RACISM AND ETHNIC INEQUALITY IN A TIME OF CRISIS

Findings from the Evidence for Equality National Survey

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James Nazroo is Professor of Sociology at the University of Manchester. His work on ethnic inequalities in health has led the field in demonstrating the importance of both socioeconomic inequalities and experiences of racism and racial discrimination. It has also provided novel findings on early life effects, generational differences, ecological effects and the positive effects of ethnic density. His publications in relation to ageing have advanced our understanding of the patterns and determinants of social and health inequalities, as well as the health and wellbeing outcomes of retirement

and later life employment, and he has also developed and tested theoretical models of class that more accurately capture socioeconomic position in later life. He is a Fellow of the British Academy, a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences and the founding Director of the ESRC Centre on the Dynamics of Ethnicity.

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Housing, place and community

Joseph Harrison, Nissa Finney, Hannah Haycox and Emma Hill

Key findings

Ethnic minority groups in Britain are subject to material deprivation in residential experience, yet succeed in developing strong local attachment, and enriching this during times of crisis.

- Spatial pressure in households is more prevalent among all ethnic minority groups compared to White British people. It is a notable concern for three-generation households and particularly for Pakistani and Roma groups.
- Rates of living in detached housing are highest for White British, Arab, White Irish and Indian groups, at three times the rate of Black African, Black Caribbean and Bangladeshi groups, who tend to live in typically smaller types of accommodation, such as flats/apartments and terraced housing.
- The prevalence of caravan/mobile home accommodation for Gypsy/Traveller and Roma, which is largely invisible in other datasets, is evident in the Evidence for Equality National Survey (EVENS) results.
- Ethnic minorities are disadvantaged compared to the White British group in terms of access to outdoor space at home. The White British group have the highest rates of access to outdoor space at their property. Arab, Chinese and Other Black groups are four times more likely than the White British group to be without outdoor space at home.
- Residential mobility during the pandemic, which could indicate housing precarity, was considerably higher for Roma, Jewish, Other White, Indian, Mixed White and Asian, and Other Asian groups compared to the White British group, even when considering the different age structures of the ethnic groups.
- All ethnic groups, apart from Roma, feel a strong sense of belonging to their local area. Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian people are significantly more likely to report positive local belonging than White British people. For all ethnic groups apart from Roma, the majority of those who reported a change in belonging during the pandemic experienced increased attachment to the local area.

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the differing residential experiences of ethnic groups in Britain. Using the unique aspects of EVENS, we examine material and affective aspects of 'home', considering household composition and the physical attributes of housing, as well as experiences of neighbourhood and the local environment. The analyses show that ethnic minorities in Britain continue to be subjected to material deprivation in residential experience, yet succeed in developing strong local attachments to people and places.

To understand housing from a holistic perspective – as 'home' – factors beyond the physical structure must be considered (Massey, 1992). Housing is a site that influences a person's access to key infrastructures, as well as their experiences of security, belonging and the complex social relationships developed between individuals and groups (Boccagni and Kusenbach, 2020). Having sufficient space in the home is thus considered an important aspect of homemaking, both materially and affectively. Access to home gardens or public green space has been found to have benefits for mental health (Thompson et al, 2012), particularly for children and young people (Tremblay et al, 2015; Jackson et al, 2021). The notion of home thus captures both the material conditions that constrain or facilitate access to opportunities and the interlinked affective impacts that result.

Experiences of, and access to, housing provisions are shaped by the power relations within wider society, including racial, gender, class and generational dynamics (Ahmed, 1999; Brun and Fábos, 2015). Despite the persistent ethnic inequalities in experience in Britain (Finney and Harries, 2015; Shankley and Finney, 2020; Haycox, 2022), considerations of relationships between ethnicity and housing are often limited in broader debates (Bloch et al, 2013). Minority groups were evidenced by Finney and Harries (2015) to be at greater risk of overcrowding compared to White British people, with overcrowding defined as a situation where there are too few bedrooms to meet household needs. Precarious housing is also more prevalent among ethnic minorities (Shankley and Finney, 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic has further prompted questions about ethnic inequalities in housing experiences. For example, overcrowding became more prominent in the context of working-from-home initiatives. Moreover, the inability to avoid contact with individuals if someone were to test positive for COVID-19 resulted in the spread of the virus being more likely in overcrowded households (Mikolai et al, 2020). Whilst there has yet to be a full-scale investigation of the long-term outcome of the COVID-19 pandemic on wellbeing, it has been found that access to gardens and the outdoors helps individuals maintain their activity levels

(Corley et al, 2021) and is generally associated with positive wellbeing (de Bell et al, 2020).

Experiences of belonging and cohesion are also paramount to consider in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic, as resilience to crises has been linked with higher levels of neighbourhood trust (Aldrich and Meyer, 2015). Prior research has also shown how the formation of local communities among ethnic minorities acts as a method of support in a context of institutional racism (Alexander, 2018). The idea of belonging is often linked to the level of (ethnic) diversity in a local area, with some arguing that highly homogeneous areas are better for levels of generalised trust (Putnam, 2007), and others suggesting that diverse neighbourhoods foster more trust and cohesion (Bécares et al, 2011; Sturgis et al, 2014). The importance of localised amenities and social support increased during the COVID-19 pandemic, particularly during periods of lockdown in which people were confined to their accommodation and neighbourhoods.

The marked ethnic inequalities in housing are also shaped by broader migration histories and localities of settlement, as well as generational, gender and class dynamics (Alexander et al, 2015). In Britain, ethnic groups have their own historical context relating to their migration history and settlement patterns (Solomos, 2003; Hussain and Miller, 2006; Simpson et al 2008). Initial patterns of settlement in Britain were broadly influenced by ethnic minorities' experience of institutional racism and economic inequality, leading to residential clustering in specific regions as a protective measure (Rex and Moore, 1967; Peach, 1998; Finney and Simpson, 2009; Rhodes and Brown, 2019, Catney et al 2021) and distinct patterns of residential mobility (Simpson and Finney, 2009; Finney 2011). Both migration histories and structural inequalities have therefore shaped the geographical location of ethnic minorities, with different local housing and neighbourhood contexts affecting subsequent residential and housing experiences.

The rich data generated from EVENS enable us to depict the residential experiences of ethnic groups during the COVID-19 pandemic in relation to material and emotional aspects of home. First, we analyse type of housing, outlining the living conditions of ethnic groups across Britain. Second, overcrowding is considered, investigating the suitability of the property for the number of people living there. Third, we investigate ethnic differences in outdoor space, including both public space and private outdoor space at the property itself. Fourth, we consider the residential mobility of individuals during the pandemic and the potential precarity that this represents. Finally, using the unique strengths of EVENS, we develop understanding beyond household composition and housing dynamics of people's connection to the local area and neighbourhood in which they live.

