



European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

# Quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods

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# Foreword

Many European countries have experienced a high level of immigration from all parts of the world in the past two decades and the population of visible minority ethnic groups has grown rapidly. Neighbourhoods with a high percentage of minority ethnic groups are expected to be relatively disadvantaged in social and economic terms.

This report presents the results of a programme of research that analyses the quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in EU15 countries based on the 2007 European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS). This survey offers a wide-ranging view of the diverse social realities in the EU by posing questions on issues such as employment, income, education, housing, family, health, work–life balance, life satisfaction and the perceived quality of society as well as on migration and inter-ethnic issues, which are of particular relevance to this report.

The report compares and contrasts the quality of life between areas distinguished according to their perceived degree of ethnic diversity as reported by respondents to the EQLS. It considers how four selected dimensions of quality of life vary according to an area's degree of ethnic diversity. These dimensions are economic deprivation; housing; social isolation and exclusion; and happiness and well-being. The report also considers issues surrounding perceived levels of ethnic and religious tensions in EU15 countries and attitudes towards migration.

The purpose is to consider whether data collected from the 2007 EQLS can contribute to our understanding of the quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods across EU15 countries. The analysis demonstrates that despite controlling for a variety of respondent and neighbourhood characteristics, living in an ethnically diverse neighbourhood is generally associated with higher levels of deprivation and poverty; poorer housing and social isolation; lower levels of quality of life; and increased levels of societal (ethnic, religious and migrant) tensions. However, the analysis is unable to determine the causal mechanisms through which these outcomes emerge. The analysis can only demonstrate that ethnic diversity acts as a 'marker' for identifying areas that are particularly disadvantaged in terms of their economic and social circumstances.

From a policy point of view, the research indicates that a targeted social housing policy on the part of public authorities would be important in improving conditions in such areas. The study found that whether or not respondents to the EQLS feel that they have cause to complain about crime and litter appears to be an indication that living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods contributes to higher levels of social isolation and ethnic tension and lower levels of quality of life. Improving conditions of everyday life by tackling crime and litter may therefore provide a mechanism for reducing the degree of ethnic tensions and social isolation reported in these communities. Good community policing and support measures to improve the self-responsibility of citizens regarding the quality of everyday life seem to be of the utmost importance.

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# Executive summary

## Overview

Many European countries have experienced a high level of immigration from all parts of the world in the past two decades and the population of visible minority ethnic groups has grown rapidly. Neighbourhoods with a high percentage of minority ethnic groups are expected to be relatively disadvantaged in social and economic terms. The in-movement of an economically disadvantaged population will itself change the social character of a neighbourhood, increasing the average level of social exclusion and deprivation.

This report presents the results of a research programme that analyses the quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in EU15 countries (Member States before the 2004/7 accession) based on the 2007 European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS). The focus of the analysis is on the comparative situation of neighbourhoods in which respondents to the EQLS state that the share of the population from racial or ethnic groups different from the majority population is relatively high ('high-diversity neighbourhoods'). The analysis concentrates on the EU15 aggregate and 10 selected countries within it. The selection of these countries was pragmatic and reflects the available sample size within the EQLS of respondents who report that they live in these areas. A large majority of the respondents who report that they live in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are native to their host country, as are their parents. Hence, this report does not provide a detailed picture of the lives of ethnic minorities.

## Policy context

It is expected that the emergence of multiethnic neighbourhoods will contribute to areas of relative deprivation characterised by relatively high levels of poverty, low levels of educational attainment, poor quality of life and poor-quality housing. The mix of economically disadvantaged people from the indigenous population combined with an emerging migrant population may in turn contribute to increased levels of ethnic, racial and religious tensions. Low levels of cohesion within such communities can result in potentially serious and persistent conflicts, sometimes culminating in violence.

Conditions in specific local neighbourhoods therefore create a serious challenge to the social inclusion and cohesion policy of the European Union, which remains an important policy objective within the EU's Europe 2020 strategy of 'inclusive growth'. In addition, the EU has agreed on greater coordination between the Member States on integration activities for migrants at the local and neighbourhood level as well as the national level. This resulted in the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU (2004), followed by the Common Agenda for Integration by the European Commission (2005) and the Stockholm Programme for 2009 to 2014.

Actions to promote migrant integration on the neighbourhood level are supported by the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals and the European Refugee Fund, which finances projects run by voluntary sector organisations. Action to support integration of third-country migrants into the labour market and combat discrimination is also supported by the European Social Fund.

## Key findings

- Data from the EQLS reveal that those living in ethnically diverse areas are more likely to be single, young and have no dependent children and, perhaps surprisingly, are also less likely to report suffering from a long-term limiting illness. They are also more likely to live in a city or city suburb and are less likely to be owner-occupiers. On average, they complain more about crime and litter in their neighbourhoods.
- Relative levels of deprivation and difficulties with meeting housing costs are found to be higher within neighbourhoods that have high levels of ethnic diversity.

- Housing conditions are difficult in high-diversity neighbourhoods. Socio-economic and spatial factors combine to produce relatively high rates of overcrowding and a poorer physical quality of housing.
- Social exclusion resulting in lower social cohesion is a dominant feature in multiethnic neighbourhoods. Respondents living in areas of high ethnic diversity are more likely to report being socially excluded and are more likely to report a perceived lack of knowledge of and access to welfare services. In terms of social support, respondents living in areas of high ethnic diversity are more likely to indicate that they are socially isolated and are less likely to report that they participate in voluntary activities.
- As expected, subjective quality of life is lower in multiethnic neighbourhoods. Satisfaction with life as measured across a variety of dimensions shows a clear decrease from areas of low ethnic diversity to areas of high ethnic diversity. Deteriorating conditions of everyday life, related to higher levels of crime and litter within an area, are found to explain a significant proportion of dissatisfaction with life in multiethnic neighbourhoods.
- Perceived levels of tension reported by EQLS respondents are relatively high overall and highest in the Netherlands and France. These findings appear to reflect events within these countries over the past decade that have increased levels of discourse surrounding policy towards migrants and have contributed to a polarisation of opinions.
- Not surprisingly, ethnic, religious and migrant tensions are found to be higher in areas of increased ethnic diversity. In terms of personal characteristics, people with lower levels of educational attainment are more likely to report the presence of such tensions. In terms of neighbourhood characteristics, those living in cities are least likely to report higher levels of tensions. Contrary to what would generally be expected, rural areas seem to be more susceptible to societal tensions than cities.
- Concerns regarding deteriorating conditions of everyday life, such as higher levels of crime and litter, are associated with increased perceptions of ethnic, religious and migrant tensions, pointing to the possible importance of the disintegrating fabric of the local community in contributing to such tensions. Existing and observed tensions definitely reduce the social cohesion of multiethnic communities. This will not automatically lead to a breakdown of societal norms. To what extent it will increase the probability of open conflict and even violence is difficult to estimate on the basis of this research.

## Policy pointers

The findings confirm that material poverty (lack of income, restricted access to public services and poor housing) often occurs in parallel with higher degrees of social exclusion, hence suggesting the need for an integrated and comprehensive social and housing policy intervention with strong involvement of local communities. In particular, a targeted social housing policy on the part of public authorities seems to be important in order to improve conditions. Continued EU regional policy intervention therefore seems advisable, with the objective to improve living conditions and enhance social inclusion in deprived neighbourhoods.

Deteriorating conditions of everyday life have a negative effect on subjective quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. Good community policing and support measures to improve the self-responsibility of citizens regarding the quality of everyday life seem to be of utmost importance.

Existing ethnic, religious and migrant tensions reduce the social cohesion of multiethnic communities. Research from the CLIP network (Cities for Local Integration Policy) based on the local integration policy of 35 European cities shows that a preventive intercultural policy based on tolerance, recognition of cultural differences and the 'law of the land' can contribute significantly to reducing those tensions.

## Context and overview of report

Many European countries have experienced a high level of immigration from all parts of the world in the past two decades. The driving forces behind this have included rapid population growth and high rates of poverty in developing countries and strong demand for unskilled labour in Europe's agricultural and construction industries. This report presents the results of a programme of research that analyses the quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in EU15 countries (Member States before the 2004/7 accession) based on the 2007 European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS). A description of the 2007 EQLS, including its approach to measuring and monitoring quality of life, is provided in Eurofound (2009). The focus of the analysis is on the comparative situation of neighbourhoods in which respondents to the EQLS state that the share of the population from racial or ethnic groups different from the majority is relatively high ('high-diversity neighbourhoods'). The analysis focuses on the EU15 and 10 selected countries within it. The selection of these countries (discussed below) was pragmatic and reflects the available sample size within the EQLS of respondents who report that they live in these areas.

The emergence of a migrant population within European countries is largely a consequence of large-scale migration from outside Europe in the second half of the 20th century and the permanent settlement of these migrants. This was initially driven by the migration into north-western Europe of workers from former colonies in the developing world and from countries in the Mediterranean region in response to increasing demand for workers in countries rebuilding their industries after the Second World War and to meet the demand of declining industries for cheap labour (which could not be recruited from the resident labour force). From the 1970s onwards, increasing controls were placed on international labour migration, but immigration continued due to family reunification. From the late 1980s onwards, increasing political and economic turmoil in origin countries and the greater ease of travel increased the numbers of migrants, while economic liberalisation and sustained economic growth increased the demand for migrants from outside the EU. The European Commission's *Third annual report on migration and integration* revealed that there were 18.5 million third-country nationals, making up 3.8% of the total population, living in the EU in January 2006, at which time more than two million third-country migrants per year were entering the EU (Commission of the European Communities, 2007). The size of the population with origins outside the EU is even larger than the number of non-nationals, because many migrants obtain citizenship of the country they migrate to (notably in the UK, France, Sweden and the Netherlands) and large numbers of children have been born in the EU to migrant parents.

Of course, migration from third countries is only part of the migration changing the composition of the population. European countries have always experienced both internal and cross-border migration for economic and political (and increasingly for 'lifestyle' and retirement) reasons. Freedom of movement of labour is one of the four fundamental freedoms (alongside free movement of goods, services and capital) guaranteed by EU law. Moreover, the Lisbon Strategy seeks to increase rates of geographical labour mobility (which was traditionally much lower than in the US) as a way of improving EU economic competitiveness and growth. Labour migration between EU15 Member States has increased recently, but the expansion of the EU in 2004 brought about a surge of migrants from the eight new Eastern European Member States into the EU15. Poland was the largest source of emigrants, who found work in the three Member States (the UK, Ireland and Sweden) that opened their borders to migrants from the eight accession countries immediately. Most EU15 countries imposed restrictions on migration for a transitional period (of up to seven years) for both the eight countries that joined in 2004 (A8) and Bulgaria and Romania that joined the EU in January 2007 (A2). A8 migrants to the UK and Ireland differed from previous waves of migrants in seeking work in rural areas, though the majority migrated to large cities. Though numerous, these migrants were often less obvious than third-country migrants because they mostly had white skins. These migrants also often lived in accommodation provided by employers in rural and suburban areas, though many also competed with third-country migrants for low-cost accommodation in cities. The wording of the question used in the EQLS to identify ethnically diverse neighbourhoods means that this report will tend to focus on those areas in which the population of people from *visibly* different ethnic and racial groups is relatively high.

While there is great diversity in the national origins of third-country migrants between the countries of the EU, most have in common the fact that the first generation of migrants arrived in Europe to work in jobs for which employers could not recruit people from national majority communities (for example, labour-intensive public services in large cities or declining industries located in older industrial regions). Other migrants were attracted to economically prosperous areas or tourist centres by the opportunity to develop businesses serving consumer demand for exotic products and foods. Consequently, people with an ethnic or racial origin different from the majority tended to become concentrated where the demand for their labour or services was greatest – in capital cities, economically prosperous cities, centres of older industry and port cities. It is in these types of area that neighbourhoods of high ethnic diversity are predominantly found. Their precise geographic location is determined by the physical structure of a city, the nature of its housing market and the subsequent internal migration of migrant families and successive generations.

Neighbourhoods of high ethnic diversity would generally be expected to be disadvantaged in social and economic terms for two reasons. First, third-country migrant communities initially found work in low-wage industries and occupations and tended to be constrained to find housing where costs of accommodation were lowest. These will either be areas of older and poorer housing or areas already disadvantaged in social and economic terms where demand for housing is lower. Secondly, the in-movement of an economically disadvantaged population will itself change the social character of a neighbourhood, increasing the average level of social exclusion and deprivation. If the more affluent and/or majority population decide to move away because of the changing nature of the neighbourhood, this will increase the percentage of the population from less affluent groups. The emergence of such neighbourhoods will contribute to areas of relative deprivation characterised by relatively high levels of poverty, low levels of educational attainment, poor quality of life and poor-quality housing. The mix of economically disadvantaged people from the indigenous population combined with an emerging migrant population may in turn contribute to increased levels of ethnic, racial and religious tensions. Low levels of cohesion within such communities can result in potentially serious and persistent conflicts, sometimes culminating in violence, such as the race riots in Bradford during 2001 or in the *banlieues* of Paris during 2005.

These patterns are confirmed by a large amount of research into the social and economic situation of migrants in the EU. Much of this research considers the impact on social cohesion represented by immigration flows and ethnic diversity (Cheong et al, 2007; Hooge et al, 2009; Semyonov and Glikman, 2009; Semyonov et al, 2008). A number of empirical studies have found that there is a negative relationship between ethnic diversity and generalised ‘trust’, which is used as a measure of social cohesion (see, for example, Banting et al, 2006; Bjornskov, 2006). This body of literature makes it clear that immigrant, religious and racial tensions and socio-economic disadvantage tend to coincide (Banchoff, 2007). On the other hand, there has also been upward social mobility among some third-country migrant populations, with many attaining higher incomes and moving to more prosperous areas which may themselves become not only ethnically diverse, but also attractive to certain groups among the host population. Neighbourhoods with large migrant communities may also be characterised by higher levels of social capital, such as increased participation in associational life. Therefore, it should not be assumed that living in these communities is uniformly associated with poorer outcomes across all quality of life dimensions and for all people there.

A discussion of how the definition of how ethnically diverse neighbourhoods is operationalised within the EQLS data is presented in the section below entitled ‘Identifying ethnically diverse neighbourhoods from the 2007 European Quality of Life Survey’. However, it is acknowledged at the outset that as a representative sample survey of households across the EU, the EQLS is not able to present a detailed picture of life within those neighbourhoods characterised by relatively high migrant populations that have generated much of the discourse surrounding the integration of migrants in the EU. Instead, the report compares and contrasts the quality of life between areas distinguished according to their perceived degree of ethnic diversity as reported by respondents to the EQLS. An important contribution of the report, therefore, is also to consider the validity of using such a measure of ethnic diversity within this area of research.

The report considers how four selected dimensions of quality of life vary according to an area's degree of ethnic diversity: economic deprivation; housing; social isolation and exclusion; and happiness and well-being. The report also considers issues surrounding perceived levels of ethnic and religious tensions within EU15 countries and attitudes towards migration. The remainder of this chapter briefly introduces the EU policy background and then goes on to describe how ethnically diverse neighbourhoods have been identified from the 2007 EQLS dataset. The socio-economic characteristics of those people living in areas of high ethnic diversity are compared to those living elsewhere.

## EU policy background

Within the EU, the move towards a single market in labour complementing that in goods and services has led to the steady removal of national barriers to migration (for example, via the Single European Act of 1986 and the Schengen Agreement of 1985). Accompanying this has been a move towards strengthening the external borders of the EU and harmonising national migration and asylum policies across the EU. The Treaty of Amsterdam (1999) and the European Council meeting at Tampere in October 1999 were key events in this process. Following the eastward expansion of the EU in 2004 and 2007, policy makers have increasingly emphasised 'managing' migration from outside the EU and seek to recruit only skilled workers. An example of this is the 'points-based system' implemented by the UK Home Office, which seeks to reorientate international migration to meet skill shortages (as identified by the Migration Advisory Committee) and restrict the entry of less skilled workers. At the EU level, there has been discussion of the introduction of a Blue Card system for labour migrants from outside the EU, similar to the US Green Card system, allowing entry to the European labour market for a limited period. With movement towards a common approach to managing migration from outside the EU also came agreement on a common approach to the fair treatment of third-country nationals. In 2004, the European Council adopted the Hague Programme as the second phase of the area of freedom, security and justice, addressing the need for more coordination of integration activities between the Member States. Other initiatives were the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU, followed by the Common Agenda for Integration by the European Commission (2005). In December 2009, the Stockholm Programme for 2009 to 2014 was agreed (Council of the European Union, 2009). It is wide ranging, covering citizens' rights; law and justice issues; internal security; external border management and visa policy; migration, asylum and integration; and the external dimensions of freedom, security and justice. It places less emphasis on the harmonisation of national migration policies. The most significant element of the Stockholm Programme is the commitment to grant third-country nationals 'rights and obligations comparable to those of EU citizens' by 2014.

The EU approach to the integration of third-country nationals under these initiatives can be summarised as applying a 'two-way process' of mutual accommodation by both the host societies and immigrant communities. Thus, structural barriers to participation in employment, education and politics are removed by two European-level Council Directives implemented in national legislation (Council Directive 2000/43/EC banning discrimination on the grounds of race or ethnic origin and Council Directive 2000/78/EC establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation) while third-country nationals are expected to respect the national culture and laws and learn the language of the country to which they migrate. Actions to promote migrant integration are supported by the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals and the European Refugee Fund, which funds projects run by voluntary sector organisations. Action to support integration of third-country migrants into the labour market and combat discrimination is supported by the European Social Fund's EQUAL initiative, which aims to identify and promote good practice. Under the ESF for 2007 to 2013, the PROGRESS programme will support the implementation of the anti-discrimination and gender equality principles. Within EU regional policy, the URBAN II community initiative had a particular focus on social inclusion in disadvantaged urban areas, addressing diversity issues through the URBACT and URBACT II programmes. Implementation of these EU policy initiatives at the national scale reflects the nature of the third-country migrant population in each country and the existence of national government initiatives. For example, in the UK the scale of activity under these initiatives is small relative to the efforts of the national government to increase the labour market participation of ethnic minorities and tends to be focused on refugee and other more recent migrant communities.

The integration of migrants into receiving countries has a number of dimensions: integration into the labour market; social integration; political participation; and the ability to access housing, education and other services. The ability of migrants to integrate is also influenced by their economic and citizenship status. Short-term economic migrants arriving to undertake high-status jobs, often under the direction of their employer, tend to place few demands on public services and have (or may feel) less need to integrate. Migrants from countries with a colonial link to Europe may have some rights within the country of migration (for example, New Commonwealth migrants to the UK had the right to vote in UK elections). People arriving on work permits may be allowed to apply for citizenship after a period of residence and stable employment. However, asylum seekers will have very few rights to work, education or access to public services until they are granted refugee status and undocumented or illegal migrants will only be able to live on the margins of society, undertaking work in the ‘grey economy’.

There are three broad approaches to integration: assimilation, in which migrants are expected to adjust to the host society and adopt its values, with rights assigned on the basis of citizenship without recognition of ethnic or cultural difference; multiculturalism, in which the rights of migrant communities to organise themselves differently are respected and the host society changes to accommodate cultural differences; and the separation or exclusionist model, which is characterised by restrictive and rigid immigration legislation and policies. EU countries take different approaches, with the French republican tradition not recognising cultural differences and placing a strong emphasis on the equality of citizens; Germany conferring citizenship rights upon people of German ‘ethnic’ origin while treating minorities as permanent foreigners; and the UK, the Netherlands and Sweden adopting a broadly multicultural approach (though the Netherlands has recently moved away from multiculturalism and towards assimilation). The Migration Policy Index summarises the integration policies of EU countries. The index ranges from 0 to 100, and the more liberal the policy regime, the higher the score. Table 1 presents scores for the countries considered in this report.

Table 1: *Scores for Migration Policy Index*

Country	Labour market access	Family reunion	Long-term residence	Political participation	Access to nationality	Anti-discrimination	Overall score
Austria	45	34	55	34	22	42	39
Belgium	75	61	74	57	71	75	69
France	50	45	48	52	54	81	55
Germany	50	61	53	66	38	50	53
Greece	40	41	60	14	25	58	40
Ireland	50	50	39	59	62	58	53
Luxembourg	45	50	48	84	45	56	55
Netherlands	70	59	66	80	51	81	68
Spain	90	66	70	50	41	50	61
UK	60	61	67	46	62	81	63
<b>EU15</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>60</b>

Source: *Niessen et al (2007)*

The UK and the Netherlands adopted multiculturalism as an approach to migrant integration earlier than other EU nations. The UK government has been active in attempting to prevent minority and migrant groups from being constrained to live ‘separate lives’ with little contact with the majority population and has promoted the monitoring of ‘community cohesion’ and action by local authorities to combat it. Considerable attention has been paid to the problem of ethnic (and social) segregation in the education system, and the Home Office’s ‘Respect agenda’ has been proactive

in attempting to promote the social inclusion of Muslim communities over fear of the consequences of isolation and radicalisation of Muslim youth. However, the murder of the Dutch film producer Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands in 2004 and the July 2005 bomb attacks in the UK have widened and polarised public discourse on multiculturalism within these countries. The marginalisation of Muslim communities has been a concern in a number of EU15 countries (such as Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany and the Netherlands).

## Identifying ethnically diverse neighbourhoods from the 2007 European Quality of Life Survey

In this report, the degree of the ethnic diversity within an area is defined on the basis of self-reported responses to the following question included within the 2007 EQLS.

*Question 53: Is your local neighbourhood an area where:*

- 1. Almost nobody is of a different race or ethnic group from most people in [OUR COUNTRY]*
- 2. Some people are of a different race or ethnic group from most people in [OUR COUNTRY]*
- 3. Many people are of a different race or ethnic group from most people in [OUR COUNTRY]*

It must be recognised at the outset that this is a subjective question that will yield self-reported answers that are imprecise for a number of reasons. Firstly, the EQLS does not use an administrative or statistical definition of neighbourhoods, leaving it to the respondent to determine. Some people might regard a neighbourhood as the streets immediately around their home, while others might refer to a larger area of a city (such as a postal district or an electoral district) and it is not clear how people living in sparsely populated rural areas (in which their nearest neighbour may be more than a mile away) would interpret this concept. Secondly, the meaning of the term 'race or ethnic' might be interpreted by some people as referring to skin colour, while others might interpret it with respect to migrant origin, cultural background or religion. Indeed, people with the same skin colour or a similar physical appearance may not share the same ethnic group, since ethnicity is socially and culturally defined. Furthermore, respondents may differ in how they interpret the phrases 'almost nobody', 'some' or 'many'.

In Table 2, it can be seen that across EU15 countries, 12% of the respondents in the EQLS report that their local neighbourhood is an area where 'many' people are of a different race or ethnic group. A further 36% report that 'some' are from a different race or ethnic group, while over half the respondents (52%) report that 'almost nobody' is of a different race or ethnic group from most people in that country. The validity of this measure of ethnic diversity can be examined by presenting information on the country of birth of EQLS respondents analysed according to the degree of ethnic diversity respondents report within their local neighbourhoods. Despite concerns regarding the subjective nature of this question, analysis of the country of birth of EQLS respondents suggests that this measure identifies those areas that have relatively high concentrations of multiethnic communities. Across the EU15, where respondents identify that their local neighbourhood is an area where 'many' people are from a different race or ethnic group, 77% of these respondents also report that they were born in that country. In contrast, among those respondents who identify that their local neighbourhood is an area where 'almost nobody' is of a different race or ethnic group, 96% also report that they were born in that country. However, it must be noted that even within those neighbourhoods that are identified as relatively diverse in terms of their ethnic composition, less than a quarter of such respondents report that they were born outside the country. While some of these respondents are second-generation migrants, it remains the case that only 30% of such respondents report that their parents were born outside the country.

Table 2: Population living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods

Country		Is your local neighbourhood an area where ... are of a different race or ethnic group		
		Nobody	Some	Many
Austria	Distribution of respondents (total = 100%)	38	50	12
	% respondents born in country	96	92	90
Belgium	Distribution of respondents (total = 100%)	59	30	10
	% respondents born in country	93	89	77
France	Distribution of respondents (total = 100%)	70	22	9
	% respondents born in country	95	89	86
Germany	Distribution of respondents (total = 100%)	52	37	11
	% respondents born in country	94	81	68
Greece	Distribution of respondents (total = 100%)	27	50	23
	% respondents born in country	93	89	78
Ireland	Distribution of respondents (total = 100%)	33	50	17
	% respondents born in country	92	89	92
Luxembourg	Distribution of respondents (total = 100%)	38	43	19
	% respondents born in country	73	69	63
Netherlands	Distribution of respondents (total = 100%)	55	29	16
	% respondents born in country	98	91	74
Spain	Distribution of respondents (total = 100%)	42	48	11
	% respondents born in country	94	86	77
United Kingdom	Distribution of respondents (total = 100%)	48	34	19
	% respondents born in country	96	84	66
EU15	<b>Distribution of respondents (total = 100%)</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>12</b>
	<b>% respondents born in country</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>78</b>
	<b>% of respondents' parents born in country</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>70</b>

Source: EQLS 2007

The available measure of ethnic diversity is therefore a subjective and relative scale of ethnic diversity. At the outset, it must be remembered that the available measure does not necessarily identify areas where there are high levels of segregation, as traditionally measured by indices of 'segregation' and 'dissimilarity'. A large number of studies have been conducted that consider various aspects of the segregation process as well as the spatial analysis of segregation patterns across European cities (see Bosswick et al, 2007, pp. 25–8 for a review of this literature). While a respondent to the EQLS may report that their local neighbourhood is characterised by high levels of ethnic diversity, it cannot be inferred that such areas are ethnically segregated. Such respondents may reside in cities that are characterised by high levels of diversity and low levels of segregation. The analysis is therefore not able to provide direct evidence of the experiences of low-income migrant groups who are residentially segregated and who have been the focus of initiatives such as the review and analysis of local housing policies conducted by the European network of Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants (see CLIP, 2007). The research presents an analysis of quality of life in ethnically diverse areas, not ethnically segregated areas.

While the actual proportion of migrants living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods may be higher than that which is implied directly by the migrant status of EQLS respondents who live in these areas (this may be expected if ethnic minority households are less likely to respond to the EQLS), readers must be aware that reported measures of quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are derived from the information supplied by respondents, of whom a majority were born within the host country. Although the analysis has utilised available grossing factors to improve the representativeness of the EQLS sample, weighting within the EQLS is not calibrated to ethnicity and so the potential under-representation of ethnic minorities in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods cannot be addressed. Due to their small numbers in the EQLS samples, it is also not possible to specifically examine the characteristics of migrants living in these areas (see Annex 1). It is only possible to compare the characteristics of the general population living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods with those living elsewhere. As a majority of respondents living in these areas will be from the majority ethnic group(s), the results of the analysis presented in this report primarily relate to the circumstances of a majority population living within communities where they perceive that many people are from a different ethnic background. As previously discussed, the ‘natives’ living in these communities may also not be representative of the general population. It should also be noted that data from the EQLS is not able to distinguish whether the multiethnic population in such neighbourhoods is dominated by one ethnic group or comprises many different smaller ethnic communities.

## EU states selected for country-level analysis

The report focuses on 10 selected EU15 countries. This selection was based primarily on sample size considerations, particularly the number of respondents reporting that ‘many’ people in their local neighbourhood were of a different race or ethnic group (see Annex 1). The countries chosen for inclusion in the analysis are Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom. The highest proportions of people who report that their neighbourhood has many people of a different race or ethnic group are in Greece (23%) and the UK (19%), while the lowest proportions of people who report living in such neighbourhoods are in France (9%), Belgium (10%), Germany (11%), Spain (11%) and Austria (12%). The UK (66%) and Germany (68%) have the lowest proportion of respondents from areas of high ethnic diversity who also report that they were born in that country. In contrast, over 90% of respondents within Austria and Ireland who report that they live in neighbourhoods of high ethnic or religious diversity report that they were also born in that country. It is therefore apparent that the measure of ethnic diversity may be capturing different aspects of diversity or different perceptions surrounding levels of diversity.

However, the selected countries represent the considerable variation that exists between EU countries in the geographical origins of third-country migrant groups. Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Spain and the UK have tended to attract migrants from their former colonies. Migration from former colonies to Spain was delayed until the fall of the fascist regime during the mid-1970s. These migrant flows were in response to the demand for labour in the former metropolis during the period of economic recovery after the Second World War. Migration from the less developed world was increased by the establishment of the Iron Curtain, which prevented labour migration from Eastern Europe during the Cold War. In Germany, labour migrants were attracted from Turkey and people of Turkish origin predominate in the minority ethnic population, but generally do not have German citizenship. There has also been substantial migration from North Africa to France and large numbers of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa have made their way to Spain, mostly as asylum seekers or illegal workers.

In Austria and Greece, the migrant population is mainly drawn from neighbouring regions, reflecting the impact of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires, boundary changes in this area of Europe and the availability of employment for migrants. In Austria, third-country migrants are predominantly from south-eastern Europe (including the former Yugoslavia) and Turkey, but immigration is restricted to residents of the European Economic Area, asylum seekers and skilled migrants from beyond. In Greece, the minority population is predominantly Albanian, with most other foreigners being from south-eastern Europe. The numbers of people from Africa and Asia are quite low. Only the Muslims of

western Thrace (mostly of Turkish origin) are officially recognised as a minority community. In Luxembourg, foreigners formed 43.7% of the population in 2008, but only a small part of this population was from outside the EU. Following expansion of the EU to 27 countries in 2004, there has been substantial migration from Eastern Europe to the UK, Ireland and other 'old' EU Member States.

### The characteristics of ethnically diverse neighbourhoods

Economic migrants tend to be predominantly adults aged under 45, the prime economically active age group. As they become established in their country of migration, wives/husbands and other family members will join them. This is the most fertile age group, and hence children will be born to couples. Furthermore, migrants from the developing world generally have a tradition of larger families than Europeans and higher fertility rates tend to be maintained in the country of settlement by the migrant generation (but the fertility of their children tends to be more similar to that of the receiving country). Consequently, the age structure of areas of third-country migrant concentration would be expected to be young, with a high percentage of children (though there will also be a relatively small number of elderly relatives who come to join migrant families). In the initial years of migration, men tend to outnumber women and there may be partnerships between male migrants and women from the majority population. Over time, the percentage of people of migrant ethnic origin born in the country of settlement increases. However, they may remain disadvantaged because of (direct and indirect) discrimination by the majority and cultural insensitivity by the institutions of the host country towards people who are visibly different. If cultural barriers to educational achievement and access to employment remain, the disadvantage of areas of third-country migrant concentration will continue.

