

**RACE AND HOUSING IN BRITAIN**  
**a bibliography**

1986 edition: Peter Ratcliffe  
1982 edition: Nora Kornalijnslijper  
Robin Ward

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Bibliography in Ethnic Relations

1st edition

December 1986

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2. Anne-Marie Phizacklea **The Employment of Migrant/Immigrant Labour in Britain** (Revised by John Solomos)
3. Peter Ratcliffe **Race and Housing in Britain: a bibliography**
4. Mark Johnson **Race and Health**
5. Mark Johnson **Race and Place** (Geographical)
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3. John Rex **The Concept of a Multi-Cultural Society: A lecture**

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1. Barry Troyna **"Policy Entrepreneurs" and the Development of Multi-Ethnic Education Policies: a Reconstruction**
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1. Mike Fenton and David Collard **Do 'Coloured' Tenants Pay More? Some Evidence**
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5. Hazel Flett **Council Housing and the Location of Ethnic Minorities**
6. R. Miles and A. Phizacklea **The TUC, Black Workers and New Commonwealth Immigration, 1954-1973**
7. David Clark **Immigrant Responses to the British Housing Market: A Case Study in the West Midlands Conurbation**
8. Michael Banton **Rational Choice: A Theory of Racial and Ethnic Relations**
9. Bridget Leach **Youth and Spatial Poverty: Activity Space Patterns of Black and White Young People in Leeds**
10. Robert Miles **Between Two Cultures? The Case of Rastafarianism**
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14. Hazel Flett **The Politics of Dispersal in Birmingham**
15. Mark Duffield **The Theory of Underdevelopment and the Underdevelopment of Theory: The Pertinence of Recent Debate to the Question of Post-Colonial Immigration to Britain**
16. John Rex and Malcolm Cross **Unemployment and Racial Conflict in the Inner City**
17. Frank Reeves **The Concept of Prejudice: An Evaluative Review**
18. Richard Jenkins **Managers, Recruitment Procedures and Black Workers**
19. Malcolm Cross **Migrant Workers in European Cities: Concentration, Conflict and Social Policy**

Note: The first edition of this bibliography was published in 1982 by C.R.E.R.'s predecessor the S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations at the University of Aston in Birmingham under the title The Housing Position and Residential Distribution of Ethnic Minorities in Britain: a bibliography.

RACE AND HOUSING IN BRITAIN: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Occasional Papers in Ethnic Relations

1. John Cowley, East Indian Unemployment Reservations Scheme, 1937-1950
2. Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, Research Progress Report 1963-1969
3. John Rex, The Coway Report: A Study of Unemployment in Glasgow

Reprint Papers in Ethnic Relations

1. Barry Troyn, Political and Social Conditions in the Education of the Immigrant
2. Daniele Falla, The Immigrant in the United Kingdom: Some Aspects of Their Characteristics

Working Papers

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The bibliography is divided into three sections, each of which contains a number of papers. The first section, 'The Housing Position and Residential Distribution of Ethnic Minorities in Britain', contains a number of papers which deal with the housing situation of ethnic minorities in Britain. The second section, 'Migration and Race Relations in Britain: Accounts Bearing on the Housing Position and Residential Distribution of Ethnic Minorities', contains a number of papers which deal with migration and race relations in Britain. The third section, 'The General Context of Housing', contains a number of papers which deal with the general context of housing in Britain. The appendix contains a number of papers which deal with the housing situation in the Netherlands written in English.

It will be seen from the above that the bibliography reflects not only a wide range of approaches to the field of study, but also a wide range of academic disciplines, with its own distinctive way of tackling the subject. Thus, Section 1

## INTRODUCTION

The first thing which strikes anyone attempting to construct a bibliography in the field of 'housing and race' is the theoretical absurdity of such a task. Housing and residence issues clearly transcend all debates at the interface between 'race' and 'ethnicity'. It is a nonsense, for example, to propose a theoretical separation between issues of migration and labour market position on the one hand and the question of where people live (and why) on the other.

The corollary of this might appear to be the production of a list which includes everything written in the area of 'race relations', 'racism' or 'ethnic relations' (or indeed 'housing!'). This would result, though, in a listing running to hundreds of pages in which the more directly 'relevant' items would be lost amongst the markedly less so. What follows, we believe, is a sensible pragmatic solution. Accordingly, the main body of the bibliography is divided into three sections: the first which lists items confronting the 'Race and Housing' issue specifically; a second which consists of texts which, whilst not directly or centrally concerned with the housing question, nevertheless treat the 'race' issue in a way which has major implications for the housing position of 'minorities'; and a third in which the focus is essentially on housing but an item is only included if its content is of direct relevance to the 'race' issue.