Do ethnic groups live in different types of housing?

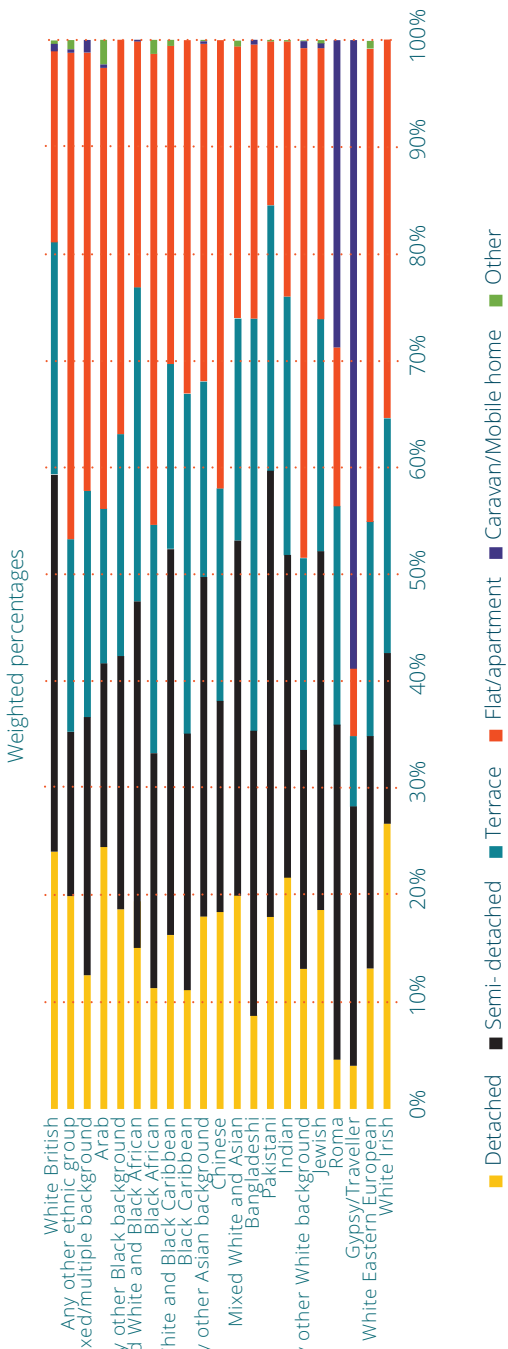
Using EVENS, we can establish the differences in the types of accommodation in which ethnic groups live across Britain. Figure 6.1 shows the proportion of each ethnic group in different accommodation types, distinguishing between detached, semi-detached, terraced, flats and apartments[1] and mobile homes or caravans. We acknowledge that there is not necessarily a hierarchy of housing types and that internal space, characteristics, location, value and satisfaction are not straightforwardly correlated with housing type. However, in general, detached and semi-detached housing remain the most desired and sought-after properties (McKee et al, 2015).

A clear outlier in the results is the finding that most Gypsy/Traveller respondents lived in mobile homes or caravans; Roma is the only other group which had a significant proportion in this type of accommodation. White British, White Irish and Arab groups were the most likely to live in detached homes (approximately 25% of these groups); Indian, Jewish, Mixed White and Black African, and Mixed White and Asian groups also featured relatively high levels of detached living. Only 9% of Bangladeshi and Gypsy/Traveller and less than 5% of Roma participants were in detached houses.

We find high proportions living in terraced housing among Bangladeshi people – almost 40%, compared to 22% of White British people. Approximately 20% of people lived in terraced housing, which is consistent across nearly all groups under study, the only other exceptions being the higher rates among Black Caribbean and Mixed White and Black African groups and the very low rates for the Gypsy/Traveller group. A low proportion of White British, Pakistani and Roma people were living in flats/apartments (approximately one in six). In comparison, more than 40% of the White Eastern European, other White, Black African and Any other ethnic groups lived in flats/apartments.

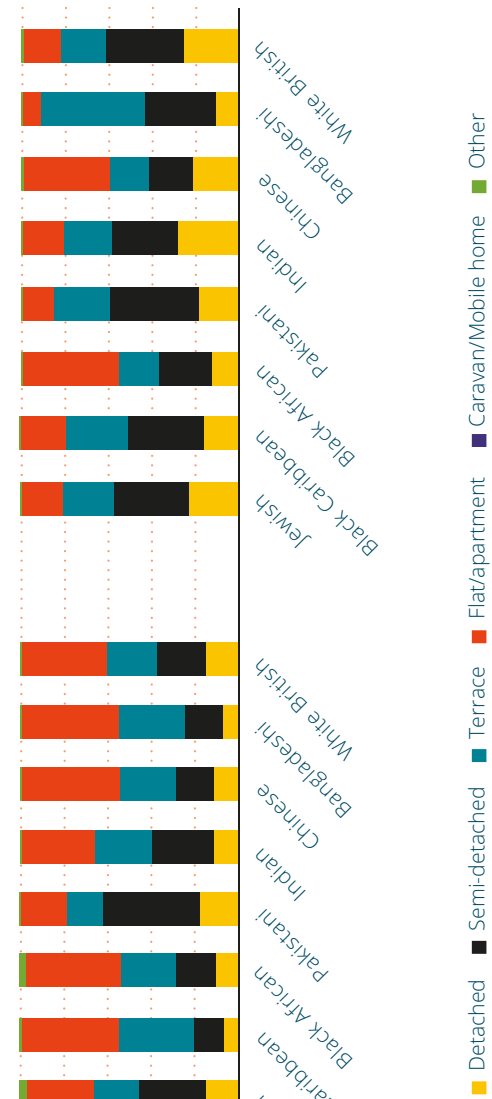
Housing types are not evenly spread across the country, and neither are ethnic groups; some of the ethnic differences may relate to the housing stock in the areas where different groups tend to reside. For example, detached housing is not the norm in central urban areas, particularly London, which is where high proportions of ethnic minorities reside. Furthermore, it has been recognised that there are distinctive features of the housing market in London compared to elsewhere in Britain, including higher housing costs reflecting demand pressures (Holley et al, 2011; Hamnett and Reades 2019). Figure 6.2 shows selected groups' housing type distribution for London and non-London separately. The results highlight the differences in housing patterns between London and the remainder of Britain. As expected, flats and apartments are more common in London compared to outside London and the reverse is true for detached housing. Overall, we observe that ethnic differences in housing type take a different form in London compared to elsewhere in Britain.