In making comparisons of quality of life between areas with varying degrees of ethnic diversity, it is important to assess the differences in the characteristics of people living in these different neighbourhoods. Table 3 gives an overview of the personal characteristics of respondents living in neighbourhoods classified according to their degree of ethnic diversity. While the focus of the report is to consider the relative characteristics and circumstances of people living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, information on respondents who report that 'some' or 'almost nobody' are of a different ethnic group is also presented so that variations in quality of life can be considered across all communities based on their degree of ethnic diversity. For ease of exposition, this report refers to neighbourhoods as areas of low, intermediate or high ethnic diversity. The analysis gives the relative composition of neighbourhoods in terms of their gender, age (percentage aged less than 35), health (percentage with a long-term limiting illness), partnership status (percentage who are single), family status (percentage with dependent children) and educational attainment (percentage with less than the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) level 4). It can be seen that those living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are more likely to be single, young and have no dependent children. This is also typical of inner-city areas that attract a transient youthful population seeking employment and educational opportunities (e.g. in capital cities). Given the composition of areas of high ethnic diversity, they are also generally less likely to report that they suffer from a long-term limiting illness. However, variations emerge between countries in terms of the relative composition of those people living in high-diversity neighbourhoods. The proportion of EQLS respondents living in high-diversity neighbourhoods who are male is observed to be relatively low in Belgium (38% in neighbourhoods of high ethnic diversity) and Luxembourg (39%). Differences in partnership status and family status by level of ethnic diversity are observed to be relatively small in Germany, Greece, Ireland and Luxembourg. Neighbourhoods characterised by intermediate levels of ethnic diversity also tend to take up an intermediate position in terms of the characteristics of their demographic profile.

Table 3: Personal characteristics of respondents who report living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods

Country	Ethnic diversity	% male	% aged 18–35	% with long-term illness	% single	% with children	% educated to less than ISCED 4
Austria	Low	50	19	23	15	75	69
	Intermediate	44	33	21	22	66	73
	High	53	38	17	27	65	67
Belgium	Low	50	22	27	20	72	68
	Intermediate	50	35	28	28	63	67
	High	38	35	27	37	61	74
France	Low	47	24	22	19	73	70
	Intermediate	54	37	23	24	62	61
	High	47	37	18	30	55	71
Germany	Low	47	18	22	23	68	67
	Intermediate	50	28	22	25	62	71
	High	51	41	19	28	58	77
Greece	Low	42	30	15	11	64	78
	Intermediate	51	32	13	16	65	77
	High	53	35	16	13	66	81
Ireland	Low	51	29	11	18	56	73
	Intermediate	50	42	9	16	57	67
	High	47	38	14	19	55	81
Luxembourg	Low	54	29	18	16	69	73
	Intermediate	49	32	18	21	62	72
	High	39	21	27	22	68	68
Netherlands	Low	51	21	18	18	73	32
	Intermediate	48	37	17	28	61	27
	High	46	34	20	31	57	39
Spain	Low	51	24	15	13	69	72
	Intermediate	47	35	12	17	59	67
	High	56	40	7	17	59	56
United Kingdom	Low	47	21	23	24	66	64
	Intermediate	47	32	18	23	64	60
	High	52	45	15	30	55	59
EU15	Low	48	23	19	19	69	68
	Intermediate	49	32	17	21	62	68
	High	50	38	16	25	59	68

Source: EQLS 2007

Table 4 shows how neighbourhood characteristics of respondents vary according to the reported levels of ethnic diversity in their local areas. It can be seen that respondents who report that they live in relatively diverse neighbourhoods are more likely to indicate that they live in a city or city suburb. Across all EU15 countries, 46% of those who report that they live in areas of high diversity live in cities or city suburbs. In comparison, only 14% of those in neighbourhoods of low ethnic diversity report that they live in cities or city suburbs. This pattern is generally repeated within each of the 10 selected EU15 countries. While levels of home ownership vary across the EU15, those who live in ethnically diverse

neighbourhoods are less likely to be owner-occupiers (either with or without a mortgage). Finally, in terms of the conditions experienced by people living in high-diversity neighbourhoods, across all countries such people are more likely to report that they feel they have reasons to complain about litter and crime (including violence and vandalism) within the immediate neighbourhood around their home. Previous research (see, for example, Semyonov and Glikman, 2009; Semyonov et al, 2008; Schneider, 2008; Wagner et al, 2006) has highlighted the importance of the fabric of localities in explaining the presence of tensions between different ethnic, religious and migrant groups. We therefore later consider how perceptions regarding levels of crime and litter are associated with levels of social cohesion and ethnic tension reported by respondents to the EQLS who live within these areas.

Table 4: *Neighbourhood characteristics of respondents who report living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods*

Country	Ethnic diversity	% living in city	% with reason to complain about crime	% with reason to complain about litter	% owner-occupiers
Austria	Low	16	16	18	74
	Intermediate	33	38	28	49
	High	59	72	60	27
Belgium	Low	11	42	48	81
	Intermediate	40	61	69	63
	High	50	70	72	59
France	Low	8	30	34	72
	Intermediate	19	54	57	64
	High	42	61	73	48
Germany	Low	18	26	20	62
	Intermediate	30	43	39	42
	High	47	58	52	32
Greece	Low	37	35	48	89
	Intermediate	40	49	58	75
	High	59	57	70	69
Ireland	Low	21	21	24	87
	Intermediate	33	55	55	67
	High	40	72	72	64
Luxembourg	Low	8	44	30	80
	Intermediate	13	49	33	80
	High	32	61	41	82
Netherlands	Low	13	30	20	79
	Intermediate	41	54	38	65
	High	56	65	63	39
Spain	Low	16	23	29	85
	Intermediate	33	46	55	81
	High	33	58	62	69
United Kingdom	Low	16	37	35	77
	Intermediate	34	58	57	67
	High	57	75	77	41
EU15	Low	14	34	34	75
	Intermediate	30	55	53	65
	High	46	68	66	50
	<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>68</b>

Source: EQLS 2007

## Conclusions and report structure

For a variety of reasons, migration to the EU has resulted in the emergence of neighbourhoods that are characterised by relatively high levels of ethnic diversity. Although there is considerable heterogeneity in the socio-economic characteristics of people from migrant communities, these areas of high ethnic diversity would be expected to have relatively high levels of economic deprivation. Previous research has highlighted how poor material conditions in areas of high ethnic diversity can in turn contribute to increased tensions between different ethnic groups and lower levels of social cohesion, potentially manifesting in violence and civil unrest. The purpose of this report is to consider whether data collected from the 2007 EQLS can contribute to our understanding of the quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods across EU15 countries. As the EQLS is a large cross-national survey using consistent questions across countries, it enables the effect of living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods across different countries to be compared, providing possible insights into how differences in the approach to the integration of migrants across EU15 countries contributes to the economic and social well-being of such groups.

As stated above, respondents to the EQLS who report that they live in areas of high ethnic diversity are more likely to be single, young, have no dependent children and are less likely to report that they suffer from a long-term limiting illness. They are more likely to report that they live in a city or city suburb, are less likely to report owning their own home (either outright or with the help of a mortgage) and are more likely to complain about levels of crime and litter in their local neighbourhood. It is apparent that these characteristics are typical of many inner-city areas that attract a transient youthful population seeking employment and educational opportunities (e.g. in capital cities). Given that a majority of these respondents also report that they were born in the host country, there is an obvious concern that an analysis of quality of life in areas of ethnic diversity will simply reflect the relative composition of these neighbourhoods. As highlighted by Tables 3 and 4, simple comparisons of quality of life by levels of ethnic diversity would largely be synonymous with comparisons of quality of life between rural and urban areas. A common theme throughout the report is therefore an attempt to understand whether living in an ethnically diverse neighbourhood has a direct influence on the quality of life of individuals living in these areas relative to other areas. To consider these issues, multivariate statistical techniques will be used in an attempt to capture the separate and additional effects of living within these communities. After simultaneously controlling for a variety of personal and neighbourhood characteristics that are measured by the EQLS, the analysis will seek to establish whether quality of life in these neighbourhoods is higher or lower than we would expect to see given the characteristics of EQLS respondents who live in these areas.

The remainder of the report is structured as follows. Chapter 2 considers the issue of economic deprivation in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. The analysis specifically considers the degree of economic stress in high-diversity neighbourhoods in terms of the proportion of respondents who report that they have difficulty in making ends meet, the relative position in the income distribution of those who live these areas and issues surrounding the affordability of housing. Chapter 3 considers the issue of housing conditions in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, which is also closely related to economic deprivation. The analysis considers whether those living in areas of high diversity are more likely to report problems with their accommodation, such as overcrowding and poor-quality housing. Chapter 4 considers the extent to which people who live in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods experience social isolation or exclusion. The analysis explicitly considers: the degree to which people indicate that they feel left out of society; their contact with relatives, friends and neighbours; participation in associational life; and the degree to which they can draw support from neighbourhood networks. Chapter 5 considers the subjective well-being, life satisfaction and happiness of those living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. Finally, Chapter 6 considers the presence of ethnic and religious tensions across countries, attitudes towards migration and the effects of living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods on these attitudes. Chapter 7 concludes by providing policy recommendations and suggestions for improvements that can be made to the EQLS that are pertinent to the analysis of quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods.

## Introduction

Although there is great diversity in the national origins of migrants between the countries of the EU, they have in common the fact that the first generation of migrants arrived to work in jobs for which employers could not recruit people from national majority communities. This was often because these jobs were poorly paid and involved poor conditions of work. Neighbourhoods in which the percentage of minority ethnic groups is high would be expected to be disadvantaged in social and economic terms for two reasons. First, economically disadvantaged people will tend to be constrained to find housing where costs of accommodation are lowest, which will either be areas of older and poorer housing or areas already disadvantaged in social and economic terms where demand for housing is lower. Secondly, the influx of an economically disadvantaged population will itself change the social character of a neighbourhood, increasing the average level of social exclusion and deprivation.

This chapter focuses on the degree of economic deprivation of those living in high-diversity neighbourhoods. It considers whether those living in such communities report suffering economic difficulties in terms of the household not being able to make ends meet. The analysis also considers the relative position in the income distribution of those people living in high-diversity neighbourhoods and whether those in such communities report difficulties with the cost of housing. The chapter considers whether levels of deprivation in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are greater than would be expected given the characteristics of those living in these communities.

## Income deprivation

The ease with which households make ends meet from their monthly income appears to be broadly associated with overall national income levels (see Table 5).<sup>1</sup> The countries in which respondents to the EQLS are most likely to report that their households find it very easy to make ends meet are Luxembourg (24%) and the Netherlands (19%), followed by the UK (18%). This percentage is lowest in Greece, in which 12% of the population reports that their household had great difficulty in making ends meet. At the EU15 level, the percentage finding it difficult to make ends meet is lowest in low-diversity neighbourhoods and highest in high-diversity neighbourhoods.

To highlight deprivation, Figure 1 focuses on the percentage of respondents reporting that their household experiences 'difficulty' or 'great difficulty' in making ends meet. Across all EU15 countries, as the minority share of the neighbourhood population increases, the percentage of people having difficulty making ends meet also increases, from 9% in low-diversity neighbourhoods to 17% in high-diversity neighbourhoods. This pattern is repeated in all countries except the following: Luxembourg and Spain, where there is little difference between the three types of neighbourhood; Greece, in which the most notable feature is a smaller percentage in intermediate-diversity neighbourhoods; and France, where this percentage is higher in low-diversity than intermediate-diversity neighbourhoods. Within high-diversity neighbourhoods, the percentage of respondents whose households were having difficulty making ends meet is highest in Greece (38%), while this was also reported by more than one-fifth of respondents in Belgium and France. The lowest percentage occurred in Luxembourg (3%), followed by Ireland (5%) and the UK (9%). This analysis demonstrates that people living in the wealthiest and poorest of the 10 countries have the least and most difficulty, respectively, in making ends meet. With the exception of Greece, high-diversity neighbourhoods are demonstrated to have the highest percentages of people having difficulty making ends meet.

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<sup>1</sup> In 2006, GDP per capita (in purchasing power standard) was highest by far in Luxembourg at 65,700, followed by 34,200 in Ireland, 30,700 in the Netherlands, 30,000 in Austria, 28,200 in Belgium, 27,800 in the UK, 26,900 in Germany, 26,300 in France, 24,700 in Spain and 22,900 in Greece, the only country below the EU27 average of 23,500 (Source: Eurostat: [http://europa.eu/abc/keyfigures/qualityoflife/wealthy/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/abc/keyfigures/qualityoflife/wealthy/index_en.htm)).

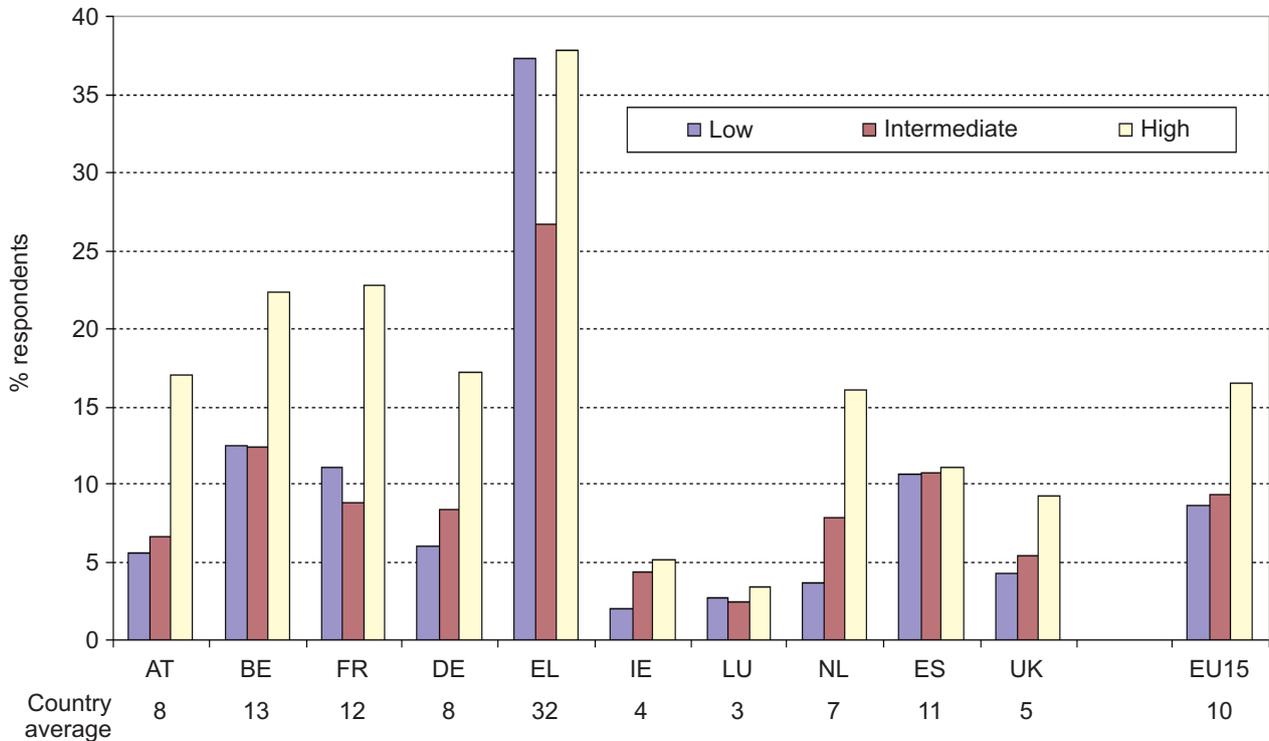
Table 5: *Ease of making ends meet*

Country	Easily or very easily (%)	Fairly easily (%)	With some difficulty (%)	With difficulty or great difficulty (%)
Austria	43	33	17	8
Belgium	41	26	20	13
France	26	37	25	12
Germany	47	27	18	8
Greece	16	17	35	32
Ireland	45	33	18	4
Luxembourg	60	25	13	3
Netherlands	57	21	16	7
Spain	33	26	30	11
United Kingdom	46	33	16	5
<b>Ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (EU15)</b>				
Low	42	31	19	9
Intermediate	36	30	25	9
High	30	26	28	17
<b>EU15</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>10</b>

Source: *EQLS 2007*

Another perspective on income deprivation can be obtained from the EQLS information on the relative position of households within the EU15 income distribution. Considering the relative distribution of income within high-diversity neighbourhoods, it can be seen in Table 6 that across all EU15 countries, the percentage of households in the lowest income quartile is highest (35%) in high-diversity neighbourhoods and lowest (at 22%) in areas of low ethnic diversity. Figure 2 focuses on the position within their national income distribution of respondents who report that they live in high-diversity neighbourhoods. With the exception of Greece, it can be seen that the largest single group of respondents from ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are located within the lowest income quartile. The percentage of people in the lowest income quartile is highest in Austria (47%), the UK (39%) and Belgium (39%). Only in Greece (25%) less than a quarter of respondents were in the lowest income quartile. Two-thirds of respondents in Austria and Belgium reported incomes below the median. However, not all people living in these relatively deprived neighbourhoods are deprived. In Spain and Luxembourg the pattern was more complex, with relatively high percentages of people in both the lowest and the highest income quartiles.

Figure 1: Percentage of people reporting that their household finds difficulty making ends meet, by ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (percentage of respondents)



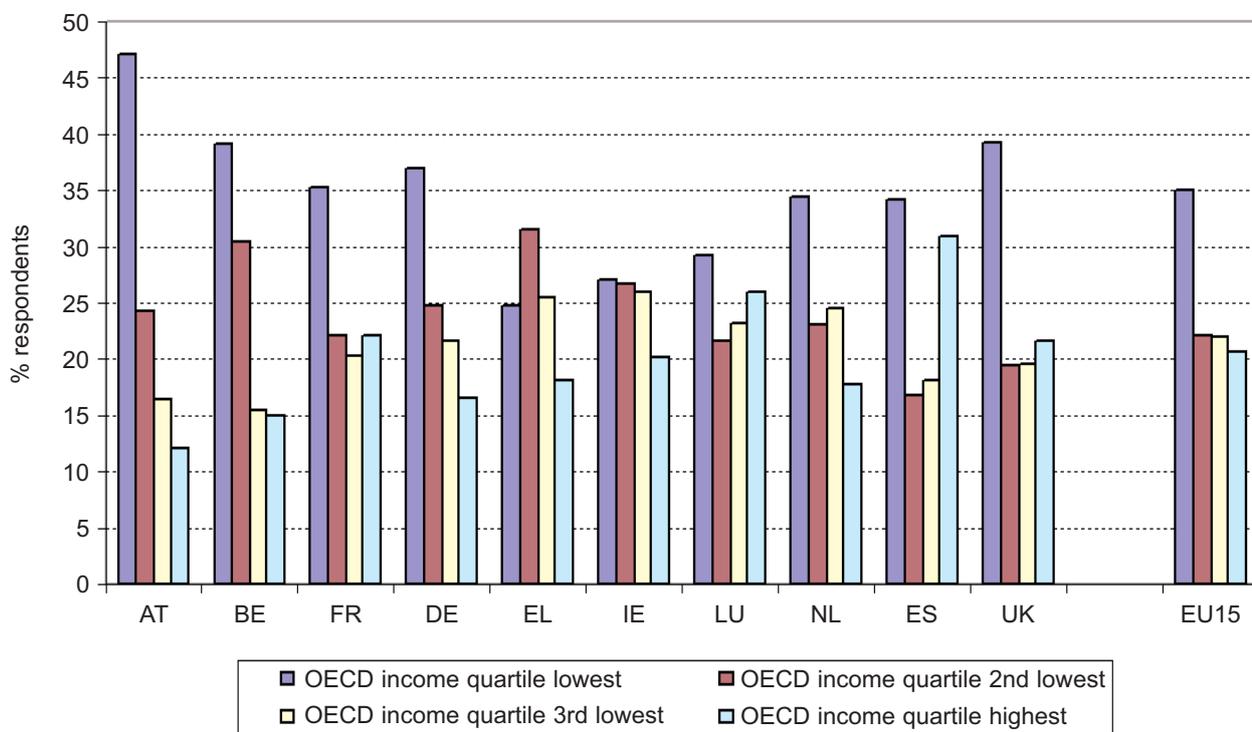
Source: EQLS 2007

Table 6: Income distribution by ethnic diversity of neighbourhood

	OECD income quartile			
	Lowest	2nd lowest	3rd lowest	Highest quartile
<b>Ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (EU15)</b>				
Low	22	25	27	27
Intermediate	25	24	26	25
High	35	22	22	21
<b>All neighbourhoods</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>25</b>

Source: EQLS 2007

Figure 2: Income distribution in areas of high ethnic diversity (percentage of respondents)



Source: EQLS 2007

The descriptive analysis presented thus far has demonstrated that respondents to the EQLS living in high-diversity neighbourhoods are more likely to live in a household that is located in the lower end of the income distribution. To investigate these patterns further, logistic regression models were used to identify the separate influence of a variety of personal and household characteristics on the probability of an individual being in a household in the lowest income quartile. The statistical models included controls for gender, age, economic activity, housing tenure, type of locality and education, with a dummy variable for each of the 10 countries. In the model for all neighbourhoods, control variables were also included to identify respondents to the EQLS living in neighbourhoods in which ‘some people’ and ‘many people’ were from minority ethnic groups. Full results of the analysis are provided in Annex 2.

For *all neighbourhoods*, the factors associated with an increased chance of being in the lowest income quartile were being unemployed or unable to work due to illness or looking after a home, being retired, being in full-time education, being single, being a lone parent (very strongly), being in a couple with children, being born in another EU Member State, living in the open countryside, being a tenant, and having poor education. However, after controlling for these characteristics, it remained the case that living in a neighbourhood in which ‘many’ people are from minority ethnic groups significantly increased the odds of an individual being in a household in the lowest income quartile. Levels of deprivation within high-diversity neighbourhoods therefore cannot be attributed entirely to the observable characteristics of the people who live in these localities.

The statistical analysis was repeated for respondents from the EQLS who lived only in high-diversity neighbourhoods to determine whether there was any difference in the influence of these factors on the probability of a household being in the lowest income quartile. The regression coefficients revealed that characteristics most strongly associated with

being in the lowest income quartile were being unemployed or unable to work due to illness or looking after a home, being retired, being in full-time education, being single, being a lone parent, being in a couple with children, being a tenant in the social rented sector and having a poor education. Being a resident of Belgium, Greece, France, the Netherlands or the UK was also associated within an increased likelihood of an individual in a high-diversity neighbourhood living in a household with a relatively low income.

Finally, analysis was repeated on a country-by-country basis to identify those countries where living in a high-diversity area was associated with an individual living in a household located in the lowest quartile of the income distribution. Due to the relatively small sample sizes, many results were not found to be statistically significant and are therefore not presented in detail. However, living in a high-diversity neighbourhood in Austria, the Netherlands and the UK was found to be associated with an increased risk of living in a low-income household in each case. The results of these regressions confirm that not being in work is a very important determinant of low household income. Households with children (especially lone parents) are also likely to have a low income, as are people renting their accommodation. There is evidence that high-diversity neighbourhoods tend to contain relatively poor populations, notably in Austria, the Netherlands and the UK. In high-diversity neighbourhoods, social rented housing plays an important role in accommodating people with low incomes.

### Housing affordability and housing stress

A number of questions in the EQLS consider issues related to housing affordability. Respondents are asked whether the household has been unable to pay rent/mortgage payments or utility bills during the preceding 12 months and how likely it is that a respondent will move during the next six months because of housing costs. This section explores national variations in housing affordability according to the diversity of the neighbourhood and goes on to consider whether respondents perceive that the inability to afford housing is likely to result in them having to move home. Four-fifths of respondents in Greece and 74% in France reported that housing costs were a burden to the household (see Table 7). In contrast, only two-fifths of respondents in the UK (41%) and Ireland (42%) reported housing costs to be a financial burden. For over a quarter of respondents in France and Greece, the burden of housing costs was described as 'heavy'.

The percentage reporting housing cost to be a burden for the household is higher where the percentage of the population of a neighbourhood from minority ethnic groups increases. For over a fifth of people (22%) living in high-diversity neighbourhoods across all EU15 countries, housing costs were considered to be a heavy burden. In these neighbourhoods (see Figure 3), two-thirds of respondents reported that housing costs were a burden, with this percentage being highest for France (82%) and Greece (82%). Only half of respondents in Ireland and 54% in the UK reported that housing costs were a burden. However, it can be seen that in Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK, the proportion of people in high-diversity neighbourhoods who reported that housing costs are a burden was relatively high compared to areas of lower ethnic diversity within these countries.

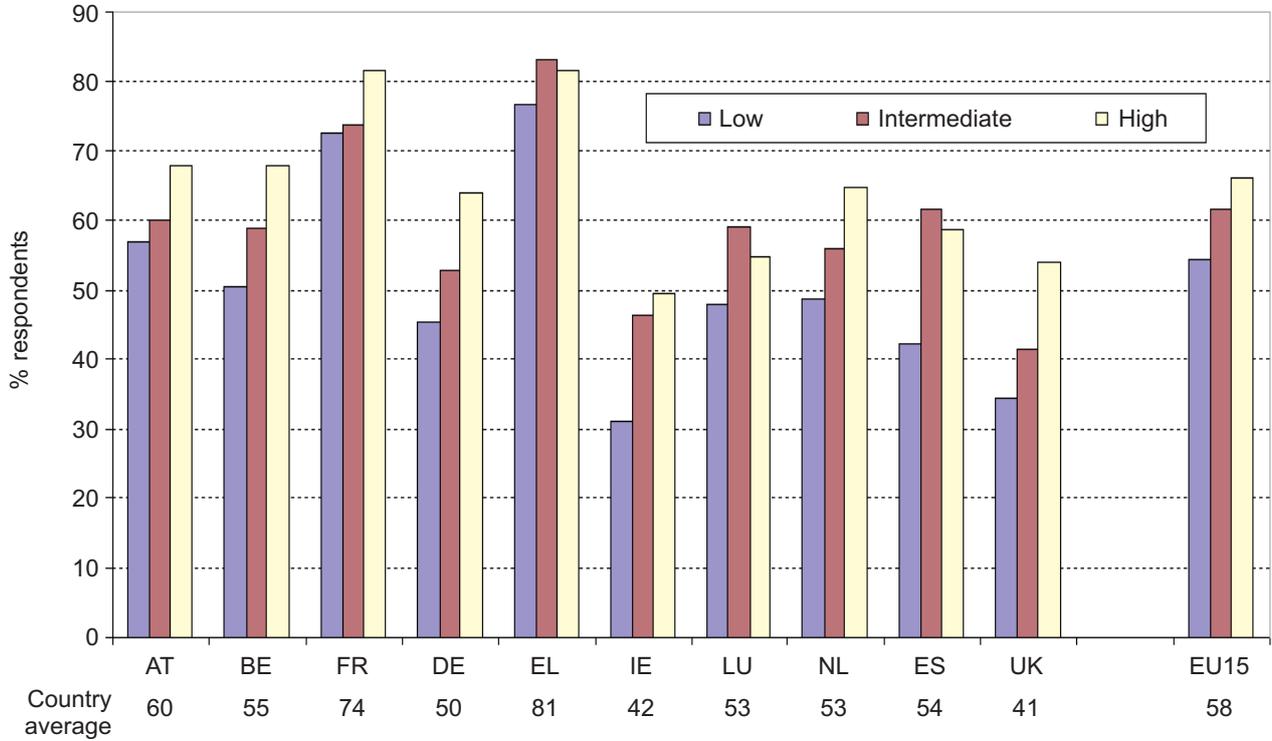
Table 7: Percentage reporting that total housing cost is a financial burden to the household

Country	Yes, a heavy burden	Yes, somewhat a burden	No burden at all
Austria	8	52	40
Belgium	14	41	45
France	28	46	26
Germany	9	42	50
Greece	26	55	19
Ireland	5	37	58
Luxembourg	12	41	47
Netherlands	8	45	47
Spain	17	37	46
United Kingdom	6	34	59
<b>Ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (EU15)</b>			
Low	13	41	46
Intermediate	15	47	38
High	22	44	34
<b>All neighbourhoods</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>42</b>

Source: *EQLS 2007*

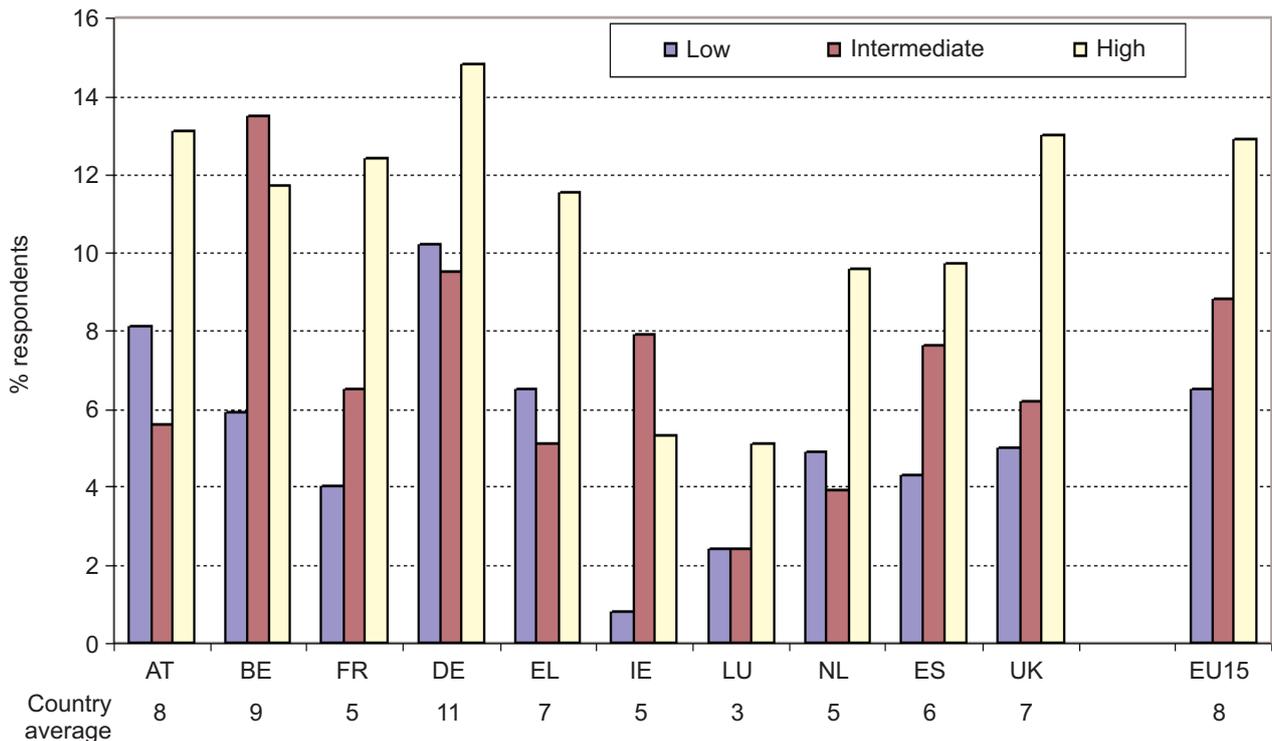
Across all EU15 countries, the percentage of respondents who reported that their household had been in arrears with respect to mortgage or rent during the previous year was more than twice as high in high-diversity neighbourhoods compared to low-diversity neighbourhoods (see Figure 4). Across all neighbourhoods, people living in Germany (11%) and Belgium (9%) were most likely to be in arrears, while those living in Luxembourg were least likely to be in arrears (3%). In high-diversity neighbourhoods, the percentage in arrears was highest in Germany (15%), Austria (13%), the UK (13%) and France (12%). In Belgium and Ireland, the percentage in arrears was highest in intermediate-diversity neighbourhoods.

