, but also that the problem is an 'ethnic' problem to be solved through an 'ethnic' solution, masking real social-economic issues of unemployment, racism, poor housing or disaffected youth. The lack of identification or challenge to what might be termed 'white self-segregation,' indicates that it is ethnic minority values and principles that lie outside of what it is to be British, and that, according to the former Home Secretary, it is the

¹³ Entzinger, H. & Biezeveld, R. (2003) Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration: Report for the European Commission Immigration and Asylum Committee (Rotterdam: European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations), quoted in Phillips, 2006b

¹⁴ Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007, p.119

¹⁵ Simpson *et al*, 2006, p.2-3

children of immigrants that need to adopt 'British norms of acceptability'.¹⁶ This supports the assumption that it is the failure of the migrant to integrate that is the root of divided communities (Amin, 2002; Robinson, 2005; McGhee, 2006).

As segregation leading to fragmentation and a disunited nation has been identified as the problem, so interventions to promote common values, sense of place and shared sense of belonging and national identity have been seen as the solution. The community cohesion agenda is seen by some as marking a shift away from multiculturalism and the politics of difference towards a neo-assimilationist approach (Zetter *et al*, 2006). More mixed neighbourhoods with housing development are seen as key to achieving harmonious neighbourhoods and a nation united in values and purpose, allocations and management providing the 'hard' or physical tools to achieve this, the building of social capital and forging of social networks providing the 'soft' means.

There is little in refugee and immigration policy regarding cohesion, and little that is asylum seeker-, refugee- or labour migrant-specific in community cohesion policy. Similarly, wider policy initiatives that also impact on community relations, such as civil renewal and active citizenship, neighbourhood renewal, sustainable communities and social inclusion do not feature relations between established and new populations as an integral part (Rudiger, 2006), leaving local authorities and other agencies to subsume as they see fit the community relations needs of local new migrant populations into their wider community cohesion-related remits.

Policy regarding asylum seekers is largely focussed on managing temporary settlement and subsistence, as put forward in recent asylum and immigration legislation. Refugee-specific policy relates to the Government's integration strategy, as most recently set out in *Integration Matters* (Home Office, 2005), however the focus is mainly on access to services and support that will enhance the integration of refugees into society, with little specific guidance on the integrative role of host populations, host-refugee relations or the alleviation of host-refugee tensions. It is this principle of integration, with its largely migrant-specific approach, that underlies Government policy on immigration and community cohesion. The discourse that informs it, drawing as it does on the work of American academic Robert Putnam, who put forward the notion that it is the building of 'social capital', through individual and group relations that fosters social harmony, suggests that the causes of unrest within British cities are as much about social relationships as economic and political structures, legitimising a policy focus on individual and group behaviour (Temple *et al*, 2005).

Practical interventions

The practical response to the 'crisis in cohesion' has been a raft of 'bridge-building' interventions funded through the Home Office and Department for Communities and Local Government, (previously Office of the Deputy Prime Minister). In relation to asylum seekers, refugees and other new migrants, these have taken the form of facilitating access to public services, capacity building of Refugee Community Organisations, 'attitude change' through myth busting, positive images, multicultural events and media campaigns, one-to-one mentoring, and, to a lesser extent, community development and civic participation initiatives (Rudiger, 2006). These approaches are thought appropriate to the goals of

¹⁶ David Blunkett, former UK Home Secretary, speaking in 2001, quoted in Robinson, 2005

building social relationships, active citizenship and support in accessing services for the integrating migrant. There appears to be far less in regards to involving local host communities or addressing material needs and inequalities of local populations, although the community development approaches of some projects aspire to this. One study found that, despite the role of local white populations in disturbances in the North of England and Glasgow, government strategy has paid little attention to those communities, instead overwhelmingly focussing on the integration of migrant populations (McGhee, 2006).

Most interventions are implemented by local government and, particularly, the main refugee support and advocacy agencies operating in the voluntary sector. With much of the blame in regards to community tensions being put at the feet of the media, on misinformation, ignorance and racism, these agencies have responded by relying heavily on projects such as awareness raising of the 'refugee experience,' positive images of refugees campaigns, myth-busting leaflets, local media strategies and celebrations of diversity, such as the national 'Refugee Week' series of events. However, while some studies suggest a link between hostile media, forms of misinformation and ignorance, and harassment and community tensions (D'Onofrio and Munk, 2004; Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees, 2004), evidence that these kind of initiatives are likely to combat such tensions is weak, and, in so far as they have claimed to be successful, there is a question over whether 'attitude change' has been achieved beyond an already-receptive group to the wider population. One recent study on the attitude-changing potential of positive images of asylum seekers found that, while negative images encouraged negative attitudes, the inverse was not true, or in other words that positive images did not similarly engender positive attitudes (Lido, 2006). A review of bridge-building projects notes that, following an evaluation, the evidence in regards to the wider community relations impact of a much-lauded national refugee mentoring scheme was found to be 'inconclusive' (Rudiger, 2006). There is a clear need to evaluate the impact and reach of such initiatives.

Competition for resources and the identification of housing as key to community relations

Both research and policy reports have identified the competition over scarce local resources, and specifically housing, as causes of inter-group tensions. Prime Minister Gordon Brown, early in his term, named housing as a key Government priority, with much of the focus on creating new affordable housing as a means of regenerating communities (BBC, 2007a). Within community cohesion policy, housing has been assigned a prominent role, much of which, as mentioned above, relates to residential segregation. The policy-influencing report that followed the disturbances in Oldham surmised that 'the segregated nature of society is at the heart of the town's problems, and that begins with housing.'¹⁷ The Independent Review Team (2001) notes the, until now neglected, 'profound implications on the relationship between different races and cultures' of housing policies and urges housing agencies to 'urgently assess their allocations systems and development programmes with a view to ensuring more contact between different communities and to reducing tension.'¹⁸ A Home Office report, commenting specifically on new migration, calls for recognition of host community fears around competition for resources and the gearing up of housing, education and other services for the arrival of newcomers from the outset (Community Cohesion Panel, 2004). Such rhetoric leads Robinson (2005), in a review of UK community cohesion policy, to conclude that the Government sees housing as both the cause

¹⁷ Oldham Independent Review, 2001, p. 16

¹⁸ Independent Review Team, 2001, p.42-3

and cure to the 'crisis in cohesion.'¹⁹ However, the research suggests that the argument that 'mixing' promotes social interaction, and that segregation explains poor community relations, is overly simplistic. Housing estates and inner city parks are not structured as interaction places and evidence shows that they do not necessarily encourage 'multicultural' engagement (Robinson and Reeve, 2006, Amin, 2002). Indeed, as Amin (2002) points out, mixed estates can be witness to high levels of racism while less diverse estates can be relatively trouble-free, while a city such as Leicester, seen as a beacon of good race relations, is as 'ethnically segregated' as Bradford, one of the cities where the 2001 disturbances took place and subject of a Government-commissioned report on community fragmentation (Ouseley, 2001).

As already stated, housing occupies a lead role in UK immigration policy. A key goal of the Government's refugee integration strategy is to assist refugees to access decent, safe, secure and affordable accommodation spread across different regions, the longer term aim also being to promote mixing.