FIGURE 6.1: ACCOMMODATION TYPE, BY ETHNIC GROUP



Note: 'Other' includes Park home and non-specific write-in answers, e.g. 'Bungalow' or 'Student accommodation'. Weighted percentages.
Base: All respondents aged 18-65. N=12,694

FIGURE 6.2: ACCOMMODATION TYPE, BY SELECTED ETHNIC GROUP, FOR LONDON AND OUTSIDE LONDON



Note: Chart includes only groups for whom there were 100 or more valid responses in both London and outside London. Weighted percentages.
Base: All respondents aged 18–65. N=8704

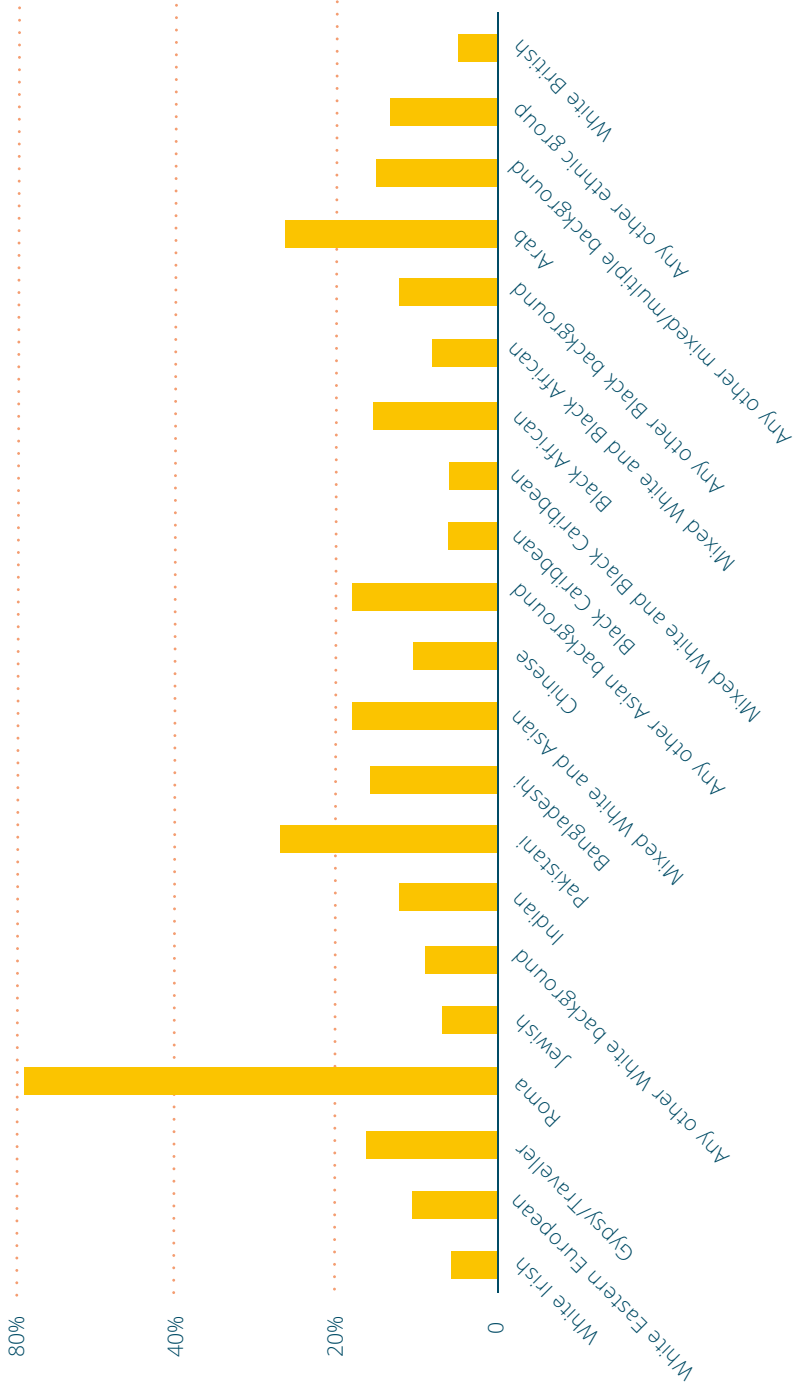
In London, higher proportions of Pakistani and Jewish people (around 60% and 50% respectively) resided in detached and semi-detached houses compared to other ethnic groups, including the White British group. In comparison, high proportions of Black Caribbean, Black African, Bangladeshi and Chinese people live in terraced housing or apartments. Outside London, White British alongside Jewish and Indian households were in the most advantaged position in terms of housing type, with close to 60% living in detached or semi-detached housing. Pakistani respondents outside London also show an advantaged position, but the proportion is skewed towards semi-detached over detached housing. Black African, Bangladeshi and Chinese households experience disadvantage outside of London as they do in London. It should be noted that the Black Caribbean ethnic group experience housing disadvantage in London to a far greater extent compared to their experience outside the capital: in London, 80% live in terrace houses or apartments, whereas outside the capital the majority of Black Caribbean people live in detached or semi-detached housing.

Do ethnic minorities experience more overcrowding?

During the COVID-19 pandemic, restrictions stipulating 'Stay Home, Save Lives, Protect the NHS' were in force in the UK. This placed pressure on household space as the home additionally became the location for work, study and schooling. Figure 6.3 shows the percentage of respondents who were living in overcrowded accommodation based on our derived overcrowding measure (see Box 6.1). The results indicate that there was a higher prevalence of overcrowding among all ethnic minority groups compared to White British households. Almost 60% of Roma were in overcrowded living arrangements, a rate 15 times higher than White British. Additionally, around a quarter of Pakistani and Arab people experienced overcrowding during the COVID-19 pandemic. Along with the White British group, White Irish, Jewish, Black Caribbean, and Mixed White and Black Caribbean groups experienced the lowest levels of overcrowding (around 5%).

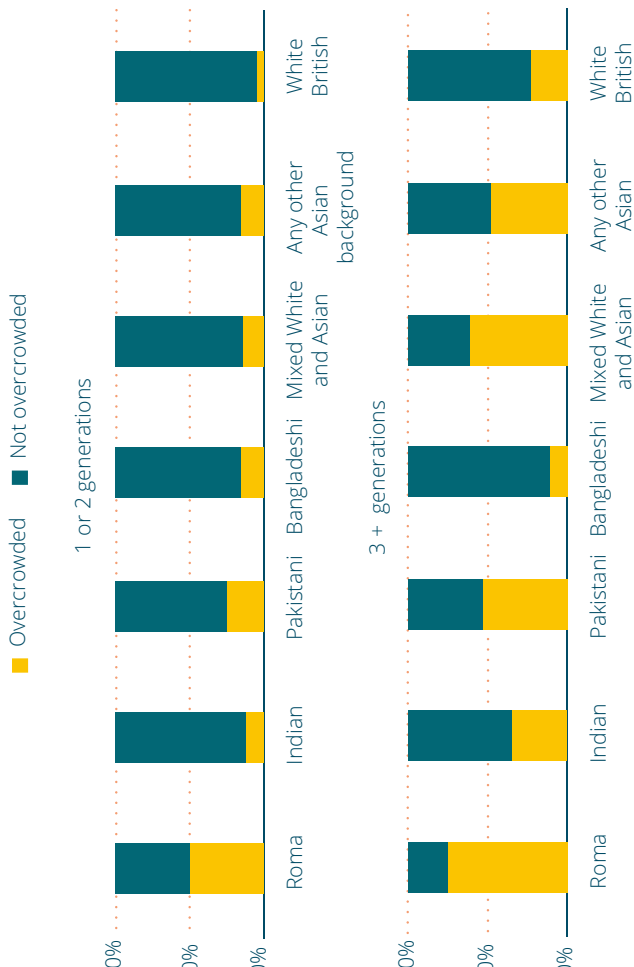
Figure 6.4 shows the percentage of households that experienced overcrowding for the 'typical' household configuration of one or two generations, compared to households with three or more generations. It should be noted that three-generation households are more common for some ethnic groups: of EVENS respondents, 2% of White British households reported having three generations, with a similarly low proportion for Gypsy/Traveller, Any other White, Black Caribbean, Arab and other mixed/multiple background, whereas over a third of Roma respondents, one in seven Bangladeshis and almost one in ten Pakistanis have three or more generations in the household. Figure 6.4 clearly demonstrates that the presence of a third