Figure 3: Percentage reporting that total housing cost is a financial burden to the household, by ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (percentage of respondents)



Source: EQLS 2007

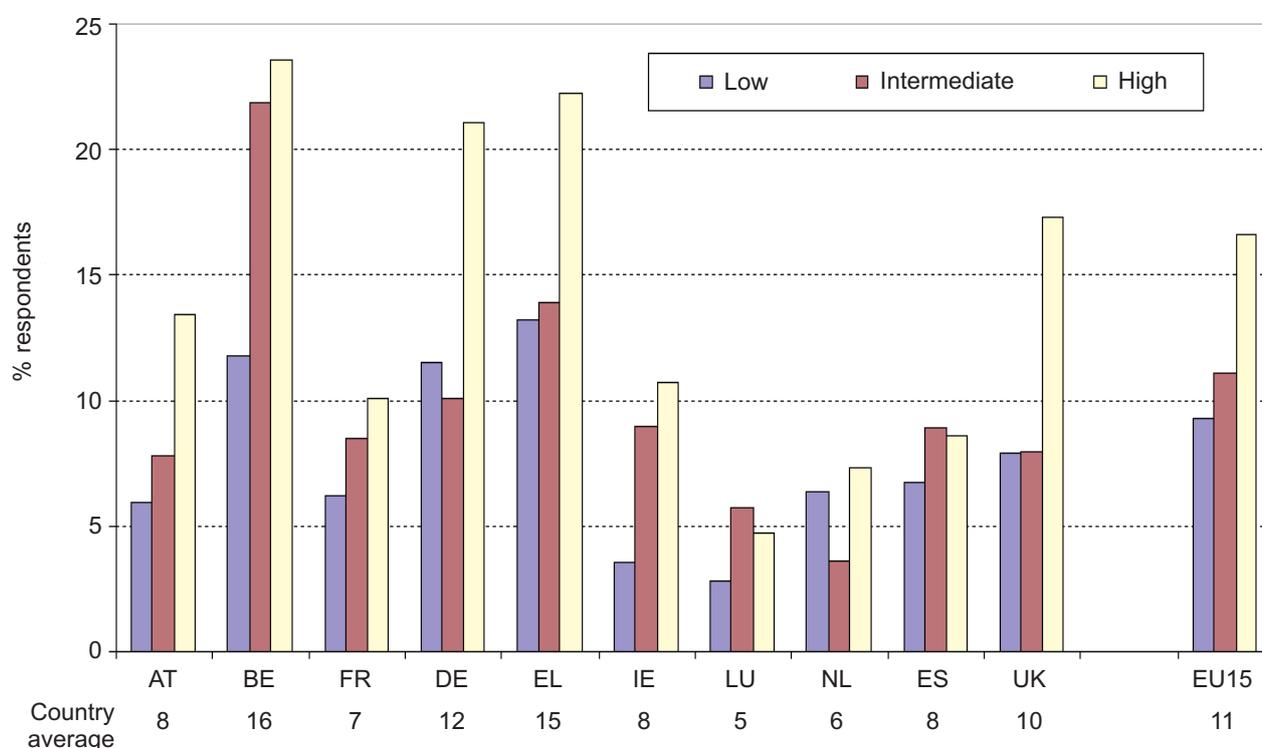
Figure 4: Households that had been in arrears during the previous 12 months in paying rent or mortgage payments for accommodation, by ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (percentage of respondents)



Source: EQLS 2007

For the EU15 as a whole, the percentage of respondents who reported that their household had been in arrears paying utility bills during the previous 12 months (see Figure 5) increases as the percentage of the neighbourhood population from minority ethnic groups increases, being highest for those in high-diversity neighbourhoods. The only exceptions to this pattern across the 10 countries examined in this report are Luxembourg and Spain. Arrears were most commonly reported in Belgium (16%) and Greece (15%) and least commonly in Luxembourg (5%) and the Netherlands (6%). Turning to high-diversity neighbourhoods, the percentage of households that had been in arrears was highest in Belgium (24%), Greece (22%), Germany (21%) and the UK (17%). The percentage of households that had been in arrears was lowest by far in Luxembourg (5%), the Netherlands (7%) and Spain (9%). Both these indicators of households struggling to meet regular housing costs confirmed that the greatest problems were to be found in high-diversity neighbourhoods.

Figure 5: Households that had been in arrears during the previous 12 months in paying utility bills, by ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (percentage of respondents)



Source: EQLS 2007

The EQLS asks respondents, 'How likely do you think it is that you will need to leave your accommodation within the next six months because you can no longer afford it?', with possible responses ranging from 'very likely' to 'very unlikely'. This is an indicator of more extreme lack of affordability, since it suggests the fairly immediate action of having to move to find more affordable housing. Table 8 presents the average picture across the 10 countries being considered and the EU15 as a whole. Around 83% of people reported that they were very unlikely to move, but this percentage declined from 88% in areas of low diversity to 78% for high-diversity neighbourhoods. The percentage reporting that they were very likely or quite likely to move was twice as high in areas of high diversity (7%) compared to low-diversity neighbourhoods (3%). The percentage likely to move was highest in France, the UK and Luxembourg and very low (less than 1%) in Spain. In high-diversity neighbourhoods, the percentage likely to move reached 16% in France and 11% in the UK, but was only 2% in Spain and 3% in the Netherlands.

Table 8: *Likelihood of moving due to housing costs (percentage of respondents)*

Country	Very likely	Quite likely	Quite unlikely	Very unlikely
Austria	1	3	12	83
Belgium	1	3	20	77
France	2	6	10	83
Germany	2	2	10	86
Greece	3	2	8	88
Ireland	1	3	5	90
Luxembourg	2	3	8	87
Netherlands	1	1	5	93
Spain	0	0	7	92
United Kingdom	2	4	18	77
<b>Ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (EU15)</b>				
Low	1	2	8	88
Intermediate	2	3	12	83
High	2	5	15	78
<b>All neighbourhoods</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>85</b>

Source: *EQLS 2007*

Table 9 explores whether people living in households that find housing costs to be a heavy burden are more likely to move because of the cost of housing, and if there is any difference in high-diversity neighbourhoods. Even for people reporting housing costs to be a heavy burden, nearly three-quarters (73%) said that they were ‘very unlikely’ to move in the next six months due to the cost of housing (see Table 9). People in Germany and Austria were most likely to move, while people in the Netherlands were least likely to move, followed by France and Greece. For the EU15 as a whole, the likelihood of moving increased as the minority share of the neighbourhood population increased.

The marked national variations revealed in housing affordability and having to move to find cheaper accommodation may be due to high-diversity neighbourhoods being located in larger cities with high housing costs, but may also reflect national differentials in access to subsidised housing in such neighbourhoods. Across EU15 countries, the percentage of respondents who report that they are likely to move is much lower for people in owner-occupied accommodation (see Table 10). The percentage likely to move is higher where the neighbourhood is more diverse for people living in owner-occupied and privately rented accommodation. For those in the social rented sector, the percentage likely to move is higher in low-diversity than for intermediate-diversity neighbourhoods. This pattern might reflect the high cost of social rented accommodation in neighbourhoods where it is scarce (e.g. in rural areas with small minority populations).

Table 9: Likelihood of moving due to housing costs (percentage of respondents who report that housing costs are a heavy burden)

Country	Very likely	Quite likely	Quite unlikely	Very unlikely
Austria	1	13	43	43
Belgium	3	9	10	78
France	3	3	18	76
Germany	7	10	19	64
Greece	1	6	8	85
Ireland	7	2	15	76
Luxembourg	4	6	10	80
Netherlands	1	1	16	82
Spain	2	8	21	69
United Kingdom	3	9	18	70
<b>Ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (EU15)</b>				
Low	1	4	15	79
Intermediate	4	7	20	69
High	4	12	21	63
<b>All neighbourhoods</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>73</b>

Source: EQLS 2007

Table 10: Housing tenure and housing affordability (percentage of residents who say they are likely to move within the next six months)

Type of tenure	Ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (EU15)			
	Low	Intermediate	High	All
Owned	2	3	3	2
Tenant (private landlord)	8	11	12	10
Tenant (social, voluntary, municipal landlord)	7	5	8	6
<b>Total (EU15)</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>

Note: The smaller tenure categories ('rent-free' and 'other') are not presented in this table.

Source: EQLS 2007

Separately for all neighbourhoods and for high-diversity neighbourhoods (see Annex 3), multivariate analysis was used to identify the factors increasing or decreasing the likelihood of a person reporting that they would have to move within the next six months because of housing costs. The results tend to confirm expectations, in that older people and those with families or purchasing a property are relatively immobile even in the face of financial difficulty in meeting housing costs. They also imply that housing costs are high in the Benelux countries and that mobility in response to housing costs is higher than average in these countries, after taking other factors into consideration. Finally, it was estimated that living in a high-diversity neighbourhood was associated with an increased likelihood of moving due to housing costs. Those living in areas of high ethnic diversity were estimated to be 35% more likely to move in the next six months due to housing costs compared to those living in areas of low ethnic diversity. The higher rate of people in high-diversity neighbourhoods who report that they would be likely to move in the next six months cannot be attributed wholly to the composition of those living within high-diversity neighbourhoods.

## Summary and conclusions

The analysis of income clearly demonstrates that household income levels are lowest in high-diversity neighbourhoods. However, the association between high minority shares of the population and low household income varies by country and is strongest in Austria and the UK and weakest in Greece and Ireland. The regression analysis demonstrated that not being in work is a very important determinant of low household income and that households with children and tenants are relatively likely to have low incomes. The regressions also confirmed that high-diversity neighbourhoods tend to contain relatively poor populations, notably in Austria, the Netherlands and the UK, and that social rented housing plays an important role in accommodating people with low incomes in high-diversity neighbourhoods.

People living in high-diversity neighbourhoods are more likely than those living elsewhere to find the cost of housing difficult to cope with. Those who are having difficulty in paying the cost of housing are more likely to move, but tenants are more likely to move than owner-occupiers and people in the social rented sector are less likely than private sector tenants to have to move due to affordability. Regression analysis demonstrates that location in a high-diversity neighbourhood has a separate and additional effect on increasing the likelihood of moving, with age and housing tenure being other major determinants.

The findings of this chapter tentatively suggest that the minority population of the 10 countries tends to be concentrated in neighbourhoods of lower income and that people living in these areas are relatively likely to have difficulty affording their accommodation. This would be expected if these neighbourhoods were located in more affluent cities with higher housing costs, where private sector rents were also higher. Where social rented housing is available, it is more affordable and there is less need to move to cheaper accommodation.

# Housing conditions

## Introduction

‘Housing must be considered as an integral part of the integration processes of migrants – and analysis must be carried out on the housing situation of migrants based on the fact that it is an important indicator of the integration process’ (Bosswick et al, 2007, p. 4). Significant and persistent differences in access to housing of adequate standard experienced by particular socio-economic groups can indicate the existence of discrimination or differential treatment that affects other dimensions of economic and social life and the successful integration of minorities or migrants into European societies. Similarly, these measures can identify geographical areas of persistent concentration of disadvantage and it is often the case that the location of disadvantaged people and disadvantaged geographical areas coincide.

The aim of this chapter is to identify whether there are clear differences in housing conditions between neighbourhoods with low, intermediate and high diversity and to explore the reasons for any differences. Even within Western Europe, there are considerable national differences in physical development, the age and condition of housing stock and in housing tenure that overlay and influence the differences observed between types of neighbourhood. The EQLS provides a valuable source of information on the housing conditions of people across European countries, including questions about overcrowding, the physical conditions of housing and housing tenure. It must be noted, however, that the chapter describes the housing conditions of individuals covered by the survey and living in particular types of neighbourhood, rather than the housing characteristics of individual types of neighbourhood. The chapter compares housing conditions within high-diversity neighbourhoods with areas of medium and low concentrations of minority ethnic groups. Multivariate analysis is used to explore the factors underlying these differences.

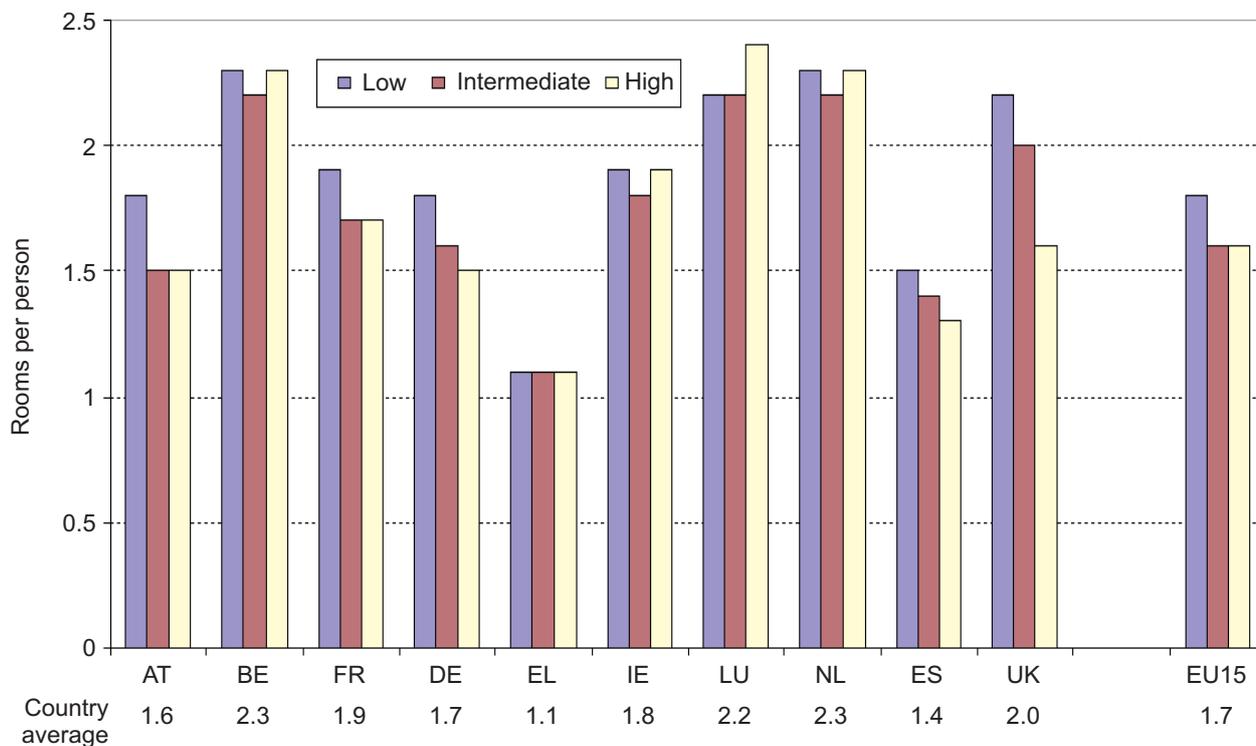
## Overcrowding

While adequate space in which to conduct home life is a basic requirement of decent accommodation, minority ethnic households often live in more crowded conditions than the incumbent population (Friedrichs, 1998). Overcrowding can be measured by the ratio of rooms in a dwelling to the number of people living in the household. The EQLS collects information to express the ratio of the number of rooms used for sleeping and general living (all rooms minus bathrooms, kitchens, halls and rooms used solely for business or for storage) to the number of occupants of the dwelling. In general terms, a household might be regarded as living in overcrowded conditions if there are fewer rooms of this kind than people, meaning that household members will have to share bedrooms. The nature of overcrowding will also differ according to the nature of the household. For example, while a single adult may have less than one room to live in due to extreme economic necessity (for example, where several low-paid migrant workers share a bedroom), the sharing of bedrooms will be more usual for families (in which parents would usually share a bedroom, as would younger children). Attitudes to overcrowding will change over time as people expect to have more spacious accommodation, and those with greater incomes will generally purchase or rent more spacious dwellings. However, the physical size of dwellings will also influence overcrowding, and this will be influenced not only by the history and culture of a country, but also by the cost of land. Where land costs are higher (for example, in major cities), dwellings will also tend to be smaller.

There are quite large differences in the mean number of rooms per person between countries (see Figure 6). The mean number of rooms per dwelling is highest in the Benelux countries, followed by the UK, France and Ireland. The average ratio of rooms to persons is lower in Austria and Germany, smaller in Spain and smallest of all in Greece. On average, therefore, the problem of overcrowding is most acute in Greece, while accommodation standards are most generous in Belgium and the Netherlands. There are broadly similar national contrasts for each type of neighbourhood. At the EU15 level, the number of rooms per person is higher in low- and intermediate-diversity neighbourhoods than in high-diversity neighbourhoods. However, the difference in the mean is only 0.2 of a room between areas of low and high diversity. In most countries the difference between neighbourhood types is quite small and in Greece there is no difference. In the Benelux countries and Ireland, overcrowding is most prevalent in low-diversity neighbourhoods. The difference between

low- and high-diversity neighbourhoods is greatest in the UK. France, Germany, Austria and Spain demonstrate the same trend, but differences in the ratio of rooms to persons between types of neighbourhood are smaller.

Figure 6: Mean number of rooms per person, by ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (percentage of respondents)

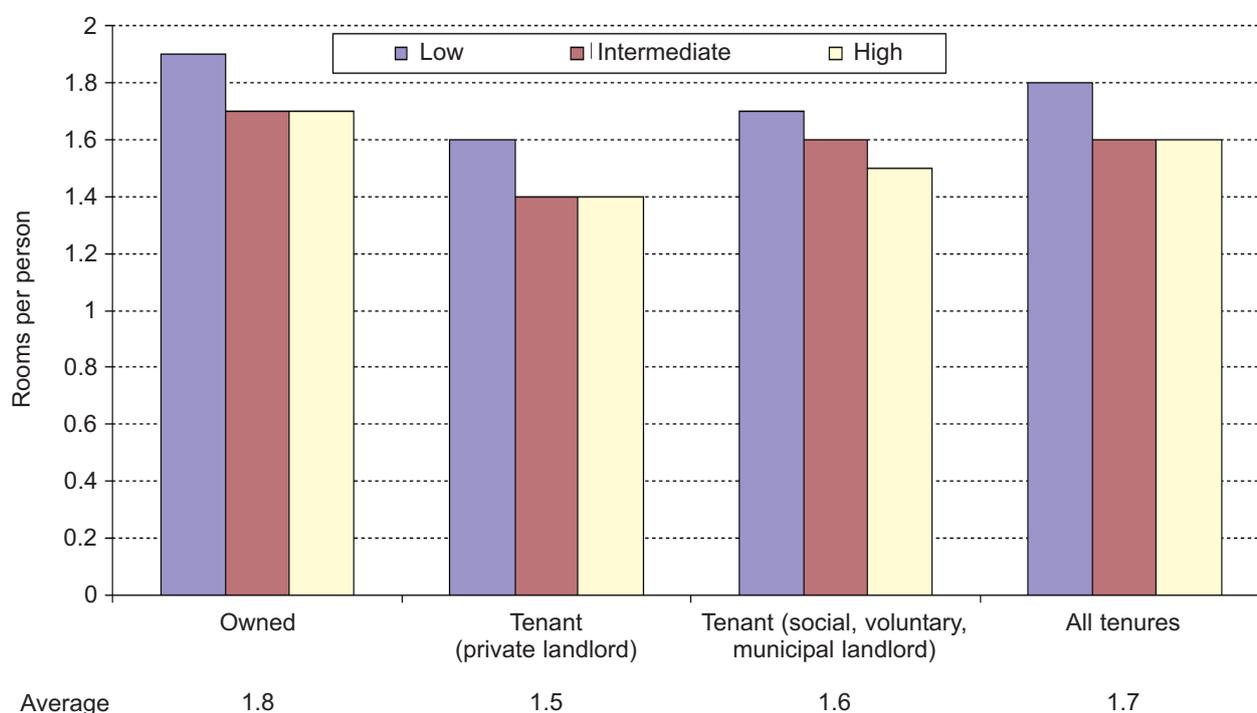


Source: EQLS 2007

Housing tenure is a major influence on the experience of overcrowding for a number of reasons. In general, people who own their own dwelling are likely to be more affluent and hence able to afford more physical space. The corollary of this is that those who rent will tend to have lower incomes and hence will live in physically smaller accommodation. For the social rented sector, the relationship is less clear. Constraints on public sector spending may lead to the construction of dwellings which only meet the minimum standards, and if households are predominantly housed on the basis of need, these may be larger, therefore reducing the average ratio of rooms to persons. On the other hand, where socialist or social democratic policy regimes are dominant, the public sector may be more likely to construct housing of a high standard that is relatively spacious.

Figure 7 demonstrates that at the EU15 level, overcrowding is less common for people living in owner-occupied dwellings and that the mean number of rooms per person is lowest for people living in privately rented accommodation. In general terms, this will reflect income differentials: people who own their dwelling will be more likely to have the financial resources to purchase the space they need, those who rent privately may not have sufficient resources to obtain their needs in the rental market, while tenants in the social rented sector will have their space determined by housing planners. For the EU15 as a whole, the mean number of rooms per person is highest in low-diversity neighbourhoods and lowest in high-diversity neighbourhoods across all tenure types. This probably reflects the location of the latter in larger cities with older (and smaller) dwellings and relatively high land (and hence housing) costs. It is also striking that people living in owner-occupied housing have the most rooms per person and those living in privately rented accommodation have the fewest on average in each type of neighbourhood.

Figure 7: Mean number of rooms per person, by tenure type and ethnic diversity (percentage of respondents)



Source: *EQLS 2007*

Another factor underlying these differentials is the type of household. Where household sizes are larger, the ratio of rooms to occupants of a dwelling will tend to be lower. Household type is an (imperfect) indicator of this. Single-person and couple-only households will be smallest and should have the largest number of rooms per person, while couples with children will be largest. Table 11 shows that single people have an average of more than three rooms each at the EU15 level, while couples have two rooms each on average. The availability of space per person is least for couples with children and other types of household. Within each household type, the number of rooms per person is largest in low-diversity neighbourhoods and smallest in high-diversity neighbourhoods. It is not easy to identify households with unrelated occupants (for example, young workers or students) within the EQLS, but these should fall into the 'Other' category and would be expected to have relatively few rooms per person. The 'Other' category would also include multigenerational households, in which overcrowding would also probably be relatively common.

Table 11: Mean number of rooms per person, by type of household for EU15 (percentage of respondents)

Ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (EU15)	Single	Lone-parent family	Couple	Couple with child(ren)	Other	All
Low	3.3	1.6	2.1	1.2	1.4	1.8
Intermediate	2.9	1.4	1.9	1.1	1.2	1.6
High	2.8	1.3	1.8	1.0	1.2	1.6
All neighbourhoods	3.1	1.5	2.0	1.2	1.3	1.7

Source: *EQLS 2007*

Differences in the composition of families between areas of high and low ethnic diversity point to the problems of making like-for-like comparisons when comparing levels of overcrowding. While it might be expected that those in

ethnically diverse neighbourhoods should exhibit higher levels of overcrowding, this might be disguised by the higher proportion of respondents who report living in these areas who are single. Table 11 demonstrates that such respondents are least likely to experience overcrowding. The factors associated with overcrowding in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods were explored in more detail through multivariate analysis. The analysis considers whether, after controlling for a number of household and personal characteristics, those living in intermediate- and high-diversity neighbourhoods were more likely to experience overcrowding. To consider this, the number of rooms per person was modelled as a function of age, economic status, type of family, migrant status, urban/rural character, housing tenure, poor education and household income and a dummy variable was included for each country. The most significant influences (at the 1% level) on the number of rooms per person were found to be age (highest for people aged 50–64), family type (with single people having the most rooms per person and couples with children having the least space), urban or rural character (with least space in cities or city suburbs), housing tenure (with fewer rooms per person for rented accommodation), education (those with low education having fewer rooms per person) and household income (the higher the household income, the greater the number of rooms per person). Taking all these independent variables into account, accommodation was found to be significantly less spacious than the EU15 average in Belgium, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the UK and more spacious than expected in Spain. Finally, living in an intermediate- or high-diversity neighbourhood was found to have a significant effect in reducing the number of rooms per person. For the country-specific regression models, only in the case of the UK were high-diversity neighbourhoods significantly associated with fewer rooms per person.

### Amenities

Bosswick et al (2007) emphasise that the four basic amenities of running water, adequate (flushing) toilet facilities, a bath/shower and sufficient heating have become the standard pattern of housing standards within the EU. The EQLS survey asks respondents six questions (under Question 17) about the physical condition of dwellings, covering lack of space; rot in windows, doors or floors; damp or leaks in walls or roof; lack of indoor flushing toilet; lack of bath or shower; and lack of a place to sit outside. The first of these is another perspective on overcrowding, based instead on the respondent's subjective assessment rather than the derived measure described in the previous section. The next two are concerned with the physical condition of the dwelling, while the next two are commonly used indicators of decent-quality accommodation, since lack of access to a bath or toilet may have implications for health.<sup>2</sup> The final sub-question provides another perspective on density of living, identifying people living in dwellings without gardens or balconies. This would probably mainly apply to people living in higher-density purpose-built flats/apartments (for example, local authority high-rise accommodation) or in dwellings that have been split into bed-sits and flats.

Four of the six indicators display a pattern in which the percentage of respondents reporting a problem is higher for intermediate- and even higher for high-diversity neighbourhoods than low-diversity neighbourhoods (see Table 12). The exceptions to the pattern noted above are 'rot in windows, doors or floors' and 'damp or leaks in walls or roof'. The former affected just under a quarter of respondents, while the latter was experienced by around one-third of respondents in all types of neighbourhood. For both these problems, the percentage was lowest for those living in low-diversity neighbourhoods. The percentage of respondents whose homes experienced rot was highest in high-diversity neighbourhoods, but the percentage living in housing with damp or leaks were similar in neighbourhoods of both low and high diversity. These patterns suggest that that newer and better-quality housing is found in the intermediate-diversity neighbourhoods, where 'some people' are from minority ethnic groups. These are likely to be the suburbs and

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<sup>2</sup> The UK Census of Population has used these measures as indicators of inadequate accommodation, but asks whether the household has exclusive use of these amenities. The EQLS question might understate the degree of disadvantage because households that have to use shared facilities within a building may not be able to report that they have to share amenities.

commuter towns in the hinterlands of larger urban areas. The higher prevalence of rot in high-diversity neighbourhoods might be a result of poorer-quality and more badly maintained housing in inner-city areas, while a higher percentage of damp in areas of low diversity might be an indicator of older housing built without damp-proofing and insulation (possibly more common in rural and older industrial areas). The percentage of people reporting rot as a problem is extremely high in Greece and Luxembourg, but low in Spain and extremely low in Austria. This could be indicative of lower maintenance standards in countries with lower income levels. Damp is most likely to be reported as a problem in Luxembourg, France and Belgium, probably reflecting the age of the housing stock. It is least likely to be reported in Germany and Austria.

At the EU15 level, the problem of shortage of space confirms the findings of the analysis of overcrowding in the previous section. However, it is perhaps surprising that the percentage of people reporting this problem is relatively high in Ireland and the UK and is not highest in Greece and Spain. This suggests that this indicator also picks up national differences in attitudes towards overcrowding, suggesting that Greek people are quite tolerant of overcrowding, while Dutch people are much less so (for whom the percentage reporting overcrowding is much higher than the low mean number of rooms per person would imply). The lack of a place to sit outside displays the largest increase in the percentage reporting it as a problem between the three types of neighbourhood (indicative of the fact that the population density of high-diversity neighbourhoods is much greater than that of less diverse neighbourhoods) and is reported most commonly as a problem in Spain and Austria and least frequently in the Netherlands and Greece. This implies a greater tolerance of high-density living in the latter two countries.

The two indicators of decent-quality housing – lack of an indoor flushing toilet and lack of a bath or shower – are reported by a very small percentage of respondents, but this percentage is higher for intermediate-diversity neighbourhoods and highest for high-diversity neighbourhoods. The percentages reporting these problems are well below the EU15 average in Austria, France, the Netherlands and Spain. The percentage of respondents reporting these problems are highest in Ireland and Luxembourg, followed by Germany and Belgium.