A number of research studies have concluded that local socio-economic conditions are an important determinant of relations between new migrant groups and established residents, chiefly because the arrival of newcomers in deprived neighbourhoods increases the competition for resources, especially housing and jobs, and fosters resentment among existing residents (Dench *et al*, 2006, Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Boswell, 2001; Casey *et al* 2004, Wren, 2004). In seeking to explain the process behind such resentment, Amin (2002) suggests that 'material well-being and social worth can help in reducing jealousy and aggression towards others seen to be competing for the same resources.'²⁰ McGhee (2006) suggests that the resentment of established residents exemplifies the 'narcissism of minor difference' which is associated with small differences between groups in close physical, economic and social proximity and that the host community 'fears its own meagre status is slipping to below that of the lowest of the low', in other words, asylum seekers, as a result of preferential treatment.²¹ Dench *et al* (2006), in a study of 'East End' Londoners, find that resentment is fuelled by a perception that priority for housing and other public resources is given to incoming migrants at the expense of local white working class residents, who feel their long standing contributions to British society have been ignored. Boswell (2001), in a comparative study of dispersal programmes in Germany and the UK, suggests that racist ideas may offer 'a means of defining membership and reinforcing a sense of social status.'²² Zetter *et al* (2006) argue that the social capital discourse taken up by the UK Government to explain the lack of cohesion in Britain's cities, masks the 'very real practical struggle over scarce resources that groups face at different levels of governance.'²³

Individual respondents to qualitative studies similarly point to perceptions of unequal treatment. Residents surveyed following the disturbances in Northern towns felt that preferential treatment towards one group over another was a key cause of the violence. It was felt that the Local Authority was spending disproportionate amounts on either the white or Asian community (Burnley Task Force, 2002; Oldham Independent Review, 2001). In the case of Oldham, where 22,000 houses were reported as unfit or in substantial need of renovation, the perception by white residents was that housing resources

¹⁹ Robinson, 2005, p.1414

²⁰ Amin, 2002, p.962

²¹ McGhee, 2006, p.117

²² Boswell, 2001, p.26-7

²³ Zetter *et al*, 2006, p.10

had unfairly targeted Asians (Oldham Independent Review, 2001). Established residents in areas accommodating dispersed asylum seekers across the UK believed that the latter's presence would result in the neglect of their needs (D'Onofrio and Munk, 2004). Valentine and McDonald (2004) found from a qualitative study of attitudes amongst white Britons that the two main justifications for prejudices were 'cultural' and 'economic,' and that asylum seekers and refugees are seen more as an economic threat, accused of taking jobs, housing and benefits. Casey *et al* (2004) find a somewhat contradictory picture in that while asylum seekers are seen as contributing to a sense of stability in formerly low-demand areas with transient populations, they are also causing resentment amongst residents who see them as getting preferential treatment. According to housing officers interviewed in Liverpool for one study, new migrants, arriving in neighbourhoods where resources are already overstretched, communities fragmented and rents artificially inflated, can be seen by locals as 'the last straw' (Phillips, 2006b). Ward (2008) found that housing was mentioned by respondents from a small sample of established residents in Coventry with negative attitudes towards newcomers as a main cause of these attitudes, with 33 per cent of the entire host population sample believing that asylum seekers and refugees were getting better housing than them. In interviews by the Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees, representatives of local integration and relationship-building projects from urban locations across the UK, including Leicester, London, Southampton, Birmingham and Glasgow, listed perceived preferential treatment in regards to housing as a main source of resentment among local host populations (Amas and Crosland, 2006).

These views may reflect, or be reflected by, negative national print media which Arai (2005) finds, when reporting on housing and migration matters, focuses on abuse of social housing and/or housing benefits systems and the resultant costs to the taxpayer. However, a study by the Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees on the reporting of asylum and refugee issues by the UK press in a three month period in 2005 found that while some criticisms of economic impact focussed on preferential treatment, reports were more likely to relate to the beneficial impacts of refugees (Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees, 2007). It found that, while instances of hostile and potentially inflammatory language continued to occur in some of the most popular national newspapers (in contrast to more positive regional and local press), overall, coverage was less hostile than earlier samples.

McGhee (2006) postulates that the Government's acknowledgment of the fears of 'white disadvantage' in relation to local resources, and attempts to reassure these, contributes to a 'state-generated mindset of popular racism.'²⁴ McGhee further contends that competition for scarce resources has become the 'battle cry for the mobilisation of disadvantaged white communities',²⁵ whipped up by right-wing activists such as the British National Party, which places competition for resources and preferential treatment at the heart of its manifesto to curb immigration. However, Government minister Margaret Hodge, whose recent suggestion that British families should be given priority over economic migrants for council housing was heavily criticised for such 'state-generated mindset,' argued not that it was an issue between white and other communities, but between established communities and newcomers (BBC 2007b).

If, as these studies suggest, the competition over scarce resources, and specifically housing, in socio-economically deprived neighbourhoods, is at the heart of tensions between established and new

²⁴ McGhee, 2006 p.113

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 116

migrant groups, then to what extent are the way these resources shaped and managed through policy, the market and by practitioners fanning the flames of discontent? After a review of new migrant tenure patterns, it is to this question that the paper turns.

Chapter 3

New migrant tenure patterns

While the objective of the dispersal programme was to distribute evenly the burden of accommodating asylum seekers, the fact that they were largely placed into deprived communities in low-demand areas means that any risks of community tensions were mostly confined to social housing and cheap private rented accommodation areas (Flint, 2006). Refugees and new labour migrants, who are able to exercise more choice in where they live, are also likely to head towards these areas where they are more likely to find affordable housing, are likely to be placed if allocated social housing, and are more able to attain the benefits of clustering, which are seen to include support, identity, security from hostility and culturally sensitive services and shops (Robinson and Reeve, 2006).

Modood *et al* (1997), in a study of ethnic minority patterns of tenure in Britain, find that links between housing tenure patterns and social class are less rigid than in previous decades. They find, for example, that in many cases the privately owned homes of ethnic minorities are overcrowded and are more likely to lack basic amenities than social housing tenants, traditionally seen as less prosperous. However, high rates of unemployment, crime and other indicators of poverty, still tend to be concentrated in areas of widespread social and private rented accommodation (Flint, 2006).

Private rented accommodation, which makes up 11 per cent of housing stock in England, predominantly houses single people and is often the only option for those who cannot buy and who are likely to be considered under local authority policies as having low priority for social housing (in other words, mainly low-income single men). Private rented stock is increasingly used by Local Authorities as temporary housing due to the chronic shortage of social housing. According to estimates, 39 per cent of private rented premises are 'Houses in Multiple Occupancy' (HMOs), including hostels and bedsits (Garvie, 2001). The private rented sector is unregulated and, in areas of cheap accommodation, properties are likely to be of poor standard and more likely than other types of tenure to lack basic amenities (Modood *et al*, 1997, Garvie, 2001).