FIGURE 6.3: OVERCROWDED HOUSEHOLDS DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC, BY ETHNIC GROUP



Note: Weighted percentages. Base: All respondents aged 18–65. N=12,409

FIGURE 6.4: OVERCROWDED HOUSEHOLDS, BASED ON THE NUMBER OF GENERATIONS PRESENT IN THE HOUSEHOLD



Note: Analysis is limited to ethnic groups with more than 25 households which are three or more generations. Weighted percentages.
Base: All respondents aged 18–65. N=7019

generation can be associated with overcrowding. Roma households were particularly affected by overcrowding, as Figure 6.3 showed, but within three-generation households, over 75% are overcrowded compared to only 50% in a more typical household structure. We see particularly high levels of overcrowding for three-generation households – and higher than one and two-generation households – for all Asian groups (including mixed), but it is least pronounced for the Bangladeshi minority group, who to some extent accommodate three-generation living without resulting in high rates of overcrowding.

Are there different experiences in access to the outdoors for ethnic minorities?

With advice against using public transport and travelling outside of the local vicinity during the COVID-19 pandemic, the ability to access outdoor space and nature close to home became a determinant of differential experience. Parks and natural areas remained accessible for those living nearby to enjoy, and the ability to access these spaces was captured in the EVENS. The results are shown in Figure 6.5.

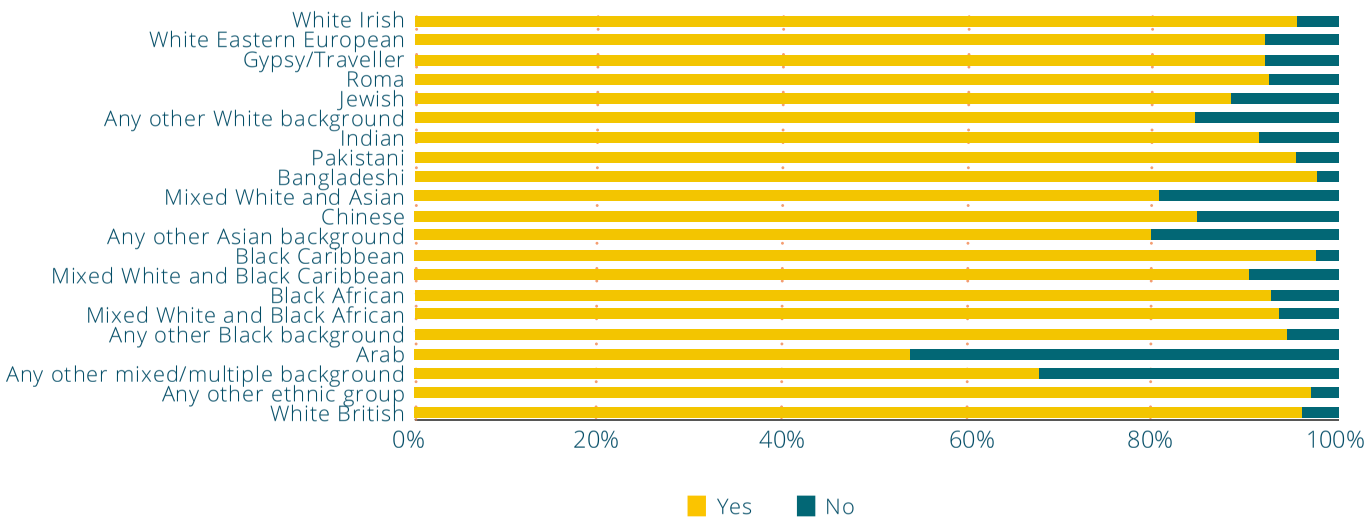
The results indicate that for most ethnic groups, nine in ten people had overall access to outdoor space. Gypsy/Traveller and Roma people had the lowest levels of access to outdoor space (68% and 54% respectively). The figure was also relatively low for Chinese, Any other Asian background, and Mixed White and Asian groups. Analysis into potential differences between London and the remainder of Britain (not shown in the figure) found that higher proportions of those who were resident in London had access to outdoor space locally.

Differences between ethnic groups in access to outdoor spaces at their home are shown in Figure 6.6. Access to private outdoor space was particularly important during the 'stay at home' guidance issued by the UK government as part of the national lockdowns. A total of 94% of White British people reported having outdoor space at home, the highest across all ethnic groups. Pakistani, Jewish, White Irish and Roma were the only ethnic minority groups with similar levels to White British people. For Other White, White Eastern European, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Other Black Arab and Any Other ethnic groups, around one in five respondents reported having no access to outdoor space at their home.

Did ethnic minorities experience more residential mobility during the COVID-19 pandemic?