Table 12: *Indicators of physical housing quality: all neighbourhoods*

Country	Percentage of respondents reporting problem					
	Shortage of space	Rot in windows, doors or floors	Damp or leaks in walls or roof	Lack of indoor flushing toilet	Lack of bath or shower	Lack of place to sit outside
Austria	52	9	27	1	3	54
Belgium	42	24	42	7	10	33
France	49	26	43	2	3	36
Germany	49	16	26	8	7	45
Greece	52	60	40	5	5	21
Ireland	66	17	33	10	15	34
Luxembourg	44	40	51	12	12	27
Netherlands	51	26	40	3	3	17
Spain	42	13	31	2	3	62
United Kingdom	60	22	35	5	4	24
<b>Ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (EU15)</b>						
Low	49	23	35	4	4	32
Intermediate	50	22	32	4	4	41
High	56	26	35	5	5	44
<b>All neighbourhoods</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>37</b>

Source: *EQLS 2007*

At the EU15 level, the incidence of all six indicators of physical housing quality was higher than average in high-diversity neighbourhoods. However, Table 13 demonstrates that this differential was not displayed in all countries. For the Netherlands and the UK, the percentage of respondents reporting all six indicators of housing quality was higher than the national average in high-diversity neighbourhoods. In contrast, the percentage experiencing damp was lower in high-diversity neighbourhoods in Austria and Spain. In Belgium, France, Germany, Greece and Ireland, the percentage lacking one or both of an indoor bathroom or toilet was lower than the national average in high-diversity neighbourhoods, indicating that in these countries, high-diversity neighbourhoods are areas with relatively modern housing. In Austria, Belgium and France the percentage reporting damp as a problem was also below the national average. This pattern suggests that ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are characterised by social housing on the outskirts of cities in these countries (for example, in France). The indicators ‘shortage of space’ and ‘lack of a place to sit outside’ were more consistently higher in high-diversity neighbourhoods than those reflecting physical housing quality, suggesting that these tend to be areas of relatively high housing density.

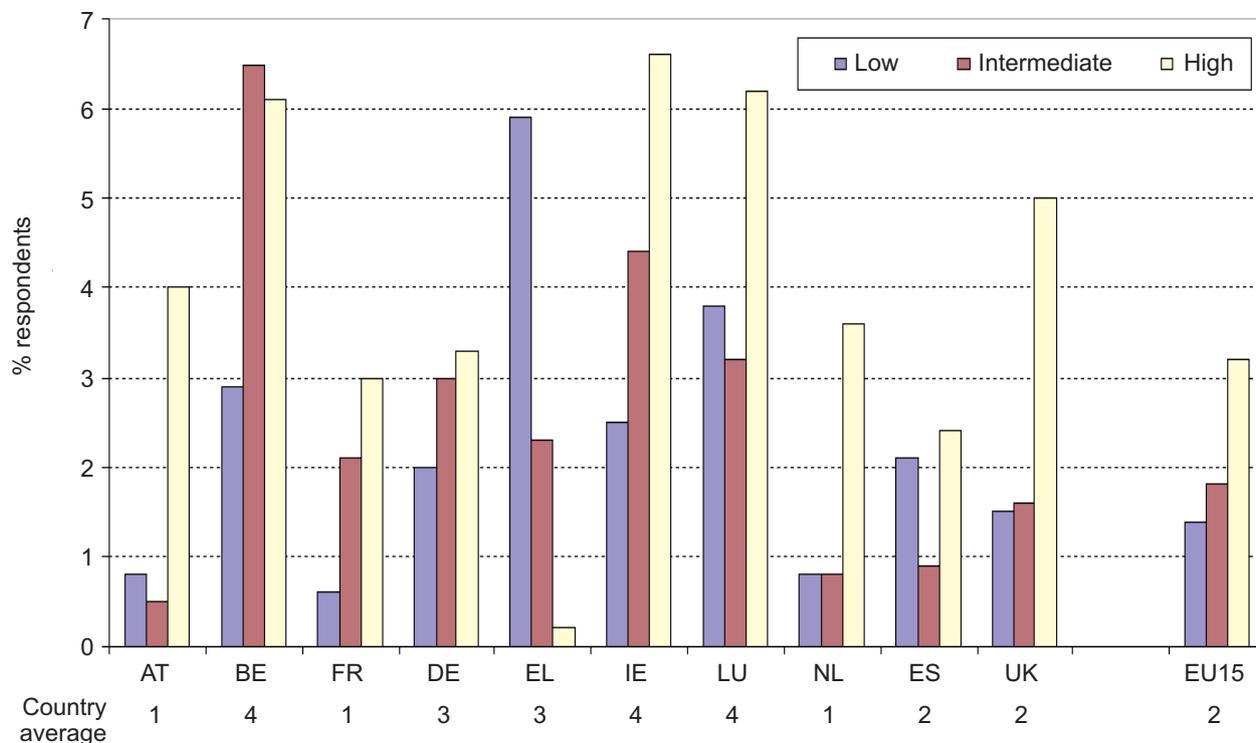
Table 13: *Indicators of physical housing quality: high-diversity areas relative to country average (percentage point difference)*

Country	Percentage of respondents reporting problem					
	Shortage of space	Rot in windows, doors or floors	Damp or leaks in walls or roof	Lack of indoor flushing toilet	Lack of bath or shower	Lack of place to sit outside
Austria	4	2	-2	6	2	4
Belgium	16	3	-2	6	-4	15
France	1	-9	-3	-1	2	19
Germany	2	-3	2	-1	-1	2
Greece	-2	-6	4	-5	-5	7
Ireland	-5	1	-8	-4	0	10
Luxembourg	3	-1	1	3	1	-6
Netherlands	8	8	13	2	5	6
Spain	15	6	-7	-2	2	12
United Kingdom	6	7	8	3	3	12
<b>EU15</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>

Source: *EQLS 2007*

These measures can be combined to produce an indicator of extreme housing deprivation – the percentage of people who live in housing that lacks an indoor flushing toilet and/or an indoor bath or shower (see Figure 8). For the EU15 as a whole, only 2% of respondents experience this level of housing deprivation, but this percentage rises from 1% in low-diversity neighbourhoods to 3% in high-diversity neighbourhoods. This is evidence that the worst housing is most likely to be found in the latter neighbourhoods. This pattern holds in most of the countries under consideration, but there are notable exceptions. In Greece the pattern is reversed, while in Belgium the highest percentage occurs in intermediate-diversity neighbourhoods. This might imply that the poorest-quality housing is found in the most rural areas in Greece and in the older industrial areas of Belgium. The national average percentage of people experiencing the poorest physical housing conditions is highest in Belgium, Ireland and Luxembourg. The largest differential in the percentage living in housing of very poor quality between high-diversity neighbourhoods and less diverse neighbourhoods is found in the UK, where migrant communities are largely concentrated in areas of older and poorer-quality housing in the major cities (though these communities are increasingly spreading into the suburbs of these cities).

Figure 8: Percentage of respondents reporting lack of indoor toilet or bath, by ethnic diversity of neighbourhood (percentage of respondents)



Source: EQLS 2007

## Summary and conclusions

The EQLS survey demonstrates that people living in neighbourhoods of high ethnic diversity are more likely to experience poorer housing conditions than people living in areas of lower ethnic diversity. Living in overcrowded conditions is probably the most powerful single indicator of housing disadvantage and is demonstrated here to be higher in more ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. These are likely to be found in urban areas with higher population densities and more costly housing, but the most important factors underlying the experience of overcrowding are income, housing tenure and the stage of the family life cycle. For high-diversity neighbourhoods, socio-economic and spatial factors combine to result in relatively high rates of overcrowding. However, even after controlling for these factors, multivariate analysis demonstrated that neighbourhoods with greater ethnic diversity experience a higher degree of overcrowding.

The physical quality of housing also tends to be poorer in high-diversity neighbourhoods. However, the physical housing indicators also suggest that in some countries poor housing is found in areas of lower diversity, where the housing stock is older. The association between poor-quality housing and high ethnic diversity appears to be closest in the UK.

## Introduction

The issue of social cohesion with respect to migrants has attracted increasing political attention in recent years. The geographical segregation of migrant communities, poor standards of schooling in deprived areas and the consequent limited ability to participate in the labour market and achieve the material prosperity of other citizens has, for example, created disaffection among the Europe-born children of third-country migrants. Urban riots in a number of European countries (notably France and the UK) with their origins in the marginalisation of migrant communities in economically deprived areas have stimulated governments to become concerned about the implications for crime, public safety and (following the Madrid bombings in 2004 and London bombings in 2005) possible terrorist activity.

Böhnke (2008) notes that while European policy discussions have always been concerned with social inequality (and by implication the need for convergence), this has taken on a new significance since the enlargement of the EU from 15 to 25 and then 27 countries in 2007. An interest in social inequality has been supplemented by a preoccupation with ‘social exclusion’, a term that ‘refers not only to a lack of resources but also to limited opportunities to participate in social life’ (Böhnke, 2008, p. 305). Like many such terms it risks becoming a catch-all concept, but it is possible to distinguish three elements that can be operationalised with data from the EQLS.

Firstly, respondents are asked how strongly they agree with the statements ‘I feel left out of society’ and ‘Life has become so complicated today that I almost can’t find my way’. The first measures a perceived isolation from social life and the second a perceived lack of personal efficacy on the part of the respondent. Both of these are associated with a sense of being marginal to mainstream life and being unable to successfully navigate the welfare institutions that offer support to those who are either outside of, or precariously placed within, the labour market (Gallie and Paugam, 2002).

The second set of items addresses a variety of ways in which individuals could access forms of social support. The EQLS asks who the respondent would receive support from in certain situations: ‘If you needed help around the house when ill’; ‘If you needed advice about a serious personal or family matter’; ‘If you needed help when looking for a job’; ‘If you were feeling a bit depressed and wanted someone to talk to’; and ‘If you needed to urgently raise €1,000<sup>3</sup> to face an emergency’. Respondents are asked to choose ‘the most important person’ from a list of potential sources.<sup>4</sup> Taken together, these questions uncover the degree to which respondents have the type of social networks that are felt to be so important for the development of trust and social integration (Putnam, 2000). Finally, the EQLS asks about the frequency of participation in ‘voluntary or charitable activities’, with a range of responses from ‘every day’ to ‘never’. This sort of activity is widely seen as an indicator of ‘civic engagement’, which in turn is either constitutive or reflective of the levels of social capital present in successful communities (Newton and Montero, 2007).

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<sup>3</sup> In the 12 new Member States who joined the EU in 2004 and in 2007 and two candidate countries, the sum was €500 or equivalent in national currencies.

<sup>4</sup> Initially the researchers explored various ways of constructing a single five-item scale, but there were two obstacles to this. Firstly the situations described in the five items do not present quite the same sort of challenge to the respondent, nor the level of commitment from the source of help. Items a), b) and d) relate to everyday forms of personal interaction; what would be termed social integration. Items c) and e) refer to help in securing entry to the labour market and accessing emergency financial resources. Both of these might be said to concern *system* integration. Secondly, the response categories do not form an ordinal scale, but a nominal list. These two features of the data led the researchers to look at the results of each individual item in turn.

This chapter looks at the variation in measures of perceived social inclusion/exclusion in areas with different degrees of ethnic diversity as reported by respondents to the EQLS. The analysis is organised as follows. The balance of respondents' scores for each item across the EU15 countries is discussed and then there is a breakdown of these scores according to the level of ethnic diversity (whether the respondent lives in an area of high, intermediate or low ethnic diversity), both across the EU15 and within selected countries. This is followed by a consideration of how a range of personal and environmental characteristics relate to social inclusion/exclusion. The analysis seeks to disentangle these different types of effect by undertaking multivariate analysis to consider how living within a neighbourhood of higher diversity contributes to social exclusion.

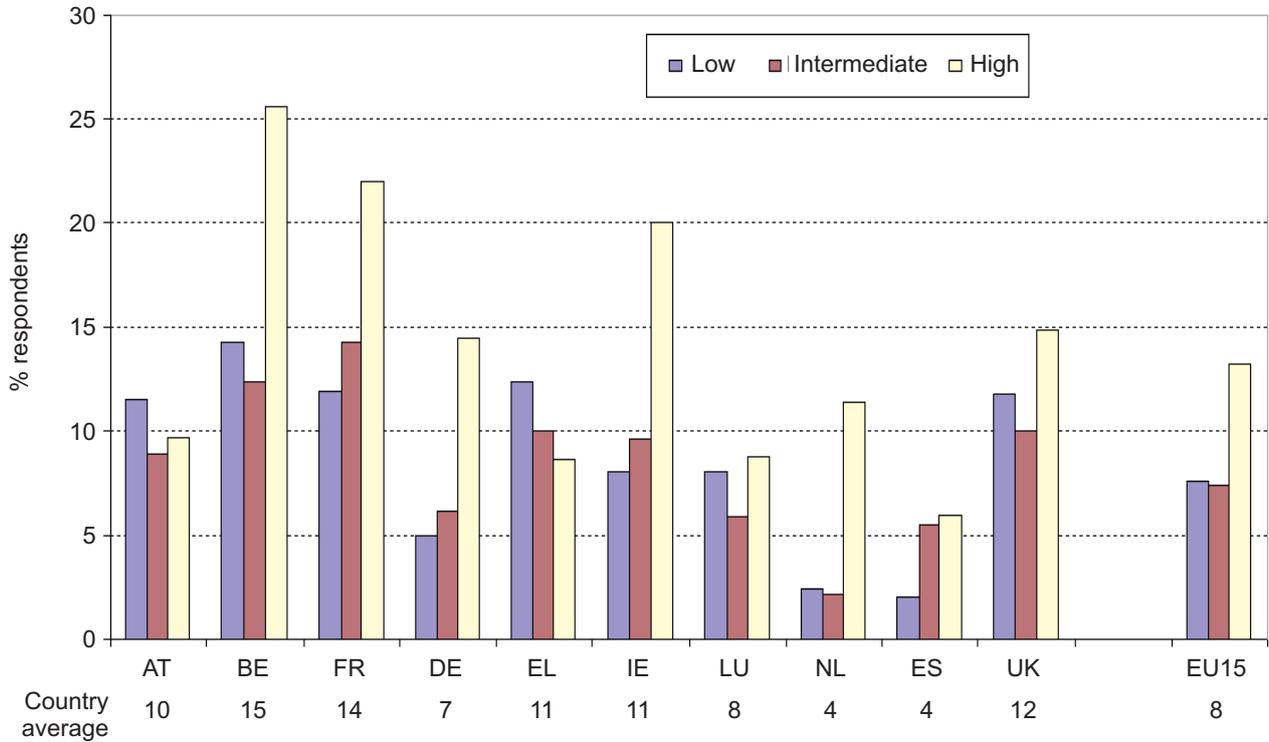
## Social exclusion

Figures 9 and 10 present results for measures of perceived exclusion and efficacy across the 10 EU15 countries, comparing the relative situation in areas of higher diversity with other types of locality. A higher percentage is indicative of a higher average level of perceived social exclusion for respondents in that area. If there is something about the degree of ethnic diversity in an area that is associated with an increase in social exclusion, we should expect the figure to increase as we move across each column. In fact, in Figure 9 we observe two patterns. In general, more people living in higher-diversity areas report feeling 'left out of society' than in areas with intermediate or low levels of diversity. However, the placement of areas with intermediate levels of diversity does vary – in five countries as well as across the EU15 as a whole, people in areas of intermediate diversity score lowest on this measure.

Figure 10 exhibits a similar pattern. It is clear that agreement with this sentiment is higher in high-diversity neighbourhoods. In all but one country (Greece, where the pattern is the reverse), high-diversity neighbourhoods have the highest percentage agreement with the statement (highest exclusion). In four countries (Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain) as well as for the EU15 overall, the neighbourhoods with intermediate levels of diversity score lowest (lowest levels of exclusion), while in the remainder there is a step-by-step increase in exclusion as ethnic diversity increases. Mean levels of exclusion vary quite considerably between countries, ranging from 8% in Spain to 23% in France (compared to an EU15 average of 17%). Particularly large disparities between neighbourhoods are evident in Belgium, France, Ireland and the Netherlands.

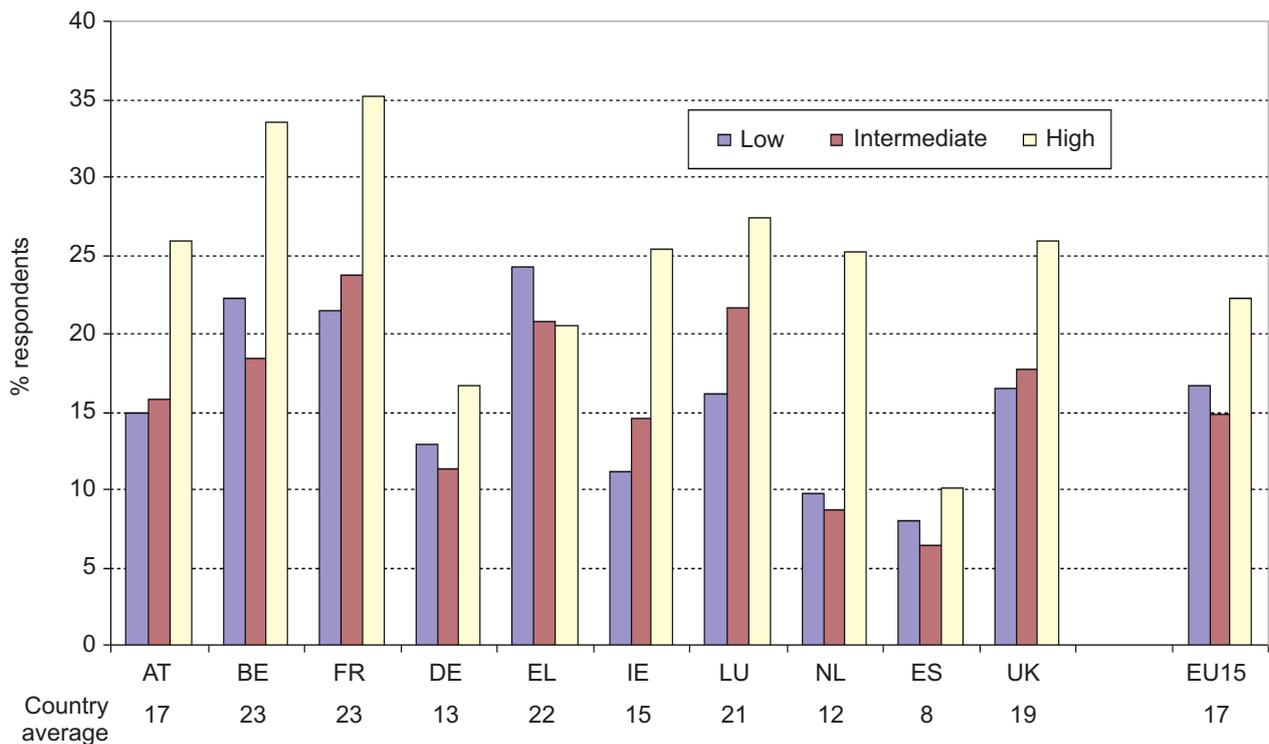
As indicated above, Greece features as an outlier in Figure 10; the proportion of respondents who report low efficacy is higher in low-diversity neighbourhoods than in neighbourhoods with either intermediate or high diversity. Examining the descriptive information presented earlier in this report, it is unclear why this should be the case. Earlier analysis revealed that a larger proportion of people in Greece than in any other country have difficulty making ends meet (see Table 5) and find the cost of accommodation to be a financial burden (see Table 7). However, the availability of all forms of social support (see Figures 11–15) is generally high across neighbourhoods of different levels of diversity. The multivariate analysis that follows enables us to examine the situation in Greece in further detail. To summarise, it is observed that respondents living in areas of high ethnic diversity are more likely to report being socially excluded and are more likely to report a perceived lack of personal efficacy.

Figure 9: Percentage reporting that they 'feel left out of society' (% agree/strongly agree), by degree of ethnic diversity



Source: EQLS 2007

Figure 10: Percentage reporting that 'Life today is so complicated that I almost can't find my way' (% agree/strongly agree), by degree of ethnic diversity



Source: EQLS 2007

## Sources of social support

Table 14 provides an overview of sources of social support reported by respondents to the EQLS across the EU15 countries. In each case the responses have been clustered into three groups – those who would draw upon their partner or another family member, those who would get help from a non-family member and those who have nobody to turn to. ‘Don’t know’s were amalgamated with this latter group. The majority of people report turning to their partner or other family members for support when needing help around the house, advice or someone to talk to or when needing money in an emergency (the balance of responses for seeking help when looking for a job is different and will be discussed separately). In all four scenarios, a higher than average proportion of people in higher-diversity neighbourhoods report turning to someone other than their partner or another member of their family, and a slightly higher than average proportion were unable to identify someone they could turn to. It is possible that this is due to a higher proportion of people in areas of high diversity not having family close by.

Table 14: *Social support across the EU15 countries*

Ethnic diversity of Neighbourhood	Who would you turn to for support if you... (%)				
	‘... needed help around the house when ill’	‘... needed advice about a serious personal or family matter’	‘... were feeling a bit depressed and wanting someone to talk to’	‘... needed help when looking for a job’	‘... needed to urgently raise [€1,000]* to face an emergency’
<b>Low</b>					
Nobody/Don’t know	1	3	5	40	16
Partner/Family	89	79	66	31	70
Anybody else	10	18	29	29	14
<b>Intermediate</b>					
Nobody/Don’t know	2	3	4	31	13
Partner/Family	87	76	63	33	71
Anybody else	11	21	33	36	15
<b>High</b>					
Nobody/Don’t know	3	5	7	7	16
Partner/Family	83	72	60	60	66
Anybody else	14	23	33	33	18
<b>All neighbourhoods</b>					
Nobody/Don’t know	2	3	5	35	15
Partner/Family	87	77	64	32	70
Anybody else	11	20	31	33	15

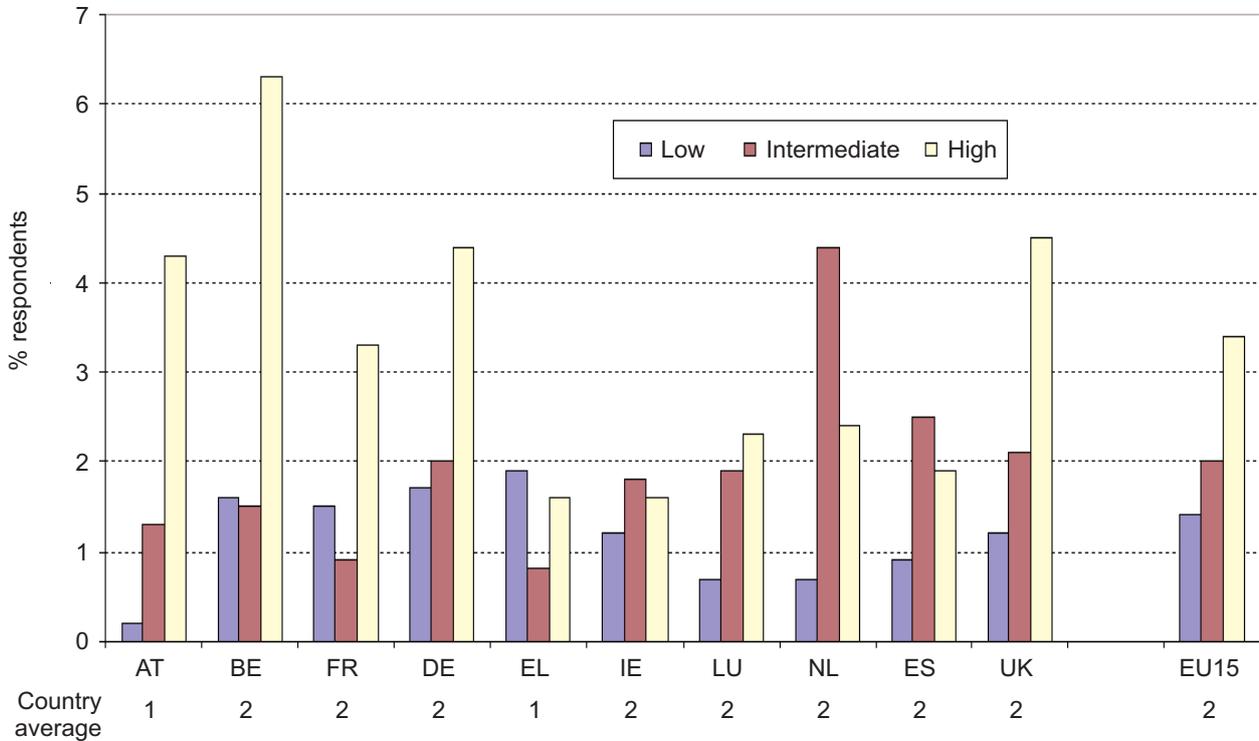
\*In 12 new Member States (joined the EU in 2004 and in 2007) and two candidate countries, €500 equivalent in national currencies. Source: *EQLS 2007*

Responses regarding who one would turn to for help when looking for a job are far more evenly spread, with approximately one-third of people reporting having nobody to turn to, turning to their partner or other family member and turning to somebody else. Differences are noticeable between areas of varying ethnic diversity. For areas of low ethnic diversity, more people report having nobody to turn to. Notable here is that the percentage of those with someone from whom they can seek help holds up well in high-diversity areas. There are many possible interpretations of this, one being that neighbourhoods with high levels of ethnic diversity have a tendency to be located in areas of labour market disadvantage, and as such respondents may have actively considered seeking this type of assistance. Those in more prosperous neighbourhoods may have little cause to consider the scenario and be more likely to give a ‘don’t know’ response. Community networks in areas with ethnic minority concentrations may be more highly developed for cultural reasons, by necessity in response to adversity or as a result of local state initiatives.

Figures 11–15 look in turn at each of the five items relating to social inclusion in the EQLS. Figure 11 indicates the proportions of respondents who can draw on support for help around the house in the event of an illness. In six of the 10 countries, as well as for the EU15, the percentage saying they would have nobody increases from low- to high-diversity areas (although the percentages are low, as are the sample numbers). There is also considerable variation in the percentage figures between countries. Figure 12 considers another form of social solidarity: getting advice about a personal matter. This proves to be a more discriminating measure, producing more variation between countries and between neighbourhoods based on their degree of diversity. In nine of the 10 countries (all except Ireland), a greater proportion of people in areas of high diversity report having nobody they can turn to for support. In seven countries (all except France, Germany and Luxembourg), the highest availability of support is reported by people in areas of intermediate diversity. This pattern is reflected for the EU15 as a whole. Figure 13 develops a similar pattern, with people in high-diversity areas reporting the lowest level of support in eight countries (all except Austria and the Netherlands). In Belgium, Luxembourg and France, in high-diversity neighbourhoods more than 10% of respondents have nobody from whom they could get support, but Greece, Austria, Ireland and Spain are at the other extreme, with very low percentages reporting they would have nobody to turn to.

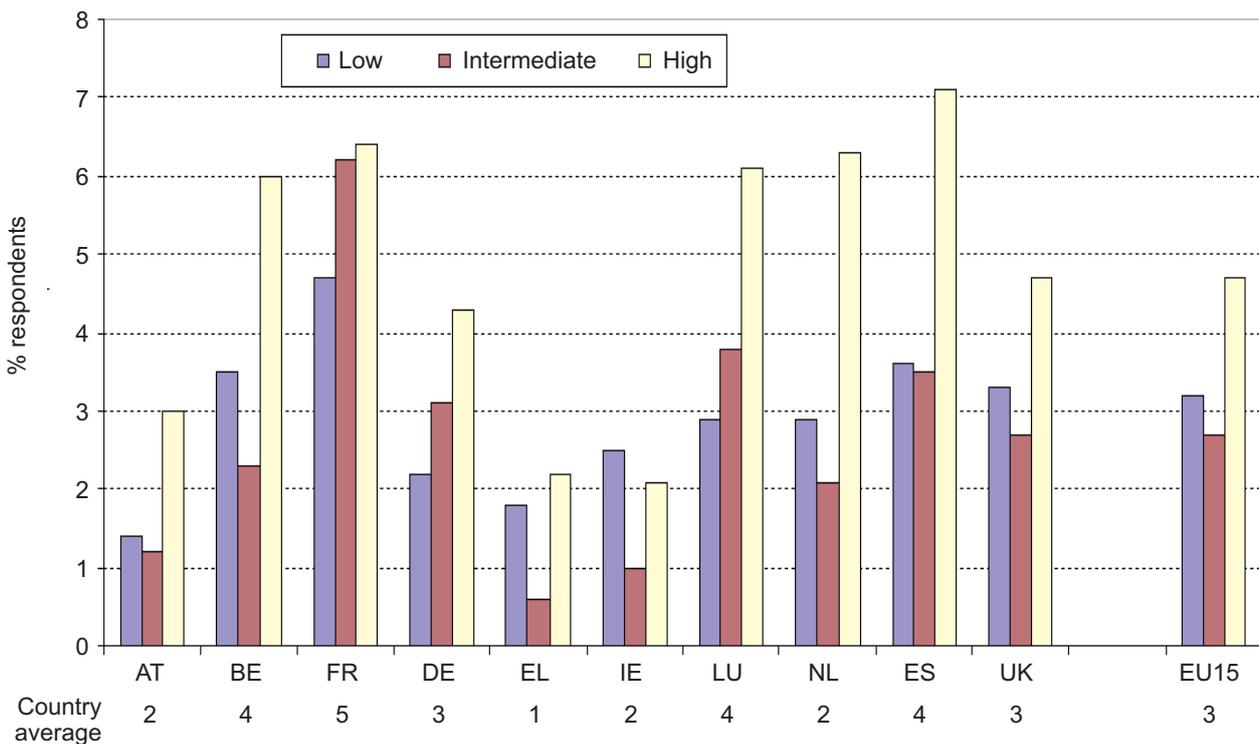
The items in Figures 14 and 15 capture different aspects of inclusion/exclusion. What stands out clearly is that respondents across all neighbourhoods are more likely to report having nobody who can provide emergency funding or assistance with getting paid work than for other aspects of life as described above. However, there is large cross-national variation in the mean availability of support. In Greece only 19% report having nobody to turn to for support when looking for a job, while in the Netherlands this figure stands at 43%. Even between countries that are often regarded as similar – such as the UK and Ireland or Denmark and the Netherlands, there is an approximately 10% difference in the availability of support in this area. There is also a different pattern across groups with varying degrees of diversity. Unlike the previous three measures of social support, levels of social support for finding paid work are generally higher in high-diversity neighbourhoods. This pattern holds for every country except Greece, Luxembourg and the Netherlands and is true of the EU15 overall. Within Austria, Belgium, Germany and the UK, there is a linear increase in social support from low-diversity to high-diversity neighbourhoods. In terms of the degree to which respondents can rely on financial support to meet an emergency (see Figure 15), Greece has the lowest proportion of people with nobody to turn to. In seven countries the proportion with ‘nobody’ is higher in more diverse neighbourhoods than the least diverse ones. In Germany, the Netherlands and Spain, more than one-fifth of respondents in high-diversity neighbourhoods have nobody they could approach to raise emergency money.