While there is limited data on the tenure patterns of asylum seekers, refugees and other new migrants, what evidence there is suggests that these groups rely heavily on the private rented sector, followed by social housing and the houses of friends or relatives (Modood *et al* 1997; Garvie, 2001; Phillips, 2006a; Phillips, 2006b; Leicester City Council, 2003; Arai, 2005; Robinson *et al*, 2007)). When dispersal was devised, the Home Office expected to procure 60 per cent of bed spaces from private landlords, the remainder from consortia of Local Authorities, Registered Social Landlords and private landlords (Garvie, 2001), although this review was not able to find more up-to-date figures on this. While there is little data on the housing paths of refugees, Phillips (2006a, 2006b) suggests that single refugees often find themselves in poor quality private rented accommodation, being low priority for social housing and unlikely to be in a position to afford to buy. The one study identified that has looked at longer term housing tenures of asylum seekers and refugees, conducted in the early 1990s, found that, of a small sample of individuals that had arrived in the UK between two and ten years previously, 37 per cent were housed by the Local Authority (compared with 24 per cent of the general population), 20 per cent by housing associations (3) and 25 per cent in private rented accommodation (comparison figure not

available).²⁶ One study of Somalis in the London Borough of Camden similarly found that the majority were accommodated in the social housing sector, often in temporary housing (Khan and Jones, 2003), although this may reflect the fact that many of the group arrived in the UK before 1996 when social housing was more accessible to asylum seekers. Bloch (2002) found from a study of the settlement of a small number of refugees in the London Borough of Newham, that 54 per cent were in the private rented sector, 23 per cent in council housing and 13 per cent in housing association properties.²⁷ While there is even less data on new labour migrants, most are expected to rent (Arai, 2005). From a small sample of Liberians, Pakistanis, Poles and Somalis in Sheffield, Robinson *et al* (2007) found that immigration status impacted on the housing pathways of new migrants. Poles, who had arrived as labour migrants were likely to rent, Pakistanis had arrived on spouse visas and were likely to live with family, Liberians had arrived with refugee status through the Gateway resettlement programme, securing long term social housing after an initial period in temporary accommodation, while the Somali sample, who had arrived as asylum seekers, took more complicated routes, most eventually securing longer term council housing after temporary periods in UKBA accommodation and hostels or bed and breakfast accommodation for homeless people.

Data for the period 1993 to 2001 suggests that most applicants for asylum (between 80% and 90%, depending on the year of application) do not have dependants accompanying them, and most of these are likely to be male (Peach and Henson, 2005). Being mostly single men, they come into direct competition with 'low priority' single men seeking accommodation in deprived neighbourhoods from established populations.

Housing conditions and social exclusion

The first theme identified in literature linking housing, new migrants and community relations is that of migrant-specific social exclusion, that the very conditions of new migrant housing can lead to dissatisfactions that translate into tensions between these and other groups, a link that is made by Rudiger (2006), Boswell (2001), Phillips (2006b) and Temple and Moran (2005) and discussed later in this section. While the search for literature did not find any large scale, in-depth studies on the housing experiences of asylum seekers, refugee or new labour migrants,²⁸ and nothing in the way of comparative studies between these groups and established populations, what evidence does exist paints a fairly bleak picture of their housing circumstances. New migrant groups are found to experience poor housing conditions across all tenures, and especially in the private rented sector, characterised by serious disrepair, overcrowding, low standards of health, safety and cleanliness, with some households facing exploitation by unscrupulous landlords and others facing harassment from neighbours but unable to move, lacking knowledge of their housing rights (Garvie, 2001; Greater London Authority 2004; Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Phillips, 2006a; Cole and Robinson, 2003; Khan, S and Jones, A, 2003; Dwyer and Brown, 2004). In a small sample study of asylum seeker accommodation in dispersal regions, 86 per cent of properties were found to be unfit for the number of

²⁶ Carey-Wood *et al.* (1995), Meeting Refugees' Needs in Britain: The role of refugee-specific initiatives. London: Home Office. Quoted in Quilgars *et al* (2003)

²⁷ Bloch, A (2002), The Migration and Settlement of Refugees in Britain. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Quoted in Quilgars *et al.* (2003)

²⁸ Modood *et al*'s (1997) review of ethnic minorities in Britain offered the most comprehensive data, but it focuses mainly on more established ethnic minorities and was compiled before the more recent large-scale movement of new migrants.

actual or intended occupants while 17 per cent were found to be unfit for habitation altogether (Garvie, 2001). One fifth of refugees and asylum seekers in temporary accommodation interviewed for a small London study reported serious problems of disrepair and one third felt unsafe, compared to a London average of 6 per cent (Greater London Authority, 2004). This is against a backdrop of reports of collapsed housing markets and wide scale dereliction facing the wider population in certain urban areas (Oldham Independent Review, 2001; Burnley Task Force, 2002; Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1999; Community Cohesion Panel, 2004) and the estimated £30 billion projected cost of council housing improvements and modernisation nationally (Dell'Olio, 2004). One study in Liverpool found that a majority of new arrivals were happy with the size and location of the accommodation they received on arrival. A minority, however, complained about poor conditions, while 40 per cent reported to have faced racial harassment (Liverpool Strategic Housing Partnership, 2004). Another study found that housing conditions in the private rented sector have improved in one dispersal area as landlords seek to bring their properties up to standards stipulated by UKBA (Casey *et al*, 2004), although Boswell (2001) points out that some private landlords, who are only required to consult UKBA on standards of properties with six or more bedspaces, have been getting around this requirement by purchasing chains of smaller properties. There appears to be a need to research the housing experiences of new migrant groups more comprehensively, and to disaggregate between those groups.

Much of the blame for conditions such as poor housing that is thought to contribute to social exclusion is laid at the feet of government immigration policy. Garvie (2001) argues that the various immigration and asylum acts that culminated in the dispersal programme have led to the 'systematic exclusion' of asylum seekers from mainstream social housing and, that passing responsibility for housing from local housing and social services departments to the Home Office bypassed the wealth of experience these agencies possess and created a situation where inexperienced, non-housing agencies have become involved in the large scale procurement and allocation of private rented accommodation. Hynes (2006) and Robinson and Reeve (2006) also make the link between immigration policy and the wider social exclusion of new migrants. Hynes further suggests that refugee advocacy agencies, by occupying the space offered by the Home Office to provide support services, have become a *de facto* but integral part of the UKBA system.

There is little in the literature which concretely demonstrates the link between housing conditions and community relations, although a general causal link between disadvantage and the potential for resentment that this fosters is assumed. Rudiger (2006) finds that 'a sense of (basic economic) and physical safety is necessary to enable dialogue and cooperation to take place.'²⁹ Boswell (2001) also suggests these links, arguing that the reduction of benefits for asylum seekers has led to their social marginalisation which, aided by negative media and public statements, itself can lead to race relations problems. Phillips (2006b) and Temple and Moran (2005) also argue that the social and economic exclusion of asylum seekers undermines their morale and thereby can damage community relations. It might further be argued that the potential for resentment towards migrants is created by setting asylum seekers outside of mainstream benefit and support services and removing their right to work, encouraging a view of asylum seekers and refugees³⁰ as dependent, who do not work and yet who are allocated 'free' housing. Meanwhile, resentment from migrants themselves may be encouraged through

²⁹ Rudiger, 2006, p.6

³⁰ Research has shown that while, distinctly different in terms of right and entitlements, the general public generally associates asylum seekers and refugees together (Finney and Peach, 2004).

the denial of the same free will and tools for sustainable living that the rest of the population or indeed the generations of migrants that settled in the UK before them were afforded.