To clarify this system of categorisation it would probably be helpful to review the literature in these three groupings, beginning with section I.

### 1) The Housing Position and Residential Distribution of Ethnic Minorities in Britain

The reader will already have noted, perhaps with some irritation, that a number of terms have thus far been placed in inverted commas. Much the same could have been done to the heading to the present section title. Clumsy though this device is it quite properly draws our attention to the problematic nature of many of the debates in the literature.

There is obviously no space in a brief introduction such as this to tackle what are weighty theoretical issues. Nevertheless, some broad distinctions in the academic literature must be highlighted. (Further treatment of the issues is in any case to be found in Ratcliffe (1985) and in a forthcoming book by Ratcliffe and Karn, V.A. entitled Race Housing and Social Change.)

The first point to be made is that the literature reflects not only a bewildering array of definitions of, and approaches to, the field of study, but also a wide range of academic descriptions, each with its own distinctive way of tackling the subject. Thus, Section I

contains work by geographers, sociologists, social anthropologists, social statisticians and economists to name but a few. In addition to these 'academic' contributions, there is a wide variety of works of a more explicitly policy-oriented nature: and here we are thinking of 'independent' research organisations such as the Policy Studies Institute (formerly Political and Economic Planning) as well as local government bodies, for example the Greater London Council, and 'quangoes' such as the Commission for Racial Equality.

Most of the explicitly academic writers, with the possible exception of the social anthropologists, tend to focus on 'race' and/or 'racism' as the pivotal issues in the debate. Thus, in Britain at least, the fundamental concern is the housing position of the 'black' population, using 'black' here to include residents of Asian as well as of African or Afro-Caribbean origin. Most see racism as a much more powerful determinant of their relatively weak position than, for example, cultural patterns as embodied in the notion of 'ethnicity'.

This points, however, to one of the key disputes in the literature; often known as the 'choice/constraints' debate. Many writers such as Rex (1968), Rex and Moore (1967) and more recently Ratcliffe (1985) have argued that the inner urban location of most black households is largely a product of discrimination (both through individual acts and institutional racism) and of poverty. Some anthropologists, notably Dahya (1974), have argued that this seriously neglects the cultural dimension to the problem in that many Asian migrants, for example, came to the UK with a sojourner ideology which led them to buy cheap (temporary) housing which was only to be found in the areas where large numbers eventually settled.

At a theoretical level much of the early sociological debate surrounded the issue of 'housing classes' as outlined in Rex and Moore (1967) and Rex (1971). This was criticised by, amongst others, Haddon (1970) and Karn (1967), by the former for the alleged conflation of access and achieved position and by the latter for statistical distortion and a focus on 'pathological' forms of ownership. All the various criticisms, including other more severe objections by some Marxist commentators, are reviewed in Rex and Tomlinson (1979, p. 128 et seq).

Geographers have largely concerned themselves with the issue of ethnic segregation and, in particular, changing patterns of settlement. In this genre we have the work of Jones (1967, 1970, 1978), Lee (1973, 1977) and Woods (1975, 1977, 1979, 1981). Many of these contributions are very much on the interface between sociology and geography, none more so than the work of Peach (1975) and Peach, Robinson and Smith (1981).

Few economists have ventured into the 'race and housing' debate. Those who have have largely concentrated on pricing mechanisms and in particular the suggestion that black householders effectively faced a 'colour tax' when attempting to buy property. Examples of this work are provided by Fenton (1976, 1977, 1978), Fenton and Collard (1977), and Collard (1973).

Staying with the theme of pricing but moving into the realm of policy research (and specific investigations) we find a considerable amount of published work. Karn (1977, 1977/8, 1979) has committed a great deal of research time and effort both alone and with others (eg. Karn, Kemeny & Williams, 1986) looking at the problems of low income home ownership, a position occupied by a disproportionately large number of black (and especially Asian) families.

Other problems faced by minority families aspiring to owner-occupation relate to the difficulties in obtaining mortgage finance and information about the whole range of houses on the market. Estate agents' practices have occasionally been investigated by the CRE (1980); work which confirmed the continual presence of the sort of exclusionary operations 'discovered' primarily by PEP researchers prior to the passing of the Race Relations Acts of 1968 and 1976. Discriminatory processes had simply become rather more covert and subtle. 'Redlining', the policy of restricting mortgage lending to certain areas and types of property also affected black families disproportionately and was found by Karn (1977/8) as early as the mid seventies. Continued concern over this type of issue led the CRE to conduct a formal investigation into the allocation of finance for house purchase in Rochdale between 1977 and 1981 (CRE, 1985). This exposed the effects of informal decision making processes via 'rules-of-thumb', whereby discretion can lead to discrimination even if unintended.