Figure 11: Who would you turn to for support 'if you need help around the house when ill' (% responding 'nobody/don't know'), by degree of ethnic diversity



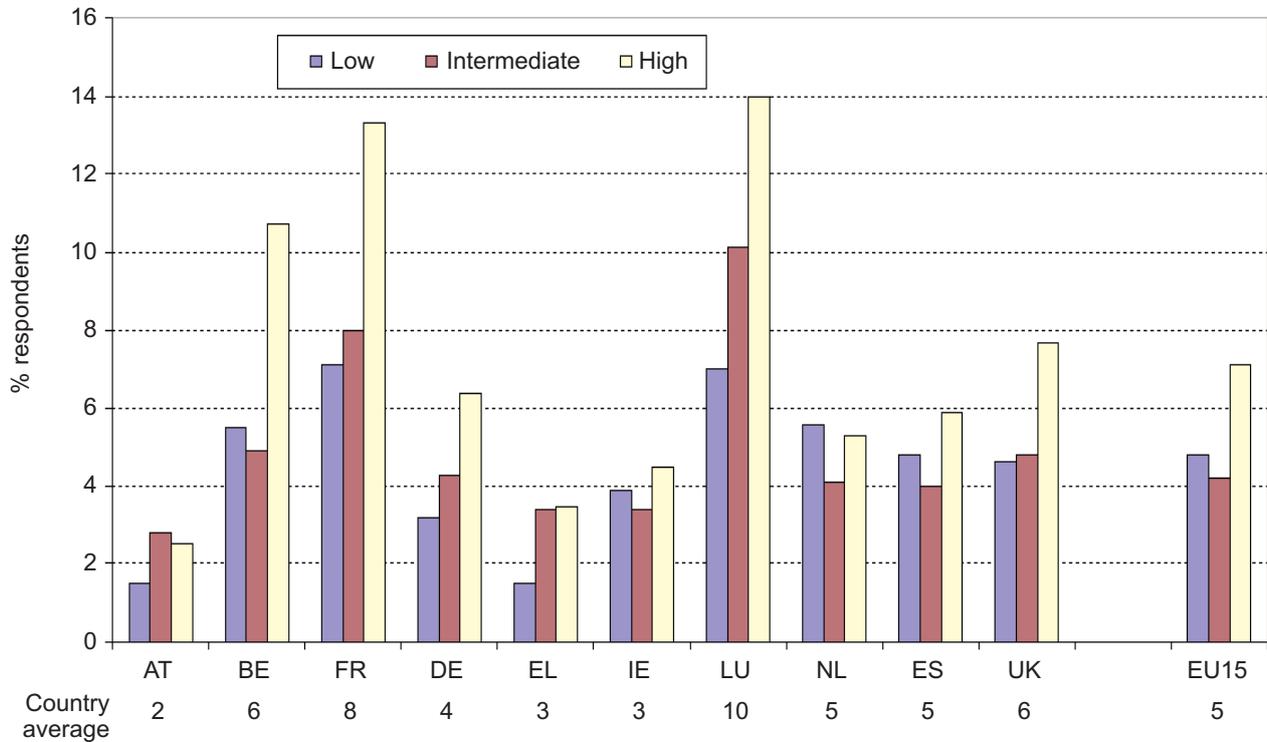
Source: EQLS 2007

Figure 12: Who would you turn to for support 'if you needed advice about a serious personal or family matter' (% responding 'nobody/don't know'), by degree of ethnic diversity



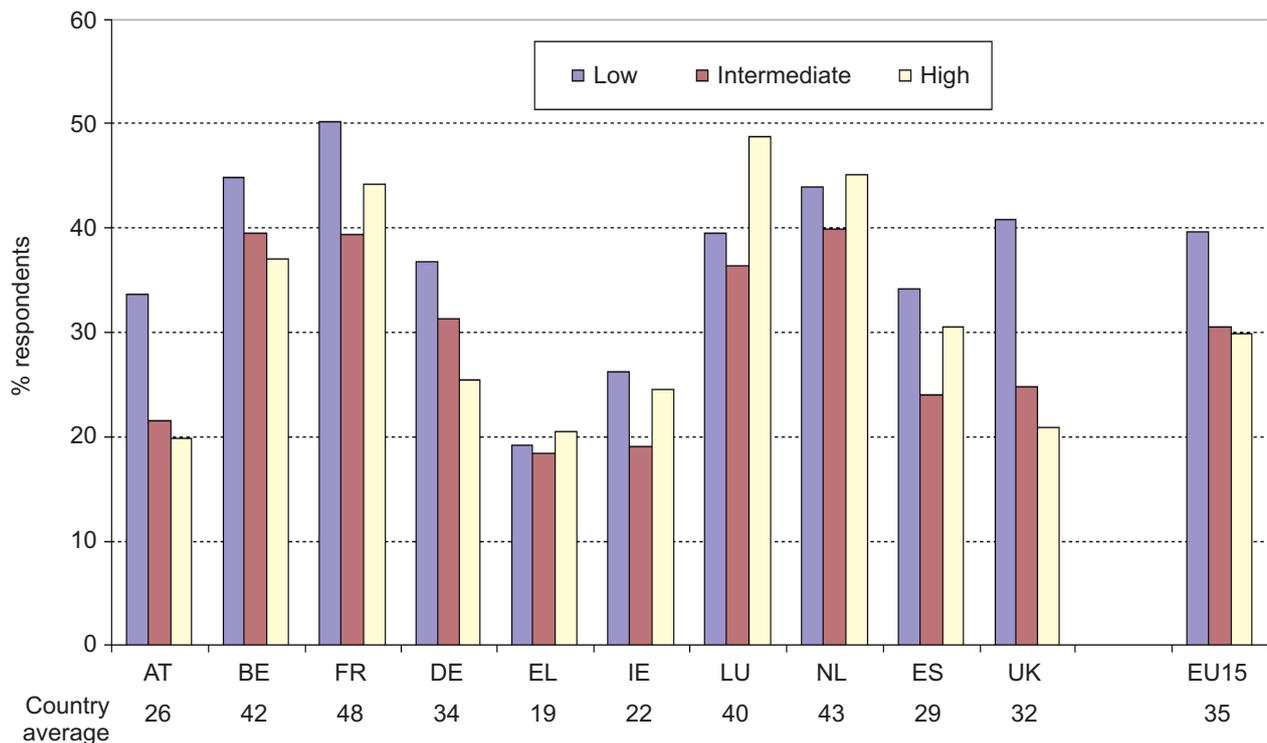
Source: EQLS 2007

Figure 13: Who would you turn to for support 'if you were feeling a bit depressed and wanting someone to talk to' (% responding 'nobody/don't know'), by degree of ethnic diversity



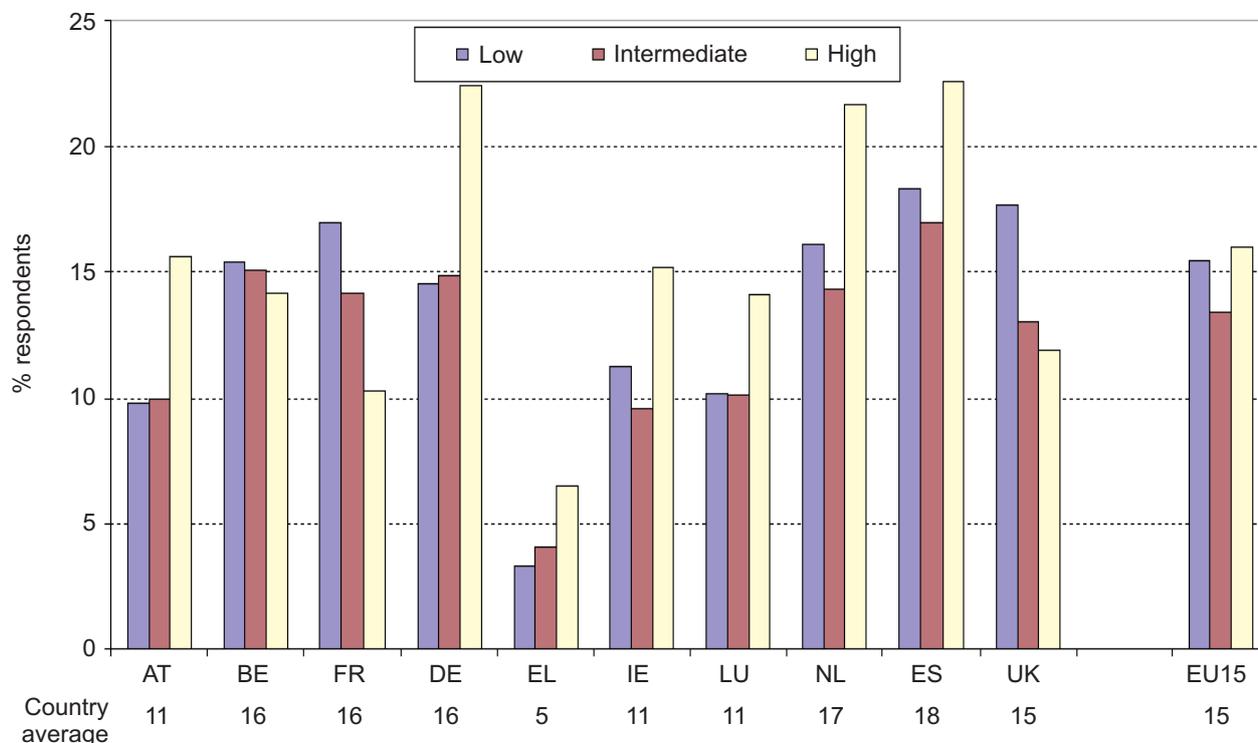
Source: EQLS 2007

Figure 14: Who would you turn to for support 'if you needed help when looking for a job' (% responding 'nobody/don't know'), by degree of ethnic diversity



Source: EQLS 2007

Figure 15: Who would you turn to for support 'if you needed to urgently raise [€1000]\* to face an emergency' (% saying 'nobody/don't know'), by degree of ethnic diversity



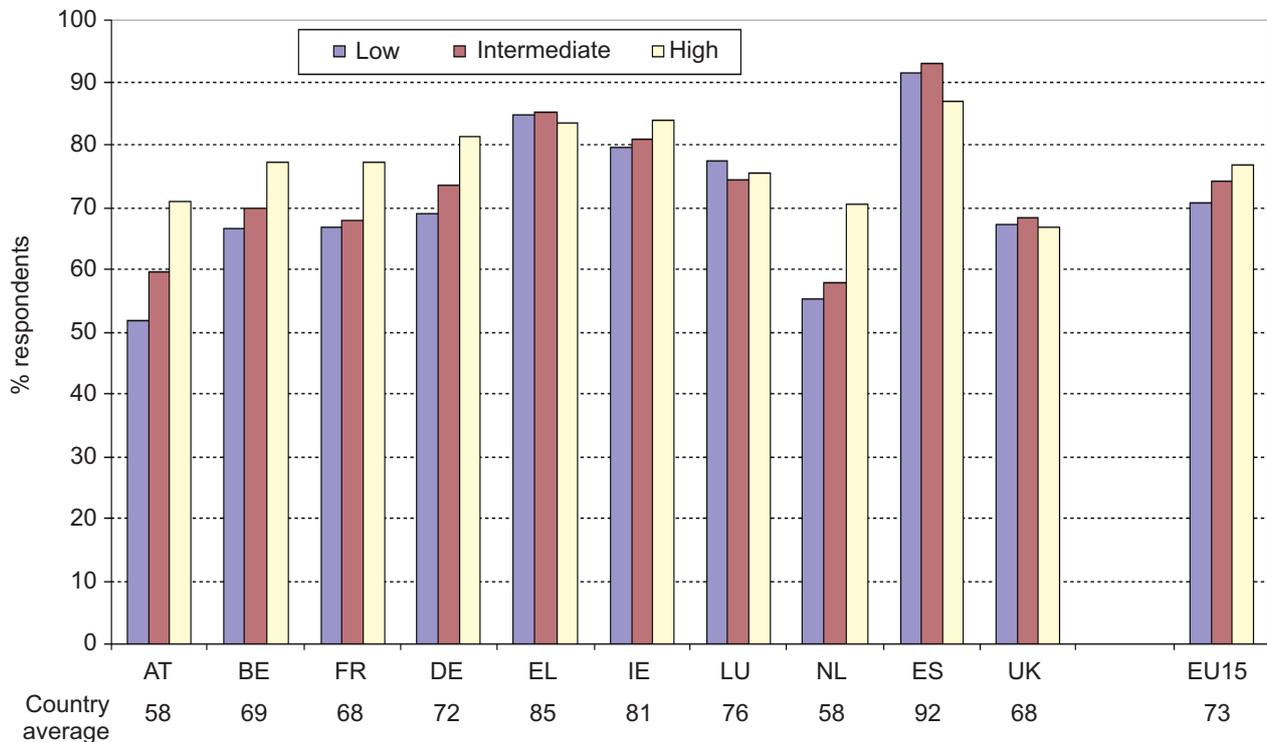
\*In 12 new Member States (joined the EU in 2004 and in 2007) and two candidate countries, €500 equivalent in national currencies. Source: *EQLS 2007*

To conclude, in terms of social support, respondents living in areas of high ethnic diversity are more likely to report turning to someone other than their partner or another member of their family. This is likely to reflect the higher proportion of people in such neighbourhoods who are single and therefore are less likely to have family close by. Related to this, respondents living in areas of high ethnic diversity are more likely to report having no one to turn to regarding getting advice about a personal matter and having no one to turn to if they were feeling depressed and wanted someone to talk to. Across a majority of countries, those living in areas of high diversity are also less likely to report that they would have someone to turn to if they needed to raise money urgently in the face of an emergency. Once again, this is likely to reflect the relative absence of family close by.

## Civic participation

Levels of civic participation within neighbourhoods are considered in terms of the incidence of those respondents who indicate that they 'never' participate in voluntary or charitable activities. The greater the number of people who never participate in voluntary activities, the lower the overall level of civic engagement in a country. It is clear from Figure 16 that on average for the EU15, engagement with voluntary and charitable activities generally decreases as ethnic diversity increases. This is true for six of the 10 countries in this study, and in the remaining four the proportion remains broadly the same across the groups. While in the majority of countries there is approximately 5–10% difference between areas with the highest and lowest levels of social participation, in Austria, Germany and the Netherlands this difference increases to 15–20%.

Figure 16: Percentage of respondents 'never' involved in voluntary or charitable activities, by degree of ethnic diversity



Source: EQLS 2007

### Individual and neighbourhood characteristics

One of the issues around the residency of high-diversity neighbourhoods is that observed differences in levels of social support within these localities may reflect other features of the neighbourhood or of the characteristics of the typical residents of such areas. Table 15 shows cross-tabulations between key personal and neighbourhood characteristics and the social exclusion items across all EU15 countries, depicting the relative incidence of social exclusion within each characteristic. For clarity, the first three items (social inclusion, efficacy and participation) will be discussed first, followed by the five items that measure the availability of social support. In terms of social inclusion, those with lower educational attainment, those not in work, those with limiting long-term illnesses and those over 35 years of age have a greater tendency to report feeling left out. In terms of system efficacy, those with lower education, females, those out of work and those with long-term illness have the highest levels of exclusion. The same or similar patterns pertain for those who have never volunteered. In terms of neighbourhood characteristics, living outside a city or city suburb, having reason to complain about crime in one's local area or having reason to complain about litter are each associated with a higher rate of social exclusion.

In terms of the availability of social support, people who were not born in their country of residence generally indicate slightly higher rates of exclusion for scenarios involving practical and emotional social support. The opposite is the case when the scenario involves looking for a job, or attempting to raise money quickly. Here it is those born in the country who have less support. Respondents not in work and those over the age 35 are also significantly lacking support. Interestingly, 25% of migrants were unable to identify somebody they could turn to, while 36% of natives were unable to do so. It is unclear what the reason is for this, but it could relate to the structure or social networks within different communities, or perhaps to the type of work being sought.

Table 15: Characteristics associated with measures of social isolation

	'I feel left out of society' (% agree)	'Life is so complicated today that I almost can't find my way' (% agree)	Participation in voluntary or charitable activities (% never)	Who would you turn to for support if you... (% 'nobody'/'don't know')				
				'... needed help around the house when ill'	'... needed advice about a serious personal or family matter'	'... were feeling a bit depressed and wanting someone to talk to'	'... needed help when looking for a job'	'... needed to urgently raise [€1,000] to face an emergency'
<b>Gender</b>								
Male	8	16	72	2	4	6	33	15
Female	9	18	73	2	3	4	38	15
<b>Age</b>								
< 35 years	8	17	76	2	2	3	14	10
≥ 35 years	9	17	71	2	4	6	43	17
<b>Educational attainment</b>								
< ISCED 4	10	20	78	2	4	6	38	16
≥ ISCED 4	6	11	62	2	3	4	29	12
<b>Economic activity</b>								
In work	7	13	71	1	2	4	21	11
Not in work	11	21	75	3	5	6	51	19
<b>Health status</b>								
Long-term limiting illness	15	26	74	3	5	8	53	21
No illness	7	15	73	2	3	4	31	14
<b>Migrant status</b>								
Born in country	8	17	72	2	3	5	36	15
Born elsewhere	12	19	77	2	4	6	25	17
<b>Location</b>								
City	8	15	74	2	3	4	30	14
Elsewhere	9	18	72	2	3	5	37	15
<b>Crime</b>								
Reason to complain	9	20	73	2	3	5	33	15
No reason to complain	8	14	73	2	3	5	38	15
<b>Litter</b>								
Reason to complain	10	20	73	2	4	5	33	15
No reason to complain	7	14	73	2	3	5	38	15

Source: EQLS 2007

### Social isolation and ethnic diversity

Social inclusion has been shown to vary according to a number of personal and neighbourhood characteristics. To identify the separate and additional effects of high-diversity neighbourhoods on social inclusion, multivariate analysis is undertaken in three stages. The initial model, containing only the ethnic diversity categories (Model 1), checked for any trace of an association with the social inclusion variables. The next stage of the analysis (Model 2) controlled for personal characteristics (including those outlined in Table 15) and the final model (Model 3) also included neighbourhood characteristics relating to crime and litter in one's local area. All three models were implemented for the pooled dataset containing data for all EU15 countries. In addition, to explore the possibility of country-specific effects of ethnic diversity on social inclusion, Model 3 was repeated separately on a country-by-country basis.

Without controlling for personal or neighbourhood characteristics (Model 1), the degree of ethnic diversity in one's neighbourhood is found to be significantly associated with every social inclusion indicator. Compared to those in areas of low diversity, people in areas of high diversity are significantly more likely to report that they feel left out of society and have low social efficacy, while respondents in both high-diversity and intermediate-diversity areas are significantly less likely to participate in voluntary or charitable activities. Respondents in areas of high diversity are significantly less likely to report having someone to turn to for advice, emotional support or help around the house when ill, but people in both intermediate- and high-diversity neighbourhoods are more likely than those in areas of low diversity to have someone they can turn to for job-seeking support. Finally, those in areas of intermediate diversity are more likely (than those in areas of low diversity) to report having someone they can turn to for advice and for financial support.

Full results of Model 3 are presented in Annex 5. After controlling for personal characteristics (Model 2), there remains a significant and positive effect of living in a high-diversity neighbourhood on perceived social inclusion and social efficacy as well as the availability of support around the house when ill, advice and emotional support. In addition, there is a marginally significant effect for gaining financial support. Amongst people in neighbourhoods with an intermediate level of diversity, controlling for personal characteristics introduces a significant effect on perceived social inclusion (significantly less likely than those in areas of low diversity to report feeling left out of society) and retains the significant effect on job-seeking support. Introducing further controls for neighbourhood characteristics (Model 3) removes the significant association between living in a high-diversity neighbourhood and reporting low perceived social inclusion and low levels of social efficacy. Meanwhile, the effects for this group on social support remain significant (although the coefficients are slightly reduced). For respondents living in areas of intermediate diversity, the effect on perceived social inclusion remains significant and there is also an effect on perceived social efficacy – those in neighbourhoods of intermediate diversity are significantly less likely than those in low-diversity neighbourhoods to report that life is too complicated today. Finally, the significant association remains between living in an area of intermediate diversity and the availability of support when looking for a job.

### Ethnic diversity and social isolation: country differences

Analysis across all EU15 countries reveals that, compared to those in areas of low ethnic diversity, people in areas of intermediate diversity report significantly higher perceived social inclusion and efficacy and higher availability of job-seeking support. Meanwhile, those in neighbourhoods with high diversity report significantly reduced availability of advice as well as practical and emotional support. Country-specific analysis (see Annex 6) using Model 3 revealed some cross-national differences in social inclusion indicators amongst respondents in areas of intermediate and high diversity in comparison to those in areas of low diversity.

- Perceived social inclusion: Amongst respondents living in areas of high diversity, significantly higher inclusion in Austria and Greece, significantly lower in the Netherlands; amongst those living in areas of intermediate diversity, significantly higher inclusion in Austria.

- Perceived social efficacy: Significantly lower efficacy amongst those living in high-diversity neighbourhoods in Luxembourg; significantly higher efficacy amongst those living in intermediate-diversity neighbourhoods in Belgium.
- Social participation: No significant associations with neighbourhood level of diversity observed.
- Help around the house when ill (practical support): Significantly lower likelihood of having someone to turn to for support reported by those in both intermediate- and high-diversity neighbourhoods in Luxembourg; also a significantly lower likelihood for those living in neighbourhoods with intermediate levels of diversity in Spain.
- Advice on a serious personal or family matter (advice): Significantly lower likelihood of having someone to turn to for those living in high-diversity areas in Luxembourg.
- Help when looking for a job (job-seeking support): Significantly lower likelihood of having someone to turn to for those living in high-diversity areas in Luxembourg. Marginally lower likelihood amongst those living in intermediate-diversity areas in the UK.
- Somebody to talk to when feeling depressed (emotional support): Significantly lower likelihood of having somebody to turn to for those living in high-diversity areas in Luxembourg and for those living in intermediate-diversity areas in Greece. For those living in high-diversity neighbourhoods in Austria and Greece, the likelihood of having somebody to turn to is marginally less than those living in low-diversity areas. The same is observed for people living in intermediate-diversity neighbourhoods in Luxembourg.
- Borrow money to face an emergency (financial support): Significantly lower likelihood of having somebody to turn to amongst those living in high-diversity areas in Austria.

No significant associations were observed for France, Germany, Ireland and the UK. In addition, the relationship between ethnic diversity and personal efficacy previously noted in the Greek data did not prove significant. Compared to the EU15 findings, country-specific analysis reveals that the pattern of relationships between ethnically diverse neighbourhoods and social inclusion indicators does vary cross-nationally.

### Summary and conclusions

To summarise, it is observed that respondents living in areas of high ethnic diversity are more likely to report being socially excluded and more likely to report a perceived lack of personal efficacy. In terms of social support, respondents living in areas of high ethnic diversity are more likely to indicate that they are socially isolated and are less likely to report that they participate in voluntary activities. Even after controlling for personal and neighbourhood characteristics, at the EU15 level the degree of ethnic diversity in a respondent's neighbourhood still accounts for differences in levels of social inclusion. Social support is the primary aspect of social inclusion that appears to be problematically associated with higher degrees of ethnic diversity. Support in the form of receiving help around the house when unwell, gaining advice on a personal or family matter or having somebody to talk to when feeling depressed is often the remit of friends, family members or – in the case of receiving advice – perhaps a religious leader. It is not possible to ascertain from this data the reason for the lower levels of support that these respondents perceive is available to them.

Smaller sample sizes generally results in statistically insignificant effects being estimated at country level. In France, Germany, Ireland and the UK, controlling for personal and neighbourhood characteristics eliminated virtually all variation between neighbourhoods. One country stands out from the rest in terms of the sheer number of inclusion indicators that are significantly associated with degree of ethnic diversity. In Luxembourg, respondents in areas of high diversity indicated significantly lower levels of inclusion on five measures, and on four of these measures Luxembourg scores lower than all other countries in cross-national comparisons. This might reflect the unique nature of the labour market in Luxembourg, where many EU nationals are employed in positions associated with the European Union or are based at the headquarters of international organisations.

## Introduction

In recent years there has been considerable interest in measures of individual well-being that depart from conventional 'objective' metrics such as income and economic circumstances; in the words of one recent contribution, measures that go 'beyond GDP' (European Commission, 2009) and the sort of social indicators in use at EU level, such as educational achievement, health status and housing conditions (Atkinson, 2002). These new measures move the focus to respondents' own evaluations of their feelings about aspects of their lives, which can be summarised under the umbrella of the term 'subjective well-being'. A module of questions on numerous dimensions of subjective well-being was fielded in the 2006/2007 round of the European Social Survey, leading to the New Economics Foundation (NEF) publishing *National accounts of well-being* (2009). An overview of subjective well-being across the whole of Europe on the basis of the 2007 EQLS has already been completed (Eurofound, 2010). In addition to policy-relevant research, a substantial body of methodological research among academics has shown that well-being can be measured with a high degree of validity (Huppert et al, 2005).

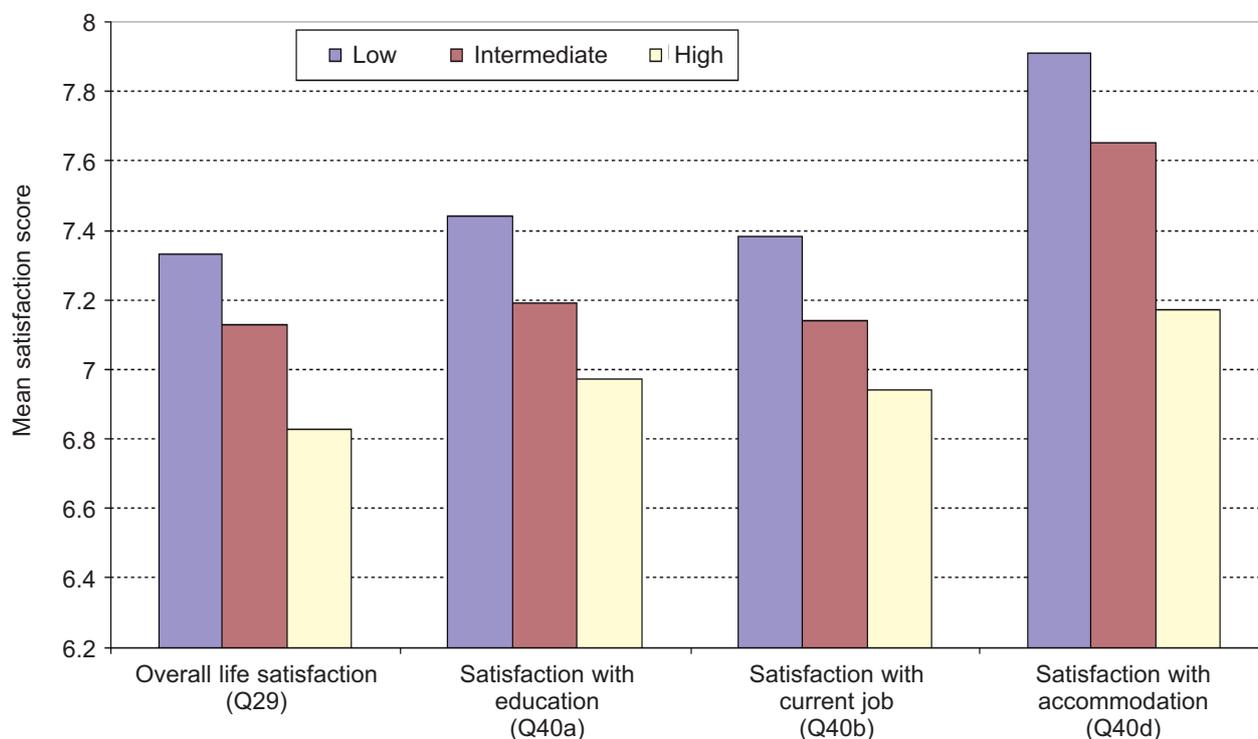
This chapter looks at the variation in measures of subjective well-being in areas with different concentrations of ethnic minority populations (as assessed by the respondents in those areas). The following analysis makes use of four items from the EQLS. As noted earlier, we would expect to find lower levels of satisfaction with accommodation and employment among migrants due to their poor conditions of employment, low pay and inability to afford good-quality accommodation. Following an initial discussion of the balance of respondents' scores for each item across the EU15 countries, we will explore the breakdown of these according to the level of ethnic diversity (whether the respondent lives in an area of high, intermediate or low ethnic diversity), both across the EU15 and within each of the 10 countries identified at the start of this report. We will then seek to understand the reasons behind any variations in well-being observed within neighbourhoods by examining a range of personal and environmental characteristics that may be associated with these areas and their residents and looking at their individual effects on well-being. The analysis will then seek to disentangle these two strands of causation by combining them in multivariate analysis.

## Variation in life satisfaction across Europe

Figure 17 displays the scores for each item averaged across the EU15 countries, both by level of neighbourhood ethnic diversity and an average score across all areas. Each item shows a clear decrease in satisfaction from areas with few people of a different ethnicity (low ethnic diversity) than the majority, to areas with many people of a different ethnicity (high ethnic diversity). For each well-being indicator, people in areas with moderate and high diversity exhibit a mean score below the average for the EU15.