Housing policy

Before examining the impact of housing policy on community relations, the broader housing policy environment as it pertains to new migrants and British nationals is reviewed. Until 1996, Local Authorities, housing associations and privately rented accommodation were expected to meet new migrant housing needs. Asylum-seekers and refugees had the same rights to local authority housing as British nationals, and local authorities could provide permanent housing to asylum-seekers under homelessness legislation. The Asylum and Immigration Act of 1996 restricted refugees' access to council housing in all but exceptional cases, and the 1999 Asylum and Immigration Act transferred responsibility for housing asylum seekers from Local Authorities to the Home Office. Under the dispersal programme, asylum seekers are allocated housing on a 'no-choice' basis in one of the UK's dispersal regions, unless they choose not to take up the offer of housing and instead live with friends or relatives and receive subsistence expenses only. Housing-related support is the responsibility of a department of the UK Border Agency (UKBA) (formerly NASS), which sub-contracts such services to local providers, including landlords and refugee support agencies from the voluntary sector. Refugees on the other hand fall under the same legal and policy framework as British nationals, although they may receive supplementary 'integration' support by way of a Home Office funded caseworker under the Government's 'SUNRISE' (Strategic Upgrade of National Refugee Integration Services) initiative. A small number, who are granted refugee status before arrival in the UK, receive housing and support under the Gateway Programme.³¹ Refugees may also benefit from the policies of local housing providers who run specialist refugee support schemes, although few social housing providers have refugee or migrant housing strategies (Perry, 2005). Some Registered Social Landlords (RSLs), or housing associations, also provide housing specifically for refugees with special needs. Labour migrants are not entitled to state benefits, including state-provided housing and housing benefit, until they have worked and paid income tax and national insurance contributions in the UK for a minimum of twelve months. All such housing policies are subordinate to the wider legal duties placed on Local Authorities to ensure good community relations and combat discrimination and harassment through race relations and anti-discrimination legislation.

Under national housing legislation, applications for state-funded social housing are determined by a system of prioritisation. In general, the greater the evidenced need, which is determined by a number of 'reasonable preference' categories, the higher priority a household is given. In cases of homelessness or potential homelessness, Local Authorities have a duty to investigate the 'vulnerability' of households, which may be related to current living conditions, health, age, family composition and other factors, before allocating suitable housing.³² In most cases, and especially in the case of single men, who are considered to have less need than other household categories, households will be placed on a waiting list, the waiting time for which varies from several months in certain parts of the north of the UK, to seven years in the south (Dell'Olio, 2004). These waiting times come at a time of increasing pressure on a social housing sector which has contracted and changed significantly in the last two decades. A

³¹ For more information on the Gateway Programme, see www.icar.org.uk/?id=2002

³² For detailed information on priority need and housing policy more widely, see www.homelessnessact.org.uk and <http://england.shelter.org.uk/policy/index.cfm> or (scotland/wales/northernireland.shelter etc)

major reduction in council housing stock and a shift in new investment towards the housing association sector has primarily been the consequence of central government investment limits (*ibid*). Dell'Olio (2004) identifies five critical housing issues facing the UK. The first is the waiting times faced by applicants, as mentioned above, the national average being three years. Second, the increasing use of temporary and often unsuitable accommodation, typically 'bed and breakfast', to house the homeless, the use of which rose from a quarter to a third of those housed during the mid-1990s. The third problem is the lack of affordable homes, with public spending providing less than 65 per cent of the estimated number of units needed. Fourth, the poor condition of much council housing stock, with 'quality problems' for elderly and low-income home-owners increasing and six per cent of homes considered 'unfit' for habitation. And, finally, there has been a significant growth and spread in the concentration of low income, unemployed and single parent families within social housing, with less than one household in three having an employed member, falling to one in ten on poorer estates.

Refugees and eligible new labour migrants that seek social housing join mainstream Local Authority waiting lists. With the Local Authority in one English city reporting that 17 per cent of new applications to its Housing Register were from people from abroad,³³ higher numbers of households joining lists may lead to a perception that waiting times for others are increasing, potentially causing frustration or resentment. However, refugees and other new migrants are not considered automatically 'in need' by virtue of their status as refugees or migrants and therefore are not given priority for social housing solely due to their immigration status. Some authors have suggested that the automatic granting of a priority category for refugees should be considered, based purely on their status as refugees (Robinson, 2006; Arai, 2005), although it is unclear as to on what grounds such exclusivity be granted, or, in other words, what it is about the refugee condition that might give them priority over British nationals, or indeed what the community relations impact of such legislation might be.

There is little in the literature reviewed in regards to the eligibility policies of housing associations, which are sometimes independent from those of Local Authorities, in relation to refugees and other migrants and how such policies impact on community relations. In so much as some housing associations appear to allocate bedspaces by prioritising certain groups, usually characterised accordingly to 'vulnerability' categories such as single women, mental health sufferers, street homeless and specified ethnic minorities, and that this process of selection causes grievances amongst other groups competing for the same bedspaces, there appears to be a gap in the evidence.

While evidence suggests a large proportion of new migrants are housed in the private rented sector, there is little data on the scale of this, or on their experiences. This can partially be explained by the fact that the sector is not subjected to the same level of control, regulation and monitoring as the social housing sector. Certainly, it can be expected that private sector processes are likely to militate against the community cohesion policy calls for desegregation. It remains to be seen whether and how neighbourhood desegregation takes place and to what extent new migrants are involved, although it can be argued that the dispersal programme reflects this aim. A limited study of asylum seeker housing and dispersal in 2001 found emerging evidence that private landlords were choosing to enter the 'lucrative asylum seeker market,' opting to let their properties under guaranteed UKBA contracts at the expense of traditional groups of private tenants, such as the unemployed and students (Garvie, 2001). The expected impact of this was a reduction in the supply of rented property available to longer term residents and new, inexperienced and unprofessional landlords entering the market. Eight years after

³³ Leicester City Council (2003)

dispersal there is a need to research this further, and explore potential links to host population perceptions of preferential treatment and resentment. Another study of dispersal suggests that the use of private rented accommodation means that Local Authorities and voluntary sector stakeholders have little input in defining suitable housing areas for asylum seekers, leading to their placement in areas of high deprivation and with little history of integrating immigrants and, by implication, increasing the potential for local tensions (Boswell, 2001). The impact of a non-intervening state is also highlighted in a study of social cohesion across four UK urban areas, where a lack of local government intervention in reviving deprived neighbourhoods was seen by residents as contributing to a sense of abandonment and lack of trust (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1999).