Rather more weighty in terms of volume is the literature relating to the public rented sector. Allocation and dispersal policies were the foci of important work by Hazel Flett (1977, 1979 (4 papers), 1980, 1981, 1982) at the Social Science Research Council's Research Unit on Ethnic Relations\* (RUER). More recently the focus of attention has shifted to the disturbing rise in incidence of racial harassment (e.g. London Race and Housing Forum, 1981). There have, however, in the 1980s been a number of important investigations into allocations; for example Simpson's (1981) study of Nottingham's policies based on an analysis of the council's records; the CRE's (1984) report of a formal

\* This research body is now located at the University of Warwick and has been renamed the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations (CRER). It publishes the present paper.

investigation into the policies of Hackney Council in London; or, again in London, Phillips (1986) report on Tower Hamlets. The latter is particularly important as it combines a policy analysis with an awareness of the reality of living in an area where racist attacks are frighteningly common. It concludes that a firm anti-racist stance needs to be adopted to combat such activities as well as the discriminatory (or potentially discriminatory) policies and practices of council housing departments. The potentialities and problems associated with ethnic monitoring are tackled by Karn (1983).

Most of the remainder of the Section 1 literature covers more general ground; in particular the plight of our 'inner cities'. Notable here are (Crispin) Cross's (1978) work for the CRE, following on from an earlier study published by the CRE's predecessor (Community Relations Commission, 1977). Research at RUER produced in 1982 the paper by (Malcolm) Cross and Johnson.

## 2) Migration and Race Relations in Britain: Accounts Bearing on the Housing Position and Residential Distribution of Ethnic Minorities

Once again bearing in mind the 'public health warning' attached to the user of such terms as 'Race Relations' and 'Ethnic Minorities' we move on to consider that part of the literature which, although not centrally dealing with issues of 'Race and Housing', nevertheless has direct relevance to those debates. This includes all the major studies of 'race relations' in Britain, a number of ethnographies and, importantly, reports dealing with the urban disturbances of the 1980s.

Dealing first with the 'academic' treatment of the 'race' issue we have the extensive survey of 'race relations' in Britain sponsored by the Institute of Race Relations in the 1960s. This appeared in print as Rose et al (1969) and was reworked in a 'popularised' version by Deakin (1970). Other major surveys included are Lawrence's (1974) study of Nottingham and Ratcliffe's (1981) profile of Handsworth in Birmingham. Included also is Phizacklea and Miles (1980) which distances itself from what it sees as the race relations tradition.

Also very much in the mega-survey tradition but with a much more obvious policy orientation is the series of studies conducted by the PSI and its predecessor PEP. These are important because they are argued by some to have been extremely influential in the forming of legislation aimed at curbing discrimination in employment, housing and so on. Notable here are the studies by McIntosh and Smith (1974), Smith (1976, 1977) and Brown (1984).

Contributions by social anthropologists have been a valuable corrective in raising the issue of 'positive' ethnicity and permitting a sensitive understanding of migrant communities. Much progress has been made since the early assimilationist analysis of Patterson (1963/5) as can be seen in the edited volume by Watson (1977). Important contributions to the literature have been made by people like Wallman (1984), Benson (1981), Anwar (1979), Tambs-Lyche (1980) and Bhachu (1985). Pryce's (1979) book has provoked much debate and illustrates (inadvertently) the dangers of ethnographic work. The black community he was studying has in general reacted adversely to what they see as a dangerous stereotyping (and even racism) in his analysis which leads to a pathological view of their collective lives and life styles.

The remainder of the works in this section can be seen as coming under four more or less distinct headings: general studies of migration/migrant labour, immigration law and practice, racial harassment and urban uprisings.

Under the first of these we have listed the standard work by Castles and Kosack (1973) and the more recent Castles, Booth and Wallace (1984). Other important contributions in this area are those of Bohning (1972), Jackson (1969), Peach (1968) and Solomos (1982).

In the area of immigration law and practice we have concentrated on works which, with the possible exception of Lester and Bindman (1972), avoid an overly legal framework. Clearly our main concern is the impact of the laws and their application on Britain's black communities: hence the inclusion of the handbook from the Manchester Law Centre (1980). General work on the political context of immigration law includes Humphrey and (M.) Ward (1974), Stephen (1970) and (R.H.) Ward (1972). In addition, there are a number of researchers who have focussed on the plight of refugees to Britain, notably Bristow (1976), Jeffery (1976), Jones (1983), Somerset (1983) and (R.H.) Ward (1973).