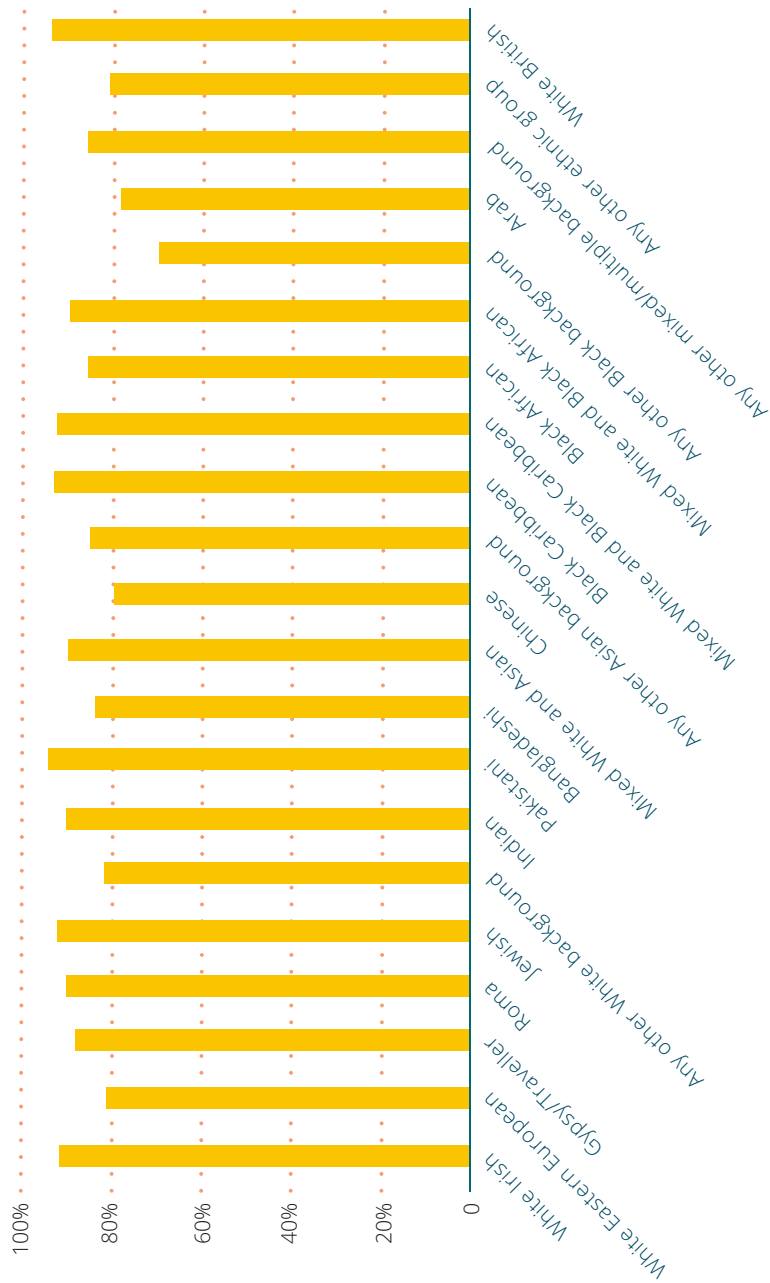
Using EVENS, we identified the respondents who moved house after the pandemic started in February 2020; these movements were a combination

FIGURE 6.5: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH LOCAL ACCESS TO PUBLIC OUTDOOR SPACE, BY ETHNIC GROUP



Note: Proportion responding 'Yes' to the question 'Do you have a park, or other open space, within 15 minutes' walk of your home?'. Weighted percentages. Base: All respondents aged 18–65. N=12,816

FIGURE 6.6: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH PRIVATE OUTDOOR SPACE, BY ETHNIC GROUP



Notes: Proportion responding 'Yes' to the question: 'Does the property you are currently living in have any of the following? A garden, a roof terrace or large balcony, other private outdoor space, other shared outdoor space'. Weighted percentages. Base: All respondents aged 18–65. N=12,499

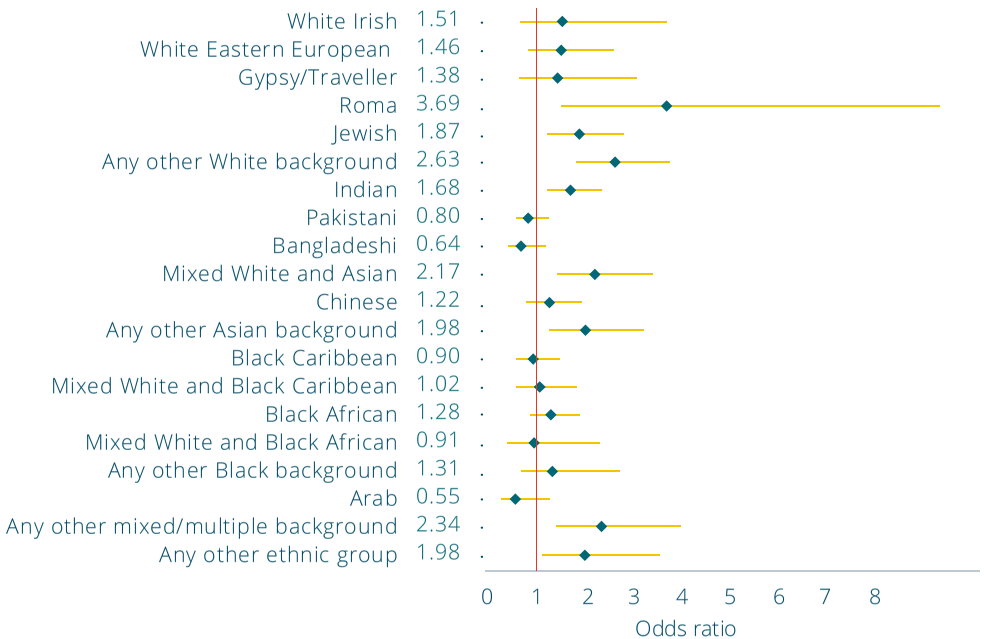
of individuals leaving an existing household to join or start another, or the movement of an entire household. The results are shown in Figure 6.7, which presents the likelihood (Odds Ratio [OR]) of experiencing a change in location since the start of the pandemic relative to White British people. Since age is such a determinant of life course stage and the events which are inter-related with mobility (Finney, 2011), we control this model for age.[2] An OR of two means that an individual was twice as likely to move house during the pandemic compared to a White British person of the same age. The tails attached to the point indicate the region where we are 95% confident the unknown ratio lies; if this bisects the solid vertical line, the result cannot be deemed to be significantly different from that of the White British reference group.

The results indicate that, compared to White British people, there was a significantly increased likelihood of experiencing residential mobility during the pandemic for Roma, Jewish, Other White, Indian, Mixed White and Asian, Other Asian, Any other mixed background and Any other ethnic group. This likelihood is particularly pronounced for Roma people, who were found to be almost four times more likely than White British people to have experienced a move since February 2020. Whilst significant differences are not observed, there is evidence that the likelihood of experiencing residential mobility during the pandemic was lower for Arab and Bangladeshi people compared to White British people of the same age. Although not shown in the results here, the type of household moves experienced did vary between groups: Roma, Eastern European, Gypsy/Traveller and Mixed White and Asian people are more likely to experience moves within the same household group, whereas Chinese, Bangladeshi and Arab respondents more often reported mobility involving moving alone.

Did ethnic minorities show different levels of local belonging during the COVID-19 pandemic?