At the wider poverty alleviation policy level, while the Government acknowledges that reducing poverty and income disparities remain a key concern, its adoption of the new conception of cohesion in terms of social relationships makes room for a focus on local community governance as much as service provision improvement (Zetter *et al*, 2006). Flint (2006) argues that the move towards local ownership and governance and the identification of housing as a key driver of good community relations, has resulted in responsibility for anti-social behaviour and community cohesion being inculcated into housing policy and the remits of local social housing providers, and in its shifting from government to local communities. He identifies three features of the 'new' social housing governance: the identification of the local community level and local ownership as the place to manage problems and regenerate through the building of social capital; a focus on multi-agency, cross-sectoral management and delivery of renewal, with housing agencies increasingly playing a lead role; and the promotion of self-governance and self-conduct, played out in housing through resident-led and community-based housing organisations. Social housing, disproportionately the site of problematic behaviours, 'offers spaces and places of poverty and control,' giving the grounds and the legal and political route for government intervention, with social landlords as agents of change and deprived populations empowered to tackle their own problems.³⁴ This, Flint argues, moves risk away from affluent areas and puts pressure on deprived populations to manage risk, with social landlords seen as increasingly out of their depth, expected to manage community tensions and yet inadequately skilled, resourced, or, one might further argue, authorised to do so. Garvie (2001) similarly observed that inexperienced private landlords housing asylum seekers under UKBA contracts are expected to play a support role to their tenants, who may face harassment, and that the superior knowledge of neighbourhood issues possessed by local authorities and related agencies had been bypassed by the UKBA sub-contracting process, although more recent studies on the nature of housing support to asylum seekers were not found. Flint concludes that the transference of traditional governance duties from local government and the police to local populations and service providers makes it increasingly unlikely that risk and responsibility will be shared, and therefore greater cohesion achieved at the level of governance and community. There is a need to research this further in relation to new migrant populations, to find evidence of the tensions experienced by housing providers taking on extra responsibilities in relation to local populations and how these relationships impact on wider community tensions. There is also a need to examine wider community governance issues, the participation or otherwise of new migrants in these, and their impact on community relations, a subject which will be returned to later in this chapter.

³⁴ Flint, 2006, p.176

Housing Management

In a critique of the UK Government's stated policy aims of social balance and mixed neighbourhoods, Goodchild and Cole (2001) identify their manifestation in housing management solutions to deprivation, characterised by initiatives such as neighbourhood wardens, as well as highlighting contradictions to the social balance agenda within other government departments. In relation to new migrants, Phillips (2006a) lists the failings of housing interventions as due to a confusion of responsibilities between stakeholder agencies, a lack of user consultation, poor management, the short-termism of projects (which is related to the wider issue of inadequate funding) and the inexperience of service providers. Garvie (2001) also finds a lack of joint working between agencies housing and supporting asylum seekers, and Boswell (2001) and Dwyer (2005) find inadequate and incompetent support at BIA (NASS) properties. However, there is little data in the literature to suggest how these management problems may result in exacerbated tensions between groups. More causal links are made by Hewitt (2002) and Dwyer and Brown (2004), who finds examples of asylum seekers experiencing racial harassment but not being moved to more suitable accommodation, Boswell (2001), who identifies a rise in local tension and harassment following the placement of 1,000 mainly single male Iraqi Kurds in a neighbourhood with little history of immigration in Hull, and Hynes (2006) and Cole and Robinson (2003), who find evidence of different clans, nationalities and 'warring factions' being accommodated together, sometimes in shared houses, exacerbating pre-existing conflict amongst refugee and asylum seeking groups. Garvie (2001) and Cole and Robinson (2003) find examples of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors being accommodated in hostels with older single men, and Stanley (2001) finds housing officer concerns at the potential 'disastrous' effects of inappropriate housing on the behaviour of unaccompanied minors making the transition to adult services. As much of the evidence in regards to the community relations impact of housing management is based on individual cases, there is a need for a wider ranging review of the management of new migrant accommodation, its links to policy and the wider impact on relations with local groups.

At a wider policy management level, the drive towards ethnically mixed estates and neighbourhoods, also reflected in the aims of the dispersal programme, is seen to be creating pressures on social housing providers who find a conflict between this higher policy directive and the wishes of their tenants, many of whom wish to live in areas comprising members of their own groups. In many cases, housing managers are actively allocating ethnic minority households to more ethnically mixed areas to avoid neighbourhood conflict and tension (Robinson, 2005). While community cohesion rhetoric proclaims the tension-alleviating benefits of residential mixing, there is a question as to the neighbourhood relations impact of such a policy where it is forced upon new migrant households, in comparison to the exercising of free will, where newcomers make their own way in the housing market.

Phillips (2006b) argues that a lack of agreed criteria for evaluating asylum seeker and refugee housing interventions hinders the development of sound housing practice, while other studies identify a lack of evaluation of community relations initiatives involving new migrants more widely, inhibiting the building of a body of evidence to inform which practices reduce and which increase local tensions (Amas and Crosland, 2006; Rudiger, 2006).

Property market impact

The housing market impact of the influx of new migrants into a locality is relatively under researched, with the exception of one focused study (Casey *et al*, 2004), discussed below. In qualitative research undertaken in Leeds, new migrants are reported as experiencing hostility from locals who feel that their neighbourhood is adversely changed and house prices affected (Dwyer and Brown, 2004). Community development workers and housing officers interviewed across several UK cities in another study felt that rents could be artificially inflated by incoming asylum seekers leading to resentment from locals competing in the same property market (Phillip, 2006b). From interviews with housing and regeneration professionals, and focus groups with local residents and asylum seekers, Casey *et al*'s (2004) study of 19 deprived neighbourhoods (of which 3 were 'in depth' case studies) found that the inward movement of asylum seekers impacts both positively and negatively on local housing markets. In terms of positives, local residents welcomed a reduction in empty properties and the sense of stability that the newcomers brought to run down, transient areas, fearing their leaving would return houses to dereliction and disrepair. Some welcomed an increase in the supply of private rented accommodation and the improvement of properties that landlords had brought up to UKBA standards. In terms of negatives, residents were resentful of the increased competition for scarce housing resources, especially in high demand areas, although the increased demand for larger three- to four-bedroomed properties, which local people also sought, was also felt in low demand areas. In low supply areas like London, this put particular pressure on Local Authorities. Asylum seekers were also seen as a contributory factor to rising property prices. In low demand areas, this was brought about by speculative purchasing by private landlords seeking to house asylum seekers and by their investment in these properties. This was also seen to prevent house clearance in run down areas as properties became too expensive for local authorities to 'buy off' for demolition. Another impact was seen to be the attraction of unscrupulous landlords with no interest in the area, including one report of tenants being evicted for asylum seekers to move in. Finally, the reduced supply of affordable housing in high demand areas impacted upon students, claimants and first time buyers, with fixed UKBA contracts meaning that extra supply could not be created to accommodate changes in demand.

Casey *et al* concede that a lack of data on asylum seekers at the neighbourhood level hinders more substantive research findings; this and findings from the other studies referenced above are essentially qualitative and based on the perceptions of small samples of individuals. There is a need for more research in this area and the collection of more rigorous data.