Table 16 presents data on overall life satisfaction within ethnically diverse neighbourhoods across EU15 countries. In most countries, overall life satisfaction declines as levels of reported ethnic diversity increase. The exceptions to this are Austria and Greece, where on average life satisfaction is highest amongst people in areas with intermediate levels of diversity. In all cases, the mean score for people living in neighbourhoods with a high level of ethnic diversity is below the country average. While in most countries high-diversity areas have lower levels of life satisfaction, in only three of these (the UK, Belgium and the Netherlands) are there discernible differences between low- and intermediate-diversity areas. By contrast, in Ireland and Spain the main difference in life satisfaction is between low and medium areas, with little or no distinction between intermediate and high areas.

Figure 17: Mean satisfaction scores across the EU15 countries, by degree of ethnic diversity



Source: EQLS 2007

Table 16: Mean 'overall life satisfaction', by ethnic diversity

Mean score on 0–10 scale	Degree of ethnic diversity			
	Low	Intermediate	High	All
<b>Austria</b>	6.9	7.0	6.9	7.0
<b>Belgium</b>	7.8	7.4	6.8	7.5
<b>France</b>	7.4	7.4	7.0	7.3
<b>Germany</b>	7.3	7.2	6.5	7.2
<b>Greece</b>	6.5	6.7	6.5	6.6
<b>Ireland</b>	8.0	7.4	7.4	7.6
<b>Luxembourg</b>	8.0	7.9	7.9	7.9
<b>Netherlands</b>	8.0	7.9	7.3	7.9
<b>Spain</b>	7.5	7.1	7.1	7.3
<b>United Kingdom</b>	7.5	7.3	6.9	7.3
<b>EU15</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>7.2</b>

Source: EQLS 2007

In terms of satisfaction with education (see Table 17), the distribution of scores between neighbourhoods varies across countries; some follow a linear decline in satisfaction with education from areas of low diversity to those of high diversity (Austria, Belgium, Germany, Ireland, Spain and the UK), while for others the group expressing the most satisfaction are those resident in areas of intermediate diversity (France, Greece, Luxembourg and the Netherlands). In most countries, people in areas of high diversity generate mean scores below the national average. However, this is not

the case for France and Greece, where the lowest mean score is generated by people in areas of low diversity. Only Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands and the UK have high-diversity areas with much worse levels of educational satisfaction than low- or intermediate-diversity areas.

Table 17: Mean 'satisfaction with education', by ethnic diversity

Mean score on 0–10 scale	Degree of ethnic diversity			
	Low	Intermediate	High	All
<b>Austria</b>	6.9	6.7	6.7	6.8
<b>Belgium</b>	7.7	7.5	7.4	7.6
<b>France</b>	7.9	8.1	8.0	8.0
<b>Germany</b>	7.4	7.1	6.6	7.2
<b>Greece</b>	5.8	6.1	6.0	6.0
<b>Ireland</b>	7.0	6.8	6.3	6.8
<b>Luxembourg</b>	7.6	7.7	7.5	7.6
<b>Netherlands</b>	7.4	7.5	6.9	7.3
<b>Spain</b>	6.8	6.7	6.7	6.7
<b>United Kingdom</b>	7.1	7.1	6.7	7.0
<b>EU15</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>7.0</b>	<b>7.3</b>

Source: *EQLS 2007*

In six countries mean scores for satisfaction with current job (see Table 18) demonstrate a stepwise reduction in satisfaction from areas of low diversity to areas of high diversity (Belgium, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Spain and the UK). For Austria and Ireland, the lowest mean satisfaction score is generated by people in areas of intermediate diversity. In France and Luxembourg, people in areas of intermediate diversity report on average the highest levels of satisfaction, with those in highly diverse neighbourhoods reporting the lowest levels. Areas of low ethnic diversity are associated with higher levels of job satisfaction, while areas of high ethnic diversity are characterised by low levels of job satisfaction. As noted earlier, many migrant workers have in common the fact that they arrived in Europe to work in jobs that people from majority communities were unwilling to fill. In most instances, these jobs offer poor rates of pay and conditions of work. Neighbourhoods in which third-country migrants are concentrated would therefore be expected to exhibit lower levels of satisfaction with employment.

Table 19 displays the mean 'satisfaction with accommodation' scores for each of the 10 countries, divided into groups according to levels of ethnic diversity. For all countries except Greece, satisfaction scores form a linear trend decreasing from areas of low diversity to areas of high diversity (for Greece, the lowest mean score is generated by people living in areas of moderate diversity). In all countries except the UK, people in areas of both intermediate and high diversity generate mean scores that are below the country average (in the UK, only those in areas of high diversity score below the average). In every country, those in low-diversity areas have greater satisfaction than those in intermediate-diversity areas; in nine out of 10, the high-diversity areas have lower satisfaction than intermediate-diversity areas.

Table 18: Mean 'satisfaction with current job' scores, by ethnic diversity

Mean score on 0–10 scale	Degree of ethnic diversity			
	Low	Intermediate	High	All
Austria	7.3	7.0	7.2	7.2
Belgium	7.7	7.7	7.4	7.7
France	7.3	7.4	7.0	7.3
Germany	7.3	7.2	7.0	7.3
Greece	7.4	6.9	6.3	6.9
Ireland	7.7	7.0	7.1	7.3
Luxembourg	7.8	8.0	7.7	7.8
Netherlands	7.8	7.5	7.4	7.7
Spain	7.2	7.1	7.0	7.1
United Kingdom	7.4	7.0	6.8	7.1
EU15	7.4	7.1	6.9	7.2

Source: EQLS 2007

Table 19: Mean 'satisfaction with accommodation', by ethnic diversity

Mean score on 0–10 scale	Degree of ethnic diversity			
	Low	Intermediate	High	All
Austria	7.7	7.4	7.3	7.5
Belgium	8.1	7.6	7.2	7.9
France	8.0	7.9	7.2	7.9
Germany	8.0	7.8	7.2	7.9
Greece	7.5	7.2	7.2	7.3
Ireland	8.2	7.4	7.1	7.6
Luxembourg	8.4	8.3	8.2	8.3
Netherlands	8.2	7.9	7.1	8.0
Spain	7.7	7.6	7.3	7.6
United Kingdom	8.1	8.0	7.0	7.8
EU15	7.9	7.7	7.2	7.7

Source: EQLS 2007

To conclude, the analysis reveals that satisfaction with life as measured across a variety of dimensions shows a clear decrease from areas with few people of a different ethnicity than the majority (low ethnic diversity) to areas with many people of a different ethnicity (high ethnic diversity). These measures include respondents' overall life satisfaction, their satisfaction with their education, their current job and their accommodation. For each well-being indicator, people in areas with intermediate and high diversity exhibit a mean score below the average for the EU15. In terms of overall life satisfaction, these trends are repeated across a majority of countries. In the case of satisfaction with employment and satisfaction with education, approximately half of the countries also show this linear trend. However, the position of neighbourhoods with intermediate levels of diversity shows greater variation for these dimensions of life satisfaction.

### Individual and neighbourhood characteristics

From the descriptive analysis, it is clear that people living in areas of low diversity report on average the highest levels of overall life satisfaction and satisfaction with their accommodation. In approximately half of the countries, they display on average the highest level of satisfaction with their education and with their current job. However, the descriptive analysis is not able to determine whether these low levels of satisfaction with life related specifically to living within neighbourhoods of high ethnic diversity or whether the overall differences reflect the relative characteristics of people living within these communities. Multivariate analysis was therefore carried out to identify the contribution of personal and environmental characteristics to well-being in order to identify whether living in a diverse neighbourhood has a separate and additional effect on the well-being of respondents living in these areas.

To introduce the analysis, Table 20 displays the mean scores given across the EU15 countries on the four measures of well-being. When aggregated at this level, three characteristics appear to be consistently associated with higher satisfaction ratings across all four indicators: being educated at ISCED level 4 or above, having no long-term limiting illness and living in one's country of birth. People aged below 35 on average report higher levels of satisfaction with their education, while those aged 35 and above generate higher mean satisfaction scores regarding their current job and their accommodation. Across the EU15 countries, people who are in work generate higher mean scores for overall life satisfaction and satisfaction with their education. Those who work in managerial or professional roles generate a higher mean 'satisfaction with current job' score than those working in other occupations. Finally, slightly higher mean satisfaction scores are generated across all measures of well-being by people who live somewhere other than a city or city suburb. It can therefore be seen that those living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods share characteristics that may be expected to both increase (in work, healthy) and decrease (young, migrants, lower-level occupations) average levels of satisfaction with life in these areas.

Table 20: Well-being by personal and locality characteristics across the EU15 countries (mean scores)

	Overall life satisfaction	Satisfaction with education	Satisfaction with job	Satisfaction with accommodation
<b>Gender</b>				
Male	7.2	7.3	7.2	7.7
Female	7.2	7.3	7.2	7.8
<b>Age</b>				
< 35 years	7.2	7.5	7.1	7.5
≥ 35 years	7.2	7.2	7.3	7.8
<b>Educational attainment</b>				
< ISCED 4	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.6
≥ ISCED 4	7.6	7.9	7.5	7.9
<b>Economic activity</b>				
In work	7.3	7.3	7.2	7.7
Not in work	7.1	7.2	- a	7.8
<b>Type of occupation</b>				
Managerial/professional	-	-	7.7	-
Non-managerial/professional	-	-	7.1	-
<b>Ill health</b>				
Long-term limiting illness	6.7	7.0	6.9	7.7
No long-term limiting illness	7.3	7.3	7.3	7.7
<b>Migrant status</b>				
Born in country	7.2	7.3	7.3	7.8
Born elsewhere	7.1	6.9	6.9	7.4
<b>Location</b>				
City	7.1	7.3	7.1	7.6
Elsewhere	7.2	7.3	7.3	7.8

<sup>a</sup> Predictor category not implemented for this indicator

Source: *EQLS 2007*

## Life satisfaction and ethnic diversity

The variations in well-being observed between the different groups identified in Table 20 highlight the importance of being able to simultaneously account for a number of characteristics before an assessment can be made of the effect on well-being of living within a high-diversity neighbourhood. Multivariate analysis has therefore been undertaken to ascertain the significance of these findings and to demonstrate whether, after controlling for differences in the characteristics of individuals, living in neighbourhoods with high levels of diversity is associated with a significantly higher or lower level of well-being compared to people who live elsewhere. Multivariate analysis was implemented in three stages, as outlined in Chapter 4. Again, all three models were implemented for the pooled dataset and the full model containing both personal and neighbourhood controls was repeated to explore the ‘ethnic diversity effect’ at the country level.

Without controlling for personal or neighbourhood characteristics (Model 1), the degree of ethnic diversity was found to have significant negative associations with respondents' self-reported satisfaction on all measures. On average, those in neighbourhoods of intermediate and high diversity reported significantly lower levels of satisfaction than those in areas of low diversity, with satisfaction decreasing as diversity increases. Controlling for respondents' personal characteristics (Model 2) seems to absorb a proportion of this apparent 'ethnic diversity effect', reducing the size of the coefficients. However, all except one of the coefficients (satisfaction with education) remain statistically significant. Finally, we controlled for the effects of neighbourhood characteristics – whether the respondent has any reason to complain about crime or litter in their local area – as well as personal characteristics (Model 3). The contribution of various personal and neighbourhood characteristics to levels of life satisfaction are presented in the box below. The full results of these statistical models are presented in Annex 7. The inclusion of additional neighbourhood controls absorbed the previously apparent 'ethnic diversity effect' for respondents living in areas of intermediate diversity on all measures of satisfaction, and also accounted for the difference in 'satisfaction with your current job' between those living in areas of high and low diversity, respectively. Controlling for both personal and neighbourhood characteristics accounted for a proportion of differences between high- and low-diversity neighbourhoods regarding levels of overall life satisfaction, satisfaction with education and satisfaction with accommodation. The analysis therefore suggests that the fabric of conditions within areas of high ethnic diversity account for some of the lower levels of satisfaction with life reported by respondents living in these areas. However, areas of high ethnic diversity are still associated with lower levels of life satisfaction.

### Ethnic diversity and satisfaction with life: country-specific effects

Controlling for personal and neighbourhood characteristics resulted in some significant country-specific differences in mean levels of satisfaction amongst respondents in areas of intermediate and high diversity compared to those in areas of low diversity (results from these models are presented in Annex 8).

- Overall life satisfaction: Significantly lower amongst respondents living in areas of high diversity in Belgium; significantly higher amongst those living in areas of intermediate diversity in Germany.
- Satisfaction with education: Significantly lower for those living in areas of intermediate or high diversity in Ireland.
- Satisfaction with current job: No significant associations observed.
- Satisfaction with accommodation: Significantly lower amongst those living in areas of high diversity in France and the Netherlands; significantly lower for those living in areas of intermediate diversity in Ireland; and significantly higher amongst those living in intermediate-diversity neighbourhoods in the UK.

No significant associations were observed for Austria, Greece, Luxembourg or Spain. However, it should be noted that statistical significance can only be evaluated in the context of the available sample sizes that underpin these regressions. Although not always statistically significant, across a majority of countries and for a majority of measures, subjective well-being is lower in neighbourhoods with higher levels of ethnic diversity.

#### Characteristics associated with subjective well-being

At the EU15 level, the following control characteristics were found to be significantly associated with subjective well-being.

- Age (being 25–34): lower overall life satisfaction; (aged 18–34): higher satisfaction with education; (aged 18–64): lower satisfaction with current job; (aged 18–64): lower satisfaction with accommodation.

- Gender (being male): lower overall life satisfaction and satisfaction with accommodation.
- Education (being better educated): higher satisfaction on all measures.
- Ill health (ill health, hampered severely or to some extent): lower satisfaction on all measures; (ill health, not hampered): higher satisfaction with accommodation.
- Economic activity (being unemployed): lower overall life satisfaction, satisfaction with education and accommodation; (unable to work due to illness): lower overall life satisfaction and satisfaction with education; (retired): higher satisfaction with education; (homemakers): lower overall life satisfaction and satisfaction with accommodation; (in education): higher overall life satisfaction, satisfaction with education and accommodation.
- Occupation (being employed in managerial or professional role): higher satisfaction with current job than those in other occupations.
- Citizenship (having citizenship in the country of residence): higher overall life satisfaction, satisfaction with current job and satisfaction with accommodation.
- Family structure (being in a couple): higher satisfaction on all measures than people who are single without children; (single parent): lower overall life satisfaction, satisfaction with education and accommodation.
- Migrant status (respondent born in country of residence): higher satisfaction with current job than those born in a non-Member State European country.
- Parent migrant status (one born in other EU country): higher overall life satisfaction than those with one parent born in the EU; higher satisfaction with education than those with one parent born outside the EU.
- Respondent location (living in a city or city suburb): higher satisfaction on all measures than those living in the open countryside or in a small town/village; higher satisfaction with accommodation than those living in a medium/large town.
- Crime in local area (no reason to complain): higher satisfaction on all measures.
- Litter in local area (no reason to complain): higher satisfaction on all measures.
- Tenure (own home without mortgage): higher satisfaction on all measures than those in rented accommodation; lower overall life satisfaction and satisfaction with accommodation than those with a mortgage.

## Satisfaction with life and the fabric of the local area

This report points to the possible importance of the fabric of the neighbourhood in terms of contributing to our understanding of the influence of ethnic diversity on perceived social inclusion and social efficacy (see Chapter 4) as well as tension between social groups (see Chapter 6). The multivariate analysis was therefore repeated with the inclusion of additional variables to control for whether respondents report that they have a ‘reason to complain about crime in the local area’ and ‘reason to complain about litter in the local area’ in order to examine the sensitivity of the effects of ethnic diversity to the inclusion of additional controls that account for conditions within these localities.

This analysis reveals a significant decline in mean overall life satisfaction and satisfaction with accommodation scores as reasons to complain about crime increase. On average, those with ‘many’ or ‘a few’ reasons to complain about crime also report significantly lower satisfaction with their education and people with any reason to complain about crime report significantly lower satisfaction with their current job. A similar effect is observed for litter, which is associated with a significant decline in mean satisfaction scores regarding current job and accommodation. In comparison with

those who have ‘no reason at all’ to complain, having any reason to complain about litter is significantly associated with reduced average overall life satisfaction. Interestingly, satisfaction with education is significantly lower amongst those with ‘very many’ and ‘a few’ reasons to complain about litter, but not for those with ‘many’ reasons.

Controlling for the respondent reporting that they have reason to complain about crime or litter may shed some light on the apparent ‘ethnic diversity effect’ outlined above. These results must be treated with caution. Individuals who suggest that they have reasons to complain about crime and litter may simply be less contented with life generally. The relationship between the fabric of the local environment and satisfaction with life may therefore not be causal. Indeed, the effects of crime and litter cannot be expected to have a direct effect on satisfaction with education and employment. However, it remains the case that controlling for the fabric of the local neighbourhood accounts for a significant proportion of the effect that was previously attributed to living within ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. Controlling for the extent of complaints about crime and litter renders the effect of neighbourhood diversity on levels of overall satisfaction and satisfaction with jobs insignificant. The fabric of the local environment may therefore be important to understanding lower levels of satisfaction with life more generally within areas of high ethnic diversity.

### Summary and conclusions

Before controlling for personal or neighbourhood characteristics, multivariate analysis indicated a highly significant negative association between degree of ethnic diversity and all four indicators, while adding personal characteristics to the model weakened these somewhat. Controlling in addition for the neighbourhood characteristics eliminated significant associations for respondents living in areas of intermediate diversity and substantially reduced the coefficients associated with areas of high diversity. The results of multivariate analysis confirm those of previous research: employment (or being employed in a managerial or professional role) is associated with a higher level of well-being, as are being educated to ISCED levels 4–6, being in a couple, owning one’s own home and being a citizen of one’s country of residence. Each of these factors is significantly associated with three or more of the four measures of subjective well-being, independently of age, gender, state of health and country of residence.

Factors that present significant negative associations with subjective well-being are: being a single parent; being hampered by ill health; unemployment; being unable to work due to illness or being a homemaker; living in the open countryside or in a small town; living in an area of high ethnic diversity; and having any reason to complain about crime or litter in one’s local area. Each of these aspects is independently associated with at least three of the measures. Concerns regarding the levels of crime and litter in an area are found to account for a significant proportion of the effect of living in ethnically diverse communities. The lower-quality environment typically associated with ethnically diverse neighbourhoods may therefore be important in contributing to lower levels of satisfaction with life reported by respondents living in these areas. This relationship needs to be explored in further detail.

Due to the low numbers of respondents, it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding country-specific models. Despite this, certain associations are statistically significant – leading us to consider that the effect may be strong. For example, in France and the Netherlands, people living in areas of high diversity report significantly lower satisfaction with their accommodation than those in areas of low diversity, while in Ireland those in neighbourhoods of intermediate or high levels of diversity report significantly lower satisfaction with their education than do those living in areas of low diversity.

## Introduction

This chapter considers the relative incidence of tensions over ethnic minorities, religious groups and migrants within EU15 countries. The EU Eurobarometer and national opinion surveys (such as the MORI opinion tracker in the UK) consistently find a high level of concern about immigration in EU countries. Attitudes tend to be more negative in countries with high levels of immigration and most positive in southern Europe and in countries where immigrant political participation is greatest (Meuleman and Reeskens, 2008). In the UK, immigration has consistently been one of the main political issues of concern to voters. Concerns over immigration have tended to be greatest when there have been high levels of asylum migration and active political debate over actions to control migrant flows.

The analysis of this chapter focuses on responses to three questions asked of respondents to the EQLS. Firstly, respondents were asked how much tension they think there is between a) different racial and ethnic groups in this country and b) different religious groups in their country. Respondents are able to indicate that there is a lot of tension, some tension or no tension between these groups. Following this question, respondents to the EQLS are then asked to think about their attitudes about people from other countries coming here to live. Specifically, respondents are asked whether they think governments should a) let people come if they want to, b) let people come as long as there are jobs available, c) put strict limits on the number of foreigners who come here to work and d) prohibit people coming here to work.

The emphasis of these questions differs. Questions relating to tensions between ethnic and religious groups relate to the respondents' perceptions of the tensions that exist within their country and do not necessarily relate to their own attitudes. Nonetheless, it is still of interest to examine whether people living in areas of high diversity have different perceptions regarding levels of tension compared to those elsewhere. Greater awareness of ethnic tensions in areas of high diversity may point to either a) higher levels of tensions in these areas or b) higher levels of awareness of tensions that exist nationally. Analysis of the respondent's own attitude towards migrants will help to give a clearer indication of how living in an ethnically diverse area may relate directly to attitudes towards migration.

Continuing with the emphasis of the analysis on the understanding of the effects of living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, we compare and contrast levels of tensions both across selected EU15 countries and within EU15 countries by levels of perceived ethnic diversity reported by respondents to the EQLS. The analysis then goes on to consider what characteristics are associated with respondents being more likely to report that tensions exist within their countries, using both descriptive and multivariate techniques. The analysis specifically considers two issues. Firstly, after controlling for differences in the characteristics of survey respondents, how do levels of ethnic tension vary across EU15 countries? Secondly, both across EU15 countries and within EU15 countries, how does living in areas of high ethnic diversity affect the likelihood of a respondent reporting the presence of ethnic tensions?

Finally, previous research (e.g. Semyonov and Glikman, 2009; Semyonov et al, 2008; Schneider, 2008; Wagner et al, 2006) has pointed to the importance of the fabric of localities in explaining the presence of tensions between different ethnic, religious and migrant groups. We therefore specifically consider how perceptions regarding levels of crime and litter contribute to our understanding of how living in ethnically diverse areas contribute to tensions in these areas.

## Ethnic diversity and tensions: country comparisons

Table 21 presents information on the relative incidence of ethnic and religious tensions in EU15 countries derived from the EQLS. Across all EU15 countries, 41% of respondents report that there was 'a lot' of tension between different ethnic groups, 48% report that there are some tensions between ethnic groups, while 9% report that there are no tensions between ethnic groups. In terms of religious tensions, 33% of respondents report that there was 'a lot' of tension between different religious groups, 48% report that there are some tensions between religious groups, while 16% report that there

are no tensions between ethnic groups. Finally, in terms of attitudes towards migration, it is estimated that 11% of people feel that the government should let anyone come who wants to work. In contrast, 7% feel that people should be prohibited from coming here to work. For the remainder of this chapter, ethnic or religious tension is defined as a respondent reporting that there is ‘a lot’ of tension between religious and ethnic groups. Similarly, ‘migrant tension’ is defined as a respondent reporting that people should be prohibited from coming here to work.<sup>5</sup>

Table 21: *Ethnic, religious and migrant tensions within EU15 countries*

In your opinion, how much tension is there between each of the following groups in this country?			How about people coming from other countries to live? Which one of the following do you think the government should do?	
	Different racial and ethnic groups	Different religious groups		
No tension	9	16	Let anyone come who wants to	11
Some tension	48	48	Let people come as long as there are jobs available	50
Lot of tension	41	33	Put strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come here to work	30
			Prohibit people coming here to work	7
Don't know	2	4	Don't know	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: *EQLS 2007*

Table 22 shows that ethnic tensions are highest in the Netherlands (57%) and France (52%). Ethnic tensions are estimated to be lowest in Ireland (32%), Spain (33%) and Germany (33%). Perceptions of ethnic tensions are generally observed to be higher within ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. Across all EU15 countries, it is observed that 46% of people living in areas of high ethnic diversity report that there are religious tensions within their country. This is compared to 41% of respondents who report living in neighbourhoods of low diversity. Comparisons across countries reveal that perceptions of ethnic tensions in areas of high diversity are significantly higher than the national average in Ireland, Germany, Austria and Greece. In the UK, it is noted that perceptions of ethnic tensions are significantly lower within areas of high ethnic diversity. Across a majority of countries, perceptions of the ethnic tensions that exist nationally within areas of intermediate diversity are generally similar to the levels observed in areas of low diversity.

Considering religious tensions, across all EU15 countries, 33% of respondents report the presence of religious tensions within their country. As with ethnic tensions, in Table 21 it can be seen that religious tensions are also relatively high within the Netherlands (40%) and France (38%). Religious tensions are also reported to be relatively high in Austria (40%). Religious tensions are observed to be lowest in Ireland (18%), Spain (21%) and Luxembourg (22%). Comparisons across countries reveal that perceptions of religious tensions within areas of high ethnic diversity are relatively high compared to the national average in Ireland, Germany and the Netherlands. In Spain, Greece and the UK, perceptions of religious tensions are significantly lower within areas of high diversity. As with ethnic tensions, the perceptions of religious tensions that exist nationally are similar in areas of low and intermediate diversity. Finally, Table 21 considers attitudes towards migration held by respondents across EU15 countries. It can be seen that across all EU15

<sup>5</sup> Broader definitions of these variables were considered (for example, tension to include those who indicated that there was ‘a lot’ or ‘some’ tension between different groups). However, such definitions exhibited less variation between population sub-groups and so the narrower definitions have been retained.

countries, 7% of respondents report that people should be prohibited from coming here to work. Higher than average figures for this measure are prevalent in Greece (12%), Ireland (9%), the UK (8%) and Belgium (8%). Across each of the selected EU15 countries, these attitudes are more likely to be held by respondents living in areas of high diversity. This is particularly evident among respondents in areas of high ethnic diversity in Austria (25%), Belgium (22%), Greece (19%) and Ireland (17%).

## Characteristics associated with ethnic tensions

Using data from the European Social Survey, Semyonov et al (2008) found that foreigners' impact on society is viewed negatively rather than positively in most countries. Negative views were most pronounced with regard to the impact of foreigners on the level of crime and least pronounced with regard to the positive impact of foreigners on culture. Their analysis demonstrated that the negative views tended to be more pronounced among individuals who were socially and economically vulnerable and among individuals who hold conservative political views. Further, Hooghe et al (2009) found that negative views were more likely to be held by men, by younger people and those of lower socio-economic status in terms of education, employment and financial satisfaction. Table 23 considers how ethnic and religious tensions are perceived by different groups across EU15 countries based on EQLS data. Perceptions of ethnic tension are higher among women than men. In terms of age, those under 35 generally report higher perceived national levels of religious and ethnic tensions. The attitudes of respondents towards migration generally follow a similar pattern to their perceptions of national levels of ethnic and religious tensions. The most noticeable difference relates to employment, where those out of work report lower levels of ethnic and religious tensions but unsurprisingly exhibit more negative attitudes towards immigration.

Table 22: *Ethnic, religious and migrant tensions within selected EU15 countries*

Degree of ethnic diversity	AT	BE	FR	DE	EL	IE	LU	NL	ES	UK	EU15
<b>Ethnic tensions</b>											
Low	39	44	51	32	33	27	29	55	33	44	41
Intermediate	40	41	53	32	32	30	37	57	33	42	40
High	51	42	55	43	43	46	36	63	33	35	46
All	41	43	52	33	35	32	34	57	33	42	41
<b>Religious tensions</b>											
Low	39	30	38	30	27	11	20	37	23	33	33
Intermediate	41	30	39	29	21	17	23	40	21	34	31
High	42	31	41	40	18	33	24	49	12	29	36
All	40	30	38	31	22	18	22	40	21	33	33
<b>Migrant tensions</b>											
Low	5	6	6	4	9	5	1	1	2	9	7
Intermediate	5	7	4	4	10	9	1	1	5	7	6
High	25	22	5	8	19	17	2	3	11	9	11
All	7	8	5	5	12	9	1	2	4	8	7

Source: EQLS 2007

Table 23: Personal characteristics and perceptions of ethnic, religious and migrant tensions: EU15

	Ethnic tension	Religious tension	Migrant tension
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	40	31	7
Female	43	34	7
<b>Age</b>			
< 35 years	43	34	7
≥ 35 years	41	32	7
<b>Educational attainment</b>			
< ISCED 4	43	34	9
≥ ISCED 4	39	30	3
<b>Employment status</b>			
Not in work	39	31	8
In work	43	34	7
<b>Health status</b>			
Long-term limiting illness	41	32	7
No long-term limiting illness	44	35	9
<b>Migrant status</b>			
Born elsewhere	31	25	3
Born in country	43	33	8
EU15	41	33	7

Source: EQLS 2007

Table 24 considers how the characteristics of neighbourhoods relate to perceptions of ethnic, religious and migrant tensions. While ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are more likely to be located in cities, no consistent picture emerges across countries in terms of whether or not respondents who report that they live in cities or city suburbs also report higher levels of ethnic, religious and migrant tensions. Austria, Belgium, France and the UK are each characterised by lower levels of perceived national ethnic and religious tensions among those who live in cities or city suburbs. This is in contrast to Germany, where perceptions of ethnic and religious tensions are higher among those living in cities or city suburbs. Table 24 also considers how perceptions of ethnic and religious tensions and attitudes towards migration vary according to two available indicators from the EQLS that consider conditions within local neighbourhoods. It is observed that with the exception of Greece, perceptions of ethnic, religious and migrant tensions are higher among respondents who also report that they have many or some reasons to complain about crime or litter in their neighbourhoods. It is not possible to determine whether these correlations represent causal relationships or whether it may simply be the case that some respondents to the EQLS are more likely to provide negative perceptions across a range of data items. The following sections attempt to consider to what extent these neighbourhood characteristics can account for differences in ethnic, religious and migrant tensions between areas with varying levels of ethnic diversity.

## Quantifying cross-country differences in ethnic tensions

The descriptive analysis presented in the previous section identified a number of personal and neighbourhood characteristics that were found to be associated with individuals being more or less likely to report perceptions of ethnic and religious tensions. In this section, multivariate regression techniques are used to identify the separate and additional effect of a variety of personal and neighbourhood characteristics on the probability that a survey respondent will report the presence of ethnic and religious tensions or have a negative attitude towards migration.