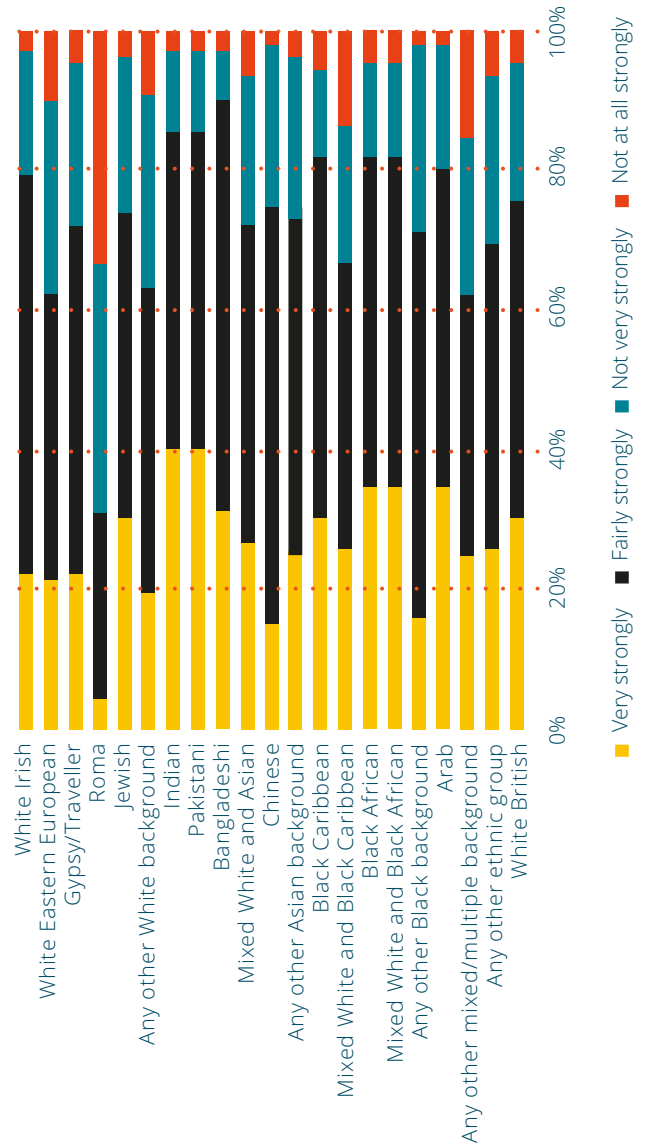
The novelty of EVENS' design and questioning allows for the exploration of the connection that different ethnic groups had to their local area at a time when neighbourhoods became particularly salient. Figure 6.8 shows the response in the EVENS to the question 'How strongly do you feel you belong to your local area?' where local area is specified as being 'within a 15-minute walk from home'. Strong local attachment was found for all South Asian, Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic groups: more than 80% of respondents in these groups reported fair or strong local belonging, compared to 77% of White British people. The lowest feeling of local belonging is found in the Roma group, where over two thirds reported no strong belonging to their local area, and less than one in 20 suggested a very strong level of belonging. White Other and Eastern European groups

FIGURE 6.7: LIKELIHOOD OF EXPERIENCING A RESIDENTIAL MOVE SINCE FEBRUARY 2020 COMPARED WITH THE WHITE BRITISH GROUP



Note: Chart shows odds ratios, adjusted for age. 9.6% of White British people experienced a residential move (weighted percentage) with an odds ratio of 1 (represented by the solid line). 95% confidence intervals shown. Base: All respondents aged 18–65. N=12,816.

FIGURE 6.8: FEELINGS OF BELONGING TO LOCAL AREA, BY ETHNIC GROUP



Note: Weighted percentages. Base: All respondents aged 18–65. N=12,499

also stated low levels of belonging compared to White British people. Additionally, many mixed groups reported lower levels of local belonging.

The results in Figure 6.8 do not account for potential biases based on the age and geographical location of respondents. Therefore, we controlled for age and region of residence to estimate the likelihood of an individual responding positively (combining Very strongly and Fairly strongly) when asked about their belonging to the local area. The results are presented in Figure 6.9 and can be interpreted in the same way as those in Figure 6.7.

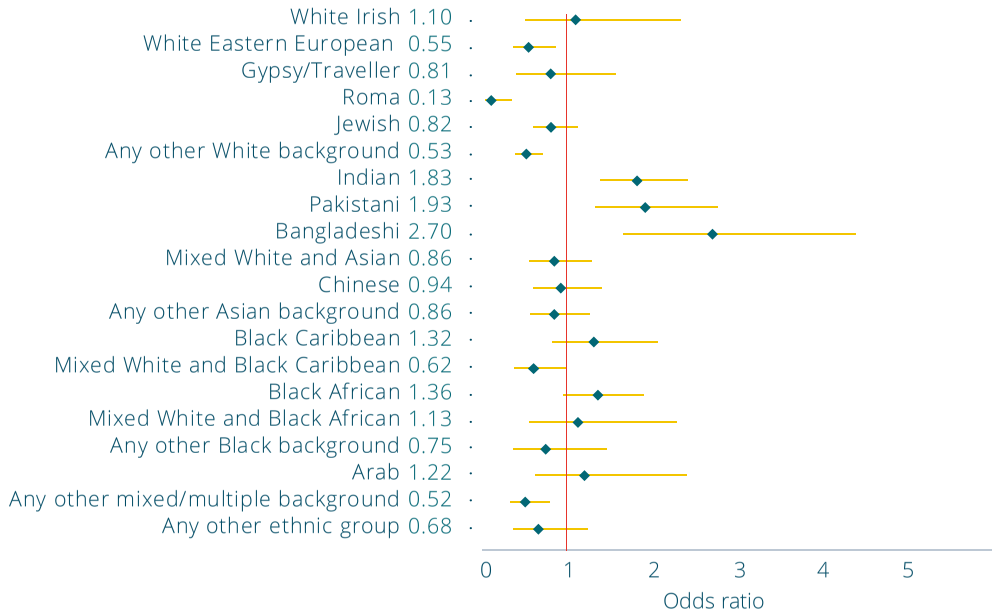
Indian and Pakistani people were almost twice as likely to express strong local belonging compared to White British people, and Bangladeshi respondents were almost three times as likely to do so. Most other ethnic groups showed positive belonging levels similar to White British people. Some groups clearly showed lower likelihoods of strong local belonging compared to White British people: Eastern European, Other White and Any other mixed background are approximately half as likely to have reported positive local belonging compared to the White British group. Roma people had a substantially smaller likelihood of feeling a strong sense of belonging, which was far lower than all other minority ethnic groups too. The results from Figure 6.9 suggest that the observed differences in Figure 6.8 are only partially explained by different age structures and the different concentration of ethnic minority groups in certain regions of Britain.