A report by the Institute of Public Policy Research argues that the idea that new migrants are crowding the housing market by 'jumping the queue' for social housing and pushing up rents is overblown (Srikandarajah, 2004). The report argues that asylum seekers are housed under separate arrangements and therefore do not take away social housing that would otherwise be available for UK nationals, and furthermore that, overall, migrants make up a relatively small percentage of social housing tenants, so while they may increase overall demand slightly, the impact on shortages and rising prices should not be exaggerated. However, this does not take account of the private rented sector where it has been shown most new migrants are housed and where they come into direct competition with single males and other 'non-priority' households. Furthermore, between 2003 and 2006 around 30 per cent of UKBA-supported asylum seekers chose subsistence only support over subsistence plus accommodation, indicating further potential impact on the private rented sector (Home Office 2007, 2006, 2005d and 2004). In addition to this, some failed asylum seekers, which in 2005

were estimated at up to 570,000 in total (Home Office, 2005c), are also likely to seek privately rented accommodation, being ineligible for state-provided housing. Migration Watch (2006), in a briefing paper on the long term impact of immigration on housing, argues that the rate of net immigration since 1997 has far outstripped the rise in housing stock, contributing significantly to housing shortages and 'serious problems of affordability', and that this trend is set to continue. However, the report fails to weigh the impact of immigration against other causal factors affecting market changes and fails to account for the possibility that some immigrants may not stay permanently in the UK.

Nevin (2004) argues that asylum seekers have been housed with total disregard to the wider UK Government's Housing Market Renewal Programme, thereby missing the opportunity to address causes of housing market change and to improve local areas. The buying up of poor and disused housing by private landlords, who are able to make ten times over their initial capital investments through revenue from BIA (NASS) contracts, has artificially affected local markets, preventing housing clearance and the ability to manage the local housing market to the benefit of the whole population. He argues that the use of housing associations would have been preferable as this would not have affected the market and therefore not interrupted local housing renewal strategies.

Neighbourhood governance

While it has been beyond the scope of this review to examine, in depth, wider local governance issues and their impact on relations between established and incoming groups, the leading role that housing agencies play in the 'new' conception of local governance, as discussed in relation to Flint's (2006) critique above, makes it highly relevant and worthy of further study. Both community and urban renewal strategies are founded on principles of 'community involvement' and 'active citizenship', reflecting what Flint describes as the new 'politics of behaviour' and 'contractual forms of governance', where rights and responsibilities replace old left-right arguments over economic ownership.³⁵ With many new migrants settling in neighbourhoods targeted for renewal, it is inevitable their integration experiences will be shaped by regeneration strategies, and that local group relations will be impacted by changing neighbourhood governance arrangements.

Allen and Cars (2001) describe a 'governance revolution' where local service providers have been made to coordinate their efforts with others, essentially in order to make more efficient use of less available resources, and end up torn between putting their time into coordination and local governance and fighting to maintain their own existing level of resources. The Local Authority, formerly the dominant and lead welfare agency and policy maker, now finds its role spread across public, private and voluntary sectors, required to join up disparate objectives and combine its traditional role as service provider with trying to work with other partners and provide local leadership. A number of issues arise from this new multi-level, multi-agency neighbourhood governance.

Firstly, local accountability is no longer simply upwards to and within the Local Authority, but rather complex and multi-stranded as different agencies and actors struggle to balance accountability within

³⁵ For further discussion on this 'new' thinking on 'rights and responsibilities' and the division between those that believe rights that are universal and unconditional and those that believe that rights are earned through responsibility, see Baggini (2008) and ICAR's forthcoming literature review on Refugee Rights and Responsibilities (Morrell, 2008)

existing structures and outwards towards other partners and actors, including local residents, leading to weak consultative and participative forums (*ibid*). These forums, while professing to offer local ownership, are in fact subject and secondary to inter-agency bargaining for resources 'behind the scenes,' with competition between agencies superseding the interests of local residents. The result is a lack of transparency towards residents, an 'us and them' mentality, and anyone working as a residents' representative being seen as unable to meet the demands of co-residents. Furthermore, recognising any particular demand from residents is seen to privilege certain agencies and social groups, making it difficult for inter-agency coordinating groups to recognise significant areas of need (*ibid*).

Next, the introduction of special renewal funding exacerbates these problems, changing the balance of power between agencies, often in ways unrelated to local social dynamics and encouraging agencies to 'dig in and fight their own corners' (*ibid*, p.2200). Additionally, the process of ensuring 'quick fix' investments of capital are spent efficiently is unrelated to the slower dynamics of establishing local coordinating and consultative mechanisms, which enhance local resident powerlessness and contributing to what Allen and Cars describe as the 'paradox of the new welfare state' which 'delivers services hand-in-hand with powerlessness' (*ibid* p.2200). A study of factors affecting social cohesion in four urban regeneration neighbourhoods similarly found that the consultation processes failed to deliver control for residents and in fact led to their sense of powerlessness in the regeneration process (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1999).

Regeneration activities have also been seen to reinforce tensions between groups, including established and new migrant groups, where the allocation of funding for specific group needs lead to feelings of preferential treatment (Leicester City Council, 2003; Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1999). A study by Dwyer (2005) found that different perceptions of community relations by stakeholders makes it difficult for multi-agency groups to take concrete action, with the views of some agencies linked to perceptions of the host community as white racist working class neighbourhoods and 'sink estates.' Parekh (2000) finds neighbourhood governance that is top-down, such as the current multi-agency approach, tends to reflect the dominant culture, which, in a multicultural setting such as the UK, can intensify cross-cultural tensions.³⁶ However, his argument for bottom-up governance by the specific groups in the area comes from a view of multiculturalism that is based on high tension societies in the Indian sub-Continent where there are fewer interest groups, and does not address the problems of participation and representation that are likely to arise where there are a large number of very small cultural groups, as in some parts of the UK.

While the mechanics of governing, and participating in the governance of, neighbourhoods, are seen to be problematic, there appears to be little research into the links between local governance, regeneration and community relations. This review found very little literature on the involvement, or otherwise, of new migrants in regeneration processes and the governance of local neighbourhoods more generally, or on the governance of local reception and integration activities and its relation to wider neighbourhood management strategies and the impact of this on relations between long term residents and newcomers.

³⁶ Parekh, B. (2000) *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. London: Macmillan, quoted in Allen and Cars (2001).

Chapter 4

Conclusion of the review

This report has reviewed a variety of research studies on housing, race and ethnicity, asylum management, refugees and immigration, multiculturalism, cohesion, urban development and neighbourhood renewal and management to make new links between housing, immigration and community relations. However, the availability and range of existing evidence means these links are tentative, the patchy and sparse nature of data exposing the need to conduct wider studies in these areas. Much of the evidence comes from small qualitative samples, most of which are snapshots in time rather than longitudinal studies, offering perceptions of situations by a limited number of individuals, and not supplemented by wider ranging quantitative data. Others are critical studies of policy, offering insights and inferences, but also based on limited data.

What little research exists on new migrant housing is relatively old and small scale and tends to centre on the 'refugee housing experience,' typified by a focus on conditions and needs at the initial stage of settlement rather than wider impact of housing patterns, management and policy and the impact of those on wider community relations. Few housing interventions as they relate to new migrants appear to have been rigorously evaluated, further preventing the development of a substantive evidence base.

Policy discourse on migrant housing and community relations evolves chiefly from the Government's wider community cohesion, immigration and neighbourhood renewal agendas and is migrant-centred, where migrants are problematised as failing to integrate into host society. Much of the research and policy advocacy literature on the other hand, while also migrant-centred, situates the migrant as a passive victim of circumstance, where inappropriate service provision, government policy and a hostile public are the problems to be solved.