The first stage of the multivariate analysis is based on a regression model that is estimated on data collected from all EU15 countries (see Annex 9). Figure 18 presents estimates from the cross-country regression model that demonstrates, after controlling for other personal and neighbourhood characteristics within the EQLS, which countries exhibit the highest relative ethnic tensions. The results on ethnic and religious tensions must be interpreted with caution, as the bulk of the literature on religious tension notes, ‘in continental Europe, immigration and Islam are almost synonymous’ (Banchoff, 2007, p. 61; see also Molokotos-Liederman, 2007). In addition, public discourse on immigrant integration in Europe ‘is increasingly framed around the presumed incompatibility of Islam and Western values’ (Korteweg and Yirdakal, 2009, p. 218). Therefore, it is difficult to disaggregate perceptions of ethnic tension from perceptions of religious tension, as they are largely synonymous in terms of perceptions of Islamic immigrants in European societies. It can be seen that after controlling for other characteristics, respondents to the EQLS are most likely to report the presence of ethnic tensions in Austria, the UK, Belgium, France and the Netherlands. Religious tensions are estimated to be relatively high in Germany, Austria, the UK, Belgium, France and the Netherlands. In France, the Netherlands and Belgium, the estimated scale of relative tensions for religious tensions are similar to those estimated for ethnic tensions. In contrast, in Germany, Austria and the UK, religious tensions are estimated to be relatively more prominent compared to ethnic tensions.

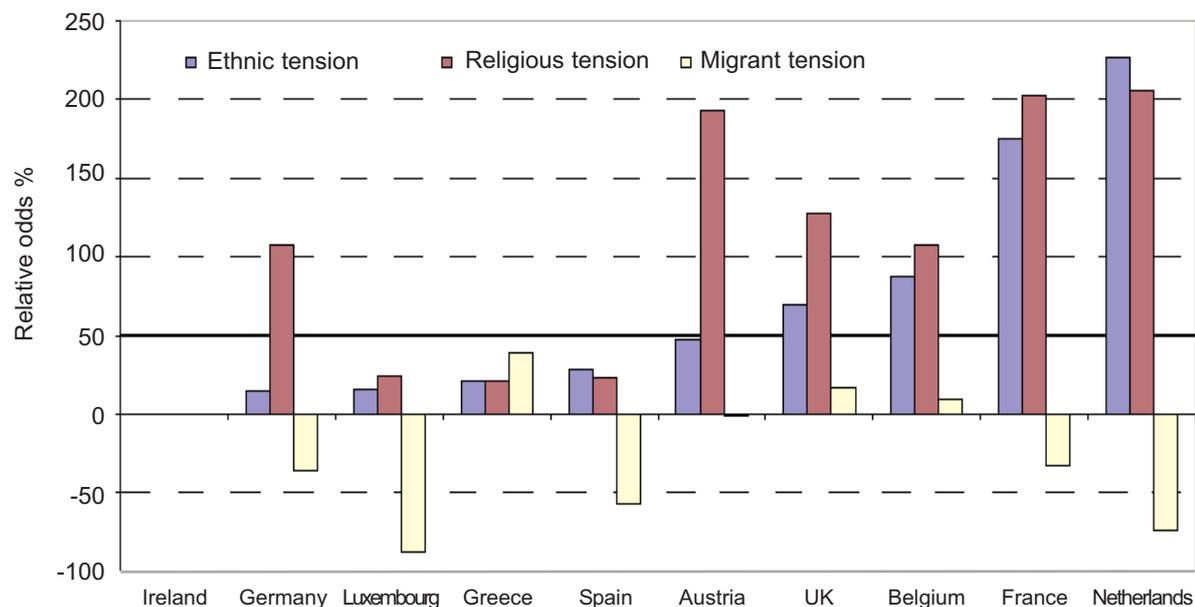
The results from France and the Netherlands may partially be explained by highly visible incidents that exacerbated tensions between ethnic groups in both nations: in the Netherlands, the murder of the film director Theo Van Gogh in 2004, and in France, the 2005 riots that began in the *banlieues* of Paris and spread throughout the nation. In 2005, the populations of both nations overwhelmingly rejected the EU constitution in referendums, with 61% of the population in the Netherlands and 55% in France voting against. Further, restrictive legislation directed at immigrant Muslims in both nations has been enacted in the name of protecting the ‘liberal, tolerant traditions of the nation from the threat of fundamental, patriarchal customs’ synonymous with Islam (Banchoff, 2007, p. 64). However, in the 2007 Eurobarometer survey, 53% of the population of the Netherlands agreed with the statement ‘Immigrants contribute a lot to our country’, which was above the mean of 45%. This may go some way to explaining the seemingly dichotomous opinions on ethnic tensions and attitudes towards migrant workers in the Netherlands estimated from the EQLS, where respondents from the Netherlands were among those least likely to agree with the statement that inward migration should be prevented.

Table 24: Neighbourhood characteristics and perceptions of ethnic, religious and migrant tensions

		AT	BE	FR	DE	EL	IE	LU	NL	ES	UK	EU15
<b>Ethnic tensions</b>												
<b>Location</b>	City	39	32	44	39	37	34	37	55	34	33	39
	Elsewhere	42	47	53	31	34	31	33	58	32	45	42
	Reasons to complain	56	46	60	50	36	43	40	67	46	55	46
	No reasons to complain	40	43	51	32	35	30	32	56	32	39	38
	Reasons to complain	55	48	63	46	41	46	39	70	44	52	46
	No reasons to complain	40	42	49	32	34	28	33	56	31	39	38
<b>Religious tensions</b>												
<b>Location</b>	City	29	20	28	39	21	20	13	37	27	25	30
	Elsewhere	44	34	40	28	23	17	23	41	19	36	33
	Reasons to complain	54	42	43	54	20	31	30	49	31	48	36
	No reasons to complain	38	28	37	29	22	15	19	39	20	30	29
	Reasons to complain	49	34	52	47	23	28	27	44	28	44	36
	No reasons to complain	39	29	35	29	21	15	21	39	20	30	30
<b>Migrant tensions</b>												
<b>Location</b>	City	6	6	4	3	12	9	0	2	4	7	6
	Elsewhere	8	9	5	6	12	8	2	1	4	9	8
	Reasons to complain	13	20	7	13	13	16	3	7	20	11	9
	No reasons to complain	6	6	5	4	12	7	1	1	3	8	6
	Reasons to complain	18	14	6	9	15	11	5	4	16	11	9
	No reasons to complain	6	6	5	5	11	8	1	1	3	8	6

Source: EQLS 2007

Figure 18: Relative country odds of tensions derived from EU15 regression



Source: EQLS 2007

Belgium's ethnic tensions are characterised differently from the rest of the EU, therefore this result should be treated cautiously. Belgium is split along ethnic lines between the Flemish north and the Walloon south. Political parties and institutions reflect this cleavage and there is little interaction between the Flemish and Walloon populations. While this has been 'an enduring ethnic conflict without any mass violence for over half a century' (Mnookin and Verbeke, 2009, p. 152), tensions increased markedly after the publication in 2005 of the 'Manifesto for an Independent Flanders within Europe'.

Discourse and policy in the UK have also altered markedly since the 2001 race riots in Bradford and the 2005 bombings in London. Cheong et al (2007, p. 32) argue that these events 'amplified the religious outsider mentality and heightened the visibility of Muslim immigrants'. Further, since their countries joined the EU in May 2004, there has also been a surge of Eastern European immigrant workers into the UK. Home Office statistics show that in the first seven months, 130,000 individuals from the new Member States registered to work in the UK. Previous research has found that a sudden increase in the number of foreign workers and perceived competition in the labour market of a nation has a negative effect on social capital (see, for example, Hooghe et al, 2009). However, respondents from the UK were not estimated to have significantly negative attitudes towards migration.

Ethnic and religious tension was also perceived to be higher in Austria and Germany. This is again corroborated by the relatively low proportion of respondents to the Eurobarometer survey who agreed with the statement that 'Immigrants contribute a lot to our country' (37% of Austrians and 30% of Germans, compared to an average of 45%). Further, opposition to Turkey joining the EU was disproportionately high in both Austria and Germany. Whereas in 2006, 38% of the population across the EU15 was in favour, in Germany and Austria approximately 80% of the population was against. These results and the reporting of higher levels of tension in the two nations can once again be at least partially explained by the fact that 80% of Muslim immigrants in both nations are of Turkish origin (whereas, for example, 75% of UK Muslim immigrants are of South Asian origin).

## Quantifying the effects of neighbourhood characteristics on ethnic tensions

Before the effects of neighbourhood characteristics on ethnic, religious and migrant tensions are discussed, a summary is given of the estimated effects of a variety of personal characteristics that were included in the cross-country multivariate analysis (see Annex 9). In terms of ethnic and religious tensions, the analysis identifies how perceptions of ethnic and religious tensions vary between different groups and that these do not necessarily match the opinions of respondents to the EQLS. In contrast, in the case of migrant tensions the EQLS questionnaire does ask the opinions of respondents with respect to their own attitudes towards migration. The analysis confirms the findings of the descriptive analysis in Table 23. Specifically:

- males are 22% more likely to report the presence of ethnic and religious tensions, although no significant effects are estimated with regard to attitudes towards migration;
- those aged 65 and over are least likely to report the presence of ethnic, religious and migrant tensions. In each case, those aged 25–49 are most likely to perceive the presence of national ethnic and religious tensions;
- those educated to ISCED level 2 or below are most likely to report the presence of ethnic and religious tensions. However, educational attainment is estimated to have a particularly strong effect on attitudes towards migration. Those educated to ISCED level 1 or below are between 11 and 12 times more likely to suggest that foreign workers should be prohibited from working in their country;
- those who are hampered by a long-term limiting illness are approximately 15% more likely to report the presence of ethnic and religious tensions. The scale of this differential increases to approximately 25% among those who report being severely hampered by this illness. Long-term limiting illness is, however, not estimated to be related to attitudes towards migration;

- in terms of economic activity, those who are out of work and unable to work are most likely to perceive the presence of ethnic and religious tensions. However, it is the unemployed who are most likely to have a negative attitude towards migration;
- those born outside the host country are least likely to perceive ethnic or religious tensions and, understandably, are least likely to have negative attitudes towards migration.

Finally, the effects of neighbourhood characteristics on ethnic, religious and migrant tensions are considered. The analysis again focuses on results derived from cross-country regressions for EU15 countries that are presented in Annex 9. Chapter 1 demonstrated that both the personal and neighbourhood characteristics of ethnically diverse neighbourhoods differed compared to the characteristics of those living elsewhere. Table 25 presents estimates of the separate and additional effects of neighbourhood characteristics on perceptions of ethnic, religious and migrant tensions. It is estimated that those living in small villages or towns perceive the highest levels of ethnic and religious tensions nationally and are most likely to have negative attitudes towards inward migration, while living in a city or city suburb is associated with the lowest levels of ethnic, religious and migrant tensions.

After controlling for other influences, respondents to the EQLS who report that they have reasons to complain about crime or litter are most likely to report the presence of ethnic tensions. For example, respondents who report that they have many reasons to complain about crime are 80% more likely to report the presence of ethnic tensions compared to respondents who have no such reasons to complain. The effect of crime on ethnic tensions appears to be greater than the effects of litter, where, for example, those with many reasons to complain about litter are 48% more likely to perceive ethnic tensions compared to those with no such reasons to complain. These general patterns are repeated for perceptions of religious tensions and in the analysis of attitudes towards migration.

Table 25 considers the effects of living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods on ethnic, religious and migrant tensions. Given the importance of conditions within the local neighbourhood in contributing to tensions between different groups, the bottom panel in Table 25 considers how the estimated effect of living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods varies according to the treatment of neighbourhood conditions within the statistical analysis. Specifically, we examine the sensitivity of estimates regarding the effects of living within ethnically diverse neighbourhoods on ethnic tensions to the inclusion of controls for complaints about crime and litter. The focus on issues surrounding the quality of the environment in these neighbourhoods and how they contribute to tensions reflects the emphasis of previous research. If estimates of how ethnic diversity affects ethnic, religious and migrant tensions are sensitive to inclusion of controls for the quality of the local environment, such as levels of anti-social behaviour in these communities, then this may provide evidence of the relative importance of environmental factors in contributing towards ethnic tensions.

Table 25 demonstrates that controlling for the negative effects of crime and litter on ethnic tensions associated with the quality of the environment leads to a reduction in the relative effect of living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods on tensions. In the case of ethnic and religious tensions, the effect of living in an ethnically diverse neighbourhood falls by approximately a half. In the case of migrant tensions, the scale of the positive differential associated with higher levels of tensions within such neighbourhoods is reduced by a third. To conclude, while controlling for neighbourhood conditions reduces the size of estimated probabilities, it nevertheless remains the case that it is not possible to identify a positive effect of living within ethnically diverse neighbourhoods on ethnic, religious and migrant tensions. After controlling for levels of litter and crime reported by respondents in relation to their neighbourhoods, those living in areas where many people are of a different ethnic group or race are 25% more likely to report the presence of ethnic tensions, 14% more likely to report the presence of religious tensions and 102% more likely to have negative attitudes towards migration. Each of these relationships is estimated to be statistically significant at the 5% level.

Table 25: Neighbourhood characteristics and the relative odds of reporting ethnic, religious and migrant tensions: EU15

	Ethnic tensions		Ethnic tensions		Migrant tensions	
	Relative odds (%)	P-value	Relative odds (%)	P-value	Relative odds (%)	P-value
<b>Area type</b>						
The open countryside	14	0.02	7	0.28	24	0.08
Village or small town	19	0.00	24	0.00	52	0.00
Medium to large town	7	0.16	8	0.15	24	0.03
City or city suburb	ref.		ref.		ref.	
<b>Reasons to complain about crime</b>						
Very many	80	0.00	123	0.00	78	0.00
Many	30	0.00	37	0.00	61	0.00
A few reasons	15	0.00	12	0.01	1	0.91
No reason at all	ref.		ref.		ref.	
<b>Reasons to complain about rubbish, litter</b>						
Very many	48	0.00	43	0.00	56	0.00
Many	38	0.00	22	0.00	58	0.00
A few reasons	14	0.00	-1	0.88	33	0.00
No reason at all	ref.		ref.		ref.	
<b>Degree of ethnic diversity</b>						
<b>Including controls for crime and litter</b>						
Low	ref.		ref.		ref.	
Intermediate	-2	0.68	-2	0.61	2	0.76
High	26	0.00	14	0.03	102	0.00
<b>Excluding controls for crime and litter</b>						
Low	ref.		ref.		ref.	
Intermediate	5	0.17	3	0.41	12	0.14
High	51	0.00	37	0.00	157	0.00

Source: *EQLS 2007*

## Country-level analysis of ethnic tensions

In line with previous research (e.g. Semyonov and Glikman, 2009; Semyonov et al, 2008; Schneider, 2008; Wagner et al, 2006), our analysis has pointed towards the importance of the fabric of localities in explaining the presence of tensions between different ethnic, religious and migrant groups. Table 26 presents estimates of the effects of living in neighbourhoods with high levels of ethnic diversity on the relative incidence of ethnic, religious and migrant tensions as derived from multivariate analyses conducted separately for each of the selected EU15 countries. Considering results that do not include controls for the quality of the local neighbourhood, relative ethnic tensions are estimated to be highest in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in Austria and Ireland; relative religious tensions are estimated to be highest in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in Ireland; and relative migrant tensions are estimated to be highest in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in Spain and Austria.

Taking into account perceived levels of litter and crime in local areas, the largest reductions in the relative scale of ethnic tensions are observed in Austria and the UK; the largest reductions in religious tensions are also observed in the UK; and the largest reductions in migrant tensions are observed in Austria, Belgium and Luxembourg. It is observed that within the UK, attitudes to migration are not estimated to be responsive to the quality of the local environment. Across all countries, the only statistically significant reductions in tensions that are estimated to be associated with living in high-diversity neighbourhoods occur within the UK (ethnic tensions), Spain (religious tensions) and Greece (religious tensions).

Table 26: *Ethnic diversity and tensions: country-level analysis*

	Including controls for crime and litter		Excluding controls for crime and litter		% reduction
	Coefficient	P-value	Coefficient	P-value	
<b>Ethnic tension</b>					
Austria	1.43	0.00	2.05	0.00	-30%
Belgium	0.94	0.81	1.02	0.93	-8%
France	1.19	0.42	1.47	0.06	-19%
Germany	1.51	0.02	1.81	0.00	-17%
Greece	1.55	0.04	1.60	0.02	-3%
Ireland	2.51	0.00	2.87	0.00	-13%
Luxembourg	1.34	0.19	1.55	0.04	-14%
Netherlands	1.12	0.64	1.34	0.21	-16%
Spain	0.76	0.29	0.90	0.68	-16%
United Kingdom	0.58	0.01	0.78	0.17	-26%
<b>Religious tension</b>					
Austria	1.05	0.84	1.3	0.23	-19%
Belgium	1.04	0.89	1.25	0.39	-17%
France	1.23	0.36	1.47	0.07	-16%
Germany	1.18	0.35	1.47	0.02	-20%
Greece	0.45	0.00	0.54	0.01	-17%
Ireland	4.00	0.00	4.84	0.00	-17%
Luxembourg	1.26	0.37	1.56	0.07	-19%
Netherlands	1.27	0.35	1.31	0.25	-3%
Spain	0.37	0.01	0.41	0.01	-10%
United Kingdom	0.76	0.17	1.01	0.96	-25%
<b>Migrant tension</b>					
Austria	4.03	0.00	6.51	0.00	-38%
Belgium	2.09	0.05	3.28	0.00	-36%
France	0.60	0.33	0.84	0.72	-29%
Germany	1.91	0.05	2.31	0.01	-17%
Greece	2.60	0.00	2.88	0.00	-10%
Ireland	3.05	0.01	3.79	0.00	-20%
Luxembourg	1.13	0.91	2.50	0.27	-55%
Netherlands	1.422	0.70	1.97	0.38	-28%
Spain	5.66	0.00	7.56	0.00	-25%
United Kingdom	0.96	0.90	0.98	0.95	-2%

Source: *EQLS 2007*

## Summary and conclusions

The analysis has revealed that respondents to the EQLS who live in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are more likely to report the presence of ethnic, religious and migrant tensions, a relationship that is repeated across a majority of countries selected for country-level analysis. Comparisons across countries reveal that both ethnic and religious tensions are highest in the Netherlands and France. These findings appear to reflect events in these countries over the past decade that have increased levels of discourse surrounding policy towards migrants and have contributed to a polarisation of opinions. In terms of personal characteristics that are associated with ethnic, religious and migrant tensions, those with lower levels of educational attainment are more likely to report the presence of such tensions. In terms of neighbourhood characteristics, those living in cities are least likely to report higher levels of tensions. Finally, those respondents who express concerns about crime and litter in their neighbourhood are also more likely to report the presence of tensions. The estimated effect of ethnic diversity on tensions is sensitive to the treatment of neighbourhood characteristics within the statistical analysis.

## Overview of findings

High-diversity neighbourhoods are likely to be mainly those in which a large percentage of the population has ethnic origins outside the European continent. Many European countries have experienced a high level of immigration from all parts of the world in the past two decades and the population of visible minority ethnic groups has grown rapidly. Though there is great diversity in the national origins of these third-country migrants across the countries of the EU, they have in common the fact that the first generation of migrants (in successive time periods) arrived in Europe to work in jobs for which employers could not recruit people from national majority communities and for which they paid low wages. In view of this, neighbourhoods with a high percentage of minority ethnic groups would be expected to be relatively disadvantaged in social and economic terms. Given their limited financial resources, migrant communities will tend to be constrained to find housing where the costs of accommodation are lowest, which will be in either areas of older and poorer housing or areas already disadvantaged in social and economic terms where demand for housing is lower. Secondly, the influx of an economically disadvantaged population will itself change the social character of a neighbourhood, increasing the average level of social exclusion and deprivation. These socio-economic disadvantages have been demonstrated by both research and (in extreme instances) civil unrest to coincide with immigrant, religious and racial tensions.

The focus of this report has been on the comparative situation of neighbourhoods in which the share of the population from ethnic groups different from the majority is relatively high based on data from the 2007 EQLS. The data used in this analysis are subject to a number of limitations, including insufficient sample sizes necessary to explicitly consider the position of ethnic minorities living in areas of high diversity and issues surrounding the ability of EQLS respondents to accurately and consistently identify whether or not they lived in an area of ethnic diversity. As such, the results of analysis in this report are predominantly based on information from respondents who are indigenous to the host country but who perceive that their neighbourhood is ethnically diverse. It is arguable that the economic and social circumstances of such respondents and their opinions regarding ethnic and religious tensions may not be representative of the migrant population in these areas. Furthermore, it is not possible to determine whether these ethnically diverse areas are also ethnically segregated areas. The EQLS is therefore insufficiently detailed to capture information on those migrant and non-migrant groups that reside in neighbourhoods that have characteristics which are of particular concern in the formulation of policy to improve the integration of migrants.

Despite these concerns regarding the suitability of the EQLS data for exploring the circumstances of those living in areas of relatively high ethnic diversity, the analysis has revealed a number of findings that seem intuitive. Relative levels of deprivation and difficulties associated with meeting housing costs are found to be higher within neighbourhoods of high levels of ethnic diversity than would be expected given the observable characteristics of these neighbourhoods and the people who live in them. Those living in such neighbourhoods were also found to suffer from higher levels of overcrowding. The concentration of such neighbourhoods within cities that are associated with higher housing costs and smaller properties may suggest that these characteristics would be expected. However, the important point to note is that those living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are more likely to report the presence of such problems than those respondents to the EQLS who otherwise display identical personal and neighbourhood characteristics.

Similar conclusions emerge in the analysis of social isolation and quality of life. While higher levels of social isolation may be expected of a relatively young transient population who move to cities in order to undertake education or find employment, levels of social isolation in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are higher than what would be expected. Again, these responses are largely being provided by individuals who are indigenous to the host country. In view of this, these increased levels of social isolation among the host population may fail to capture the higher levels of social capital experienced by the migrant population who live in these areas. Sample sizes within the EQLS were insufficient to test these more subtle effects of living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods more formally. Similarly, those living in diverse

neighbourhoods are more likely to report the existence of higher levels of ethnic and religious tensions within the host country and are more likely themselves to have more cautious attitudes towards migration.

In terms of results generated from country-specific analyses, the relatively small number of people within the EQLS data who reported that they lived in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods meant that statistically robust comparisons of the varying effect of living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods across the EU could often not be made. Analysis of deprivation revealed that high-diversity neighbourhoods contain relatively poor populations, notably in Austria, the Netherlands and the UK. In terms of housing conditions, only in the case of the UK were high-diversity neighbourhoods significantly associated with fewer rooms per person. In terms of social isolation, ethnically diverse neighbourhoods were estimated to be associated with higher levels of inclusion in Austria and Greece and lower levels of social inclusion in the Netherlands. Respondents in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in Luxembourg reported lower perceived levels of social efficacy and fewer sources of social support measured across a variety of dimensions. In terms of quality of life, the most robust findings emerged in the analysis of satisfaction with accommodation, which was significantly lower amongst those living in areas of high diversity in France, the Netherlands (compared to areas of low diversity) and the UK (compared to areas of intermediate diversity).

Cross-national comparisons of ethnic and religious tensions appeared to provide intuitive results in the context of events that have taken place across Europe during the past decade with respect to the position of migrant communities in Europe, with perceived levels of tensions reported by EQLS respondents being highest in the Netherlands and France. In terms of the effects of living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods on the presence of such tensions, across a majority of countries, areas of greater ethnic diversity are associated with the increased presence of such tensions, particularly in Austria (ethnic and migrant tensions), Ireland (ethnic and religious tensions) and Spain (migrant tensions).

### Policy recommendations

Due to the limitations of the analysis, it is not possible to be highly prescriptive regarding the formulation of policy based on the evidence provided in the report. The analysis has demonstrated that despite controlling for a variety of respondent and neighbourhood characteristics, living in an ethnically diverse neighbourhood is generally associated with higher levels of deprivation and poverty; poorer housing and social isolation; lower levels of quality of life; and increased levels of societal (ethnic, religious and migrant) tensions. However, the analysis is unable to determine the causal mechanisms through which these outcomes emerge. The analysis can only demonstrate that ethnic diversity acts as a 'marker' for identifying areas that are particularly disadvantaged in terms of their economic and social circumstances. Existing tensions definitely reduce the social cohesion of multiethnic communities. To what extent this will increase the probability of open conflict and even violence is difficult to estimate on the basis of this research.

In terms of policy implications, the clearest issues to emerge from the analysis relate to how the relative economic and social conditions within ethnically diverse neighbourhoods appear to contribute to perceived societal tensions. High levels of deprivation, low levels of inclusion and low levels of satisfaction with accommodation in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in the Netherlands may contribute to the relatively high tensions that exist there. The analysis suggests that dissatisfaction with accommodation in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in France may similarly contribute to the higher tensions that exist there, but it was not possible to investigate the effect of the concentration of disadvantaged minorities in the peripheral suburbs of cities like Paris. More generally, a targeted social housing policy on the part of public authorities seems to be important to improve conditions.

More robust evidence is, however, provided by the analysis of how the fabric of local neighbourhoods appears to explain some of the variation that is observed in measures of quality of life and social exclusion. Whether or not respondents to the EQLS feel that they have cause to complain about crime and litter appears to be an indication of whether living in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods contributes to higher levels of social isolation and ethnic tension and lower levels of

quality of life. Improving conditions of everyday life by tackling crime and litter may provide a mechanism for reducing the degree of ethnic tensions and social isolation reported within these communities. Good community policing and support measures to improve the self-responsibility of citizens regarding the quality of everyday life seem to be of the utmost importance.

Relatively high levels of overcrowding in France, the Netherlands and the UK also appear to be associated with lower levels of satisfaction with respect to accommodation in these countries. Addressing the quality of accommodation within ethnically diverse neighbourhoods may therefore also improve levels of satisfaction with life overall. While the research has not been able to examine the specific circumstances of those living in segregated neighbourhoods, the findings confirm the policy recommendations provided by CLIP (2007) in their more detailed analysis of local policies that address the integration of migrants.

### Data recommendations and further research

The data used in this analysis are subject to a number of limitations. Firstly, the single item measuring ‘multiethnic neighbourhood’ is a somewhat crude instrument. Not only does it rely on a subjective assessment on the part of the respondent, but the distinction between an area with ‘some’ and one with ‘many’ people who are of a different ethnic or religious background is open to interpretation, as is the spatial definition of a ‘local neighbourhood’. The latter problem could be addressed by moving the introduction to question 54, which gives guidance to respondents about the area that they should consider as their local neighbourhood (‘Please think about the area where you live now – I mean the immediate neighbourhood of your home’), to the beginning of question 53, which asks respondents about their perception of ethnic diversity.

Other options could include the interviewer providing further direction on what constitutes ‘the local neighbourhood’ depending on the urban/rural character of the local area. For example, in a village the respondent may be asked to refer to the entire village. Those in rural areas could be asked to refer to the nearest centre of population. In a small town or city, the interviewer could refer to the local government subdivision in which the person lives. In a city, respondents could be asked to refer to neighbouring streets or an area that is within a five-minute walk of their home. The appropriate size of a ‘neighbourhood’ should be determined by theory; in other words, what is the threshold level of contact (visual or interactive) between individuals that is required to promote an awareness of ‘multiethnicity’?

In the context of this analysis, it would be important to understand whether there is a difference in the way that majority and minority communities perceive the ethnic balance of the neighbourhood in which they live. Cognitive interviewing could be used to establish the approximate proportions of minority ethnic groups that respondents believe to be in the local area in order to see whether the terms ‘some’ and ‘many’ are being used in an equivalent manner. It may also be possible to consider replacing these terms with numerical ranges. Improvement of the ethnic origin information would also be desirable. It is important to identify the origins of the European-born children of migrants, which could be done by applying the country classification used in question 70 to the question on parents’ country of birth (question 71).

An additional, or alternative, course of action would be to merge contextual information about other characteristics of local neighbourhoods onto the EQLS dataset. This could include data on ethnic diversity, or perhaps more importantly, segregation, derived from census data or population registers. To be meaningful this would have to be at a small-area level. This raises issues about disclosure control, but this might be offset by including only a categorical code for ethnic diversity at the level of primary sampling unit. If necessary, Eurofound could deposit more disclosive versions of the data within safe data laboratory environments operated under the aegis of national statistical institutes or research councils (such as the UK Secure Data Service) in addition to non-disclosive versions of the dataset currently made available for research.

The second limitation to the data is that there are issues surrounding the ‘predictor variables’, many of which again rely on the reports or evaluations of respondents. Given the importance of other neighbourhood characteristics in predicting quality of life, Eurofound should consider supplementing the data with other contextual information about crime, levels of service provision, the state of the physical environment, local levels of unemployment and so on.

One major restriction on this analysis was the poor quality of the occupational information collected in the survey. The coding frame used within the EQLS is a conflation of employment status, occupational seniority, industrial sector and supervisory status, and the resulting 14 categories are not comparable with any other cross-national social survey. The information was also insufficient for us to operationalise the European Socio-economic Classification (ESeC), the most rigorously validated comparative measure of social class available for cross-national research. If survey costs prohibit fielding a full set of questions relating to labour market activity, we would recommend the adoption of the occupation showcard used either on the International Social Survey Programme or the European Values Study. In terms of housing, a question on the type of dwelling in which a respondent lives (e.g. detached house, flat in a high-rise block, studio flat in a converted house, etc.) and the age of the dwelling would be informative. Finally, better identification of household structures within the EQLS would be helpful. It is important to establish whether the respondent is the head of the household in the analysis of questions where action on behalf of the household is implied (e.g. the decision to move house because of housing costs). Clear identification of households containing unrelated adults (multiple-occupancy households) would also be helpful.

In terms of further research, the Foundation may wish to consider commissioning research utilising other secondary sources of data on areas of high ethnic diversity. For example, within the UK, data from the Labour Force Survey contains geographical identifiers at the level of unitary authority. Developments in data access that facilitate research access to disclosive versions of the Labour Force Survey (LFS) with more detailed geographical identifiers are currently being implemented (i.e. the ESRC-funded secure data service). By merging data from successive quarters of the LFS over a number of years, it should be possible to conduct analyses of the economic position of ethnic minorities in particular areas with relatively high concentrations of such communities (e.g. the East Midlands, London). Such an approach may also be useful in encouraging mixed methods approaches, where analyses of existing secondary data sources available for a region are complemented with qualitative techniques.