On the question of racist attacks and harassment there is the thought-provoking hook by Wilson (1978) which looks amongst other things at the isolation felt by Asian women: an isolation made infinitely worse by the fear of attack. That the Home Office is aware of the problem of racial attack is demonstrated by their publication of 1981.

Following this theme further, it is clear that no-one who has lived in Britain in the 1980s can fail to be aware of the growing unrest in many of the decaying inner urban areas. So, given the obvious implications for anyone hoping to 'make sense of' the housing situation and experiences of the majority of black families, there needs to be included in any bibliography such as this the Scarman report (1982), the account of the review panel



formed to analyse the 'underlying causes' of the Handsworth 'rebellions' of September 1985 (West Midlands County Council, 1986) and the Broadwater Farm Inquiry (Gifford, 1986).

### 3) The General Context of Housing

The problem with a general section such as this is that it is always in danger of becoming a catch-all. After all, any publication in the area of housing has, by definition, some relevance to the 'race' issue. The question of degree was therefore the key to the list which follows.

There is no doubting the need for a number of general texts which sketch out the broad vista of urban sociology and urban politics. These issues were, as we saw earlier, central to the debate about housing class and the urban system (e.g. Thorns, 1981). This explains the inclusion of Ball (1983), Dunleavy (1980, 1981), Lambert, Blackaby and Paris (1978), Saunders (1981, 1983), Bassett and Short (1982), Donnison (1967) and Merrett (1980).

Central to the 'race' debate is the issue of inner city policy given that (as we have already seen) 'minority' households are concentrated in such areas. This has generated so much literature that we have had to be selective: including, for example, Murie (1982), Hall (1981), Gibson and Langstaff (1982), Hebbert (1981), DoE (1977), Evans and Eversley, eds. (1980), Loney and Allen, eds. (1979), Paris and Blackaby (1979), Sills, Taylor and Golding (1982) and Spencer (1980).

The other major area of research covered by this section relates to housing market institutions and the low income home ownership issue raised earlier. In the public sector we have the work of Bird (1975), Cullingworth Committee (1969), Gray (1976), Niner (1975). Research on owner occupation includes Booth and Crook, eds. (1986), Karn, Kemeny and Williams (1985), Weir (1976), Forrest, Lansley and Murie (1984), Karn (1976, 1983), Housing Monitoring Team (1982) and (C.) Lambert (1976).

Taken together the literature in these three sections gives a comprehensive overview of the 'Race and Housing' debate in the British context. For the benefit of researchers who wish to incorporate a comparative dimension we have included (as in 1982) a listing of publications based on Netherlands data but published in English. The inclusion of this list also reflects the continuing working relationship between C.R.E.R. at Warwick University and a number of academic institutions in the Netherlands.

### Current Research and Future Directions

It would be a pity to end this brief review of the literature at this point. To do so would be to give the impression of a rather static available pool of material. As has already been pointed out it is only part of a much larger pool. But there is a further issue. Much of the most important and consequential work never reaches the shelves of libraries and bookshops. I am referring to internal allocations data of housing market institutions and the monitoring work already being undertaken by a number of local authorities, the impetus for the latter work having undoubtedly increased since the CRE (1984) investigation of Hackney.

Whilst the political arguments over the use of monitoring are still as heated as they were when Karn wrote her report to the SSRC in 1983 (see Section 1), many organisations are now backing the CRE's view that such work is vital to ensure compliance with the anti-discrimination legislation. The National Federation of Housing Associations has, for example, recently produced a booklet on the subject (NFHA, 1985, Section 1 above). Internal reports are starting to appear in a number of authorities on the results of their monitoring exercises. (There should be many other publications mirroring that of Phillips (1986; Section 1 above). Hopefully they will stimulate the appropriate action).

A number of Research Centres in Britain provide a focus for work on 'Race and Housing'; notably the Salford Centre for Housing Studies (which pools the efforts of researchers at Salford University and the College of Technology) and the Centre for Housing Research at Glasgow University. Salford hosts occasional short courses on issues such as 'Monitoring for Racial Bias in Housing Allocations' and as recently as June this year (1986) Glasgow's Centre mounted a seminar on 'Race and Housing' which is expected to result in the publication of a collection of papers in 1987.

Researchers should therefore be aware that a great deal of directly 'relevant' work is continuing in this area. They should also contact local authorities and research centres such as the two mentioned above (not forgetting Birmingham University's Centre for Urban and Regional Studies (CURS) and Bristol's School of Advanced Urban Studies (SAUS)) as a means of continually updating this bibliography.

P.R.  
November 1986

1. The Housing Position and Residential Distribution of Ethnic Minorities in Britain

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