On a practical level, 'bridge building' projects are emerging that centre around migrant support backed up by 'awareness raising' campaigns, yet there is little evidence to suggest that these are based on an evidence-backed analysis of causes of community relations problems and that they can effectively tackle the root causes of local tensions.

Gaps in the evidence base

The paucity of evidence exposed by this review points to the need for further and more in depth research. Specific evidence gaps include the following.

The profile of asylum seekers, refugees and new labour migrants at the neighbourhood level

Hard data about the numbers, residential status and demographic profile of new migrants at the district and borough level; their countries of origin, backgrounds, gender, age, household composition, skills and employment status.

The housing and settlement patterns and experiences of asylum seekers, refugees and new labour migrants

Patterns of settlement at the neighbourhood and national level and factors shaping these; housing experiences, influencing factors, including differentiations by class, gender, age, status and background, and comparisons with established communities; housing pathways of different immigrant groups from initial arrival through to transition stage and permanent settlement including tenure patterns.

The community relations impact, experiences and needs of asylum seekers, refugees and new labour migrants and established individuals and groups

More rigorous data on relationships between new migrant and established populations and factors affecting these; hostility and harassment experienced by new migrant and established populations from the other and influencing factors; tensions within and between new migrant groups; the community relations needs of new migrant and established groups, local perspectives and definitions of social cohesion and 'acceptable' levels of interaction and trust; longer term impact on local social relations of significant levels on in-migration; impact on relations of recent in-migration of labour migrants from the expanded European Union; the community relations impact of overstayers and failed asylum seekers.

The voices of asylum seekers, refugees and new labour migrants and established individuals and groups

Everyday lived experiences and views of new migrants and established residents in relation to each other, the problems they encounter and processes of local negotiation; how each is adapting to the other, identity and attitude formation and changes and the 'organic' processes of co-existence; aspirations and motivations of both groups in relation to housing, neighbourhoods and community relations; differentiations by gender, class, group, status and background in relation to the above.

Contributions and consequences of housing management and policy

Social housing policy, including the allocations system and residential mixing, and its impact on community relations; the role and practises of housing associations and impact of new responsibilities of housing managers; the role and practises of private landlords and of voluntary sector support agencies and impact on community relations; housing providers as mediating agencies and their impact on community relations; lessons learned from housing interventions

The housing market impact of new immigration

The impact on prices, demand and supply on the private housing sector of asylum seekers, refugees and new labour migrants; the impact of responses to new migration on local housing market renewal strategies; the impact of market changes on wider community relations

Local governance, management and regeneration

Wider neighbourhood governance and the management of neighbourhood changes and the impact on community relations; the relations between neighbourhood governance and the governance of local immigration and integration; neighbourhood renewal, the allocation of resources to specific groups and impact on relations; new migrant participation in local governing structures in relation to belonging, ownership and social relations

Settlement approaches and community relations

Comparative forms of settlement, from relatively free choice (new labour migrants) to control (dispersal, Gateway Programme) and implications for community relations; interventions in new migrant settlement

and the role of agency in shaping community relations; housing, immigration and community relations
comparisons with other industrialised countries

Bibliography

- Allen, J. and Cars, G. (2001) 'Multiculturalism and governing neighbourhoods', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 12, pp. 2195–209
- Amas, N and Crosland, B (2006) *Understanding the Stranger: Building Bridges Community Handbook*. London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation
- Amin, A. (2002) 'Ethnicity and the multicultural city: living with diversity', *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 34, pp. 959–80
- Arai, L (2005), *Migrants & public services in the UK: a review of the recent literature*. University of Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society
- Baggini, J (2008), *Across the Great Divide*, Prospect Magazine issue 142, January 2008, Prospect Publishing
- BBC (2007a), Housing dominates Brown's agenda. Online news report 11 July 2007. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/6288524.stm
- BBC (2007b), Call for migrant housing re-think. Online news report 21 May 2007. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/6673911.stm
- BBC (2006a), 1,425,000 Migrants in Two Years? Online analysis report 23 August 2006. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/5274476.stm
- BBC (2006b) Migrant Worker Figure 'Too Low.' Online news report 7 July 2006. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/5155044.stm
- Bhavnani *et al* (2005), *Tackling the Roots of Racism*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Berkeley, R, Khan, O and Ambikaipaker, M (2006), *What's new about new immigrants in twenty-first century Britain?* York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Boswell, C. (2001) *Spreading the Cost of Asylum Seekers: A Critical Assessment of Dispersal Policies in Germany and the UK*. Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society
- Burnley Task Force (2002) *Report of the Burnley Task Force*. Chaired by Lord Clarke. Burnley: Burnley Task Force
- Casey, R., Coward, S., Fordham, T., Hickman, P., Reeve, K. and Whittle, S. (2004) *The Housing Market Impact of the Presence of Asylum-seekers in NDC Areas*. London: NRU
- Chartered Institute of Housing (2003) *Providing a Safe Haven: Housing Asylum Seekers and Refugees*. CIH Policy Paper. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing

- Casey, R., Coward, S., Fordham, T., Hickman, P. Reeve, K. & Whittle, S. (2004). The housing market impact of the presence of asylum seekers in NDC areas. Research Report 24. Sheffield Hallam University: Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research.
- Cole, I. and Robinson, D. (2003) Somali Housing Experiences in England. Sheffield: CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University
- Community Cohesion Panel (2004) The End of Parallel Lives? The Report of the Community Cohesion Panel. London: Home Office
- Community Cohesion Review Team (2001) Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team Chaired by Ted Cattle. London: Home Office
- Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007), Our Shared Future
- Dench, G, Gavron, K and Young, M (2006), The New East End: Kinship, Race and Conflict. London: Profile Books
- Dell'Olio, F (2004), Immigration and Immigrant Policy in Italy and the UK: Is Housing Policy a Barrier to a Common Approach Towards Immigration in the EU? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 30, No. 1, January 2004, pp. 107–128
- D'Onofrio, L. and Munk, K. (2004) Understanding the Stranger. London: ICAR
- Dwyer, P, (2005), Governance, forced migration and welfare. *Social Policy and Administration*, Vol. 39, No. 6, Dec. 2005, pp. 622-639.
- Dwyer, P. & Brown, D. (2004). Meeting basic needs: exploring the welfare strategies of forced migrants. Leeds: The School of Sociology and Social Policy, the University of Leeds.
- Finney, N and Peach, E (2004), Attitudes Towards Asylum Seekers, Refugees and Other Immigrants: A literature review for the Commission for Racial Equality. London: CRE
- Flint, J (2006), Maintaining an Arm's Length? Housing, Community Governance and the Management of 'Problematic' Populations. *Housing Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 171–186, March 2006
- Fotheringham, D. and Perry, J. (2003) Offering Communities Real Choice – Lettings and Community Cohesion. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing
- Garvie, D. (2001), Far From Home: The Housing of Asylum Seekers in Private Rented Accommodation. London: Shelter
- Goodchild, B. and Cole, I (2001) 'Social balance and mixed neighbourhoods in Britain since 1979: a review of discourse and practice in social housing', *Environment and Planning D – Society & Space*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 103–21

Greater London Authority (2004), *Safe and Sound: Asylum Seekers and Temporary Accommodation*. London: Greater London Authority