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Annex 1: *Sample sizes by ethnic diversity*

Country	Q53: Is your local neighbourhood an area where ... are of a different race or ethnic group?			
	Nobody	Some	Many	All
Austria	366	525	138	1,043
Belgium	606	283	105	1,010
France	1,053	309	136	1,537
Germany	999	736	230	2,008
Greece	250	498	232	1,000
Ireland	310	480	183	1,000
Luxembourg	361	391	194	1,004
Netherlands	595	286	126	1,011
Spain	382	494	120	1,015
United Kingdom	735	483	276	1,507
<b>Other EU15</b>	<b>3,215</b>	<b>1,790</b>	<b>398</b>	<b>5,539</b>
<b>EU15</b>	<b>8,872</b>	<b>6,275</b>	<b>2,138</b>	<b>17,674</b>

Source: *EQLS 2007*

Annex 2: Binary logistic regression model of probability of being in a household in the lowest income quartile

Variable	All neighbourhoods		Neighbourhoods of High Ethnic Diversity	
	Odds ratio	P > z	Odds ratio	P > z
Female	.994	.901	.717	.009
Aged 18–24	1.025	.820	1.192	.479
Aged 35–49	.946	.471	.927	.675
Aged 50–64	.811	.015	.964	.858
Aged 65+	1.263	.035	1.077	.788
Unemployed	5.233	.000	5.395	.000
Unable to work – illness	3.828	.000	5.079	.000
Retired	2.185	.000	2.623	.000
Homemaking	2.793	.000	4.099	.000
In education	3.762	.000	3.823	.000
Other	1.862	.003	1.336	.612
Single	1.625	.000	1.567	.003
Single with child	3.485	.000	3.237	.000
Couple with child	1.723	.000	1.912	.000
Born in Member State	1.213	.172	1.559	.180
Born in another EU Member State	1.607	.007	1.323	.403
Born elsewhere	1.322	.063	1.099	.727
One parent born in other EU	1.047	.704	.707	.272
Both parents born in other EU	1.374	.025	1.196	.587
One parent born outside EU	1.307	.036	1.419	.165
Open countryside	1.390	.000	1.598	.107
A village/small town	1.113	.079	1.018	.917
City or city suburb	.860	.025	.906	.480
Own without mortgage	.943	.391	.820	.325
Private tenant	1.776	.000	1.611	.012
Social rented tenant	2.650	.000	2.155	.000
Rent-free accommodation	1.268	.116	1.337	.387
Other tenure	.722	.231	1.336	.683
Low education	1.679	.000	1.376	.023
Austria	1.068	.971	.922	.922
Belgium	1.267	.002	.741	.176
France	.969	.755	1.080	.753
Germany	1.523	.000	1.015	.962
Greece	.931	.381	.745	.260
Ireland	2.045	.000	1.406	.196
Luxembourg	1.366	.006	.996	.988
Netherlands	.693	.000	.501	.011
Spain	1.542	.000	.823	.468
United Kingdom	1.800	.000	.943	.789
Intermediate diversity	.968	.533		.833
High diversity	1.314	.000		.009
Constant	.000	.000	0.519	.479
-2 log likelihood	13745.247		1926.161	
Cox & Snell R Square	0.098		0.132	
Nagelkerke R Square	0.167		0.204	

Source: EQLS 2007

Annex 3: Binary logistic regression model of the probability of moving within the next six months due to housing costs

Variable	All neighbourhoods		Neighbourhoods of High Ethnic Diversity	
	Odds ratio	P > z	Odds ratio	P > z
Female	.828	.026	.619	.019
Aged 18–24	.930	.632	1.108	.749
Aged 35–49	.838	.110	.704	.169
Aged 50–64	.620	.000	.727	.297
Aged 65+	.481	.001	.607	.322
Unemployed	1.789	.000	1.952	.023
Unable to work – illness	1.329	.233	1.725	.303
Retired	.861	.407	.704	.442
Homemaking	1.371	.037	2.151	.024
In education	.623	.020	.971	.941
Other	1.044	.900	1.684	.441
Single	1.173	.123	1.185	.464
Single with child	1.219	.189	.937	.862
Couple with child	.717	.003	.572	.042
Born in Member State	1.207	.424	.861	.779
Born in another EU Member State	.959	.889	2.419	.064
Born elsewhere	1.393	.140	2.128	.046
One parent born in other EU	1.225	.303	1.505	.364
Both parents born in other EU	1.114	.663	1.665	.289
One parent born outside EU	1.246	.280	.898	.773
Open countryside	.903	.473	.478	.195
A village/small town	.787	.027	.461	.014
City or city suburb	.998	.984	.768	.213
Own without mortgage	.781	.060	.365	.007
Private tenant	2.929	.000	1.447	.174
Social rented tenant	1.655	.001	1.082	.801
Rent-free accommodation	1.923	.007	1.115	.842
Other tenure	2.331	.014	1.666	.645
Low education	1.187	.060	1.078	.730
Austria	.689	.013	.548	.102
Belgium	1.563	.001	2.456	.012
France	1.437	.055	3.010	.011
Germany	.980	.907	1.358	.460
Greece	1.070	.649	1.150	.720
Ireland	1.133	.477	1.625	.209
Luxembourg	1.657	.028	2.539	.081
Netherlands	8.727	.000	5.904	.005
Spain	2.057	.000	1.996	.111
United Kingdom	1.427	.024	2.375	.011
Intermediate diversity	1.159	.117		
High diversity	1.347	.015		
Constant	.000	.000	.000	.000
-2 log likelihood	5344.867		888.441	
Cox & Snell R Square	0.030		0.056	
Nagelkerke R Square	0.106		0.149	

Source: EQLS 2007

Annex 4: OLS regression model of rooms per person

Variable	All neighbourhoods		Neighbourhoods of High Ethnic Diversity	
	B	Sig	B	Sig
(Constant)	6.067	.000	7.8859	.000
Female	.042	.015	.176	.001
Aged 18–24	-.107	.011	-.059	.582
Aged 35–49	.083	.002	.115	.121
Aged 50–64	.298	.000	.278	.001
Aged 65+	.259	.000	.208	.087
Unemployed	-.070	.075	-.231	.014
Unable to work – illness	-.022	.699	.001	.995
Retired	.042	.186	-.017	.869
Homemaking	.032	.349	-.031	.735
In education	-.308	.000	-.304	.018
Other	-.172	.038	.102	.662
Single	1.238	.000	1.133	.000
Single with child	-.228	.000	-.310	.004
Couple with child	-.699	.000	-.688	.000
Born in Member State	-.052	.344	-.240	.118
Born in another EU Member State	.008	.910	-.228	.133
Born elsewhere	-.042	.489	-.204	.116
One parent born in other EU	-.002	.961	.167	.226
Both parents born in other EU	-.004	.942	.314	.038
One parent born outside EU	-.071	.146	.025	.826
Open countryside	.068	.018	.081	.557
A village/small town	-.004	.850	-.016	.829
City or city suburb	-.120	.000	-.120	.045
Own without mortgage	.047	.042	.087	.278
Private tenant	-.421	.000	-.350	.000
Social rented tenant	-.522	.000	-.388	.000
Rent-free accommodation	-.177	.004	-.161	.321
Other tenure	-.116	.277	-.738	.180
Low education	-.141	.000	-.075	.191
Austria	-.494	.000	-.749	.000
Belgium	.016	.574	-.040	.672
France	.406	.000	.220	.020
Germany	.017	.682	-.174	.212
Greece	-.125	.000	-.045	.684
Ireland	-.483	.000	-.662	.000
Luxembourg	-.557	.000	-.794	.000
Netherlands	-.542	.000	-.695	.000
Spain	.005	.901	.110	.383
United Kingdom	-.349	.000	-.328	.001
Household income	.000	.000	.000	.000
Intermediate diversity	-.084	.000		
High diversity	-.085	.003		
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.485		0.470	

Source: EQLS 2007

## Quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods

Annex 5: Social inclusion regression coefficients: pooled model

	'I feel left out of society'	'Life is so complicated today that I almost can't find my way'	Participation in voluntary or charitable activities	Get support: Help around house when ill	Get support: Advice on serious personal or family matter	Get support: Help when looking for a job	Get support: Somebody to talk to when feeling depressed	Get support: Borrow money to face an emergency
<b>Country</b>								
Other EU15	.575***	.913	.925	1.061	1.070	.810*	1.153	1.123
Austria	.935	.901	1.431***	1.405	1.773*	1.682***	3.076***	1.515**
Belgium	1.122	1.193	.869	1.009	1.004	.609***	.894	1.059
France	1.156	1.263*	.952	1,291	.687*	.465***	.640**	1.094
Germany	.529***	.667***	.792**	.922	1.151	1.006	1.208	1.053
Greece	.906	1.091	.434***	1.127	2.026*	2.724***	1.503*	3.511***
Ireland	.903	.761*	.464***	1.386	2.245**	1.552***	1.554*	1.391**
Luxembourg	.450***	1.009	.640***	1.101	1.079	.627***	.527***	1.541**
Netherlands	.357***	.770*	1.223*	.980	.832	.446***	.765	.798*
Spain	.379***	.339***	.200***	.867	.826	1.405**	1.102	1.085
United Kingdom	Ref.							
<b>Ethnic diversity</b>								
Low	Ref.							
Intermediate	.813**	.902*	1.034	.900	1.083	1.095*	.908	1.103
High	1.105	1.063	.982	.658*	.611*	.923	.680**	.925
<b>Gender</b>								
Female	Ref.							
Male	1.097	.948	.972	.768*	.513***	1.009	.508***	.799***
<b>Age</b>								
18–24	1.294	1.024	.796	.778	2.852**	6.584***	2.247**	2.879***
25–34	1.490**	.964	.863	.972	1.577*	4.990***	1.839**	2.643***
35–49	1.627***	.965	1.168	.693	1.151	3.566***	1.359*	1.914***
50–64	1.317**	.805**	1.228**	.665*	.832	1.992***	1.169	1.403***
65 +	Ref.							
<b>Education</b>								
ISCED 4–6	Ref.							
ISCED 0–3	1.430***	1.610***	.535***	1.074	.945	.860***	.846*	.742***
<b>Ill-health</b>								
None	Ref.							
Yes, not hampered	1.021	.991	1.304***	1.569	.718*	.897	.796	.861
Slightly hampered	1.529***	1.457***	1.090	1.205	.885	.917	.822*	.905
Severely hampered	2.770***	2.086***	.764**	.716	.596***	.742***	.680**	.761**
<b>Economic activity</b>								
Employed	Ref.							
Unemployed	3.056***	2.780***	.796*	.579**	.451***	.694***	.728	.451***
Unable to work – illness	2.780***	2.599***	.804	.643	.691	.356***	.738	.611***
Retired	1.534***	1.324**	1.050	.721	.604**	.312***	.759*	.820*
Homemaking	1.986***	1.537***	1.033	.555**	.636*	.531***	.478***	.698***
Education	1.002	.932	1.779***	1.105	.903	1.111	1.655	1.372
Other	1.494	1.672**	1.239	.737	.276***	.420***	.440**	.623*

	'I feel left out of society'	'Life is so complicated today that I almost can't find my way'	Participation in voluntary or charitable activities	Get support: Help around house when ill	Get support: Advice on serious personal or family matter	Get support: Help when looking for a job	Get support: Somebody to talk to when feeling depressed	Get support: Borrow money to face an emergency
<b>Citizenship</b>								
Non-citizen	Ref.							
Citizen of [country]	.548***	.795	1.104	1.670	1.746*	.868	1.572*	1.182
<b>Family</b>								
Single (no child)	Ref.							
Single (with child)	.962	1.219*	1.101	2.057**	1.256	1.358***	1.248	1.145
Couple (no child)	.636***	.750***	1.196***	7.257***	3.037***	1.411***	2.508***	1.686***
Couple (with child)	.638***	.832**	1.236***	7.416***	3.114***	1.637***	2.739***	1.547***
Missing	.878	1.166	1.003	2.119***	2.147***	1.468***	1.747***	1.181
<b>Respondent born in...</b>								
This country	Ref.							
Member State	.956	1.057	.742*	1.083	1.373	1.017	1.126	.891
Europe, not Member State	.922	1.167	.581**	.940	1.057	.823	1.197	.791
Elsewhere	.984	1.335	.813	.681	1.091	1.219	.990	.859
Missing	1.397	2.890	.887	.280	.329	1.424	.102**	.791
<b>Parents born in...</b>								
Both this country	Ref.							
One this, one EU	1.157	1.118	1.209*	.885	.716	1.270*	.840	1.005
Both EU	.996	1.001	1.234	1.580	.756	1.058	1.069	.996
One outside EU	.942	1.010	.954	2.221*	.961	1.208	.806	1.119
Missing	1.002	.776	.698	.437	1.008	.791	1.337	.628
<b>Respondent location</b>								
City or city suburb	Ref.							
Open countryside	1.255*	1.242**	1.340***	.638*	.726*	.905	.745*	.851*
Village/small town	1.216*	1.296***	1.118*	.670**	.780*	.815***	.762**	.732***
Medium/large town	1.127	1.149*	1.029	.781	.810	.914	.901	.834**
[Don't know]	1.584	.635	1.172	.278	.453	1.026	1.270	1.362
<b>Crime</b>								
No reason at all	Ref.							
Very many	1.565**	1.801***	.976	.493**	.438***	.943	.633*	.776
Many	1.351**	1.458***	.964	.885	.895	1.017	.845	.941
A few	1.037	1.149*	.995	.957	1.071	1.016	1.237*	.901
[Don't know]	1.592	1.295	.474*	.520	.434*	.527*	.413**	.401***
<b>Litter</b>								
No reason at all	Ref.							
Very many	1.975***	1.740***	1.160	.680	1.052	.953	1.004	.804
Many	1.428***	1.591***	1.114	1.070	1.104	1.050	1.148	.991
A few	1.162*	1.188**	1.204***	.904	.863	1.205***	1.078	.988
[Don't know]	.709	1.819	.778	.218**	.227**	.593	.344*	.946

## Quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods

	'I feel left out of society'	'Life is so complicated today that I almost can't find my way'	Participation in voluntary or charitable activities	Get support: Help around house when ill	Get support: Advice on serious personal or family matter	Get support: Help when looking for a job	Get support: Somebody to talk to when feeling depressed	Get support: Borrow money to face an emergency
<b>Tenure</b>								
Own, no mortgage	Ref.							
Own, with mortgage	1.040	.878*	1.116*	1.163	1.088	1.140*	1.132	1.090
Private rental	1.481***	1.180*	.858**	.752	.913	1.153*	1.019	.747***
Social rental	1.538***	1.365***	.730***	.888	.974	1.173*	.954	.717***
Accommodation free	1.685**	1.216	1.035	.824	.637	.986	.717	.887
[Other]	1.401	1.004	1.230	.711	.819	1.081	1.032	1.004
Constant	.067***	.109***	.473***	28.323***	22.316***	1.131	12.844***	4.485***

Note: Asterisks denote statistical significance: \* p < .05; \*\* p < .01; \*\*\* p < .001

Source: *EQLS 2007*

### Annex 6: Social inclusion country-specific regression coefficients (odds ratios)

Country	Degree of ethnic diversity	'I feel left out of society'	'Life is so complicated today that I almost can't find my way'	Participation in voluntary or charitable activities	Get support: Help around house when ill	Get support: Advice on serious personal or family matter	Get support: Help when looking for a job	Get support: Somebody to talk to when feeling depressed	Get support: Borrow money to face an emergency
EU15	Intermediate	.813**	.902*	1.034	.900	1.083	1.095*	.908	1.103
	High	1.105	1.063	.982	.658*	.611***	.923	.680**	.925
Austria	Intermediate	.455**	.931	.857	.594	2.509	1.362	.224	.950
	High	.326**	1.070	.690	.257	1.350	.805	.113	.467*
Belgium	Intermediate	.693	.603*	.926	2.813	1.450	.740	1.147	.995
	High	1.517	.987	.762	.444	.569	1.208	.718	1.490
France	Intermediate	.809	1.001	.976	1.744	.692	1.085	.964	1.174
	High	1.089	1.309	.928	1.120	.590	.896	1.010	1.772
Germany	Intermediate	.749	.775	.982	1.044	.906	1.138	1.011	1.039
	High	1.765	.921	.913	.537	.685	1.153	.871	.706
Greece	Intermediate	.622	.982	.931	1.317	2.041	1.242	.337*	.649
	High	.383**	.702	1.023	.848	.826	.775	.290	.694
Ireland	Intermediate	.952	1.212	.875	.851	2.673	1.022	1.304	.858
	High	1.450	1.512	1.025	.620	1.003	.676	1.006	.601
Luxembourg	Intermediate	.653	1.292	1.312	.188*	.446	.968	.613	.874
	High	1.268	1.924**	1.064	.122*	.218**	.614*	.412**	.811
Netherlands	Intermediate	.693	.721	1.181	.372	1.042	.787	1.207	1.089
	High	4.113*	1.461	.876	.851	.955	.933	1.615	.958
Spain	Intermediate	1.358	.977	.609	.306*	.889	1.346	.832	1.101
	High	2.246	1.437	1.063	.567	.594	1.430	.882	.972
United Kingdom	Intermediate	.914	1.006	.958	1.155	1.185	1.371	.996	1.313
	High	1.231	1.201	1.390	.781	.565	1.169	.667	1.422

Note: Asterisks denote statistical significance: \* p < .05; \*\* p < .01; \*\*\* p < .001

Source: *EQLS 2007*

Annex 7: Well-being regression coefficients: pooled model

	Overall life satisfaction	Satisfaction with education	Satisfaction with job	Satisfaction with accommodation
<b>(Constant)</b>	7.837***	7.963***	7.921***	8.574***
<b>Country</b>				
Other EU15	.013	.378***	.329***	-.153**
Austria	-.504***	-.280**	-.129	-.497***
Belgium	.336***	.625***	.619***	.043
France	-.047	.897***	.247*	-.004
Germany	-.277***	.117	.110	-.033
Greece	-.720***	-1.059***	-.004	-.505***
Ireland	.378***	-.302**	.242*	-.205**
Luxembourg	.674***	.584***	.903***	.432***
Netherlands	.215**	-.068	.280*	-.174*
Spain	-.165*	-.488***	.092	-.426***
United Kingdom	Ref.			
<b>Ethnic diversity</b>				
Low	Ref.			
Intermediate	-.054	-.021	-.019	-.009
High	-.102*	-.146*	-.029	-.128**
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	Ref.			
Male	-.099**	-.010	.038	-.107***
<b>Age</b>				
18–24	.041	.288**	-.912***	-.255**
25–34	-.210**	.169*	-.793***	-.500***
35–49	-.334***	.111	-.755***	-.391***
50–64	-.142**	.020	-.612**	-.193***
65+	Ref.			
<b>Education</b>				
ISCED level 4–6	Ref.			
ISCED level 0–3	-.379***	-1.030***	-.368***	-.255***
<b>Ill health</b>				
None	Ref.			
Yes, not hampered	.063	.028	.164	.237***
Yes, hampered	-.347***	-.295***	-.279***	-.113**
Yes, severely hampered	-.985***	-.242**	-.308*	-.250***
<b>Economic activity</b>				
Employed	Ref.			
Unemployed	-1.101***	-.423***	-	-.472***
Unable to work – illness	-.721***	-.342**	-	-.176
Retired	.093	.144*	-	.096
Homemaking	-.267***	-.112	-	-.151**
In education	.435***	.699***	-	.370***
Other	-.124	-.004	-	-.028

## Quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods

	Overall life satisfaction	Satisfaction with education	Satisfaction with job	Satisfaction with accommodation
<b>Occupation</b>				
Other			Ref.	
Managerial/ professional	-	-	.382***	-
<b>Citizenship</b>				
Not citizen of this country	Ref.			
Citizen of this country	.296***	.043	.377**	.321***
<b>Family</b>				
Single (no child)	Ref.			
Single (with child)	-.309***	-.192*	.063	-.274***
Couple (no child)	.579***	.136**	.218**	.326***
Couple (with child)	.543***	.107*	.138*	.188***
Missing	-.004	.089	-.022	.137*
<b>Respondent born...</b>				
This country	Ref.			
Member State	.117	.133	-.125	.098
Europe, not Member State	.202	-.035	-.381*	.085
Elsewhere	-.017	.053	-.086	-.020
Missing	-1.214*	-1.248	-.958	-1.183*
<b>Parents born...</b>				
This country	Ref.			
One this country, one EU	-.179*	-.109	-.026	-.039
Both EU	-.048	.046	.039	.063
One outside EU	-.015	-.363**	-.004	-.132
Missing	.255	-.037	-.142	-.183
<b>Respondent location</b>				
City or city suburb	Ref.			
The open countryside	-.250***	-.363***	-.133	-.231***
A village/small town	-.178***	-.161***	-.155**	-.171***
A medium to large town	-.020	-.056	-.104	-.095*
[Don't know]	-.681*	-.458	.617	-.545
<b>Complaints about crime</b>				
Very many reasons	-.652***	-.203	-.376**	-.842***
Many reasons	-.493***	-.211**	-.439***	-.497***
A few reasons	-.265***	-.113**	-.270***	-.253***
No reason at all	Ref.			
[Don't know]	-.434*	-.300	-.431	-.459*
<b>Complaints about litter</b>				
Very many reasons	-.409***	-.231*	-.443***	-.492***
Many reasons	-.433***	-.122	-.320***	-.421***
A few reasons	-.290***	-.161***	-.176**	-.288***
No reason at all	Ref.			
[Don't know]	-.028	.115	-.596	-.461

	Overall life satisfaction	Satisfaction with education	Satisfaction with job	Satisfaction with accommodation
<b>Tenure</b>				
Own without mortgage	Ref.			
Own with mortgage	.147***	-.051	.024	.149***
Private rental	-.306***	-.122*	-.182**	-.902***
Social rental	-.195***	-.392***	-.164	-.621***
Accommodation is free	-.144	.066	-.331*	-.436***
[Other]	.024	-.426*	-.078	-.119

Note: Asterisks denote statistical significance: \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Source: *EQLS 2007*

Annex 8: *Well-being country-specific regression coefficients*

Country	Degree of ethnic diversity	Overall life satisfaction	Satisfaction with education	Satisfaction with job	Satisfaction with accommodation
EU15	Intermediate	-.054	-.021	-.019	-.009
	High	-.102*	-.146*	-.029	-.128**
Austria	Intermediate	.212	.074	.150	.195
	High	.253	-.074	.327	.326
Belgium	Intermediate	-.119	-.142	.140	-.045
	High	-.456*	-.275	-.011	-.251
France	Intermediate	.021	-.030	-.079	-.040
	High	-.117	.044	-.111	-.400*
Germany	Intermediate	.258*	-.031	.200	.185
	High	-.006	-.193	.450	.187
Greece	Intermediate	.142	.183	-.415	-.092
	High	.074	.377	-.360	.101
Ireland	Intermediate	-.154	-.332*	-.050	-.289*
	High	-.142	-.541*	.127	-.151
Luxembourg	Intermediate	-.004	.236	.149	-.051
	High	.112	.015	-.055	-.144
Netherlands	Intermediate	-.015	.082	-.046	-.075
	High	-.111	-.100	.138	-.382*
Spain	Intermediate	-.183	-.178	.251	.023
	High	-.059	-.019	.252	-.136
United Kingdom	Intermediate	-.032	.163	-.098	.337**
	High	.004	-.153	.049	-.039

\*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Source: *EQLS 2007*

Annex 9: Multivariate analysis of ethnic tensions: EU15

	Ethnic tension		Religious tension		Migrant tension	
	Odds ratio	P > z	Odds ratio	P > z	Odds ratio	P > z
<b>Gender</b>						
Male	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Female	1.23	0.00	1.22	0.00	1.00	0.99
<b>Age</b>						
18–24	1.49	0.00	1.48	0.00	1.17	0.42
25–34	1.53	0.00	1.69	0.00	1.29	0.11
35–49	1.57	0.00	1.71	0.00	1.24	0.15
50–64	1.39	0.00	1.44	0.00	1.04	0.72
65+	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
<b>Educational attainment</b>						
ISCED0	1.34	0.09	1.80	0.00	10.82	0.00
ISCED1	1.34	0.04	1.74	0.00	10.07	0.00
ISCED2	1.69	0.00	1.94	0.00	7.49	0.00
ISCED3	1.67	0.00	1.92	0.00	5.57	0.00
ISCED4	1.56	0.00	1.79	0.00	2.29	0.17
ISCED5	1.31	0.05	1.40	0.03	1.82	0.31
ISCED6	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Education missing						
<b>Long-standing health problem</b>						
None/refused	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Yes but not hampered	1.05	0.47	0.94	0.44	0.92	0.62
Yes and hampered	1.13	0.01	1.13	0.02	1.00	0.97
Yes and severely hampered	1.22	0.01	1.22	0.01	1.00	1.00
<b>Economic activity</b>						
Employed	1.04	0.50	1.10	0.14	0.81	0.08
Unemployed	1.20	0.05	1.09	0.40	1.34	0.06
Unable to work	1.33	0.03	1.32	0.04	1.01	0.95
Retired	1.10	0.22	1.15	0.10	0.76	0.05
Homemaking	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Education	1.11	0.37	1.06	0.63	0.42	0.00
Missing	0.68	0.03	0.77	0.16	1.06	0.86
<b>Family status</b>						
Single – no children	0.94	0.20	1.02	0.77	1.14	0.21
Single – children	1.10	0.19	1.10	0.21	1.06	0.68
Couple – no children	0.98	0.70	1.02	0.67	1.13	0.20
Couple – children	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Missing	1.01	0.83	1.06	0.41	1.10	0.45
<b>Where born</b>						
This country	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Another Member State	0.77	0.00	0.86	0.10	0.60	0.02
Europe – not a Member State	0.75	0.03	0.80	0.12	0.44	0.01
Elsewhere	0.63	0.00	0.65	0.00	0.38	0.00
Missing	0.88	0.85	0.23	0.16	Omitted	

	Ethnic tension		Religious tension		Migrant tension	
	Odds ratio	P > z	Odds ratio	P > z	Odds ratio	P > z
<b>Area type</b>						
The open countryside	1.14	0.02	1.07	0.28	1.24	0.08
Village or small town	1.19	0.00	1.24	0.00	1.51	0.00
Medium to large town	1.07	0.16	1.08	0.15	1.24	0.03
City or city suburb	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Don't know/missing	1.70	0.20	0.97	0.95	1.21	0.80
<b>Reasons to complain about crime</b>						
Very many	1.80	0.00	2.23	0.00	1.78	0.00
Many	1.30	0.00	1.37	0.00	1.61	0.00
A few reasons	1.15	0.00	1,12	0.01	1.01	0.91
No reason at all	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Don't know/missing	0.81	0.42	0.53	0.05	0.66	0.49
<b>Reasons to complain about rubbish, litter</b>						
Very many	1.48	0.00	1.43	0.00	1.56	0.00
Many	1.38	0.00	1.22	0.00	1.58	0.00
A few reasons	1.14	0.00	0.99	0.88	1.33	0.00
No reason at all	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Don't know/missing	1.08	0.85	0.81	0.67	0.56	0.59
<b>Degree of ethnic diversity</b>						
Low	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Intermediate	0.98	0.68	0.98	0.61	1.02	0.76
High	1.26	0.00	1.14	0.03	2.02	0.00
<b>Country</b>						
Other	1.50	0.00	2.02	0.00	0.83	0.16
Austria	1.58	0.00	3.18	0.00	1.12	0.52
Belgium	1.80	0.00	2.05	0.00	1.04	0.81
France	2.70	0.00	3.01	0.00	0.65	0.01
Germany	1.23	0.02	2.25	0.00	0.74	0.06
Greece	1.21	0.06	1.25	0.06	1.50	0.01
Ireland	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Luxembourg	1.14	0.19	1.21	0.11	0.12	0.00
Netherlands	3.49	0.00	3.31	0.00	0.30	0.00
Spain	1.37	0.00	1.37	0.01	0.48	0.00
United Kingdom	1.71	0.00	2.35	0.00	1.22	0.22
Sample = 17285						
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	<b>0.04</b>		<b>0.04</b>		<b>0.10</b>	

Source: EQLS 2007

## Country codes

### EU15

15 EU Member States prior to enlargement in 2004 (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom)

### NMS12

12 new Member States, 10 of which joined the EU in 2004 (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) and the remaining two in 2007 (Bulgaria and Romania)

### EU27

27 EU Member States

### EU27

<b>AT</b>	Austria	<b>LV</b>	Latvia
<b>BE</b>	Belgium	<b>LT</b>	Lithuania
<b>BG</b>	Bulgaria	<b>LU</b>	Luxembourg
<b>CY</b>	Cyprus	<b>MT</b>	Malta
<b>CZ</b>	Czech Republic	<b>NL</b>	Netherlands
<b>DK</b>	Denmark	<b>PL</b>	Poland
<b>EE</b>	Estonia	<b>PT</b>	Portugal
<b>FI</b>	Finland	<b>RO</b>	Romania
<b>FR</b>	France	<b>SK</b>	Slovakia
<b>DE</b>	Germany	<b>SI</b>	Slovenia
<b>EL</b>	Greece	<b>ES</b>	Spain
<b>HU</b>	Hungary	<b>SE</b>	Sweden
<b>IE</b>	Ireland	<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>IT</b>	Italy		

*Many European countries have seen high levels of immigration from all parts of the world in the past two decades and the population of visible minority ethnic groups has grown rapidly. This report presents the results of a research programme analysing the quality of life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in EU15 countries based on the 2007 European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS). The findings confirm that material poverty (lack of income, restricted access to public services and poor housing) is often combined with higher degrees of social exclusion in such neighbourhoods. The perceived quality of life is also lower in these areas and in general they have higher levels of social tension. From a policy point of view, this underlines the need for an integrated and comprehensive social and housing policy intervention in affected high-diversity neighbourhoods, with strong involvement of local communities.*

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