EVENS offers an insight into how local belonging changed during the COVID-19 pandemic. Figure 6.10 shows the change in belonging since February 2020 for each ethnic group. An unchanged level of belonging to their local community was reported by the majority in most ethnic groups. Apart from Gypsy/Traveller and Roma, all ethnic groups had more reported increases in belonging rather than decreases. Over half of White Irish people report increased local belonging. Approximately 40% of Jewish, Indian, Pakistani, Mixed White and Asian, Chinese and Black African people experienced increases in local belonging during the pandemic. Amongst White British people, this was around 30%. Almost one in three Gypsy/Traveller people reported decreases in local belonging, with one in four of those identifying as Any other Black or Any other ethnic group also reporting declines in belonging. This compares to 10% of White British people who reported a decrease. White Irish, Bangladeshi and Mixed White and Black Caribbean people had the lowest proportions reporting a decrease in local belonging.

Discussion

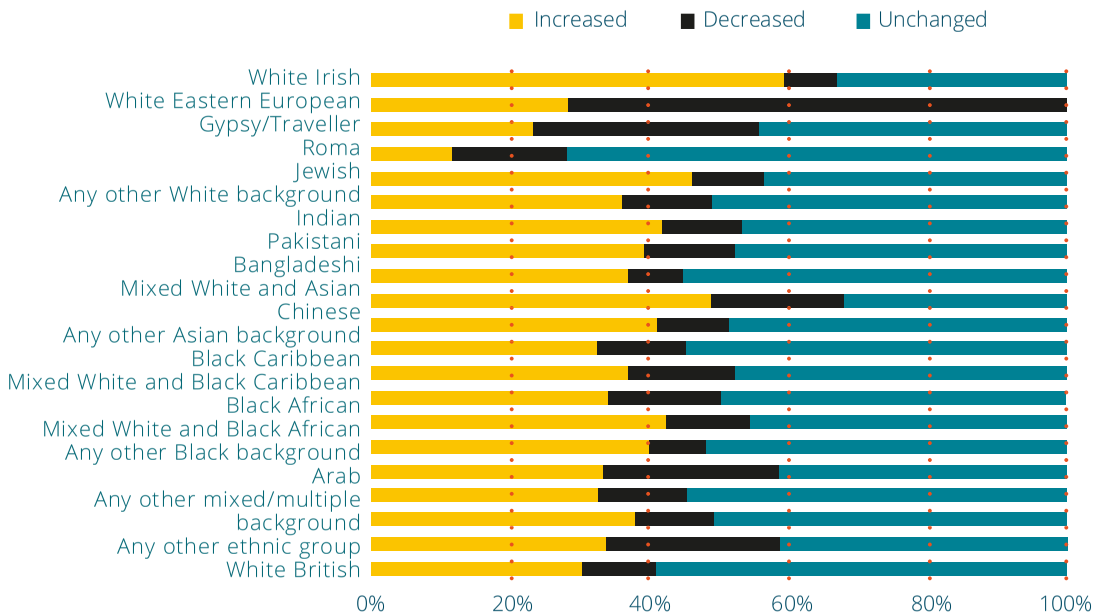
The material and affective ramifications of housing (or 'home') on ethnic minorities throughout the COVID-19 pandemic is the central concern of this chapter. The unique insights generated from EVENS offer the

FIGURE 6.9: LIKELIHOOD OF REPORTING STRONG OR FAIR LOCAL BELONGING COMPARED WITH THE WHITE BRITISH GROUP



Note: Chart shows odds ratio of responding 'A lot or a fair amount' to the question 'How strongly do you feel you belong to your local area? By area, we mean the area within a 15-minute walk from your home' , adjusted for age and region of residence.The White British rates were 76.7% (weighted percentage) with an odds of 1 (represented by the solid line). 95% confidence intervals shown. Base: All respondents aged 18–65. N=12,499

FIGURE 6.10: CHANGE IN LOCAL BELONGING DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC, BY ETHNIC GROUP



Note: Distribution of responses to the questions 'Please tell us whether you think your sense of belonging to the local community has increased, decreased, or not changed since the coronavirus outbreak began in February 2020'. Weighted percentages. Base: All respondents aged 18–65. N=12,446

opportunity to heighten our understanding of the systemic exclusions to which different ethnic groups are subjected in housing. This chapter has evidenced inequalities in four inter-related dimensions of housing: household types; overcrowding and space; residential mobility; and levels of belonging.

The desirability of, and access to, different household types and spaces among ethnic minorities is an area that is underexplored in UK scholarship, with a few notable exceptions (Lukes et al, 2019; Shankley and Finney, 2020). The comparatively limited engagement with ethnic minorities' experiences of housing in the broader literature is perhaps surprising, given that studies have identified minorities' disproportionate experiences of overcrowded housing and precarity (Finney and Harries, 2015). EVENS has empirically demonstrated the prominent persistence of smaller housing types among Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African people. Significant proportions of Gypsy/Traveller and Roma live in caravans and mobile homes, reflecting specific cultures of residence. Interpreting the ethnic differences in housing type – and whether they represent racialisation and stigmatisation (Phillips and Harrison, 2010; Yuval-Davis et al, 2017, Alexander and Byrne 2020) – is difficult without further research to better understand the desirability of different household types, and housing decision making, across ethnic groups.

What is clear from EVENS is disadvantage for many ethnic minority groups in terms of house space not meeting the needs of the household, particularly for multigenerational households. A relatively high prevalence of three-generation households were found among Asian respondents, with Roma also identified as the group with the highest proportion of three-generation households and extremely high levels of overcrowding. In comparison, White British respondents seem more able to acquire housing that matches their needs. As Burgess and Muir (2020) demonstrate, motivations of multigenerational living are diverse and tend to be shaped by both subjective experiences and intersecting structures, such as housing affordability, postponed household formation among younger, adult children and an ageing population requiring care. Whilst multigenerational housing may be indicative of caring responsibilities within the family (Victor et al, 2012), such arrangements can also be contextualised as a defensive mechanism against structural pressures, including institutional racism and stigmatisation (Frost et al, 2022), alongside financial constraints and instability (van Hout and Staniewicz, 2011; Battaglini et al, 2018; Burgess and Muir, 2020; see also Chapters 7 and 8). Findings developed from EVENS thus imply that the availability of housing stock to match the spatial needs of different ethnic groups is lacking, due in part to limited access to the larger accommodation required for multigenerational living. This relates to the exclusion of ethnic minorities from housing planning and provision (Phillips and Harrison, 2010; Shankley and Finney, 2020) and the positioning of the White, nuclear

family as normative in institutional imaginaries (Alexander and Byrne, 2020; Fortier, 2021).

In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, risks of overcrowding and inadequate household space can be highly problematic in relation to following the directives introduced to prevent the spread of COVID-19, to the detriment of both the physical and mental health of those who experience overcrowding (see Chapter 5). Housing access constitutes a key area that shapes risk of exposure to COVID-19 (Nazroo and Bécares, 2021). The future ramifications of such overcrowded living conditions can be long-term socioeconomic and health disparities between the ethnic groups that experience this disadvantage and those that do not.