Hewitt, R (2002) *Asylum Seeker Dispersal and Community Relations: An Analysis of Developmental Strategies*. London Goldsmiths College: Centre for Urban and Community Research

Home Office (2007), *Asylum Statistics United Kingdom 2006*. Home Office Statistical Bulletin. Home Office: Research Development and Statistics Directorate

Home Office (2006), *Asylum Statistics United Kingdom 2005*. Home Office Statistical Bulletin. Home Office: Research Development and Statistics Directorate

Home Office (2005a) *Integration Matters: A National Strategy for Refugee Integration* (London: IND communications team and Home Office communications directorate)

Home Office (2005b), *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society: the Government's Strategy to Increase Race Relations and Community Cohesion*. London: Home Office

Home Office (2005c), *Sizing the unauthorised (illegal) migrant population in the United Kingdom in 2001*. Home Office Online Report 29/05

Home Office (2005d), *Asylum Statistics United Kingdom 2004*. Home Office Statistical Bulletin. Home Office: Research Development and Statistics Directorate

Home Office (2004), *Asylum Statistics United Kingdom 2003*. Home Office Statistical Bulletin. Home Office: Research Development and Statistics Directorate

Hynes, P (2006), *The Compulsory Dispersal of Asylum Seekers and Processes of Social Exclusion in England. Summary of Findings*. Doctoral thesis for Middlesex University

Independent Review Team (2001) *Community Cohesion. A Report of the Independent Review Team*. Chaired by Ted Cante. London: Home Office

Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (2007), *Reporting Asylum: The UK Press and the Effectiveness of PCC Guidelines*. London: ICAR

Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (2004), *Media Image, Community Impact: Assessing the impact of media and political images of refugees and asylum seekers on community relations in London*. London: ICAR

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1999) *Social Cohesion and Urban Inclusion for Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods*. Findings document. York: JRF

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2005) *Developing Communities Containing Dispersed Refugee People Seeking Asylum*. Findings document. York: JRF

- Khan, S and Jones, A (2003), Somalis in Camden: Challenges Faced by and Emerging Community. London Borough of Camden
- Leicester City Council (2003) The Improvement and Development Agency, Taking Forward Community Cohesion in Leicester. Leicester: Leicester City Council
- Lemos, G. (2004) Community Conflict: Causes and Action. London: Lemos&Crane
- Lido, C (2006), Effect of the Media Priming Asylum-Seeker Stereotypes on Thoughts and Behaviour. Summary document. ESRC Research Project: unpublished
- Liverpool Strategic Housing Partnership (2004), The Housing and Related Experiences of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Liverpool. Executive Summary. London: Housing Corporation
- McGhee, D (2006), Getting 'Host' Communities On Board: Finding the Balance Between 'Managed Migration' and 'Managed Settlement' in Community Cohesion Strategies. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies Vol. 32, No. 1, January 2006, pp. 111-127
- Migration Watch UK (2006), The Impact of Immigration on Housing Demand. Briefing Paper 7.7 Housing. www.migrationwatchuk.org
- Modood, T, Berthoud, R, Lakey, J, Nazroo, J, Smith, P, Virdee, S, Beishon, S (1997), Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage. London: Policy Studies Institute
- Morrell, G (2008 forthcoming), Refugee Rights and Responsibilities: Protection and Integration in the UK, London: Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (www.icar.org.uk)
- Nevin, B (2004), A Missed Opportunity? Volume Magazine Issue 7, 2004, Housing Association Charitable Trust
- Oldham Independent Panel Review (2001) One Oldham, One Future. Panel Report, Chaired by David Ritchie. Oldham: Oldham Metropolitan Borough Council
- Ouseley, (2001) Community Pride Not Prejudice: Making Diversity Work in Bradford. Bradford: Bradford Vision.
- Peach, E and Henson, R (2005), Key Statistics about Asylum Seeker Arrivals in the UK. ICAR Statistics Paper 1. London: Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees
- Perry, J (2005), Housing and Support Services for Asylum Seekers and Refugees: A Good Practice Guide. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing
- Phillips, D. (2006a), Housing and the Integration of New Migrants and Refugees in Spencer, S (ed.) Refugees and Other New Migrants: A Review of the evidence of Successful Approaches to Integration. University of Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society

- Phillips, D (2006b), Moving Towards Integration: the housing of asylum seekers and refugees in Britain. *Housing Studies*, Vol 21. No. 4, 539-553
- Phillips, D. (1998) 'Black minority ethnic concentration, segregation and dispersal in Britain', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 10, pp. 1681–02
- Quilgars, D., Burrows, R. & Wright, K. (2003). Refugee housing and neighbourhood issues: a scoping review. University of York: Centre for Housing Policy.
- Robinson, D. (2005) 'The search for community cohesion: key themes and dominant concepts of the public policy agenda', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 8, pp. 1–17
- Robinson, D and Reeve, K (2006), *Neighbourhood Experiences of New Immigration: Reflections from the Evidence Base*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Robinson, D, Reeve, K and Casey, R (2007), *The Housing Pathways of New Immigrants*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Robinson, V (2006), *Mapping the Field: Refugee Housing in Wales*. London: Housing Association Charitable Trust and Cardiff: Welsh Refugee Council
- Rudiger, G, *Integration of New Migrants: Community Relations in* Spencer, S (ed.) (2006) *Refugees and Other New Migrants: A Review of the evidence of Successful Approaches to Integration*. University of Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society
- Simpson, L, Gavalas, V Finney, N (2006), *Population Dynamics in Ethnically Diverse towns: the Long-Term Implications of Immigration*. University of Manchester: Cathie March Centre for Census and Survey Research
- Spencer, S (ed.) (2006) *Refugees and Other New Migrants: A Review of the Evidence of Successful Approaches to Integration*. University of Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society
- Sriskandarajah, D. (2004). *Stock taking: the real impacts of migrants on housing*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research
- Sriskandarajah, D., Cooley, L. and Reed, H. (2005) *Paying their Way. The Fiscal Contribution of Immigrants in the UK*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research
- Temple, B and Moran, R with Fayas, N, Haboninana, S, McCabe, F, Mohamed, Z, Nori, A, Rahman, N (2005), *Learning to Live Together: Developing Communities with Dispersed Refugee People Seeking Asylum*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Valentine, G and McDonald, I (2004), *Understanding Prejudice. Attitudes towards Minorities*. London: Stonewall
- Vertovec, S (2006), *The Emergence of Super-Diversity in Britain*. Working Paper No. 25, University of Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society

Ward, K (2008 forthcoming), Local Experiences of Migration: Consulting Coventry. London: ICAR (www.icar.org.uk)

Wren K. (2004), Building Bridges: Local responses to the resettlement of asylum seekers in Glasgow. SCRSJ Research Report No.1. Glasgow: Scottish Centre for Research on Social Justice

Zetter, R *et al* (2006), Immigration, social cohesion and social capital: What are the links? York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Zetter, R. & Pearl, M. (1999). Managing To survive. Asylum seekers, refugees and access to social housing. Bristol: The Policy Press.

CONTACT US

Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR)

School of Social Sciences

City University

Northampton Square

London EC1V 0HB

E: icar@city.ac.uk

Tel: 44 (0)20 7040 4596

www.icar.org.uk