In addition to inequalities in the interior space available, EVENS unveils differences in access to outdoor spaces. The repercussions of the lack of access to open space can materialise in lower levels of overall health and wellbeing (Thompson et al, 2012; de Bell et al, 2020). Some groups experience a material disadvantage in this aspect of open space in the local area compared to White British people; more than one in ten Pakistani, Mixed White and Asian, Chinese, Other Asian, Mixed White and Black African, and Other Black person experience this disadvantage, compared to only one in 20 White British persons. The lack of access to open green space in the community can be mitigated by access to outdoor space at home, which can be considered even more important for overall wellbeing than access in the local area (Marques et al, 2021) and as a key factor in resilience to COVID-19 restrictions. Whilst most respondents had access to outdoor space at home, we find that all ethnic minority groups had lower proportions of people with outdoor space at home compared to White British people. These continued disadvantages in lack of access to open space are especially problematic when combined with the disparities of interior space and overcrowding that affect many ethnic minority groups disproportionately.

EVENS offers further unique insights into the residential experiences of ethnic minorities by considering aspects of residential mobility among ethnic groups during the pandemic. EVENS data highlighted similarities in the risk of moving during the pandemic for many groups compared to White British, possibly in part due to legal changes which prevented evictions or the additional uncertainty in the economy inhibiting or delaying house buying and moving. However, some groups - Roma, Jewish, Other White, Indian, Mixed White and Asian, Other Asian, Any other mixed background and Any other ethnic group - had a higher likelihood of residential mobility during the pandemic even after controlling for age. To elaborate further, the control for age should limit the effect of residential mobility linked to the life course such as marriage and moving for studies and employment (Billari and Liefbroer, 2010). Therefore, the higher risk of residential mobility among ethnic minority groups could signal precarity, a suggestion that

warrants further attention in future studies. Also of interest is the finding that Gypsy/Traveller people did not have a significantly increased risk of moving, despite being a culture traditionally linked with mobility. These findings contribute to discussion of how such groups are homogenised and racialised as nomadic in UK public discourse, despite their varying experiences and levels of residential mobility (Yuval-Davis et al, 2017).

Relatively high levels of local belonging among Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi people were found compared to White British people, in line with previous research (Finney and Jivraj, 2013). These differences persist even after controlling for region of residence and age. We posit that high levels of local belonging are linked to strong cultural institutions which have fostered a sense of community that is tied to identity (Bécares et al, 2011) as well as the local geographical area and can operate as a form of community solidarity in response to structural exclusions (Frost et al, 2022). As demonstrated in Chapter 3, high levels of attachment to ethnicity and religion were present among Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi respondents, emphasising the importance of local community infrastructure and mechanisms of community. In comparison, low levels of local belonging were experienced by Roma, a group that has been known to experience social exclusion and marginalisation that policy has not remedied (Clark, 2014; Lane and Smith, 2021). The social ostracisation and structural racism they experience sees limited interaction with the wider community, with the overall group size perhaps not large enough for their own ethno-community to reach a critical social mass to combat this 'othering'. Eastern European, Other White and Any other mixed people are also statistically less likely to have high levels of strong local belonging compared to White British people. These groups have particularly high proportions of recent first-generation immigrants, which may mean they have not had sufficient time to build attachment to the local area (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Giuliani, 2003).

EVENS further identifies how local belonging is mobilised during times of crisis in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Whilst there is minimal prior research on this topic, links between neighbourhoods, community identity and the pandemic have been shown to be important for resilience and the unlocking of social support (Stevenson et al, 2021). Thus, it is likely that community spirit and belonging increase through the shared bonding experience of multiple lockdowns (Mao et al, 2021), and our findings highlight such developments across most ethnic groups.

Conclusion

Through EVENS, we identify inequalities and illustrate deprivation in the everyday, material lived residential experience of ethnic minorities in Britain. This novel survey has enabled the exploration of the residential experience

of ethnic groups in more depth and breadth than previous surveys or administrative data have allowed for, including for Roma and Gypsy/Traveller groups who have previously been understudied. Experiences of housing (or home) have been shown to have material and affective ramifications in relation to precarity, levels of overcrowding, residential mobility and experiences of belonging. We observe distinct levels of material deprivation across almost all ethnic groups compared to White British people, the exceptions being White Irish, Jewish and to a lesser extent Indian people. Smaller housing, higher levels of overcrowding and residential mobility, and increasing pressures on the ability to access the outdoors (locally and at the property) exist for most minority groups. The material inequalities evidenced have implications for other life domains, including health, employment and socioeconomic circumstances (see Chapters 5, 7 and 8).

However, the resilience of ethnic groups in times of crisis has also been implied by the EVENS findings given in this chapter, which have pointed to community mechanisms and networks of solidarity being mobilised during the COVID-19 pandemic. Despite the material disadvantage apparent in housing type and overcrowding, levels of local belonging are high among most ethnic minority groups. These findings can indicate community solidarity, which challenges the stigmatisation of ethnically dense and poor neighbourhoods.

Box 6.1: Housing, place and community: measures and methods

General: All percentages presented in this chapter are weighted percentages calculated using the propensity weights available in the EVENS dataset. The results come from EVENS respondents aged between 18 and 65. Individuals who responded 'Don't know' or 'Prefer not to say' were excluded on a question-by-question basis; hence, each figure presented has a different underlying sample size.

Overcrowding: We create an indicator for overcrowding based on the bedroom standard defined in the UK Parliament in the Housing (Overcrowding) Bill 2003. We take the number of individuals aged over 16 (N) as requiring N-1 bedrooms, under the assumption that two are in some form of intimate relationship. For children we assume that all can share with one other, thus requiring X/2 bedrooms. The total bedrooms required is equal to (N-1) + (X/2), rounding up if necessary. We anticipate that both these assumptions will result in an underestimation of the number of respondents who face overcrowding as we cannot consider the age and gender of children. In some instances, respondents did not report any adult household members. As only those aged 18 or over were eligible for the survey, in these instances we added a single adult to the household on the assumption that the responding adult did not include themselves in the total reported.

Moving house: For Figure 6.7 we apply a logistic regression with the outcome being experiencing a house move since February 2020. This movement covered both moving as an individual and moving with an entire household. We control for continuous age in years. The White British ethnic group is the reference category.

Local belonging: As noted earlier, logistic regression is applied to create Figure 6.9. The outcome is reported 'strong' or 'fair' sense of local belonging. This model was controlled for continuous age and region of residence. The White British ethnic group is the reference category.

Notes

[1] The survey distinguished between purpose-built flats and house conversions versus flats within commercial properties (for example, above a shop). Overwhelmingly it was the former option; the category in the analysis is a combination.

[2] Controlling for sex was tested, but was not significant.